

Centre for Policy Studies

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July 3, 1980

Dear Caroline

The attached is a report
I have done on the Centre's
work 1979-1980 wh. I shd
be grateful if you were
able to put into the Prime
Minister's box at the week-end;
we shall probably discuss it
on Tuesday.

It is not as formidable as
it seems: the whole of the
second half is Appendix

Yours ever
Hugh

Rang to say
meeting is on
Wednesday.

ep. 7/7

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To secure fuller understanding of the methods available to improve the standard of living, the quality of life and the freedom of choice of the British people, with particular attention to social market policies.

Directors: Hugh Thomas (Chairman) • Nigel Vinson, MVO (Hon Treasurer) • Sir Nicholas Cayzer, Bt
Gerald Frost (Secretary) • Alfred Sherman (Director of Studies) • Sir Frank Taylor, DSc(Hon) FIOB • David Young

Founders: Rt Hon Mrs Margaret Thatcher MP • Rt Hon Sir Keith Joseph Bt MP

Private

The Centre for Policy Studies 1979-1980
Report for the Prime Minister, May 1980

General

1. The Centre for Policy Studies has four functions at the moment:
 - i. advice;
 - ii. study groups;
 - iii. publications;
 - iv. propagation of the government's policies

2. Each of these undertakings might perhaps be as well managed, or housed, in other ways: The 'advice' might as well be prepared in the homes of those concerned; the study groups might perhaps be managed through the Research Dept.; the publications could, no doubt, be managed by the CPC; and the propaganda side could conceivably be managed privately too.

3. Yet these activities taken together; the recollection of what has been done in the past as well as what is now being done; and the association of the names of Keith Joseph and of yourself with the Centre's past work; all these make the Centre a distinct institution of its own, associated in the public mind with an original contribution to the Conservative thought. Institutions which function are not easily established. The Centre is also small enough that it can easily be adapted for new purposes, and expanded in new directions. I am sure that it is desirable to retain it. There is no knowing what the future will bring.

Advice

4. The advice which some of us have been able to give to you, to Keith Joseph and to some other ministers (David Howell, Patrick Jenkin, and Sally Oppenheim) has always been regarded as a priority undertaking. This role gives all concerned a sense of purpose as well as of interest.

Study Groups

5. There are now eleven study groups: on health; energy (including the "energy lunch" group); the enterprise culture; culture and society; transport; land and planning; trade union reform; nationalised industries; a new 'tableau economique'; personal capital formation; and education. A complete list is attached at Appendix II.
6. These groups, mostly created since the election, have been a successful way of articulating the energies of the many gifted persons available who would like "to help the cause". This is an important function, I think. Most groups meet monthly; most combine businessmen, dons and politicians; and most aspire to write a report leading to a publication. The groups usually meet in the evening over dinner. The fact that the Centre is not exactly a party organisation helps to make it possible to bring together people who are not members of the party to what they often look upon as a national cause.

7. These groups were the brain child of Alfred Sherman who deserves great commendation for carrying them through into such creative reality.
8. We have also a group of dons (principally historians) who have met to discuss foreign affairs (primarily the Soviet menace), sometimes with a minister present; and some of us have, of course, worked directly with you on these affairs.
9. Some other ad hoc meetings of interested persons have met in response to particular current problems.
10. These groups are not very expensive since all the members give their time free and pay for their travelling and expenses. The cost incurred is chiefly that of the dinners and lunches. This may seem at first sight exorbitant at about £4,800 in the six months October 1979 to March 1980. Cheaper ways of entertaining the persons concerned are being sought but it seems improbable that the men and women concerned can as cheaply, conveniently and comfortably be fed as they can at the Centre at about a head £5 - £6, or £50 to £60 for a group of ten persons. Dinners at the Centre can be more easily a working dinner than in a restaurant. We are also trying to arrange that, as has been possible in the case of some groups, the chairmen or members act as hosts either in their companies or their houses.

