

# STATE RESEARCH

**BULLETIN  
No. 1**

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**THE INSTITUTE FOR THE STUDY OF CONFLICT — NEW POLICE  
COMPLAINTS SYSTEM — 2,630 DETAINED UNDER PTA — BIG  
DROP IN POLICE RECRUITING — SECURITY COMMISSION**

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**NEWS &  
DEVELOPMENTS**

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## **NEW POLICE COMPLAINTS SYSTEM**

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The new system for handling complaints against the police came into effect on June 1. It introduced an independent element that has the appearance of being a change for the better, but in fact the reverse may well be the case. This has resulted from a crucial amendment to the Police Act 1976 while going through parliament and from an interpretative ruling by the Home Secretary after the Act was passed, following pressure from the Police Federation.

The Police Act 1976 (amending the Police Act 1964) set out a new procedure bringing an independent element into dealing with complaints, in the form of

the Police Complaints Board. The new Board has seventeen members, with Lord Plowden as its chairman, and Sir George Ogden (Chief Executive of Greater Manchester) and Sir James Waddell (previously an Under-Secretary at the Home Office with responsibility for the Police Department) as deputy chairmen.

In the old system the police themselves investigated complaints and decided internally what action to take. The new procedure begins with an investigation by the local police force who then forward their findings to the Police Complaints Board. The Board can either confirm the findings or order further investigations. In the last resort, it has the power to direct a local force either to take disciplinary action or to bring criminal charges.

When the Bill came before the Commons Mr Eldon Griffiths, parliamentary adviser to the Police Federation, said that the Federation (which represents over 100,000 police men and women) would only co-operate providing certain



changes were made. Firstly, officers should receive a copy of complaints made against them, and secondly, the Police Federation should be allowed to use its funds to prosecute alleged malicious and defamatory complainants. The first demand was accepted by the government in parliament. Police officers will get a copy of the complaints made against them when the internal investigation is over and the Board has been informed (Home Office circular 63/77). The only exceptions will be if doing so would prejudice criminal investigations or be contrary to the public interest.

The second demand required an interpretative ruling by Merlyn Rees after the Bill was passed by parliament. Police Federation Regulations (1969), which interpreted S.44(1) of the Police Act 1964, precluded the use of the Federation's funds on questions of discipline. S.44(1) states that Federation funds can be used 'in all matters affecting their (police officers') welfare and efficiency, other than questions of discipline . . .' Rees, exercising his power as Home Secretary, simply reversed the intent of this passage by ruling that S.44(1) does not preclude the Federation from raising general issues arising out of individual cases of discipline (HO circular 63/77). The Federation followed this up by announcing that it will support (pay the legal costs of) officers bringing legal proceedings against a complainant where a false or malicious complaint has been made to discredit the officer or to cast doubt on their fitness as a police officer. The chairman of the Federation said: 'We shall sue where necessary. We are hoping that one or two of these actions will stop the malicious and wilful complaints.'

The Home Office leaflet 'Police and Public', which is now handed out in police stations to complainants, states: 'A false and malicious complaint against a police officer may lead to his bringing legal proceedings for defamation.' Unless their complaint is proven, and this is often very difficult because it rests on a

conflict of views (e.g. the word of an officer as against that of a complainant), most complainants will now be open to legal action. The latest figures available, for 1976, show a rise in complaints of 12% over 1975 in London, and an increase of 18% in the provincial police forces. Initial reports on the first few months of the new system suggest that the number of complaints, far from rising as expected, is actually down on last year.

Despite the concessions made by the government and Merlyn Rees, bitterness within the police over the new system still persists. Sir Robert Mark let it be known that his opposition to the scheme was one of the reasons that prompted his resignation, and the Chief Constable for South Yorkshire, R.S. Barratt, wrote in his annual report for 1976: 'The Board is both unnecessary in concept and wasteful of resources'.

The changes forced through by the Police Federation, and the hostility of the police in general to the new procedure, seem likely to deter rather than assist people with a genuine complaint to make against the police.

