

# **Cold War & Peace Movement**

**The 'Peace movement' in Britain in the final stages of the Cold War  
(mid-1970s – mid-1980s)**

**By**

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## Foreword

It is a privilege to be in a position to have commissioned the research from Pavel Strojilov which has led to the publication of this document. Pavel is a remarkable young man. He liberated thousands of documents from the Soviet archives which throw important light on how some members of the political elite of Britain and other European countries, and their associates, were prepared to betray their own countries. They did this during the most dangerous confrontation between the communist tyranny of the Soviet Union and western liberal democracy.

When the Cold War came to an end in 1991, we in the democratic West may have all breathed a collective sigh of relief and looked forward to spending the 'peace dividend' on more palatable things than nuclear arsenals. But what happened to the communist sympathizers and collaborators in the West who worked to undermine its defences? Did they accept defeat and retire into obscurity? Were they unmasked and confronted with their own treachery? Sadly not, many of those involved have continued in, or have since achieved, positions of power and influence.

The growth of the European Union has given such people a new power base from which to operate. Just look at the make-up of the European Commissioners (the de facto European Government) of 2004-2010 and the new Commission 2010-2014. Both included a significant number of ex-communist party members and apparatchiks from the old Soviet bloc.

How sweet it must be for such as Baroness Cathy Ashton! She was once Treasurer for CND, an organisation classified by MI5 as 'communist and subversive'. CND was, knowingly or unknowingly, the Soviet Union's fifth-column, and its senior members were either traitors or what Lenin called "useful idiots". Baroness Ashton is now the 'High Representative of the European Union's Foreign, Security & Defence Policy'. She, who would have unilaterally removed Britain's nuclear defences, will now direct the foreign and defence policy of Europe's nuclear powers: Britain and France.

The European Commission is substantially composed of communists, collaborators and quislings. Such people should not be considered fit to take part in democratic politics at any level yet they now hold the reins of power in Europe. Following the revelations of Pavel Strojilov's excellent work we cannot say we did not know or were not warned.

Gerard Batten MEP  
UK Independence Party  
London, February 2010.

## Introduction and overview of sources

The early 1980s saw a sudden and rapid expansion of the world-wide 'peace movement' demanding unilateral nuclear disarmament of the West. If the anti-nuclear demos attracted no more than 10-20 thousands of people in late 1979 – early 1980, by the end of 1980 the figures grew to 80-100 thousands. By autumn 1981, the peace marches numbered 350,000 in Bonn, 250,000 in Brussels, up to 250,000 in London, about half a million in Rome, 400,000 in Amsterdam, about 100,000 in Copenhagen, 30-40 thousands in Bern, and at least 10,000 even in tiny Norway. As the campaign culminated in December 1983, there were up to 1 million 'peace protesters' in the streets of West Germany, 600,000 in Rome, 300-400 thousands in London and up to half a million in Brussels and The Hague.

Considerable evidence that this campaign was secretly orchestrated from Moscow was available even at the time. If nothing else, there was simply no other explanation for its sudden eruption, while its timing and direction were obviously in the Soviet interest. Furthermore, on a number of occasions Soviet agents were caught red-handed. In 1981 a leading 'peace campaigner' in Denmark, Arne Petersen, was arrested along with his wife for channelling KGB money into the campaign, while their KGB controller in the Soviet embassy, Vladimir Merkulov, was expelled from the country. The same year, two Soviet diplomats were expelled from Norway for attempting to bribe Norwegian citizens to participate in anti-nuclear demonstrations. Vadim Leonov, a correspondent for the official Soviet news agency TASS in the Netherlands, was expelled for his activities in the Dutch peace movement. Leonov reportedly boasted: "*If Moscow decides that 50,000 demonstrators must take to the streets in the Netherlands, than they take to the streets. A message through my channels is sufficient.*" In 1982 two KGB officers, Yuri Babaints and Mikhail Morozov, were expelled from Portugal for trying to incite 'peace riots' against NATO. There were further expulsions from various Western countries in 1983.<sup>1</sup>

A massive body of evidence of Soviet manipulation of the peace movement in Britain, as well as other Western countries, was accumulated at the time, and much of it published. Further evidence became available after the collapse of the Soviet Union, from the top secret documents from Soviet archives obtained by Vladimir Bukovsky and others. The modest task of this work is to put the newly available

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<sup>1</sup> Chapman Pincher. *The Secret Offensive*. Sidgwick and Jackson, London, 1985. P. 235

archival material into the context of known historical facts about the 'peace campaign' in Britain. Respectively, my two principal sources are the relevant sections of the Bukovsky Archive, and the most comprehensive study of the British peace campaign published in 1980s: *"Peace" of the Dead. The truth behind the nuclear disarmers* by Paul Mercer (Policy Research Publications, 1986). Some additional material from other published and archival sources is used as well, most notably Chapman Pincher's 1985 book *The Secret Offensive. Active measures: a saga of Deception, Disinformation, Subversion, Terrorism, Sabotage and Assassination*; Vladimir Bukovsky's 1980s pamphlets *The Peace Movement and the Soviet Union* and *Peace as a Political Weapon* as well as his more recent book *Judgement in Moscow* (regrettably, still unpublished in English); contemporary and recent press articles; the archives of the CPSU International Department (Comintern) in Moscow and the archives of the Communist Party of Great Britain in Manchester.

The detailed story of the Bukovsky Archive is told in Mr. Bukovsky's own book *Jugement a Moscou. Un dissident dans les archivus du Kremlin* (Editions Robert Laffont, S. A., Paris, 1995), where the most important of its documents are also publicised. Most of the original archive in Russian is also available on the Internet (<http://psi.ece.jhu.edu/~kaplan/IRUSS/BUK/GBARC/buk.html>), and the references below use the web-site numeration to identify documents.

## **1. Cold War and nuclear deterrent**

To understand the essence and implications of unilateralism, we have to revisit the basic parameters of the Cold War and the role of the nuclear deterrent in the East-West relations. Contrary to popular belief, a purely military conquest was not the Kremlin's preferred method of expansion. The communist doctrine envisaged 'the liberation of mankind from the shackles of capitalism' resulting from 'class struggle', not from nuclear holocaust. This meant revolutions and revolutionary wars, which would bring to power the 'victorious proletariat', i. e. the Soviet fifth column. It was for the 'friends' – local communists and other 'progressive forces' – to begin the 'liberation'. The Soviet army might come to their aid only in the end, so as to ensure the final victory.

Hence were such objectives of the Soviet foreign policy as "*to strengthen the positions of world socialism, to create beneficial conditions for the activities of the international communist, workers and national liberation movement*" – or, simply put, destabilisation of the free world. In this respect, the Soviet military threat was important because it created

insecurity and instability, made Europe dependant on the Soviet dictate, and intimidated the public into supporting the political forces ostensibly capable of coming to terms with Moscow. In other words, the Soviet foreign policy was a policy of blackmail rather than murder. Respectively, the Western defence was about public confidence in security rather than the actual defence, and the whole arms race was about projection of force rather than direct application of force.

Certainly, an arms race against a huge militaristic empire presented the Western democracies with a major challenge. Unlike the Soviets, they could not possibly mobilise the entire population and all the material resources for the purposes of the Cold War. Therefore, the huge superiority of the Soviet bloc in conventional forces was inevitable. The only solution for the West was to maintain effective defences on the basis of advanced technology rather than the sheer size of military force. Hence the vital importance of the nuclear deterrent for NATO and the security of Europe.

The nuclear weapons made a direct Third World War pointless and, therefore, practically impossible. However, deterring the Soviet attack by a threat of blowing-up the whole world obviously had important political drawbacks. The permanent danger of a nuclear holocaust caused a lot of fear with the public – the fear which the Soviets fully exploited in their ‘peace offensive’. Considerable forces in the West took the view that appeasement was the best option in the nuclear age, and even the danger of subjecting Europe to the Soviet dictate (‘Finlandisation’), was still a lesser evil compared to the horrible dangers of confrontation: ‘better red than dead’.

The new generation of tactical nuclear weapons, developed in the 1970s, caused much worry in Moscow precisely because it provided a technological solution to the central dilemma of the Cold War defence. In case of war, those weapons could be used with far fewer civilian casualties. Far from blowing up the whole world, they would target the invading Soviet forces with high accuracy. In the practical context of the Cold War rather than a hypothetical military conflict, the West would be able to ensure its security unilaterally, without any appeasement or horse-trading on one hand or increasing the risk of nuclear holocaust on the other. The Soviet superiority in conventional forces would become irrelevant, the Soviet threat significantly reduced, and the prospects of Finlandisation would be no longer realistic.

On 14 December 1975 the KGB Chief, Yuri Andropov, submitted a top secret memorandum to the Central Committee *On possible political and military consequences of the development and deployment of high-precision tactical weapons* (see Appendix 1), which provides an interesting insight into the strategic thinking of the Soviet leaders. Andropov warned that high-precision weapons, such as Pershing-2 missiles, could be equipped with low-yield nuclear warheads, and “*be able to hit major targets without significant damage to civilian objects or significant civilian casualties*”. These new weapons, which could be deployed as early as in the beginning of 1980s, would enable the defending side to resist even the superior forces of the enemy, and reduce the likelihood of battlefield nuclear weapons being used in case of war. Andropov points out that the development of those weapons would strengthen NATO and increase confidence in its capability to defend Europe from a Soviet invasion. Interestingly, no concerns about the security of the Soviet Union were raised, as the purely defensive nature of NATO preparations was evident.

Apparently, such concerns as those expressed in Andropov’s report prompted the Kremlin to use its old political weapon – the peace campaign – to prevent modernisation of NATO defences.

## **2. ‘Peace campaign’: the Soviet preparations**

The Soviets, indeed, had had a long history of organising peace movements in the enemy’s rear. The Bolsheviks themselves had originally come to power as a German-sponsored peace movement in Russian rear during the First World War. In their own Cold War against the West, they used the same technique which once brought them to power.

It was a personal initiative of Stalin to create a worldwide ‘movement of peace supporters’ in 1949 to campaign for the abolition of nuclear weapons under the auspices of the Soviet-controlled ‘World Peace Council’. Such was the beginning of the ‘first wave’ of the European ‘peace movement’, triggered by the famous ‘Stockholm Appeal’ (also issued on Stalin’s personal initiative), in the 1950s. In the subsequent decades, Moscow used the World Peace Council and its network of national ‘Peace Committees’ all over the world to organise various international public campaigns, especially to oppose further modernisation of NATO defences.

The World Peace Council was fully controlled from the CPSU (Communist Party of the Soviet Union) Central Committee's International Department – the successor organisation of the infamous Comintern. For convenience, I call the International Department by its old name, Comintern, even when discussing its work in 1970s and 1980s below.

The World Peace Council was originally based in Paris, but in 1951 it was expelled from France for 'fifth-column activities' and moved to Vienna where, in 1957, it also received an expulsion order 'for activities directed against the interests of the Austrian State'.<sup>2</sup> For the rest of the Cold War, the WPC operated from Helsinki.

The WPC and British Peace Committee, like other communist-controlled 'fronts', were on the Labour Party's list of proscribed organisations until it was abolished in 1973. In theory, no member of a proscribed organisation could be a member of the Labour Party.