Publications

11. New publications between May 1979 and May 1980 have been my History, Capitalism and Freedom; Kingsley Amis's An Arts Policy?; Robert Miller's Measuring Money: the inadequacy of the present tool; and Michael Grylls's and John Redwood's NEB: A Case for Euthanasia. There have also been some reprints: Monetarism is not enough and Conditions for fuller employment by Sir Keith Joseph, and Lessons from Europe by Max Wilkinson.

12. The year since the election has not been, therefore, a particularly active one for publications. The reason was a certain hiatus in the Centre's work immediately after the election of 1979, due to lack of certainty, for a time, about the future of the Centre. 1980/81, however, looks likely to be an active period for publishing; not only are there two or three interesting papers in the process of publication (Second thoughts on regional policy by Graham Hallett; Land in a free society by Donald Denman; and a paper, as yet untitled, on local government finance by Roland Freeman) but there will also be a revised edition of the Bibliography of Freedom, while each study group will present a report which they will probably want to publish (e.g. the Litmus papers edited by Arthur Seldon, from the Health Group). Considering that the cost of publishing and promoting the most modest booklets reaches sometimes to £3,000, it can be seen that the proposed publishing budget of £15,000 may easily be surpassed.

13. The overall cost of the publishing programme in 1980/81 will probably be £25,000 (including the fee of the publications consultant; and other salaries). We may be able to secure specific backing for specific subjects. We shall try and interest commercial publishers. In the end, it may prove best to collaborate more closely with the Conservative political Centre and other party publishing organisations, perhaps leading to the diminution of this specific activity here.

The difficulty about that course is that

- (a) the Centre's identity is most often articulated in its books;
- (b) the study groups are connected with the publishing programme.

14. Propagation of the economic policies of the free market

These propaganda activities have occupied a smaller part in our concerns than they did before the election. But a number of small groups have been formed ad hoc. This activity may play a bigger part in 1980/1981.

Staff

15. In 1980/81, the Centre will probably have one fully paid senior member of staff (Alfred), a part-time publisher (Patricia Kirwan), a Secretary, appropriate secretaries and a part-time consultant (Simon Webley). My recommendation is that Gerald Frost's replacement as Secretary be at a lower level than he has been.

Finance

16. The Centre's cost between May 1979 and May 1980 seems to have been (before auditing) about £112,000: £72,000 on salaries and National Insurance Contributions; £12,000 on publications; £10,000 on study groups (chiefly on dinners and lunches for contributors) and the rest on overheads. This sum will, we hope, be kept down to something like that level in future by substituting a less senior person as Secretary when Gerald Frost leaves us.

17. However many ways can be found, however, of cutting costs in this Centre, there are minimum sums needed to keep any institution going. Once it is accepted that an institution is needed and useful, it ought to have more than one function, and more than one centre of influence.

18. Nigel Vinson is leaving the Centre better off in 1980 than it has ever been, with a good deal of cash in hand but there are just one or two signs that the money may not be flowing in so easily because of business's difficulties this year. We are, therefore, very fortunate, I think, to have gained the support of Sir Nicholas Cayzer who, we believe, will be our Treasurer from July onwards.

19. The best way of cutting the Centre's budget in any major way while retaining it as an institution would be to abolish the publishing side. This might affect the study groups' motivation adversely but

the Centre's name is probably firmly enough established now for it not to suffer from excessive "loss of identity" if the publishing side were cut. Such a cut would reduce the Centre's cost at least by £24,000 in 1980/81 and no doubt by more in following years. Even if this were not done now, the idea should be held as an idea in reserve as the best long term choice for cutting the Centre's costs. I hope this does not, however, need to be done for the moment.