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## MASSIVE PROTEST OVER DEPORTATIONS

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Philip Agee and Mark Hosenball finally left this country in May, after being issued with deportation orders by the Home Secretary in November last year. Jo Richardson MP asked Merlyn Rees what representations had been made to him on their behalf. Rees's reply demonstrated just how widespread had been the protests against his action: Rees received 950 letters and petitions, including 207 from Labour Party organisations and 372 from the trade union movement.

Meanwhile, Philip Agee was deported from France on August 17, when he went to meet his wife Angeia at Boulogne. He is in no doubt that his expulsion was the result of CIA and US government pressure, which was aimed at 'trying to impede, as



much as possible, the work I am trying to do with a lot of people in different countries.' Agee and his family are now living in Amsterdam, and his current work is to complete his second book on the activities of the CIA world-wide in the post-war period. Another project, which is being organised with help from European countries and the USA, is to establish a world computer bank on CIA agents and organisations.

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## NATO AND CIVIL EMERGENCIES

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At a meeting of the NATO Confederation of Reserve Officers (founded in 1948) held in London in August, it was decided to call for a revival of a civil defence capacity in Western Europe. A representative from the British Territorial and Army Volunteer Reserve (TAVR) told the meeting: 'It is not a case of training a force to be kept in reserve doing nothing while waiting for a war that might never take place. It has a useful function during civil emergencies.'

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## 2,630 DETAINED UNDER PTA

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Figures released by the Home Office show that 2,630 people have so far been detained under the Prevention of Terrorism Acts (PTA) of 1974 and 1976. Only 11 of these have been charged with other offences unrelated to 'terrorism', including fraud, theft, handling of stolen property and 'wasting police time'. The most active police forces have been those in London and Merseyside, with 667 and 613 detentions respectively over the past three years. The police have so far applied in 252 cases to the Home Secretary for an extension of detention beyond the initial period of 48 hours (89 of which applications were made by the Metropolitan Police and 67 by the Hampshire Constabu-

lary), none of which has been refused.

At the end of August, Peter Grimes of the Irish Republican Socialist Party was charged with 'withholding information' under Section 11 of the PTA. This is only the second time someone has been charged under this section; in the only other known case (that of Anthony Cunningham in February 1977) the Section 11 charge was 'allowed to lie on the file' while the prosecution went ahead on other charges.

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## NSA SPIES ON BRITISH POLITICS

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The US National Security Agency (NSA), according to a well-informed source, is monitoring British political and industrial activity. Writing in the 'Daily Express', Chapman Pincher, the defence correspondent, says: 'In the past, and I suspect at present, American Sneakies (eavesdropping devices) have been used for surveillance of British trade union leaders, MPs including ministers, and others suspected of Communist affiliations' (11/8/77).

It has been known for some time that the 70-odd CIA agents in Britain, working under station-chief Ed Proctor, monitor political and industrial events here. The CIA station based at the US Embassy exchanges intelligence reports daily with the British Secret Intelligence Service (SIS, or MI6 as it is also known, Britain's external covert agency) at Century House in South London.

The role of the CIA and its agents throughout the world is to monitor, assess and intervene where US political and economic interests are affected. One of its sources of intelligence is the NSA, created in 1952. The NSA itself, however, does not formulate policy or carry out operations - it simply gathers intelligence. Its job is to break the military, diplomatic and commercial codes of every nation in the world, analyse the decoded messages, and send on the results to the rest



of the US intelligence community. It is reputed to provide 80% of all US intelligence data. Another difference between the CIA and the NSA is that the CIA operates at the political and diplomatic levels, while the NSA has close agency-to-agency relations with British intelligence and military organisations.

There are over 2,000 NSA field stations covering every continent, and five of these are in Britain - at Haverfordwest, Chicksands, Edzell, Harrogate and Cheltenham. The one at Cheltenham is inside the British monitoring complex, the Government Communications Headquarters (GCHQ). GCHQ, which is formally under the control of the Foreign Office, does the same kind of work as the NSA for the British intelligence community. The NSA operation in Britain is part of a five nation agreement (between the US, Britain, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, known as UKUSA) to monitor the radio traffic of the Russians and their allies. This aspect of NSA's work is run with the official knowledge and encouragement of Whitehall.