The Soviet secret archives show that in mid-1970s Moscow began steady preparations for another worldwide 'peace campaign'. Politburo decision dated 21 May 1976 defined its objectives as follows:

*"The worldwide campaign to stop the arms race and for disarmament is an important public and political action, which would help to promote the peace-loving foreign policies of the USSR and countries of socialist commonwealth with the international public, to create a wide public front in support of the Soviet initiatives to stop the arms race and for disarmament, and to isolate the militarist forces of imperialism and Maoism struggling to undermine the process of détente."*<sup>3</sup>

At this initial stage, the campaign was openly controlled by the Soviet state, and organised around the World Peace Council's appeal for disarmament. The World Peace Council and the Communist Parties were tasked with waging the campaign in the West. On 8 July 1976, the Kremlin instructed the Soviet Ambassadors in 58 foreign states, including the UK, to convey the following message to the leaders of local communist parties:

*"[...] Vigorous campaigning by wide sections of the public against the arms race and for disarmament can – and must – become an important factor to stimulate progress in strengthening the détente [...] The Central*

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<sup>2</sup> Chapman Pincher. *The Secret Offensive*. P. 232

<sup>3</sup> Bukovsky Archive, 8/0808-4

*Committee highly appreciates the initiative of the World Peace Council to launch a worldwide campaign to stop the arms race and for disarmament.*

*“As you know, in June 1975, at the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the historic Stockholm Appeal for prohibition of nuclear weapons, the Presidium of World Peace Council met in Stockholm to appeal to parliaments, governments, public organisations and movements to help stop the arms race and to help disarmament. The World conference of national peace movements’ representatives (Leningrad, November 1975) unanimously supported the WPC Appeal and decided to launch a mass campaign for realisation of its demands in 1976.*

*“According to our information, the WPC Appeal finds support in wide circles of peace-loving forces. In many countries, signatures are being collected; meetings, conferences, rallies and other events are held in support of its demands – subject to the specific environments in which the peace supporters operate.*

*“All this shows that there are good opportunities to develop an active mass campaign for deepening the détente by controlling and stopping the arms race, cutting military expenditure, and taking disarmament measures. This campaign seems particularly relevant and timely in the situation when reactionary and aggressive imperialist forces are increasing their efforts to undermine the détente, demanding rise in military expenditure. [...] We assume that communists in every country can make a big contribution to ensure success of the worldwide campaign to stop the arms race and for disarmament.”<sup>4</sup>*

In general, the second half of the 1970s was the time of very thorough preparations for the future crescendo of the campaign. Suffice it to say that the Soviet Union and its client states ensured that the United Nations General Assembly held a special session on disarmament in 1978, which passed very alarmist statements against nuclear weapons. Subsequently, the UN designated the 1980s as ‘the decade of disarmament’.

Meanwhile, the World Peace Council structures were reorganised and adapted to the new task ahead. In mid-1970s<sup>5</sup>, the WPC formed a broader

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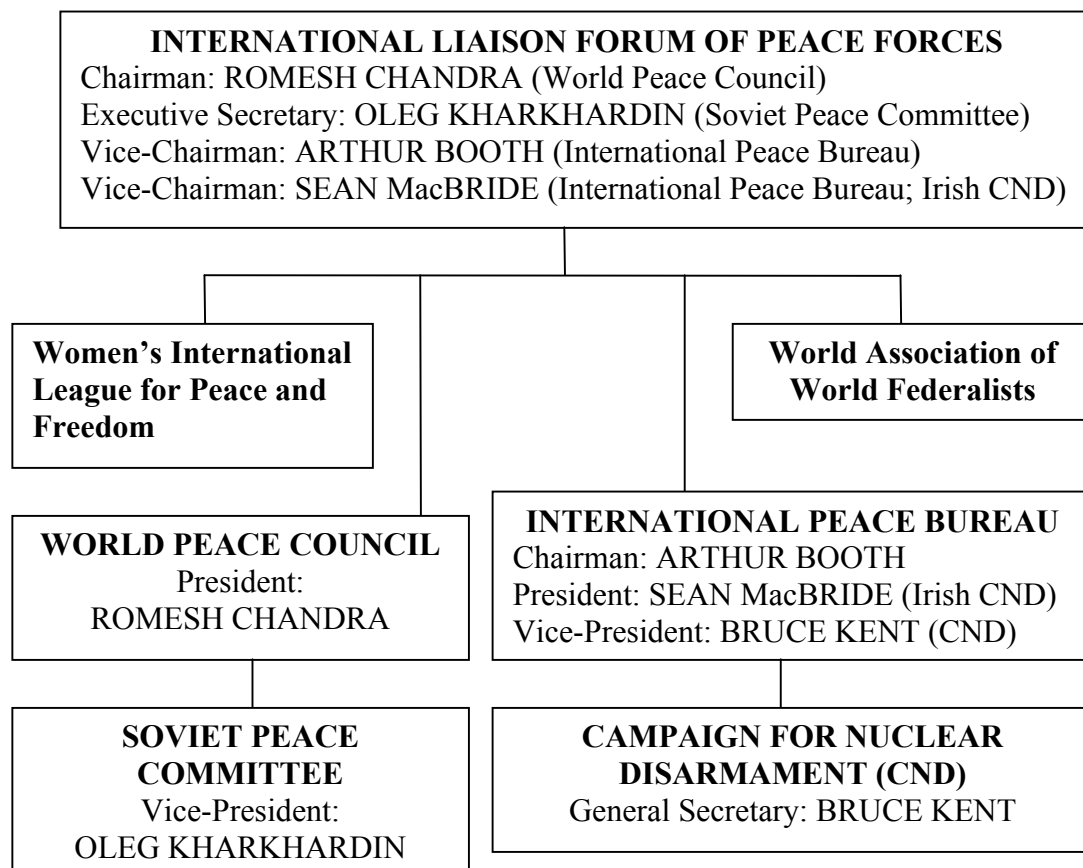
<sup>4</sup> Bukovsky Archive, 8/0808-5

<sup>5</sup> The organisation was first formed in 1973 as the Continuing Liaison Committee of the World Forum of Peace Forces. In January 1977, it was re-organised as the International Liaison Forum of Peace Forces.

international front organisation, the International Liaison Forum of Peace Forces, with the WPC President Romesh Chandra as its Chairman and Soviet Peace Committee Vice-President Oleg Kharkhardin as Executive Secretary. The Liaison Forum had the following affiliates:

- World Peace Council;
- World Association of World Federalists;
- Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom;
- International Peace Bureau (IPB).

This link between the Soviet-controlled World Peace Council and the ostensibly independent International Peace Bureau continued throughout the peak of ‘peace campaign’ in early 1980s. It is of particular interest to us because the UK Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) was affiliated to the International Peace Bureau, and the CND General Secretary Bruce Kent was also the IPB Vice-President.<sup>6</sup> In 1983, Kent described the IPB as the CND’s “*major global link-up*”.<sup>7</sup>



<sup>6</sup> Mercer, p.p. 90-91

<sup>7</sup> *Campaign!* [CND newsletter], Nov. 1983; quoting from Mercer, p. 125

The World Peace Council's national groups, such as the British Peace Committee (BPC), were re-organised in a similar way. The British Peace Committee, chaired by Labour MP Joan 'Stalin's Granny' Maynard, was an openly pro-Soviet body, and at least 30 of its 44 full members were also members of the Communist Party. In a rather unsuccessful attempt to shake off its pro-Soviet image, in 1973 the BPC formed a wider front organisation, the All-Britain Peace Liaison Group.<sup>8</sup> In January 1980, the ABPLG was re-organised as the British Peace Assembly (BPA).<sup>9</sup>

### 3. 'Neutron bomb' campaign

The first trial of strength was the 1977-1978 campaign to stop the production and deployment of the Enhanced Radiation Warhead, more commonly known as the 'neutron bomb'. Like the high-precision weapons, it represented the new generation of advanced nuclear armaments negating the Soviet superiority in conventional forces. In case of war, the 'neutron bomb' could be used to kill Soviet tank crews without devastating the surrounding countryside as severely as the battlefield nuclear weapons would do. As importantly, it produces little radioactive fall-out, and therefore is much less dangerous to civilians in the long term.

In spite of the neutron bomb's evidently defensive nature, Moscow launched a full-scale propaganda campaign against it, with the peace protesters in the West as an openly pro-Soviet *corps de ballet*. The first trial of strength was an easy victory: in a few months, the plans for production of the 'neutron bomb' were unilaterally cancelled by the United States.

At that stage, indeed, very little effort was made to conceal the 'hand of Moscow' directing the campaign. It was openly led by the World Peace Council and Communist Parties, and mainly consisted of supporting the official Soviet propaganda statements. The campaign began on 30 July 1977 with the official Soviet news agency TASS, issuing a statement attacking the U.S. Administration. The World Peace Council announced a 'Week of Action' against the neutron bomb commencing 6 August. On 9 August, *Pravda* published an appeal by 28 Communist Parties condemning the 'neutron bomb'. The next stage began in January 1978 after Leonid Brezhnev wrote to all the Western heads of governments threatening that the deployment of 'neutron bomb' would "*pose a grave threat to détente*". That was followed with an avalanche of similar letters

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<sup>8</sup> Mercer, p.p. 101-102

<sup>9</sup> Mercer, p. 107

from members of the Supreme Soviet to Western parliamentarians, from Soviet ‘trade union’ officials to Western trade unions, etc. So, the official Moscow was openly setting the pace of the campaign. It took just several public protests in the US and some European countries, most notably in Netherlands, to make President Carter postpone the production and deployment of the ‘neutron bomb’ until an unspecified future date.

In September 1978, the Soviet Peace Committee and the Comintern secretly reported to the Kremlin on the details of the successful campaign organised by the World Peace Council, which (the Comintern memo notes) “*returned big moral and political dividends and influenced the international public opinion in our interests*”. The WPC expenses, however, had exceeded the plan, and developing the success in Europe and the US would incur further costs. The WPC therefore requested an additional Soviet contribution of \$150,000 for the remainder of the current year, and 100 Aeroflot flights to be reserved for transportation of peace activists for various international events. The request was duly satisfied. (See Appendix 2).

Indeed, the organisational structures created for the ‘neutron bomb’ campaign were preserved and developed in the following years. Thus, the Dutch ‘Stop the Neutron Bomb’ campaign, launched by the Communist Party of Netherlands in August 1977, continued to exist as a Communist-controlled organisation for many years, and enjoyed considerable influence within the international ‘peace movement’. As we shall see below, ‘Stop the Neutron Bomb’ played a considerable role in the revival of the CND in late 1970s and early 1980s (see Chapter 6).

After President Reagan announced his decision to go ahead with the production of the ‘neutron bomb’ in 1980, the campaign against it was re-launched on 5 February 1981. On that day, the following four statements were made:

- Romesh Chandra, the President of the **World Peace Council**, declared February a ‘month of action against the neutron bomb’;
- **Pravda** published an article attacking the ‘neutron bomb’;
- **Morning Star** called for a “*new and second campaign against this most horrible of weapons*”;
- **The Labour Party** issued a statement announcing it would campaign “in co-operation with fellow-socialists throughout Europe, to ensure that this foul weapon is rejected.”<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Mercer, p. 101

In actual fact, however, the second campaign against the ‘neutron bomb’ never gained much prominence, as it was overshadowed by more important campaigns: those against the deployment of Cruise and Pershing missiles and later against the Trident programme.

#### **4. The 1980 decisions**

In December 1979, NATO took a decision to modernise its intermediate-range nuclear forces by deployment of new generation missiles – Cruise and Pershing 2 – in Europe. The measure was the Western response to the Soviet deployment of SS-20 missiles targeted on Western Europe from 1977 onwards. However, Moscow saw the deployment of Cruise and Pershing as such a major blow to the Soviet military superiority that the whole ‘peace campaign’ was urgently intensified and focused on those missiles.