Hugh Thomas

June 1980

APPENDIX I.
CENTRE FOR POLICY STUDIES LIMITED

STATEMENT OF EXPENDITURE

UNAUDITED

SIX MONTHS ENDED 31 MARCH 1980

PUBLICATION AND PRESS RELEASE EXPENDITURE

Printers and publishers' fees, press release expenses and research fees	3,352
Authors' fees	100
Layout and artwork fees	2,001
Sales commission	150
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	5,603
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OTHER EXPENSES

Directors' remuneration	9,875
Salaries and national insurance	17,232
Secretarial services	767
Consultancy fees	1,533
Advertising	198
Travel expenses	3,261
Entertaining	4,839
Seminar and conference expenses less fees received	361
Printing and stationery	1,326
Postage	1,050
Telephone	1,114
Publications and newspapers	979
Subscriptions	99
Insurance	59
Sundry expenses	164
Rent and rates	1,747
Light and heat	331
Repairs and maintenance	2,433
Laundry and cleaning	224
Audit and accountancy	1,285
Bank interest and charges	10
Office equipment hire	1,668
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	50,555
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TOTAL

£56,158

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CENTRE FOR POLICY STUDIES

STUDY GROUPS

Peter Utley - Chairman
Leader Writer Daily Telegraph

Kingsley Amis - Novelist

Dr. Digby Anderson - Director of Social Studies Unit

Udi Eichler - TV Producer

Elizabeth Jane Howard (Mrs Amis) - Novelist

Bernice Martin - Dept. of Sociology, Bedford College

Roger Scruton - Reader in Philosophy

EDUCATION GROUP

Caroline Cox - Chairman
Sociologist, author of 'The Rape of Reason' and Director
Nursing Education Research Unit, Chelsea College

Dr. John Marks (Secretary) - Reader in Physics,
Polytechnic of North London

Mr Digby Anderson - as above

Professor Stanislaw Andreski - Sociology Dept.,
University of Reading

Vivian Anthony - Headmaster Colfe's School

Professor Brian Cox - English Literature, University of
Manchester. One time editor of Black Papers and Critical
Quarterly

Professor Anthony Flew - Dept. of Philosophy, University
of Reading

Cont./...

EDUCATION GROUP Continued

Professor Julius Gould - Sociology, University of Nottingham

Alan Grant - Senior Lecturer in Public Administration, Oxford Polytechnic

June Lait - Lecturer in Social Work, Swansea

Patricia Morgan - Author

Fred Naylor - former member of Schools Council

Marjorie Seldon - Secretary of FEVER, Friends of the Educational Voucher in Representative Regions

ENERGY LUNCHEON GROUP

Eric Sharp CBE - Chairman Energy Luncheon Group
Chairman, Monsanto (UK) Ltd., President Chemical Industries Asscn.

Duncan Burn - Retired Civil Servant; Former Times Industrial Correspondent; Special Adviser to Select Committee on Energy

Professor Christopher Foster - Coopers & Lybrand Assocs Ltd.

Leslie Grainger - ex N.C.B.

Professor David Henderson - Economics, UCL.

Terence Price - Director of Uranium Institute; former Scientific Servant

Dr Keith Williams - Technology & Resources, Shell

The Rt Hon David Howell, MP attends the Luncheon Group

ENTERPRISE CULTURE GROUP

Terence Price - as above
Mr Digby Anderson - as above
Professor Stanislav Andreski - as above
Lord Boyd-Carpenter - Chairman Rugby Portland Cement
Professor Anthony Flew - as above
Professor Julius Gould - as above
Dr Leslie Hannah - Business History LSE
Jan Hildreth - former Director IOD; Industrial Manager
Mrs June Lait - as above
Ray Whitney, MP

HEALTH GROUP

George Bunton - Chairman
Harley Street and UCH Surgeon; leading figure in
Teaching Hospital Group
Nigel Moran (Secretary)
Professor Roger Eddison - Operational Research
Hugh Elwell - Medical Insurance Expert
Michail Lee - Computer Expert
Andrew Moncreiff - Insurance Specialist
Dr John Noble - BMA
Dr Francis Piggott - Under Secretary BMA
Arthur Seldon - Co-Director IEA
George Teeling-Smith - Director, Office of Health Economics