What was not known is that the NSA monitors all British radio and telecommunications traffic, including millions of private calls beamed out from the GPO tower through the microwave network covering Britain. And also that the NSA is 'bugging' the homes and offices of MPs, trade unionists, and political activists considered to be 'hostiles'. Surveillance in these two areas by the NSA is used to brief the British-based CIA station and its central organisation at Fort George G. Meade in Maryland.

The reason put forward to legitimate the surveillance of the internal politics of an allied country is that US plans to reinforce Europe in a time of war could be frustrated by a 'Fifth Column' in this country. Clearly the intelligence gathered in fact serves a much wider purpose: it provides the basis on which the CIA can intervene in British politics and essential economic intelligence for the US

government and business interests. The monitoring of Eastern countries by the NSA stations in Britain is in line with Western defence agreements in many countries. However, the surveillance of internal political and economic affairs falls outside this and is illegal under British law. The question, therefore, is whether this side of NSA operations here is also run with the knowledge and consent of the British government.

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## BIG DROP IN POLICE RECRUITING

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For the first time in ten years the police recruiting figures are showing a net loss of manpower. The figures for England and Wales for the last three years are: 1974, net rise of 1,408; 1975, net rise of 5,108; 1976, net rise of 2,209. But at the end of the first quarter of 1977 the net rise was only 33, and in the second quarter there was actually a net loss of 280 officers. Equivalent figures for the Metropolitan Police are: 1974, net rise 189; 1975, net rise 492; 1976, net rise 1,006; 1977 first quarter, net rise 37; 1977 second quarter, net loss 242 officers.

When questioned in parliament about the decrease, Merlyn Rees, the Home Secretary, replied: 'Until Christmas (1976), the recruitment rate was rising all over the country. It is curious that it has dropped this year...' (14/7/77). Among the reasons suggested for this turnabout are police pay and the violence directed at the police during recent demonstrations. Mr Gregory, Chief Constable for West Yorkshire, commented: 'Some of these young men are scared, because it is really dangerous.' The last recorded net loss in England and Wales was in 1968 when there were several big demonstrations, although the biggest of these, in October 1968 over the Vietnam war, was largely peaceful. Of those leaving the police a high proportion are young officers with less than three years experience, and the drop-



out rate is highest in the first year of service.

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## FREEPHONE FOR INFORMERS?

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Scotland Yard is considering whether to introduce a special phone line by which the public can give information anonymously to the police. A Freephone system similar to that used in Northern Ireland could be used by 'informers' and members of the public at large to give information without fear of retribution.

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## DEFENCE COMMITTEE BREAK-INS

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Robin F. Cook MP has called for an inquiry into the security service after an admission by the Home Office, following a report from the Metropolitan Police Commissioner, that a series of break-ins and thefts involving members of the Agee-Hosenball Defence Committee and the ABC Defence Committee had indeed occurred. Cook raised the break-ins in an adjournment debate in the Commons in May, when he questioned the role of the Special Branch and the security service in a series of events around the two defence committees and the arrest of Aubrey, Berry and Campbell. Replying for the Home Secretary, Dr. Shirley Summerskill said that if break-ins had occurred then they should be reported to the police, and she was informed they had not been. Cook, she said, had 'insinuated without a shred of evidence, that the Special Branch or the Security Services were responsible.' Exactly 3 months later came the Home Office's official reply which confirmed that the break-ins had occurred and in fact been reported to the police at the time. It concluded: 'The report from the Commissioner states that so far no arrests for these offences have been made and it has not been possible to establish a motive

for the offences.'

The motive is not hard to find. The break-ins and thefts, involving seven different committee members, were part of an intelligence-gathering operation on the Defence Committees. By far the most important theft was that of all the financial accounts of the Agee-Hosenball Defence Committee in February. These were taken from the Treasurer's car, while her personal cheque book and cheque card were returned to her bank (an eccentric 'thief' indeed).