On 15 April 1980 the Kremlin approved a top secret *Plan of additional measures to activate public protests against NATO decisions regarding production and deployment of new US missiles in Western Europe*. The plan was proposed by the Comintern and Foreign Propaganda Department, and accompanied by a 3-page *Instruction to Soviet representatives in international democratic organisations*. Unfortunately, those documents are not accessible in Russian archives. We know of their existence from the top secret decision of the Central Committee approving the Comintern proposals – that decision is available in the Bukovsky Archive. The text of the decision does not reveal full details of the plan, but shows the approximate timetable:

*“The Soviet public organisations must fully exploit the planned contacts and exchanges with West European countries and the additional proposals of the Soviet embassies in those countries in order to ensure that the campaign against NATO militaristic plans grows steadily and reaches the highest intensity by the time of the spring session of the NATO governing bodies in May-June of the current year.”*<sup>11</sup>

Further important decisions on the conduct of the campaign were taken at the secret meeting of Comintern Chief Boris Ponomaryov with his opposite numbers from 5 other Warsaw Pact countries (Poland, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Bulgaria) in Budapest on 14-16

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<sup>11</sup> Bukovsky Archive, 8/0828

July 1980. As was the usual practice with the most sensitive Warsaw Pact discussions, Romanians were excluded.

Ahead of the meeting, on 21 May 1980, its East German participant G. Aksen wrote a letter to Ponomaryov outlining his views on the agenda. Point 3 in the Russian translation of the letter reads:

*“The questions of coordination of international mass public movements for peace and security. Apart from the means of diplomacy, support from a broad mass movement is necessary to achieve realisation of our common objectives. To a considerable extent, however, the broadness and effectiveness of that movement depend on whether we can ensure that very broad peace-loving forces – far beyond the movement directed by the World Peace Council – take action aimed at achieving the key objective, i. e. continuing détente and eliminating the threat of nuclear war. Currently, numerous meetings of peace supporters take place without coordination. As for their composition and preparation, it often demonstrates a very narrow political approach. We think it appropriate for our parties to reach an agreement on the key problems of the worldwide peace movement strategy and tactics, and on the most important international actions.”<sup>12</sup>*

A separate 4-page memo elaborating on that point was enclosed to the letter (see Appendix 3). It criticised the World Peace Council for the failure to disguise its pro-Soviet nature, thus antagonising more moderate peace campaigners. As a result, the global peace campaign remained largely uncoordinated. It was necessary, the East Germans wrote, to arrange for closer collaboration with such organisations as International Peace Bureau, US ‘Mobilization for Survival’, Dutch ‘Stop the Neutron Bomb’ or British CND. In particular, the next major event in the ‘peace campaign’ schedule - the ‘World Parliament of Peoples for Peace’ in September 1980 in Sofia - had to be organised as a broadly-based gathering rather than on openly World Peace Council event.

As a result of that new emphasis on broadness, the rise of the worldwide campaign was accelerated, and the actual ‘World Parliament’ became a considerably bigger event than originally planned. It brought together 2,260 peace activists from 137 countries, claiming to represent 330 political parties, 100 international and over 3,000 national NGOs. The political spectrum of those represented was much wider than usual: 200 members of various national parliaments, 200 trade-union leaders, 129

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<sup>12</sup> Courtesy of Vladimir Bukovsky. See also: Vladimir Boukovsky. *Jugement a Moscou. Un dissident dans les archives du Kremlin*. Editions Robert Laffont, S. A., Paris, 1995.

leading socialists and social-democrats (33 of them members of their respective NECs), 150 writers and poets, 33 representatives of various ‘liberation movements’ (e. g. Northern Ireland’s Association in Defence of Civil Rights), 18 representatives of UN specialised committees and commissions, representatives of the OPEC, Organisation of African Unity, religious organisations (e. g. World Council of Churches), women’s organisations (e. g. National Assembly of British Women), youth organisations, ex-militaries including some generals, and of course, representatives of 83 communist parties.<sup>13</sup> Among others, the gathering was attended by CND National Organiser Sally Davison.<sup>14</sup>

That gathering, Vladimir Bukovsky observes, “*was to use its authority to cover Moscow’s decisions in exactly the same way as dummy banks launder ‘dirty money’*”.<sup>15</sup> Indeed, all the Soviet-drafted documents, such as the 1981 Programme of Action, were unanimously adopted by the ‘Parliament’. Subsequently, a big effort was made to ensure that similar plans were adopted by other ‘peace organisations’, including the ostensibly independent ones. Thus, the Kremlin’s decision dated 18 November 1980 *On measures for further activation of the peace-loving public’s campaigning in the light of the results of World Parliament of Peoples for Peace* instructs the Soviet organisations and “*progressive organisations in non-socialist part of the world*” as follows: “*Pay particular attention to the upcoming extended meeting of the International Liaison Forum of Peace Forces in January 1981 in Vienna, in order to strengthen and develop the existing collaboration between various political parties and mass organisations on anti-war platform*”.<sup>16</sup>

As we remember, the International Liaison Forum of Peace Forces coordinated the activities of the pro-Soviet World Peace Council system and the ostensibly independent Western organisations of the International Peace Bureau system, such as the CND.

## **5. CND and the Communist Party**

The central role in the 1980-1983 campaign in Britain was played by the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND). Naturally, this raised the

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<sup>13</sup> *Pravda*, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29 September, 5 November 1980; *Izvestia*, 23, 24, 27, 28 September 1980; quoting from: Francis Schaeffer, Vladimir Bukovsky, James Hitchcock. *Who is for Peace?* Thomas Nelson Publishers, 1983, p. 60

<sup>14</sup> Mercer, p. 170

<sup>15</sup> Vladimir Boukovsky. *Jugement a Moscou. Un dissident dans les archives du Kremlin*. Editions Robert Laffont, S. A., Paris, 1995.

<sup>16</sup> Bukovsky Archive, 8/0845

question of whether, and to what extent, the organisation was Soviet-backed or Soviet-controlled.

In a sense, this question has only limited significance. The CND became an umbrella organisation for virtually all ‘peace campaigning’ in Britain in that period, and certainly included a wide range of activists – from communists and Soviet agents of influence to *bona fide* idealistic pacifists. CND was a fairly typical Western peace movement, about which Vladimir Bukovsky wrote at the time:

*“There are plenty of well-intentioned, and genuinely concerned and frightened people in the movement’s ranks. I am certain that the overwhelming majority of them are. Just as it did in the 1950s, the movement today probably consists of the same odd mixture of communists, fellow-travellers, muddle-headed intellectuals, hypocrites seeking popularity, professional political speculators, frightened bourgeois and youth eager to rebel just for the sake of rebelling. There are also the inevitable Catholic priests with a ‘mission’ and other religious people who believe that God has chosen them to make peace on earth right now. But there is also not the slightest doubt that this motley crowd is manipulated by a handful of scoundrels instructed directly from Moscow.”*<sup>17</sup>

Since the last conclusion is now supported by solid documentary evidence, the question of how far that was known to the CND leaders at the time seems less significant. Nevertheless, there is also considerable evidence of the CND’s links with the Soviet-controlled organisations.

The CND was originally created by Bertrand Russell in 1957 as a high-level pressure group for Britain’s unilateral nuclear disarmament. At that time, it was seen as an organisation to the Left of the Communist Party. Communists and the British Peace Committee focused their own ‘peace campaign’ on supporting various Soviet initiatives for multilateral disarmament or protesting against specific types of NATO weapons. The CND’s stated goal of “*unilateral abandonment by Britain of nuclear weapons, nuclear bases, and nuclear alliances*” seemed completely unrealistic. So, when the CND was formed, the Communists condemned it in *Daily Worker* as a “*Trotskyist plot... posing a maximalist demand... in order to break the broad unity of the peace movement*”<sup>18</sup>.

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<sup>17</sup> Francis Schaeffer, Vladimir Bukovsky, James Hitchcock. *Who is for peace?* Thomas Nelson Publishers, 1983, P. 58

<sup>18</sup> Quoting from Mercer, p. 66

Nevertheless, as the CND gained prominence in public life and influence in the Labour Party, the Communist Party made efforts to penetrate and hijack the organisation. While Bertrand Russell and his friends saw the CND as an elite pressure group and advocated radical tactics of civil disobedience, the Communists pushed for transforming it into a mass movement campaigning within the law. The internal struggle resulted in a split in 1960, with Russell founding a breakaway group, the Committee of 100. The Communist influence gradually increased in the residual CND and, consequently, the organisation fell into obscurity. In 1964 even the *Tribune* declared that the “*movement is dead*”.

So, following its ‘first wave’ in late 1950s and early 1960s, the CND was effectively shelved till the late 1970s. It did not have to worry much about its public image or hide the degree of communist influence within the organisation. Throughout that period, the organisation was classified as ‘communist-dominated’ and ‘subversive’ by MI5.<sup>19</sup> Overt Communists had a clear majority on the CND national executive.<sup>20</sup> The CND Chairman from 1971 to 1977 and General Secretary from 1975 to 1979 were overt Communists, respectively John Cox and Duncan Rees. Their successor Bruce Kent was later to admit that the principal supporters of the CND during those ‘lean years’ were “*the Society of Friends in the religious world and the Communist Party in the political world*”.<sup>21</sup>

In 1970s, however, as the Communists were preparing for a broad ‘peace campaign’, measures were taken to improve the CND image. In 1977 Dr. Cox stood aside and gave way to Monsignor Bruce Kent. Although classified as a ‘communist sympathiser’<sup>22</sup> by MI5, Monsignor Kent was not an overtly pro-Soviet figure and, as CND Chairman in 1977-1979 and General Secretary in 1980-1985, presented a respectable face to the world. Around the same time in late 1970s, MI5 downgraded the CND to a ‘communist-penetrated’ organisation rather than a ‘communist-dominated’ one.<sup>23</sup>

Nevertheless, the communist influence in the CND during its ‘second wave’ in the early 1980s remained substantial to say the least. In his *Next Steps for Labour Movement* report to the Communist Party of Great Britain Executive on 8 November 1980, Communist Leader Gordon

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<sup>19</sup> Chapman Pincher. *The Secret Offensive*. P.p. 260-161; Hansard, 24 July 1986, vol. 102, col. 697 – speech by Dale Campbell-Savours MP with reference to MI5 whistleblower Catherine Massiter.

<sup>20</sup> Christopher Andrew. *The Defence of the Realm. The Authorised History of MI5*. P. 673

<sup>21</sup> Morning Star, 14 November 1983. Quoting from: Mercer, p. 228

<sup>22</sup> Hansard, 24 July 1986, vol. 102, col. 698 – speech by Dale Campbell-Savours MP with reference to MI5 whistleblower Catherine Massiter.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid*, col. 697

McLennan referred to “*the magnificent CND demonstration in Trafalgar Square*” two weeks earlier, which he described as “*an inspiring success*” and “*in tune with the upsurge of peace activity, previously noted everywhere in Britain. It can be further massively extended. This is possible particularly if the trade unions as well as other sections of the Movement participate more effectively than they did on 26 October. Appreciation has been expressed by leaders of CND for the work of the [Communist] Party over many years in support of CND and in its recent campaigning. We need to do even more of this work in the months ahead*”.<sup>24</sup>

*Morning Star* remained the CND’s friendliest newspaper, and in 1983 Bruce Kent acknowledged: “*We owe a debt of gratitude to the Morning Star newspaper, which has given steady, honest and generous coverage to the whole disarmament case*”. Regarding the relations between the CND and Communists, Monsignor Kent added: “*I do not believe that we are so very far apart on many of the major issues. We are partners in the cause for peace in the world*”.<sup>25</sup>

The CND leaders from the ‘lean years’ of communist domination continued to play influential roles in the 1980s. Both John Cox and Duncan Rees became CND vice-chairmen. Another CND vice-chairman in early 1980s, Professor Michael Pentz, was simultaneously a Sponsor of the openly pro-Soviet British Peace Assembly and a former Communist.<sup>26</sup> Like in the communist ‘front’ organisations, the CND leadership consisted of a few respectable public spokesmen surrounded by a tight circle of communists, sympathisers and fellow-travellers.