LAND AND PLANNING/HOUSING GROUP (Held at The Grosvenor Estates)

Arthur Jones former MP - Chairman

Paul Clarke (Secretary) - Grosvenor Estates

Tim Forse - Land Economist, Cambridge; Coopers & Lybrand

Stuart Hibberdine - Daniel Smith, Briant & Done

John Hollamby - Partner, Chestertons

John (Jimmy) James - Trustee of Grosvenor Estates and
President of RICS Consultant to CPS

Patricia Kirwan, GLC - CPS

Robert Martin - Director of Architecture & Planning,
Kensington & Chelsea

John Meering - Surveyor, Calthorpe Estate

Christopher Wates - Managing Director, Wates Group

Alfred Wood - Chief Planner, West Midlands Council

NATIONALISED INDUSTRIES GROUP

Simon Webley - Chairman
Director of British North American Research Association;
Consultant to CPS

Christopher Bailey - Managing Director, Bristol Channel
Ship Repairers

Jock Bruce-Gardyne MP

Michael Grylls, MP

John Hatch - Management Consultant

Terence Price - as above

John Redwood - Fellow All Souls; Merchant Banker

Denis Thatcher

PERSONAL CAPITAL FORMATION GROUP

- Nigel Vinson - Chairman
Entrepreneur; Co-founder of CPS
- Philip Bayliss - Asscn. of Independent Businesses;
Hugill & Co Ltd
- Wallace Bell - Director, IPA
- Philip Chappell - Vice-Chairman Morgan Grenfell Holdings
- David Cooksey - Managing Director, Intercobra Ltd
- Ken Daly - Manager American Life Ins.
- Duncan Fitzwilliams - Foreign and Colonial Investment
Trust Ltd
- Michael Grylls, MP
- Peter Hordern, MP
- Brian Kingham - Chairman Asscn. Independent Businesses;
Reliance Services
- Anthony Wieler - Anthony Wieler & Co Ltd
- David Young - Chairman, Property Services Ltd

TABLEAU ECONOMIQUE

- Professor Lord Vaizey - Chairman
Economist and author
- The Hon Christopher Monckton (Secretary) - Editor,
The Universe
- Tim Congdon - Economic Adviser; Author of "Monetarism"
and other economic studies
- Professor Samuel Eilon - Imperial College Treasurer
Salisbury Group
- Professor Christopher Foster - as above
- Ronald Fowler CBE - Former Chief Statistician, Ministry
of Labour
- Alex Rubner - Author of 'The Price of a Free Lunch - The
Perverse Relationship between Economists and Politicians';
Economic Adviser

TABLEAU ECONOMIQUE Continued

Sir Charles Pickthorn - retired Merchant Banker

TRADE UNION REFORM COMMITTEE

Sir Leonard Neal - Chairman
Former Trade Union Official; Industrial Relations
Consultant, Marks & Spencer Ltd

Lionel Bloch - Solicitor

John Bowis - Director of Community Affairs, CCO

Robert Flach - Barrister

Malcolm Hoppe - AIMS

Paul McCormick - Author, one time Democratic Labour
campaigner in Newham

Pamela Thomas - Barrister; Hon. Sec. Conservative
Lawyers Association

Ray Whitney, MP

TRANSPORT (RAILWAY CONVERSION) GROUP

Dr Keith Williams - Chairman (as above)

Angus Dalgleish - Engineer, Chairman Railway Conversion
League

Professor Peter Hall - Geography, University of Reading

Brig. Tom Lloyd CBE DSO MC - President of Railway
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Nigel Seymer - Transport Engineer

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Alfred Sherman

DATES OF MEETINGS 1980

January

February

March

April

May

June

July

August

September

October

November

December

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Alfred Sherman

Hugh Thomas

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