It has been established that MI5 (the internal security service) put the Agee-Hosenball Defence Committee under close surveillance from its formation in November 1976, and that MI5 (not the Special Branch) were behind the arrest of Aubrey, Berry and Campbell on February 18th. If the break-ins were not carried out on the instructions of MI5, then there is only one other candidate - the CIA. Whichever it was is immaterial. Such a direct intervention is both illegal and a dangerous infringement of political freedom which calls for a full inquiry.

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## NEW MEMBERS FOR SECURITY COMMISSION

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Two new members of the Security Commission were appointed by the Prime Minister in September: Sir D. Rayner, Joint Managing Director of Marks and Spencer and ex-Chief Executive of the MOD Procurement Executive (1971-2), and Lord Justice Bridge, a Lord Justice of Appeal. The Security Commission was set up in January 1964 in the wake of the Profumo scandal as a permanent body to investigate breaches of security in public service and government departments. Members of the Commission form a panel of seven from whom three, including the Chairman, are selected for an inquiry. It is intended to provide impartial judgments on security matters regardless of the interests of the government of the day.



The Chairman is Lord Diplock, who is better known as the chairman of a 1972 commission on terrorism in Northern Ireland that recommended trial without jury and the continuation of internment. The other four members of the Commission are: Lord Greenhill, formerly Permanent Under Secretary at the Foreign Office; Lord Allen, formerly Permanent Under Secretary at the Home Office; General Sir Dudley Ward, who after a distinguished military career became ADC General to the Queen; and Admiral Sir Horace Law, formerly C-in-C Naval Home Command.

## REVIEWS

**The Fall of Scotland Yard**, by Barry Cox, John Shirley and Martin Short. Penguin Special, 80p. The story of a decade of corruption at Scotland Yard.

**The Lawless State**, by Morton Halperin, Jerry Berman, Robert Borosage, & Christine Marwick. Penguin (USA), \$2.95. A documented report on the crimes of the US intelligence agencies. The first section looks at CIA operations abroad, and the second, the FBI on the homefront. While the third section looks at the intervention of the CIA, Military Intelligence, the NSA, the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) in response to the protest movements of the sixties. The concluding section questions whether an effective brake has been put on the activities of the agencies. Although this book is not yet available in Britain, it can be obtained by writing to the Project on National Security and Civil Liberties, 122 Maryland Avenue, N.E., Washington DC 20002, USA.

**Privacy: The Information Gatherers**, by Patricia Hewitt. NCCL, £1.25. This

pamphlet describes the history of the privacy campaign in Britain, and the dangers involved in uncontrolled information-gathering. It covers information gathered and held by the state, local government, employers, credit reference agencies, the health service, schools and colleges, the police and the security services. NCCL, 186 Kings Cross Road, London WC1.

**Release '67-'77**, 30p. To mark its tenth anniversary this Release special report looks at the whole range of issues it is now involved in - legal advice, drug queries, psychiatric social problems, police complaints, housing questions and unwanted pregnancies. Release, 1 Elgin Avenue, London W9 (289-1123)

**A State Conspiracy: IRSP and the 'Great Train Robbery Frame-up'**, details the events following the arrest of forty members and supporters of the Irish Republican Socialist Party in April 1976, allegedly in connection with the 'great train robbery'. Kildare Six Defence Committee, 34 Upper Gardiner Street, Dublin 1.

**Step and Search**, Release, 40p. This report looks at police powers and practice to stop and search people for drugs on the streets. This power is given to the police by Section 23 of the Misuse of Drugs Act 1971, and despite a Home Office directive that the police should not base their suspicions on 'hairstyle or mode of dress', this report shows this is widely abused by the police. Release, 1 Elgin Avenue, London, W9 (289-1123).

**Under heavy manners**, Islington 18 Defence Committee, 25p. A report of the Labour Movement Enquiry into police brutality and the position of black youth in Islington. Islington 18 Defence Committee, 161 Hornsey Road, London N7.