Throughout that period, indeed, the key positions in the CND apparatus were nearly always occupied by members of the Communist Party<sup>27</sup>:

- Fund-raiser (responsible for collecting money from the CND’s secret donors – see Chapter 8 below): Will Howard
- National Organiser: Sally Davison, later Duncan Rees
- Head of the Forward Planning Group (responsible for working out strategy): Will Howard in 1981-1982 and John Cox in 1982-1983.
- Editor of the CND newspaper, *Sanity*: Chris Horrie
- Liberal Liaison Officer: John Cox (apparently, relations with members of the Liberal Party were considered a sensitive matter, as

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<sup>24</sup> Communist Party Archives, CP/CENT/EC/17/13

<sup>25</sup> *Morning Star*, 14 November 1983. Quoting from: Mercer, p. 228

<sup>26</sup> See Mercer, p. 239

<sup>27</sup> Mercer, p.p. 184, 238, 393-415

token Liberals were important for the CND image as a broad movement, while actual support for the CND in the Liberal Party was negligible)

In 1983, after questions were raised in the press about the role of Communists in the CND, it emerged that Howard, Rees and Horrie had quietly allowed their CPGB membership to lapse. None, however, denounced the CPGB or its policies on or after leaving it.<sup>28</sup>

Apart from Pentz, Howard and Sally Davison, there were three other card-carrying Communists in the CND Executive Committee in 1982 and 1983: Ian Davison, Alan MacKinnon and Paul Nicholls. About a quarter of CND National Council members were also overt Communists.

The communist presence in the CND was certainly not limited to the leadership. Thus, at a Soviet-sponsored peace conference in Prague in 1983, a prominent British Communist, Bert Ramelson, reported that “*at grassroots level, Communists are very active in local branches of CND*”.<sup>29</sup>

## **6. CND and the Soviet ‘peace campaign’**

In spite of its small size and insignificance at that time, CND played some role in the pro-Soviet campaign against the ‘neutron bomb’. Thus, the Campaign published the book *The Neutron Bomb* by Eric Burhop, former Vice President of the World Peace Council and life-long apologist of the Soviet regime. The book was largely based on the Soviet disinformation about the capabilities of the ‘neutron bomb’ as an offensive weapon, and acknowledged the East German source who fed that disinformation to Professor Burshop through an international ‘front’ organisation.<sup>30</sup>

The initial impulse for the CND’s slow revival in late 1970s and then its boom in early 1980s was given by the ‘neutron bomb’ campaign, especially the Dutch communist-controlled ‘Stop the Neutron Bomb’. In the words of Dr. Cox, “*the Dutch anti-neutron bomb campaign was a major spur to renewed efforts in Britain in 1977-1978.*”<sup>31</sup> An important link between CND and ‘Stop the Neutron Bomb’ was none other than **Cathy Ashton**, then one of the CND organisers and now the EU ‘foreign minister’ (High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and

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<sup>28</sup> Mercer, p. 238

<sup>29</sup> Quoting from Chapman Pincher. *The Secret Offensive*. P. 264

<sup>30</sup> See Mercer, p.p. 99-100

<sup>31</sup> John Cox. *Overkill*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition, Pelican, London 1981. P. 228. Quoting from: Mercer, p. 104

Security Policy). In 1980, Ashton and two communists – CND National Organiser Sally Davison and the editor of CND newspaper *Sanity* Chris Horrie – comprised the CND delegation to Netherlands to visit ‘Stop the Neutron Bomb’. On the Dutch initiative, Ashton then arranged for CND groups to ‘twin’ with ‘Stop the Neutron Bomb’ groups in Netherlands.<sup>32</sup> There were further mutual visits in the subsequent years, including one by Bruce Kent to Amsterdam in February 1982.<sup>33</sup>

Contrary to the CND’s claims, on a number of occasions its leaders publicly associated themselves with Soviet or openly pro-Soviet peace organisations. The CND was a member body of the International Peace Bureau which, in turn, was a member body of the Soviet-controlled International Liaison Forum of Peace Forces (see Chapter 2 above). CND National Organiser Sally Davison took part in the 1980 ‘World Parliament’ in Sofia<sup>34</sup>, and the subsequent major World Peace Council gatherings were also attended by high-level CND activists. For example, the spectacular 1983 ‘World Congress for Peace and Life, Against Nuclear War’ in Prague was attended by CND Vice-Chairman Roger Spiller and CND Council member Jon Bloomfield as observers, and a number of notable CND activists (e. g. Helen John and Gordon Schaffer) as full delegates.<sup>35</sup>

The 1983 Prague visit attracted a lot of media attention at the time, because in response to criticism of their participation in a World Peace Council event, Spiller and Bloomfield met several Czech dissidents as well. However, their unusual move was unanimously condemned by the rest of the British delegation, which included many CND members and claimed to be *“thoroughly representative, geographically and ideologically, of the broad coalition basis of CND which exists in theory and in practice”*<sup>36</sup>. The delegation *“unanimously condemned their divisive activities in spending most of their time in Prague in contacting dissident Charter 77 signatories, so that ill-balanced reports could be fed back in Britain by the media which pandered to their vanity”*.<sup>37</sup>

CND also maintained direct bilateral links (exchanging delegations etc.) with national ‘Peace Committees’ behind the Iron Curtain. Thus, in 1981 Bruce Kent led an official CND delegation to the East German ‘Peace Council’. There were visits to the Soviet and Hungarian ‘Peace

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<sup>32</sup> *Sanity*, Dec. 1980 / Jan 1981; Mercer, p. 100

<sup>33</sup> Mercer, p. 236

<sup>34</sup> Mercer, p. 170

<sup>35</sup> See Mercer, p.p. 179-183

<sup>36</sup> *Sanity*, September 1983. Quoting from Mercer, p.p. 181-182

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid*

Committees' in 1982, and invitations were issued for return visits by East Germans in 1982 and Czechs in 1983.<sup>38</sup> In 1982, a high-level CND delegation (Lord Jenkins, Joan Ruddock, Roger Spiller, Sally Davison and Gerard Holden) visited the Soviet Peace Committee in Moscow. On returning, Lord Jenkins absurdly asserted that the Soviet Peace Committee was independent from the Soviet government.<sup>39</sup>

In an interview to Radio Moscow broadcast on 7 June 1982, Sally Davison was asked about similarities and differences between the CND and the Soviet Peace Committee:

*“Davison: Well, I think the similarities between the peace movements is that both are trying to represent the aspirations of people who want peace seriously. And I’ve certainly been impressed since we’ve been here [in the USSR] by the fact that there is a very strong feeling among the Soviet public, or the parts of it that we’ve met, in favour of peace. And there is also an agreement on the priority of the need for nuclear disarmament.*

*“The differences that there are arise from how we think those things should be implemented. There’s obviously quite a big difference because CND is set up as a campaigning organisation to try and change government policy. Whereas the Soviet Peace Committee is much more an organisation which is in support of its government and is not so much seeking to change its government policies but is trying to say: we support those policies and we try to popularise those policies amongst the people.*

*“Interviewer: Yes, but why do you think it is supporting the government’s policy, the Soviet Peace Committee?*

*“Davison: Well, obviously because the Soviet government is in favour of peace, and this makes a big difference. [...] Many people in CND, although not all, see [the United States] as the prime movers of the arms race, and I think when looking at the situation it is quite clear that the statements we hear from the US government don’t indicate any great desire for peace, and that is obviously a big difference between the United States government and the Soviet government...”<sup>40</sup>*

It should be noted in connection with these visits and exchanges that it was the CND policy to assume full responsibility for all its activists’

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<sup>38</sup> Ibid, pp. 182-183; 236-237

<sup>39</sup> Ibid, p. 170

<sup>40</sup> Ibid, p.p. 170-172

actions and statements while visiting the Soviet bloc. That policy was asserted in the minutes of the CND International Committee dated 1 March 1982: “*If they go as participants in meetings etc., then they become CND representatives*”.<sup>41</sup>

There was a high degree of correlation between the World Peace Council’s various ‘programmes of action’ and the CND’s actual activities. For example, the wave of mass demonstrations in West European capitals in the end of October 1981, which included the 250,000-strong CND rally in London, had been scheduled in the WPC ‘Programme of Action 1981’ over a year in advance.<sup>42</sup>

There was also a high degree of correlation between the CND’s substantive arguments on the East-West relations and those of the Soviet propaganda. Suffice it to say that the CND welcomed every ‘peace initiative’ proposed by Moscow over that period, but condemned every ‘peace initiative’ proposed by a Western government. As Vladimir Bukovsky wrote at the time, “*The new slogans adapted in Moscow would normally take from one to six months to migrate into major peace movement publications in Western Europe. The swiftness with which this occurred suggests close, if somewhat indirect, link between some peace movement leaders and masters of the Kremlin*”.<sup>43</sup>

## **7. Peace movement and the Soviet money**

It is undisputed that Moscow spent astronomical sums to support the ‘peace movement’ in the West during that period. In a deliberately very modest estimate, based solely on open Soviet sources, Vladimir Bukovsky suggested some \$35-45 million was spent annually on the ‘peace campaign’ abroad by the Soviet Peace Fund alone.<sup>44</sup> However, the real figure is likely to have been much higher. Bukovsky’s estimate was based on the data about the percentage of the Fund’s expenditure spent abroad and the overall size of involuntary ‘donations’ from some 80 million Soviet citizens (each of whom was obliged to donate his one day’s wages to the Peace Fund annually). Apart from that, the Fund’s income included donations from state-controlled organisations – from collective farms to ‘trade unions’ to Russian Orthodox ‘Church’. For example, it was reported that while the Soviet citizens donated about

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<sup>41</sup> Quoting from Mercer, p. 155

<sup>42</sup> Francis Schaeffer, Vladimir Bukovsky, James Hitchcock. *Who is for peace?* Thomas Nelson Publishers, 1983, P.p. 64-65

<sup>43</sup> Sydney Hook, Vladimir Bukovsky, Paul Hollander. *Soviet Hypocrisy and Western Gullibility*. Ethics and Public Policy Centre, 1987. P. 17

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid*, p.p. 23-24

200,000 US dollars to the Fund for the 1973 'World Congress of Peace Forces', the Orthodox Church donated 3 million roubles (about \$850,000 by the then "black market" exchange rate).<sup>45</sup> This gives us some idea of the proportions. Roughly speaking, this means that Bukovsky's figure should be multiplied by 5, which brings us to about \$200 million spent annually on the peace campaign behind the enemy lines (which is obviously a very rough estimate).

The Soviet Peace Fund was not the only channel of financing the peace movement. There were similar 'Peace Funds' in every Warsaw Pact country. Sometimes, money were passed direct through the KGB (as in Denmark, where leading 'peace activists' Mr. and Mrs. Arne Petersen were arrested in 1981 for channelling KGB money into the campaign)<sup>46</sup> or other Eastern Bloc intelligence services.

However, according to Vladimir Bukovsky, "*KGB and Soviet military intelligence played only an auxiliary role in the campaign of 'peace struggle'. The main conductor was the Central Committee International Department [Comintern], which had no need to send cash direct to peace organisations of the West – that was done via long-established channels through the local communist parties. Apart from the purely technical advantages of reducing the risk of exposure, that practice served organisational needs: it strengthened the influence of communist parties in the peace movements. At the same time, the peaceniks' leaders were enabled to deny their financial dependence on Moscow 'in good faith'. However, it is difficult to believe that they 'did not know' how much of their expenditure was covered from the party funds of their communist allies.*"<sup>47</sup>

Other widespread forms of material assistance included free travel provided to delegates to various 'peace' events, free accommodation and hospitality, simultaneous interpretation, etc.<sup>48</sup>

All in all, although the precise figure cannot be established due to the continuing secrecy of the Russian archives, it is certain that Moscow's overall annual 'peace movement' bill in early 1980s ran into hundreds of millions of US dollars.

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<sup>45</sup> Mercer, p. 149

<sup>46</sup> Francis Schaeffer, Vladimir Bukovsky, James Hitchcock. *Who is for peace?* Thomas Nelson Publishers, 1983, P. 59

<sup>47</sup> Boukovsky

<sup>48</sup> Ibid

## 8. CND's financial controversies

Suspicious about the CND's sources of funding were widespread for a very long time – not least because the CND itself was notoriously secretive about the subject. The lists of its financial donors in the 1970s and 1980s remain secret to the day. Moreover, even the CND accounts were not subjected to independent audit until 1982. The organisation's official booklet *30 Questions and Answers about CND* claimed: “*The bulk of CND income comes from membership subscriptions and donations and from the sale of booklets, badges, etc. CND receives no outside money from any fund or organisation East or West*”<sup>49</sup>.

As the controversy mounted in early 1980s, the then CND Treasurer Cathy Ashton made a case for the audited accounts in her report to the 1982 CND Annual Conference. However, she pointed out that “*an audit will not provide the ultimate answer to the smear, as it cannot tell whether an individual is giving money from sources that we would not wish to have finance from*”.<sup>50</sup> Nevertheless, while the audit was duly ordered, the conference voted to keep the identities of the donors secret.<sup>51</sup> The CND accounts for the period from June 1982 to June 1983 were subsequently examined by the auditors Godfrey, Lord & Co.

In some ways, the auditors' report only enhanced suspicions about CND's sources of income. Thus, it ruined the notion of CND deriving its income from sale of “*booklets, badges, etc.*”. The CND's trading activities were controlled by CND Publications Ltd (with Cathy Ashton as one of its directors) since 1 February 1983. In the five-month period of its trading examined by auditors, the company made a trading loss of £2,378.<sup>52</sup>

More importantly, the auditors found that £176,197 – 38 per cent of the CND annual income – could not be traced back to the original donors. The auditors' report reads in part:

*“The Campaign, in common with other bodies of similar size and organization, derives a substantial proportion of its income from voluntary donations which cannot be fully controlled until they are entered into the accounting records. The completeness of income from*

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<sup>49</sup> Quoting from: Mercer, p. 151

<sup>50</sup> *CND Treasurer's Report to Annual Conference. 1982*, p. 4. Quoting from Mercer, p. 151

<sup>51</sup> Mercer, p. 151

<sup>52</sup> CND Publications Limited: Director's Report. 1983. P. 1. Quoting from: Mercer, p.p. 151-152

*receipts under this head is not therefore susceptible to full and independent audit verification.*”<sup>53</sup>

Contrary to some later-day claims, the anonymity of donors was a matter of the CND’s policy, approved by the CND’s annual conference, rather than a purely technical difficulty of tracing the money from such sources as bucket collections. Undoubtedly, the CND had a secret list of donors; and Monsignor Bruce Kent recently claimed he had offered for that list to be inspected by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Archbishop of Westminster<sup>54</sup> (obviously, the Archbishops would be in no position to conduct a detailed investigation, and the offer was not taken up). Minutes of one internal CND discussion in 1982 record the then treasurer Cathy Ashton, who was certainly well familiar with the list, as saying that it needs to be expanded.<sup>55</sup>

The man responsible for obtaining this annual £176,000 in anonymous donations was a card-carrying member of the Communist Party, Will Howard. (In 1985, as Moscow’s vision of nuclear disarmament changed, Mr. Howard left the CND and headed the Nuclear ‘Freeze’ campaign in Britain. In 1989, he founded a successful IT business in Wales, and spent the revenues on campaigning against climate change, in which he was heavily involved until his death in 2008.)

Another noteworthy known source of CND income in early 1980s was the advertising revenue of its monthly magazine *Sanity* (approx. £30,000 p. a.). It was a generally accepted way of funding political campaigns to place various messages of solidarity as advertisements in its periodicals. Countless advertisements of this kind were placed in *Sanity* by trade-unions and Labour local councils, but also by Soviet-controlled and communist-controlled organisations and firms. For example, *Sanity* issue for June/July 1982 contains on p. 11 an advertisement for an official Soviet state-published magazine *Soviet Weekly*. According to Paul Mercer’s estimates, during 1983 *Sanity* generated over £3,600 in advertising revenue from organisations and firms known to be communist-controlled:

Collets Bookshops (which stored Soviet publications)	£2,000
Progressive Tours Ltd (which organised trips to the Soviet Bloc)	£1,000+

<sup>53</sup> CND and CND Publications Ltd Reports and Accounts, June 1983, p. 3. Quoting from Mercer, p. 151

<sup>54</sup> *The Times*, 27 November 2009

<sup>55</sup> *The Mail on Sunday*. 22 November 2009

Educational and TV Films Ltd (which distributed Communist films)	£250
Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB)	£125
<i>Marxism Today</i> (the official theoretical journal of the CPGB)	£125
Central Books Ltd (“the sole UK distributor for books in English published by the Soviet Union”)	£100+
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>£3,600+</b>

(Mercer, p. 153)

On a number of occasions, CND delegates took part in subsidised trips behind the Iron Curtain. Thus, on the above-mentioned 1982 visit to Moscow (Lord Jenkins, Joan Ruddock, Roger Spiller, Sally Davison and Gerard Holden), all “*hospitality within the Soviet Union was provided by the Soviet Peace Committee*”.<sup>56</sup> Similarly, hospitality on the 1983 visit to Prague was provided by the Czechoslovak Peace Committee and other state-controlled organisations.<sup>57</sup>

According to the authorised history of MI5 by Christopher Andrew, at the time “*the Service found no evidence that KGB funding to the British peace movement went beyond occasional payment of fares and expenses to individuals*”<sup>58</sup>. This implies that fares and expenses payments were clearly traceable to the KGB. It should be noted that this conclusion only referred to KGB and would not cover other channels of Communist funding, and that there is no indication that MI5 was actively looking for evidence in the first place.

It is known that MI5’s unofficial policy at that time was to play down the Soviet influence in the peace movement. Thus, in 1982 Gordievsky supplied the MI6 with KGB documents which “*demonstrated that Moscow regarded the anti-nuclear movement in Britain (as in the rest of the West) as ‘our natural allies’ and believed it could exercise considerable influence over it*”. MI5 then asked the Cabinet Secretary to exclude any mention of the peace movement from his briefing to the Prime Minister on Gordievsky’s intelligence – “*presumably,*” Andrew writes, “*because of fears that the Prime Minister would take too literally exaggerated KGB claims of its ability to influence the movement*”. However, Thatcher herself enquired about the KGB role in the peace movement; so the Cabinet Secretary arranged for MI6 to discuss with MI5 “*whether any of Gordievsky’s reports needed to be rewritten and*

<sup>56</sup> *Tribune*, 23 July 1982. Quoting from Mercer, p. 170

<sup>57</sup> Mercer, p.p. 154-155

<sup>58</sup> Christopher Andrew. *The Defence of the Realm. The Authorised History of MI5*. P. 676

*whether substantive desk comments should be added before they were presented to the PM*. Gordievsky was asked to “clarify and update” his information. Eventually, MI6 and MI5 jointly prepared a “resume of Gordievsky’s intelligence on the Soviet Union and the British peace movement” for the Prime Minister, saturated with MI5’s “commentary designed to emphasize the contrast between some KGB claims for its ability to influence the peace movement and what it had actually achieved”. Naturally, the end product received by Thatcher concluded the intelligence was “both reassuring and in line with the previous Service assessment”, which was obviously quite different Gordievsky’s original report.<sup>59</sup>

## **9. Unilateral disarmament and the Labour Party**

The Communist Party’s strategy of coming to power in Britain had always consisted in consolidating its influence in the Labour Movement – taking control of the trade unions and, consequently, the Labour Party. The latter, therefore, had to live under the constant threat of a communist takeover; and the strength of the unilateralist faction was seen as an indicator of this danger. There is considerable evidence that Hugh Gaitskell viewed the early moves to advance a unilateralist defence policy in 1960 as an attempted communist takeover and a grave threat to the very survival of the Party. Similarly, during the Labour ‘civil war’ in the 1970s – which coincided in time with the Soviet preparations for the ‘peace campaign’ – the growing strength of unilateralist positions in the Party reflected the growing strength of the pro-communist faction within the Labour Left.

The civil war ended with the decisions of the October 1980 Labour Conference in Blackpool, which marked the decisive victory of the Left. The conference introduced constitutional reforms which created a massive shift of power to the Left within the Party, and committed the Labour to the whole range of radical policies: from wholesale nationalisation of industry to abolition of private education and private medicine. But most importantly, it committed the Labour Party to unilateral nuclear disarmament.

In his *Next Steps for Labour Movement* report to the CPGB Executive on 8 November 1980, Communist leader Gordon McLennan stated: “*The total outcome of the Conference creates new possibilities for the Left advance and constitutes a signal victory that is the product of Left*

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<sup>59</sup> Ibid, p. 674

*struggle over many years, in which the Communist Party has played a crucial role [...] Blackpool clearly reflects the contribution the Communist Party has made to the whole Left fight.”*<sup>60</sup>

Anatoly Chernyaev, the high-ranking Soviet official in charge of the subversive work in Britain, was present at the Blackpool Conference. According to Chernyaev’s personal diary, although the Soviet observers were not officially invited to the conference because of the Soviet human rights abuses and recent invasion of Afghanistan, the Labour NEC changed its position at its last-minute meeting on the eve of the Conference. Furthermore, the diary suggests the Conference decision on unilateral nuclear disarmament could be influenced by the NEC’s correspondence with the Kremlin. After describing his arrival to Blackpool on 28 September 1980, Chernyaev writes:

*“National Executive Committee. Their reply to the [Soviet] Central Committee’s letter about the intermediate-range missiles. They also changed their position on our “delegation”: to let us in as observers, just like all the others.”*

Further, Chernyaev records Labour General Secretary Ron Hayward (who was effectively a Soviet agent of influence<sup>61</sup>) telling the Soviet guests about *“the details of the NEC discussion on the Central Committee’s letter”* and *“rehearsing the international relations section of his tomorrow’s speech”* to them.<sup>62</sup>

Unilateral disarmament was not just accepted as one of the Labour Party’s new policies, but became the top issue on its political agenda for the next three years. A further indication of this was the surprise choice of Michael Foot as the new party leader. On one hand, Foot was a life-long peace campaigner: as an Oxford student in 1933, he was instrumental in passing the most infamous motion in the history of Oxford Union: *“This House would in no circumstances fight for its King and Country”*; in late 1950s, he was one of the founding members of the CND, and remained a committed unilateralist and CND member ever since. On the other hand, Foot was close to communists throughout his life: he advocated a ‘United Front’ in the 1930s, and maintained personal friendship with CPGB’s Stalinist leader Harry Pollitt as well as his successors John Gollan and Gordon McLennan. In this sense, Foot was a very appropriate leader for the new regime in the Labour Party.