**British Military Exporters, Campaign Against the Arms Trade**, 30p. Lists nearly 700 exporters of military equipment



extracted from the 1975 and 1976 Defence Equipment Catalogue, published by the Defence Sales Organisation of the Ministry of Defence. The list is presented county by county to stimulate campaigns in the community. CAAT, 5 Caledonian Road, London N1 (278-1976)

*The Attack on Higher Education*, by Julius Gould. Institute for the Study of Conflict, £5. Rightwing attack on marxists and socialists in higher education (see Background Paper on 'The Institute for the Study of Conflict'), ISC, 12/12a Golden Square, London W1 (439-7381).

'Fascism in Britain', Peoples News Service, 22/8/77, pp3-7. Roundup report on incidents in the past few months where National Front supporters have attacked people, or leftwing property. PNS, 182 Upper Street, London N1. (359-3785)

'National Association for Freedom', Labour Research, August 1977, pp171-2. Detailed article on the NAFF organisation, sources of finance, and its forty-eight Council members. LRD, 78 Blackfriars Road, London SE1.

'The politics of big business: political donations in 1976', Labour Research, September 1977, pp186-8. Lists the major company donations to the Conservative

Party, the Economic League, Aims for Freedom and Enterprise, Common Cause, and the Centre for Policy Studies (Mrs. Thatcher's think-tank). LRD, 78 Blackfriars Road, London SE1.

'Cape of Good Hope', by Dr. D. Chaplin, Royal United Services Institute Journal, September 1977, pp75-7. Within a general argument that South Africa is 'the last bastion against Communist expansion in Africa', this article details the West's dependence on South African raw materials.

'The Thin Blue Line', a series of three articles by Philip Jordan and Gareth Parry. Guardian 30/8/77; 31/8/77; 1/9/77. Looks at the arguments and pressures on the police to provide a paramilitary response, a 'third force' standing between the police and the army inside Britain.

'Racism, Fascism and the politics of the National Front', by David Edgar, Race and Class, Autumn 1977. Edgar argues that the National Front is a danger primarily because of its fascist ideology, and not as is often suggested its racism. He shows the similarities and differences between German National Socialism and the Front's position, and concludes that an anti-racist strategy must confront the racism of the British state. 'Race and Class', 247 Pentonville Road, London N1.

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## THE INSTITUTE FOR THE STUDY OF CONFLICT

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### BACKGROUND PAPER

The *Institute for the Study of Conflict* (ISC) has made the news a number of times since its inception in 1970. Last month it published a Special Report, 'The Attack on Higher Education', which attracted a great deal of attention in the media. This background paper looks at the origins, structure and

operations of the Institute.

ISC operates by offering its 'technical expertise' on 'subversion' and on communist influence' to official bodies — including the military, the police, other government bodies and to business. Its contacts in the public service and business not only ensure a steady flow of funds but also extend its influence into mainstream institutions. ISC's technical expertise however brings with it a highly political line. It is openly anti-communist. Moreover, its anti-communism extends



not only to socialists and radicals, but to all social democrats and liberals. Those who favour progressive changes or seem to be 'soft' on 'communism', are in their eyes fellow-travellers. The ISC has some close ties with the National Association for Freedom, an openly rightwing pressure group. What unites them is their politics.

The context in which the ISC launched its attack on socialists and radicals in higher education is one of increasing pressure against the left. Not only have attacks been made (from related sources) against specific university courses, and against the publication of leftwing books, but the views of the ISC and the NAFF circles are gaining ground in the Conservative Party.

### The origins of the ISC

ISC's origins go back to *the Congress for Cultural Freedom* (CCF), which, founded in 1949, was the US Central Intelligence Agency's major cold-war cultural intervention. The links between the CCF and the CIA were first exposed in 1967 by the American magazine 'Ramparts'. The CCF built up an international network of academic and cultural figures, and set up national committees in most Western and Third World countries. It sponsored conferences, organised seminars and funded journals with a pro-Western ideological and cultural bias. In Britain there was no national committee as such. However, the group around the magazine 'Encounter' formed the centre of CCF activities in Britain. 'Encounter' also ran a low-level cultural feature service, 'Forum Service'. In 1965 'Forum Service' became 'Forum World Features' (FWF) a large and highly professional news service. Its regular news and news background stories covered everything from crises in the Persian Gulf to critiques of neutralist leaders, and had an implicit pro-American bias. The FWF service was supplied to papers ranging from the 'Sunday Times' to the 'Wah Kin Yat Po' of Hong Kong, and became an accepted news source especially in Third World