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<sup>60</sup> Communist Party Archives, CP/CENT/EC/17/13

<sup>61</sup> See *Spectator*, 7 November 2009

<sup>62</sup> Chernyaev’s Diary, 6 October 1980

It is therefore hardly surprising that, under Foot's leadership, the Labour Party vigorously campaigned for unilateral disarmament of Britain while maintaining close, and at times secretive, relations with Moscow. Thus, in a diary entry on 7 August 1981 Chernyaev wrote he had a 'terrible day' working on "*propaganda fuel for the anti-missile movement in West Europe*" and writing "*coded cables to the Labourites and McLennan*". On 10 October 1981, writing after a long break, Chernyaev gives his impressions of Foot's visit to Moscow in September:

*"Came back [from vacation] two days ahead of schedule in connection with the visit of a Labour Party delegation: Foot, Healey, and 11 other MPs. This turned out to be more important than Brandt. [...] The Labour Party's metamorphosis: pragmatism, cynicism, frankness. [...] 'Dear Comrade Brezhnev', Foot said while shaking Brezhnev's hand with both of his hands – this created the right inertia from the start. [...]"*

*"Healey insolently interrupted Brezhnev and asked for the text of what he had said. Brezhnev authorised giving it to him... As a result, all of them liked each other and 'parted as friends'. [Brezhnev] then ordered to give them presents, which turned out to be pretty expensive."*

In the same entry, Chernyaev writes that he went to Britain himself a few days later (from 25 September to 4 October 1981) to chair an "*instructive*" meeting in the Soviet embassy, where "*a plan of further actions following the results of Foot and Company's visit to Moscow*" was worked out. He also attended the Labour Party Conference.

Moscow's instructions to British Communists in that period were to give their full support to Foot. Thus, notes from a CPGB visit to Moscow on 18-21 January 1983, made by Gerry Pockock, read: "*Foot is the key figure because he is identified personally and politically with opposition to Cruise [missiles]*".<sup>63</sup>

Unilateral disarmament became the central issue at the 1983 'nuclear election', which ended in a disastrous defeat for Labour. As Vladimir Bukovsky writes:

*"Paradoxically, [the support of Western socialist parties] was also the weakness of their campaign: after becoming a matter of party politics, the question of West's disarmament would be decided by the standard mechanism of democracy: the elections. Moscow and its allies could*

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<sup>63</sup> Communist Party Archives, CP/CENT/INT/42/04

*achieve success only by manipulation, machinations, hysterical propaganda and blackmail. However, once the question was put to the voter, their whole cunning campaign was doomed. The hysterical crowds disappeared; the 'opinion polls', which regularly showed growing support for unilateral disarmament, turned out to be fakes.*"<sup>64</sup>

Nevertheless, the Labour Party remained committed to unilateral nuclear disarmament throughout the 1980s. After the 1983 electoral defeat and Foot's resignation, this became a central issue in the Labour leadership contest. The unsuccessful moderate candidate, Roy Hattersley, wrote in his leadership Manifesto:

*"If we are to respect and trust the people, we must begin to listen to their opinions on the policy which lost us most votes at the last elections – defence and disarmament [...The] notion that we might give up our nuclear protection if others did not do the same was overwhelmingly rejected."*<sup>65</sup>

However, Hattersley was overwhelmingly defeated by Foot's right-hand man and chosen successor, Neil Kinnock. Although Kinnock has gone down to history as a moderniser who moved the Labour Party to more moderate positions, he won his original leadership bid in 1983 as a 'no change' candidate. His argument was that Foot's policies had been perfectly correct and it was presentation, not policy, that needed improvement. In particular, Kinnock had been known as a committed unilateralist and a life-long CND member. In the run-up to the leadership election, he declared:

*"I am a strong supporter of unilateral nuclear disarmament and at the CND national demonstration on October 22 I will be reaffirming Labour's commitment to unilateral nuclear disarmament."*<sup>66</sup>

In the subsequent years, many things changed in the Labour Party, but its commitment to unilateralism remained intact throughout the 'modernisation' period. It was abandoned only in 1989, because the immanent end of the Cold War made the issue irrelevant. Absurdly, after a decade campaigning for unilateral disarmament at the peak of global military confrontation, the Labour Party reconciled itself with the British nuclear deterrent as soon as there was no Soviet threat to deter.

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<sup>64</sup> Vladimir Boukovsky. *Jugement a Moscou. Un dissident dans les archives du Kremlin*. Editions Robert Laffont, S. A., Paris, 1995.

<sup>65</sup> *The Guardian*, 18 July 1983

<sup>66</sup> Quoting from Mercer, p. 2

On 23<sup>rd</sup> November 2009, Gerard Batten MEP made the following speech in the European Parliament:

*“Russian exile Pavel Stroilov recently published revelations about the collaboration between the British Labour Party and the Soviet Union during the Cold War.”<sup>67</sup>*

*“Soviet archival documents state that in the 1980s Neil Kinnock, as leader of the opposition, approached Mikhail Gorbachev through secret envoys to see how the Kremlin would respond if a Labour Government stopped the implementation of the Trident nuclear missile programme.*

*“If the report given to Mr Gorbachev is true, it means that Lord Kinnock approached one of Britain's enemies in order to seek approval regarding his party's defence policy, and had he been elected, Britain's defence policy.*

*“If this report is true then Lord Kinnock would be guilty of treason.*

*“The documents now available must be investigated at the highest possible level by the British authorities and Lord Kinnock given the opportunity to answer the Soviet evidence.”*

## **10. The unilateralist legacy and the New Labour**

As the heirs of Kinnock's 'modernisation' project, the New Labour are direct political descendants of the unilateralist faction which took over the Labour Party in 1980. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that many former unilateralists – from CND foot-soldiers to some of its leadership – still play an important role in the New Labour.

Indeed, the list of notorious unilateralists who occupied key positions in the Party after 1980 was not limited to Foot and Kinnock. Another example was **Robin Cook**, who enjoyed great influence in the Party from early 1980s to early 2000s. Cook, too, was a life-long CND member. He was also prominent in the Scottish Campaign to Resist the Atomic Menace (SCRAM), founded in 1975. In mid-1970s, Cook was a member of the working group on defence expenditure set up by the Left-dominated Labour NEC, chaired by Ian Mikardo. Another notable member was the CND's former General Secretary Dan Smith. In 1977, the group published its report, *Sense about Defense*, which outlined

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<sup>67</sup> See *The Spectator*, 14 November 2009

a detailed plan for radical cuts in defence expenditure.<sup>68</sup> In 1978, Cook and Dan Smith jointly wrote a Fabian pamphlet under the self-explanatory title *What Future in NATO?*<sup>69</sup>. In 1980-1983, Cook often appeared as the main speaker at CND rallies.<sup>70</sup>

**Tony Blair**, originally a protégé of Foot and Kinnock, was a CND member at least from 1983 to 1986. This fact was denied by the Labour Party after Blair became its leader<sup>71</sup>, but three days later, Labour had to change their story: they still denied he was ever a member of ‘mainstream CND’, but admitted he was “briefly” a member of ‘Parliamentary Labour CND’. While ‘mainstream’ CND was committed by Section A, Paragraph 1 of its Constitution to “*unilateral abandonment by Britain of nuclear weapons, nuclear bases, and nuclear alliances*”, Parliamentary Labour CND had a corporate opt-out from the “*nuclear alliances*” bit – i.e. the pledge to leave NATO. Obviously, that was just a thin political smokescreen: Britain’s unilateral nuclear disarmament would certainly mean leaving NATO even if NATO had survived it; and in any case, all members of Parliamentary Labour CND were automatically ‘mainstream’ CND members as well. In that capacity, they were still directly committed to “*unilateral abandonment of nuclear alliances*”.

In any case, Blair’s spin-doctors told another lie: he was a member of ‘mainstream CND’ not only before his election to Parliament, but even before his nomination as a candidate. Thus, he duly declared his CND membership in the CV submitted to Sedgefiled Labour Party in his bid for nomination.<sup>72</sup>

Recent high-level appointments show that the present Labour leadership still does not see unilateralist record as a taint on one’s career. Thus, a CND veteran, **Baroness Kinnock**, was appointed Minister for Europe in June 2009 and then Minister for Africa and the United Nations in October 2009 – the position she currently holds.

Former CND Chairwoman in 1981-1985, **Joan Ruddock**, was appointed Minister of State for Energy in June 2009. As the CND chair, Ruddock personally led the CND delegation on the infamous 1982 visit to Moscow (see Chapter 6 above). She was on record expressing extreme scepticism

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<sup>68</sup> John Kampener. *Robin Cook*. Victor Gollanez, London, 1998. P. 42

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid*, p. 43

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid*, p.p. 50-51

<sup>71</sup> *The Times*, 16 September 1994

<sup>72</sup> John Rentoul. *Tony Blair. Prime Minister*, Time Warner Paperbacks, 2002, p.p. 102, 103, 144, 252

about the very existence of the Soviet threat. Her view (as reported in the *Morning Star*) was that “*the threat comes from the United States having made Europe the front line in its conflict with the Soviet Union*”.<sup>73</sup> In 1983, after some mild criticism of Soviet arms deployment was reluctantly included in a CND Conference resolution against Cruise missiles, Ruddock felt obliged to write a letter to *Morning Star* to explain that was a tactical necessity. “*I believe it is vital that Communist Party members (from whom we have had such faithful support) should understand CND’s response to the Soviet plans...*” she wrote. “*CND has always firmly placed the primary responsibility for nuclear arms race with the United States*”.<sup>74</sup> When the CND’s notorious Greenham Commons protestors secretly cut hydraulic pipes on construction equipment, thus endangering the lives of site workers, Ruddock refused to condemn such activities on behalf of the CND Executive Committee, but merely expressed “surprise”.<sup>75</sup>

The most infamous recent promotion of a former prominent unilateralist was, of course, the appointment of **Baroness Ashton** as the EU ‘foreign minister’ (High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy). Ashton was a paid CND organiser in 1977-1979, treasurer in 1980-1982, and vice-chairwoman in 1983. She was known as a ‘communist sympathiser’ to the MI5, and represented the CND at a number of Communist Party meetings. She was also instrumental in maintaining CND’s links with French communists and, importantly, the Dutch communist-controlled organisation ‘Stop the Neutron Bomb’ (see Chapter 6 above).<sup>76</sup>

As the CND treasurer, Ashton was likely to be on the receiving end of the Soviet funds channelled by communists such as Will Howard into the peace campaign (see Chapter 8 above). Indeed, when this allegation was made in Gerard Batten MEP’s letter to President Barroso (see Appendix 4), Lady Ashton failed to give a clear denial: her spokesman only stated: “*She never visited the Soviet Union, she had no contact with the Soviet Union, and she never accepted any money from the Soviet sources. The first time she ever visited Russia was as [EU] trade commissioner. She has never been a member of the Communist Party.*”<sup>77</sup> It is almost certainly true that CND received no money *directly* from the Soviet

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<sup>73</sup> *Morning Star*, 7 September 1984; Quoting from Mercer, p. 250

<sup>74</sup> *Morning Star*, 5 January 1984; Quoting from Mercer, p. 235

<sup>75</sup> Mercer, p. 7

<sup>76</sup> *Mail on Sunday*, 22 November 2009

<sup>77</sup> *Daily Telegraph*, 25 November 2009

Union. The normal practice, as explained above, was to channel the money through local communists.

As Lady Ashton appeared before the European Parliament's Foreign Affairs Committee on 2 December 2009, the following exchange took place:

**Mr. David Campbell Bannerman (UK Independence Party):** [...] *“When you were treasurer of the UK’s Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) in 1980-1982, did you or did you not take monies from Soviet Bloc countries, or from the Communist Party of Great Britain, directly or indirectly through other channels? For this I don’t mean directly from Russia or the Soviet Union – you have expressly ruled that out. But did you take money from any other Soviet Bloc countries, or communist entity, or sympathetic organisation or individual?”*

*“The facts are that you were the treasurer of the CND at the time when it refused to name any donor; Soviet experts allege that the CND received funds channelled through the Communist Party of Great Britain; and [CPGB] General Secretary admitted, on the record, in 1991, that they received funds direct from the KGB. And then there was an audit, done in 1983, that found nearly 40 per cent of CND funds could not be traced back to the original donors.*

*“I believe that all the countries represented here who had the misfortune to live under communism, and all the NATO countries represented here that CND worked so hard to undermine, deserve a very clear answer.”*

**Lady Ashton:** [...] *“It is completely reasonable [...] to ask me questions about who I am, but you will understand that 1982 is actually quite a long time ago, so I will answer you as best I can. I did not take direct money from any communist country. I was always a member of the Labour Party. CND was an organisation that democratically marched for what it believed in, and what is great about democracy is that all those years later you are able to ask me about it, and I will answer you.*

*“38 per cent of the money was not in 1983 a part of the audit accounts (actually, I ordered the first audit of the accounts, just for your information) because it was collected in buckets, at demonstrations, on street corners, as people marched. And one of the great joys of being young (and older, actually) was the ability to march for things which at that time were incredibly important, and I think remain so. So, if I can’t*

*tell you where all the money that came in the buckets came from, I don't think you will be surprised."*

The apparent warmth of Lady Ashton's recollections of her time in the CND sparked further questions from the Committee at her official confirmation hearing on 11 January 2010:

**Mr. Charles Tannock (UK, Conservative):** *"Baroness Ashton, you were the treasurer of UK's CND in the 1980s, which in the last exchange you described as youthful idealism, but you did not repudiate specifically their policies. Given that, as one being in charge of foreign policy you are now the EU's political supremo in charge of security and defence policies, it is important to know for this Parliament, and for the member states which include two nuclear powers – France and the UK, and especially in the light of Iran pressing ahead to develop its own atomic weapons and the missile systems to deliver them: do you still support unilateral nuclear disarmament (a simple yes or no will suffice), and if not, when and why did you change your mind?" [...]*

**Lady Ashton:** *"I am not sure I was as specific as 'youthful idealism'. I think the relevance of 1970s is not the relevance of 2010. The proposals that were then part of a much bigger worldwide movement (I know that people want to pigeon-hole it in some way, but it was part of that) are not relevant now. And I am not a member of CND, and have not been a member of CND for 28 or 29 years, I forget how long." [...]*

**Mr. Tannock:** *"You did not give me a simple yes or no answer to whether you are still in favour of unilateral nuclear disarmament. I wanted a yes or no." [...]*

**Lady Ashton:** *[...] "I thought I had answered your question. I made the point that what was relevant in 1970s is not relevant now. I am not a [CND] member, have not been for a long time, and I don't believe that this strategy is now appropriate – not least because the European Union exists in a way it did not before. But what was youthful enthusiasm to be opposed to, you know, nuclear proliferation, is still going to be relevant in the work that we do, because, of course, the Non-Proliferation Treaty issues shall come back to us in May, and that is going to be very difficult discussions. So, I share with you this one thing in common. I think we are all, in this House, very concerned about the issues of nuclear proliferation. If you disagree with what I did in the 1970s, of course. But don't try and label it as something more than what it was, please." [...]*

**William, Earl of Dartmouth (UK independence Party):** [...] “If your views, and those of your CND pals, had prevailed, Eastern Europe would not now be free. In the most important foreign affairs and security issue since the Second World War, your judgement has been hopelessly and demonstrably wrong. Are you the Edith Piaf of the Commission: “nothing, nothing, I regret nothing”? Or are you going to recant those views and formally apologise to those people that you misled?”

**Lady Ashton:** [...] “I am not ashamed of who I am and what I have been. When I was a young person, I marched because I believed we should abolish nuclear weapons. You can argue against how I did it; you can’t argue against what I was seeking to achieve. And part of what we did was make sure we make connections with all the freedom movements across the East. I never visited Eastern Europe. I very passionately wanted to see a Europe that was free, and here we have it. And one of the reasons I want to do this job is to take the values I’ve held all my life and use them to support the principles that this House is founded upon.”

Some of these claims by Lady Ashton were evidently false: the list of CND donors was secret not because it was technically impossible to trace the donations, but because it was the CND’s policy to keep it secret (see Chapter 8 above). The CND did not campaign against nuclear proliferation; nor did it have any connections to dissidents in the East. What caused most surprise, however, was Lady Ashton’s refusal to condemn the 1980s peace movement or the idea of unilateral nuclear disarmament – if anything, she seems rather nostalgic about the old days. She was not specific about the CND values she is going to apply to support the EU principles, and it still remains to be seen what she meant. Could it, perhaps, be the memorable sentence coined by Dan Smith in an internal CND strategy paper in 1983: “*We speak for the better instincts of the British people and have stronger legitimacy than the electoral arithmetic*”?

## Appendix 1

USSR

State Security Committee at the USSR Soviet of Ministers [KGB]

14 December 1975

No 3088-A

Moscow

*Top secret*

*To the CPSU Central Committee*

### *On possible political and military consequences of the development and deployment of high-precision tactical weapons*

*Recently, the attention of military and political circles of NATO member-states was attracted to the problem of so-called high-precision tactical weapons. It is predicted that the development of such weapons may result in structural changes of the armed forces and subsequently seriously influence the further development of the international situation.*

*The development of high-precision tactical weapons by the NATO countries follows from the everlasting arms race. High-precision weapons have high autonomy and mobility and, most importantly, can hit the target practically at the first attempt, under any weather and during any time of the day. Examples of these type of weapons are bombs with laser or thermal guidance used earlier in the war in South-East Asia, various types of missiles and rockets controlled with laser beam (anti-tank missile Hellfire and 155mm self-guided artillery projectile under development in the U.S.), by ground form (short-range missile Pershing-2 with impact error of 20 to 40 metres, unmanned aerial vehicles), etc.*

*Western experts believe that the emergence of high-precision weapons would introduce a range of new factors, both stabilising and destabilising, in the international situation.*

*High effectiveness of the new weapons is seen as a stabilising factor, as it makes use of nuclear means of destruction less likely and increases the defending side's capability of resisting even superior forces of the enemy. The destabilising factors are believed to include the danger of proliferation of high-precision tactical weapons in a wide circle of states, and the possibility of its production even in countries which do not possess*

*highly developed science and technology. That may make local military conflicts and terrorist attacks more likely.*

*A number of foreign experts believe that the development of such weapons may lead to the abolition of certain kinds of expensive modern equipment in aviation and tanks. Cheap tanks, personnel carriers, unmanned aircraft, and small highly mobile units may play bigger role in the future military actions. It is believed in NATO military circles that the threat of guaranteed hitting of the targets with the new weapons would require a whole range of measures for dispersal of military industrial objects, weapons storages, and large military bases.*

*The United States are trying to use the new opportunities arising from the development of high-precision tactical weapons in order to strengthen the NATO and “increase their West European allies’ confidence in their capability of resisting the Warsaw Pact forces.*

*Aspiring for a further growth of strength of NATO armed forces, the Bloc’s military and political circles find it expedient to equip the high-precision weapons with low-yield nuclear warheads. In their view, such weapon systems would be able to hit major targets without significant damage to civilian objects or significant civilian casualties. The NATO leaders use these qualities of the new weapons to argue for simplification of the decision-making procedure on combat use of tactical nuclear weapons.*

*At present stage, the development of high-precision weapons involves introducing the models that have already been tested, studying the accumulated experience of their practical use, and developing new experimental systems. In March 1975, an unofficial meeting of the representatives of military and industrial circles of the NATO countries took place in West Germany. It was concluded that it was realistic to expect that high-precision tactical weapons might be massively deployed and ready to use as early as in the beginning of 1980s.*

*Therefore, the development of high-precision nuclear weapons may be considered as one of the directions in which the military potential of NATO member-states would be increased.*

*[Signed]: KGB Chairman Andropov*

*[Bukovsky Archive, 6/0707]*

## Appendix 2

USSR  
*Soviet Peace Committee*

2227s

21 August 1978

*Secret*

*To the CPSU Central Committee*

*World Peace Council President comrade Romesh Chandra has made a request for additional material aid in order to implement the 1978 WPC Action Programme taking account of the amendments and changes introduced at the WPC Presidium meeting on 11-14 July 1978 in Moscow.*

*Recently, the World Peace Council has significantly increased its activities, especially in the worldwide protest campaign against the planned deployment of neutron weapons and on other disarmament issues. A broad Dialogue on Disarmament was organised in Washington [in January 1978] on the initiative of the WPC and a number of US peace movements. Dozens of Congressmen, a number of Senators and other prominent US politicians and public figures took part in the event. A world conference of NGOs on disarmament took place in Geneva. Big national and international actions were organised in many countries. Thus, an International Forum "Against the Neutron Bomb!" took place in Amsterdam; mass rallies and marches of protests against the neutron bomb, to stop the arms race and for disarmament took place in a number of US cities, including New York, during the UN General Assembly's Special Session on disarmament. Brochures (including two brochures on neutron bomb), posters, leaflets, etc., were published for mass circulation in many languages during the preparation and organisation of all those events.*

*The organisation of those actions and events has incurred considerable financial expenses, exceeding the planned.*

*In the present international situation, the World Peace Council aims for a further expansion of practical public protests against the mounting*

*counter-attacks from the opponents of détente. A number of mass events are planned for the second half of this year, most notably the mass rally against the realisation of NATO decisions in Stuttgart (West Germany); protest marches against the neutron bomb in Belgium and Australia, European conference "The role of the public in the struggle for détente and cooperation" in Bucharest, etc. All of that will require publishing a lot of propaganda materials, sending representative delegations to speak to the public in various countries, providing aid to certain national committees to prepare big political and public events (including renting of venues, transportation of street protestors, printing leaflets and posters, etc.). Arrangements will need to be made for intensive operative communications between the WPC Secretariat, national Peace Committees, and political parties of various countries. The experience of the first half of this year has also demonstrated opportunities for expansion of the WPC active work directly in the USA, and the establishment of certain organisational basis there for that purpose. Naturally, all of that shall also incur additional expenses.*

*In connection with this, the WPC leadership is requesting additional contribution from the Soviet Peace Committee totalling 150,000 US dollars, and allocation of additional 100 Aeroflot flights exchange orders to the Soviet Peace Committee for the purposes of assisting the transportation of foreign delegates for various international events.*