countries. An internal CIA operational summary to the then Director of the CIA, Richard Helms, said: 'Forum World Features has provided the United States with a significant means to counter Communist propaganda and has become a respected feature service well on the way to a position of prestige in the journalism world'. At the bottom of the memo was written, 'Run with the knowledge and co-operation of British intelligence'. FWF also sponsored books in the 'World Reality' series published by David and Charles, which included 'Chile's Marxist Experiment' by Robert Moss, an outright condemnation of the elected government of Allende (thousands of copies were purchased by the Chilean junta).

Despite the exposure of the CCF as a CIA front FWF continued to function until 1975. It closed hurriedly in that year before its own links with the CIA were revealed in 'Time Out' magazine (the Managing Director of FWF, Brian Crozier, has continued to deny any links with the CIA).

Brian Crozier was appointed to run FWF in 1965. As a journalist Crozier had worked for 'Reuters' and the 'News Chronicle', and had edited the 'Economist's' confidential 'Foreign Report'. In 1970 Crozier launched the Institute for the Study of Conflict. The FWF library and some of its research staff formed the basis of the new Institute, and Crozier himself became its Director. Crozier continued to double-head ISC and FWF until the closure of FWF five years later; he remains the Director of ISC.

### Its structure and work

The Institute is registered as a charity (and is also a company limited by guarantee), and is governed by a ten-man Council (for full details, see below). Members of the Council include Maj. Gen. Richard Clutterbuck, and Sir Robert Thompson, both counterinsurgency experts from Britain's colonial days. Two comparative newcomers to the Council are Vice-Admiral Sir Louis le Bailly (formerly



Director-General of Intelligence at the MOD) and Sir Edward Peck (former Deputy Under Secretary at the Foreign Office and chairman of the Joint Intelligence Committee). Both joined after their retirement from public service in 1975. The Chairman of the ISC Council is Leonard Schapiro, Professor of Political Science at the London School of Economics. He has held this position since 1970. Apart from the 2,000 subscriptions to its 'Conflict Studies' pamphlet series, not much is known about the sources of its funding. Shell and the Ford Foundation have made substantial contributions - in 1971 Shell gave them a grant of £30,000. And the accounts for the year ending June, 1974 showed an accumulated surplus of income over expenditure of £52,437.

The main work of the Institute is running research projects and seminars, and the publication of its monthly 'Conflict Studies', occasional Special Reports (like the one on higher education), and the yearly 'Annual of Power and Conflict'. The 'Conflict Studies' series has largely concentrated on international affairs with a special emphasis on coldwar politics, revolutionary warfare, counter-insurgency, and urban terrorism. Among the 86 reports which have so far appeared are titles such as 'Can Israel contain the Palestinian Revolution?' by J. Kimche, 'Uruguay: Terrorism v. Democracy' by Robert Moss, and 'Southern Europe: NATO's Crumbling Flank', by D. Rees. Only five reports and two Special Reports have been specifically on the United Kingdom - three of these are on Northern Ireland (see Note 1). The ISC also has in its library extensive runs of socialist and radical papers, and a cuttings service provides coverage of such left activity as reaches the national press.

Crucial to ISC's work is that key institutions, including the police and the military, accept its credentials. From an initial contact in 1972 between ISC Research Officer, Peter Janke, and John Alderson, the Commandant of Bramshill

Police College, the ISC has played an advisory role in the construction of courses on political subversion and provided a number of lecturers for courses. It also opened its library to Bramshill Police College. ISC has similar links with the British military establishment. It has provided lecturers for the Royal Military College of Science at Shrivenham (where 'psy-ops' is taught), the Staff College at Camberley, and the National Defence College at Latimer, Bucks. There are also informal links, a good example of which is the appointment of Major-General F.A.H. Ling as ISC fundraiser and Administrative Secretary in 1970 (he is now the Defence Services Consultant of the ISC). In January 1970, Crozier wrote to Peter Wilkinson, then Chief of Administration of HM Diplomatic Service at the Foreign Office (and later to be the Coordinator of Security and Intelligence in the Cabinet Office) asking if he knew of anyone who might become the Institute's fundraiser. Wilkinson wrote, on Foreign Office stationery, to Lieut. General Sir Thomas Pearson, Military Secretary at the Ministry of Defence asking, in turn, if he knew of anyone suitable for the post. On February 20th, General Pearson's Military Assistant at the MOD, a Lt. Col. T.G. Laidler (Rtd) wrote to Major-General F.A.H. Ling (a retired officer) confirming General Pearson's telephone call to the effect that his name had been put forward as the ISC fundraiser and Administrative Secretary.

#### The ISC and rightwing politics

The ISC's network of contacts is not limited to the police and the military, for perhaps its closest informal links are with the rightwing pressure group, the *National Association for Freedom* (NAFF). The ISC and NAFF circles overlap to a considerable extent. Brian Crozier was one of seven people who signed NAFF's articles of incorporation early this year, and both he and Robert Thompson (an ISC Council member) are members of the



NAFF Council. Crozier recently wrote of the NAFF, 'I reread NAFF's Charter of Rights and Liberties at least once a week. I shall not rest content until they are enshrined in a Bill of Rights enforceable at law' ('Free Nation', NAFF's fortnightly paper, 1/4/77). Robert Moss, the Director of NAFF, is a close personal associate of Crozier; he has written several of the monthly 'Conflict Studies' series. Moss recently wrote of the ISC that it is 'the most valuable research centre on subversion and communism on Western Europe' ('Free Nation', 30/9/77). Other individuals such as Rhodes Boyson MP and Stephen Haseler (Secretary of the Social Democratic Alliance) figure in both circles. The NAFF connection also brings the ISC close to the centres of power in the Conservative Party — Moss is one of Mrs. Thatcher's speech-writers, and Tory MPs Winston Churchill and Rhodes Boyson are on the NAFF Council.

ISC connections on the right extend to the industrial and economic fields as well, and include several well-known 'red-bashing' industrial pressure groups. In 1972, worried by the popular support for the miners strike, the CBI sent out a memo to businessmen urging them to put money behind one of five private anti-subversive groups including the ISC (the others were Aims of Industry, the Economic League, Industrial Research and Information Services and Common Cause). In February 1974 the ISC published a Special Report on 'Sources of Conflict in British Industry', which attacked Communist and other socialist groups' influence in the trade unions. This was the work of an ISC study group, many of whom had earlier written for Aims of Industry, and much of the data on the 'communist influence' came from the files of Aims of Industry and the Economic League (see Note 2).

These then are the ISC's links, ranging from the police and military, who seem to view the ISC as sympathetic experts, to explicitly political and industrial groups who share a common perspective and aims. It is easy to over-estimate the significance of the ISC for

they are only a small group of individuals (albeit with good connections). It is also easy to dismiss them simply because they are not part of the mainstream of the state and the economy. The ISC is important because of the present political context. The liberalisation of the sixties has now been overtaken by a general swing to the right, most clearly visible in the Conservative Party. The politics of the ISC which would have been considered as extreme ten years ago, today find a receptive ear.

**NOTE 1:** The first six issues of the 'Conflict Studies' series were produced under the auspices of the *Current Affairs Research Centre* which was set up by FWF and operated from the same address.

**NOTE 2:** The ISC also have an American satellite, the Washington Institute for the Study of Conflict. This was formed in 1974, has its own Committee and its own facilities for research and publication. At the time of its launching in 1975 the Chairman was George Ball, former member of the State Department and later chairman of Lehmann Brothers International (merchant bankers). Members of the US Committee included Robert Komer, a former 'pacification chief' in Vietnam; Kermit Roosevelt, former CIA officer; George Tenham, a counter-insurgency expert; Professor Edward Shils, of Chicago University, and member of the Study Group that produced 'The Attack on High Education'; and Zbigniew Brzezinski, now Carter's main adviser.