*The Soviet Peace Committee deems it expedient to satisfy the WPC leadership's request. The Soviet Peace Fund can cover the sum of the additional contribution from its foreign currency funds, and the expenses in Soviet roubles to purchase tickets for Aeroflot flights.*

*For your consideration*

*[signed:] Academician E. Fedorov, Deputy Chairman of the Soviet Peace Committee*

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*Secret*

*To the CPSU Central Committee*

*On providing additional material aid for realisation of the World Peace Council Action Programme*

*World Peace Council President comrade Romesh Chandra has made a request for additional material aid in order to implement the 1978 WPC Action Programme taking account of the amendments and changes introduced at the WPC Presidium meeting on 11-14 July 1978 in Moscow.*

*Recently, the increase in WPC activities, especially in the struggle to stop the arms race and against the neutron weapons, has raised the level of the mobilisation of the masses and broadened the social and political base of anti-militarist protests, most importantly in capitalist countries, including the USA and West European states.*

*This year's successful actions, with active participation of the WPC, have returned big moral and political dividends and influenced the international public opinion in our interests. That included a number of anti-war activities in the US, the world conference of NGOs on disarmament in Geneva, the International Forum "Against the Neutron Bomb!" in Amsterdam, participation of international NGOs in the UN General Assembly's Special Session on disarmament.*

*The organisation of those actions and events has incurred considerable financial expenses, exceeding the planned.*

*In view of the present international situation, the World Peace Council Presidium held a meeting in Moscow and worked out an Action Programme, aiming to increase the mass public protests, especially in the capitalist countries, against the schemes by opponents of the détente. A number of big actions against the arms race and for a ban on neutron weapons are planned before the end of this year in West Germany, Belgium, Great Britain, Canada, Australia and other countries. The WPC will continue its efforts to expand anti-militarist protests directly in the USA, and take measures in the organisational sphere to strengthen those protests. All of that shall incur additional expenses for the WPC to publish propaganda materials, send representative delegations to a number of countries, provide aid to national committees for organisation of such events (renting of venues, transportation of street protestors, printing leaflets and posters).*

*The Soviet Peace Committee (Comrade E. K. Fedorov) deems the WPC's request reasonable and suggests making an additional contribution to the WPC 1978 budget totalling 150,000 US dollars from the foreign currency funds of the Soviet Peace Fund. It also requests for additional 100*

*Aeroflot flights exchange orders to be allocated to the Soviet Peace Committee for the purposes of assisting the transportation of foreign delegates for various international events organised by the WPC. That should also be covered, in Soviet roubles, from the funds of the Soviet Peace Fund. The proposal has been agreed with the management of the Fund (Comrade Nikonov).*

*We find it feasible to accept the proposals of the Soviet Peace Committee.*

*The draft Decree of the CPSU Central Committee is enclosed.*

*[signed] V. Shaposhnikov, Deputy Head of the CPSU CC International Department*

*20 September 1978*

*25-C-1863*

*\*\*\**

*4681  
ST-126/8s, dated 26. IX. 1978*

*Top secret*

*Decree of the Central Committee Secretariat of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*

*On providing additional material aid for realisation of the World Peace Council Action Programme*

*To accept the proposal to make an additional contribution to the WPC 1978 budget totalling 150,000 US dollars from the foreign currency funds of the Soviet Peace Fund.*

*The Ministry of Civil Aviation shall provide the Soviet Peace Committee with additional 100 flights exchange orders for the transportation of foreign delegates for various international events organised by the WPC by Aeroflot flights; with the expenses covered in Soviet roubles from the funds of the Soviet Peace Fund.*

*[signed]*

*Voting results:*

*Passed at the meeting of the CC Secretariat on 26 September 1978*

*CC Secretaries:*

*Comrade M. A. Suslov – Yes*

*Comrade K. U. Chernenko – Yes*

*Comrade I. V. Kapitonov – Yes*

*Comrade V. I. Dolgikh – Yes*

*Comrade M. V. Ziminin – Yes*

*Comrade K. V. Rusakov – Yes*

*[signed]*

*Copies to: comrades Ponomaryov, N. S. Tikhonov, Bugayev, Garbuzov, Polevoi, Georgadze*

*[Bukovsky Archive, 8/0809]*

### Appendix 3

#### **Memo by G. Aksen (East Germany) enclosed to his letter to Boris Ponomaryov dated 21 May 1980**

(Courtesy of Vladimir Bukovsky)<sup>78</sup>

*Re: the letter to [Central Committee Secretaries of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union] Comrades Ponomaryov and Rusakov, point 3:*

*We would like to inform the Soviet comrades of our considerations concerning a number of basic and current practical problems of the mass movement for peace, security and disarmament.*

*In this matter, we are guided by the common position, recently formulated by comrade Erich Honecker at the meeting of [Warsaw Pact] Political Consultative Committee as follows:*

*“Today, more than ever, it is clear that problems of war and peace cannot be resolved by the means of diplomacy alone. A much better organised mass movement, involvement of more and more new forces, and development of ever more effective methods and forms of struggle would be necessary to achieve that”.*

*To this end, in our view, it is necessary to discuss the fundamental questions concerning the nature, strategy and tactics of the current global movement of peace supporters.*

*Thus, it could be seen very clearly in recent times that the World Peace Council fails to focus its activities on the problems of war and peace with sufficient clarity. The social question (“liquidation of exploitation”) and numerous tasks of supporting the national revolutionary movements are declared the programme goals of the World Peace Council in a number of its documents and statements by its president. Thus, for example, the preamble of the World Peace Council’s 1980 Action Programme reads: “The World Peace Council has become the most comprehensive international solidarity movement of our times. It tirelessly supports every nation which fights to build a new life resulting from liquidation of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, starvation and poverty, exploitation, racism and racial discrimination.”*

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<sup>78</sup> See also: Vladimir Boukovsky. *Jugement a Moscou. Un dissident dans les archives du Kremlin*. Editions Robert Laffont, S. A., Paris, 1995.

*In connection with this, a question arises: is it right to declare so far-reaching social tasks to be the objectives of the world peace movement? Does not this obscure that movement's specific role, mixing it with the tasks of other international organisations and movements (trade unions, women and youth organisations, Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organisation, etc.)?*

*Of course, it is our view that the World Peace Council should preserve its important role and further increase it. However, all of us recognise the fact that the World Peace Council fails to reach out to many political forces prepared to fight for peace, détente and disarmament. Numerous reformist trades union organisations, religious groups of Christian, Islamic and Buddhist denominations, many national action committees, representing millions of people, are not prepared to join the World Peace Council or cooperate with it.*

*It is a fact that a number of important actions (the Dutch "Stop the Neutron Bomb" movement, the Brussels rally against NATO missiles, international peace relay race) was organised without any participation from the World Peace Council, and often even opposed, initially, by some of its leading representatives. In connection with this, we find it very worrying when such movements as, for example, International Peace Bureau or the US "Mobilisation for Survival" are publicly and indiscriminately labelled "agents of imperialism", as it happened in several articles by Romesh Chandra.*

*In our view, it is now a high time to find new forms and involve all the above-mentioned organisations, action committees and activists in some forms of collaboration. Certainly, we are talking not about any organisational scheme, but about joint action, collaboration in certain campaigns, coordinated statements at broad gatherings, etc.*

*First of all, it seems urgently necessary to involve the forces who have been active in the struggle against the US imperialist plans concerning the neutron bomb and the Brussels "missiles" decisions into joint actions in appropriate forms.*

*We would like to touch upon another practical question, which has been considered with unanimous criticism by representatives of 9 fraternal parties at the recent meeting of deputy heads of departments in Budapest. It concerns the growing number of congresses and forums as well as resolutions and appeals. In our view, it is rather counterproductive and decreases the impact of the actions, because we fail to direct the public*

*towards the key issues. There is, therefore, a danger of disorienting people. There are a big number of congresses and meetings planned for the near future. In our view, it is necessary to coordinate those actions and agree on the points to focus on.*

*This is also true about agreeing the practical approach to the World Parliament for Peace in Sofia. Our information shows that there is still not enough clarity about the agenda, draft documents and other problems of content. Another setback, in our view, is that the preparatory committee mostly consists of the representatives of World Peace Council Presidium. The World Parliament is still clearly presented as a World Peace Council event. Dutch “Stop the Neutron Bomb” movement, British Labour Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, Belgian “Action Committee for Peace and Cooperation” or Danish “Committee for Cooperation” are not involved in the preparation, which is obviously due to the known position of those organisations rejecting direct collaboration with the World Peace Council.*

*In our view, our common goal – helping the success of this important parliament of peoples – requires immediate solutions to a number of political, organisational and other problems.*

*Finally, we would like to remind of the proposal, introduced by the United Socialist Party of Germany some time ago, to organise a global meeting for disarmament involving very broad forces. Could not we use the planned meetings, forums etc. to prepare such a global broad meeting of the opponents of weapons, which would exceed all the earlier meetings of peace-loving forces in its political and social broadness and international representation? Perhaps, such a meeting could take place as early as in 1981, and preferably in one of the capitalist countries. We could use the positive experience of Moscow World Peace Congress in 1973, Berlin Emergency Meeting of the World Peace Council Presidium in 1979, and the existing new opportunities.*

## Appendix 4

### E-mail from Gerard Batten to Chairman Barroso, 24 November 2009

*Questions re Baroness Ashton*

*Tuesday, 24 November, 2009 19:43*

*From: BATTEN Gerard  
To: BARROSO Jose-Manuel  
Cc: All MEPs*

*Dear Mr Barroso,*

*I was unable able to ask you a question today in the chamber. I would therefore like to make you acquainted with certain facts and ask you three questions.*

*Baroness Ashton was Treasurer for the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND), 1980-1982.*

*CND was notoriously secretive about its sources of funding and did not submit its accounts to independent audit; however, after public pressure they were audited for the first time in 1982-1983 (Godfrey Lord & Co). It was found that 38% of their annual income (£176,197) could not be traced back to the original donors.*

*The person responsible for this part of CND fund-raising, from anonymous donors, was Will Howard, a member of the Communist Party of Great Britain.*

*The Russian dissident and internationally respected figure Vladimir Bukovsky, has shown from his research that the nuclear disarmament campaigns across Europe were largely funded by the Soviet bloc. Mr Bukovsky has proven with hundreds of top secret documents from Soviet archives that the worldwide disarmament campaign in the 1980s was covertly orchestrated from Moscow. The money was channelled through communist parties or other pro-Soviet organisations and individuals.*

*If therefore seems very likely that the unidentified income came from the Soviet bloc.*

*If Baroness Ashton did not know where the unidentified income came from she was incompetent. If she did not ask where it came from she was negligent. If she did know that it came from the Soviet bloc then she knowingly accepted money from a hostile foreign power in order to undermine Britain's and NATO's defence policies.*

*Anyone who was compromised by the Soviet Union in the 1980s remains compromised by the Russian Federation.*

*In the light of these facts, my questions are:*

- 1) Do you still believe that she is a fit and proper person to be in charge of the EU's (and Britain's) Foreign and Security Policy?*
- 2) Do you intend to investigate these claims further? If not, why not?*
- 3) If the answer to the second question is 'Yes' would you like me to supply you with the contact details of Mr Bukovsky, and others, who can give you more detailed information about this matter?*

*Yours sincerely,*

*Gerard Batten MEP  
UK Independence Party  
London*

*END*