**NOTE 3:** Members of the ISC Council

**Vice-Admiral Sir Louis Le Bailly:** Director-General of Intelligence at the Ministry of Defence (1972-5). (This is the top post in military intelligence, and ranks alongside the Director-Generals of MI5 and MI6.)

**Sir Edward Peck:** Deputy Under Secretary at the Foreign Office (1968-70), Permanent Representative to the North Atlantic Council (1970-5),



**Maj.-Gen. Richard Clutterbuck:** expert on counter-insurgency. Served in Italy 1946, Palestine 1947, Malaya 1956-8. Chief Army Instructor, Royal College of Defence Studies (1971-2). Lecturer in Politics, Exeter University since 1972. Author of 'Protest and the Urban Guerrilla'; 'Living with Terrorism'; 'Guerrillas and Terrorists'.

**Leonard Schapiro:** War Office 1942-5. Intelligence Division, German Control Command 1945-6. Coldwar theorist, whose books set the tone of post-war teaching about the USSR. Professor of Political Science at London School of Economics since 1955. Chairman of ISC Council since 1970.

**S.E. Finer:** Royal Signals 1945. At Oxford since 1946; now Gladstone Professor of Government and Politics. Lectured at the Royal College of Defence Studies on 'Coup d'Etat and Military Rule' (19/5/77).

**Sir Robert Thompson:** formerly Permanent Secretary for Defence, Malaya. British Advisory Mission to Vietnam (1961-5). Advised Nixon on the war in Vietnam. His thinking and experience in Malaya substantially influenced the British Army Manual on Counter-insurgency. Member of NAFF Council.

**Brigadier W.F.K. Thompson:** Military correspondent for the 'Daily Telegraph', 1959-76.

**Max Beloff:** Founder and Principal of University College, Buckingham (first private university in the country). Chaired NATO's committee handling the allocation of research grants.

**L.W. Martin:** Professor of War Studies, Kings College, London.

**G.H.N. Seton-Watson:** Professor of Russian History, London University. Coldwar theorist, also contributed to post-war thinking on USSR.

**NOTE 4: Members of Study Group of 'The Attack on Higher Education':**  
**Julius Gould,** Professor of Sociology, Nottingham. Contributed to 'Encounter'.  
**Caroline Cox,** ex-head of the sociology department at North London Polytechnic. Co-author of 'Rape of Reason', a right-wing account of the 'troubles' at NLP. Now Director of the Nursing Education Research Unit at Chelsea College.  
**Dr. Kenneth Watkins,** Dept of Political Theory, Sheffield. Written for Aims of Industry, 'Influencing the Political Future' (1973). NAFF Council member.  
**Professor Antony Flew,** Dept of Philosophy, Reading. Wrote for 'Encounter', and for Aims of Industry, 'Controlling the Nationalised Industries'.  
**Professor David Martin,** Dept of Sociology, LSE. Wrote for 'Encounter'.  
**Kenneth Minogue,** Reader in Political Science, LSE. Contributed to 'Encounter'.  
**Professor Edward Shils,** took over 'Encounter' after CCF revealed as CIA front. Fellow of Peterhouse, Cambridge and Professor of Sociology, Chicago. Member of the Committee of the Washington Institute for the Study of Conflict.

**Advisers to the Study Group: Rhodes Boyson,** Tory MP. NAFF Council member. Contributed to the 'Black Paper' on education. Tory spokesman on education. Owns Churchill Press, which published 'The Rape of Reason'.  
**Stephen Haseler,** Lecturer in Politics, City of London Poly. Secretary of the Social Democratic Alliance (red-hunting group in the Labour Party). Contributes to 'Free Nation'.  
**Professor, the Lord Vaizey,** Head of the School of Social Science at Brunel. Since 1973, Governor of the Ditchley Foundation (an Anglo-American business-political think-tank).



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