

SECRET COVERING: **TOP SECRET**



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Other paper attached

Dear John,

When we met, with Michael Palliser and Conrad Heron, on 9th January, we discussed briefly how to handle the Security Service's latest assessment of the subversive threat; and we agreed that, before deciding how it should be handled in Whitehall, we should ourselves see the assessment, so that we could take our decisions on handling when we had done so.

... I now enclose a copy of the document, together with a copy of a document agreed among West European Security Services last December on Soviet Bloc Subversion.

I am sending copies of this letter with the documents to Michael Palliser and Ken Barnes, and without the documents to Michael Hanley; and my office will be getting in touch with your offices about arrangements for a meeting.

Yours sincerely

Arthur Peterson

(ARTHUR PETERSON)

Sir John Hunt KCB

SECRET COVERING: **TOP SECRET**

THE THREAT OF SUBVERSION TO THE UK

APRIL 1976

INTRODUCTION

Aim

1. The purpose of this paper is to examine and assess the threat presented to the UK by subversion. It does not deal with the threat arising from Irish extremism.

Summary

2. Subversion is defined as activities which threaten the safety or well-being of the State and are intended to undermine or overthrow parliamentary democracy by political, industrial or violent means. It presents the most immediate threat where it impinges directly on central democratic institutions, in particular upon the process of Government and its ability to maintain the country's defences and secure its economic stability.

3. The main subversive threat to the authority of Government is directed through the trade union movement. By exploiting the efforts of successive Governments in recent years to restrain domestic inflation and improve the framework of industrial relations, subversive groups have exacerbated the Government's problems in these vital areas and have increased their own influence in the trade unions. This increase in subversive influence in the trade unions has made an important contribution to the leftward shift in certain sections of the Labour Party. The most important of these, the National Executive Committee (NEC), which in 1973 removed some obstacles to the extension of Communist influence within the Labour Party, is now hesitating to take action against Trotskyist activity at constituency level. Because of this leftward shift, and because the trade union movement has increasingly been prepared to accept the need for wage restraint, subversive organisations are now devoting

more attention to the Labour Party itself. These developments have assisted, and have themselves benefited from, the subversive effort of the Soviet bloc which is exploiting détente to make increased use of subversion as a disguised instrument of foreign policy.

4. Less immediate and better contained, but still important in the context of the subversive attack on the process of Government, is the threat presented by subversion in the public service. Its most worrying aspect is the success which subversive organisations have had in penetrating certain Civil Service unions. Subversion in education and in the media, both of which are fundamental to the democratic process, appears to pose a threat in the longer term, as does subversive exploitation of racial issues.

5. Political terrorism is a violent manifestation of subversion. A number of foreign based groups, some of which have supporting contacts in the UK, including the intelligence services of Cuba, Iraq, Libya and the PDRY, present a constant threat. Adherents of the domestic ultra Left may give support to these groups, or to 'Irish' terrorism, or indulge in violence on their own account. Although limited in number, extreme nationalists in Scotland and Wales who are prepared to use violence may pose a more serious problem, depending on political developments, than they do today.

SUBVERSION IN THE LABOUR MOVEMENTThe Trade Union MovementThe Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB)

1. The CPGB poses the major subversive threat in the trade union movement. The extent of its influence in the national leadership of the 34 major unions is indicated in Appendix A. Approximately 1 in 500 trade unionists is a member of the CPGB. Approximately 1 in 5 of the leading full time officials and Executive Committee members in these unions is a Communist or Communist sympathiser. This numerical approach, however, underestimates the extent of Communist influence. A small disciplined group pursuing a well-rehearsed policy can influence a much larger body such as a union Executive whose other members do not act in concert. Communist influence at Executive level is backed up by the CPGB's apparatus up and down the country, through which it can marshal rank and file support for its policies.
2. The aim of the CPGB in seeking to increase its influence in the trade union movement is essentially political. The Party's ultimate objective is to offset its numerical and electoral weakness by obtaining a dominant influence in the Labour Party. Partly because of the ban on Communists becoming members of the Labour Party, the CPGB exploits the trade unions as a back door into the Labour movement. Since 1966 several factors have combined to increase the CPGB's influence in some major unions. During this period the political influence of the trade union movement as a whole, and of these major unions in particular, has increased.
3. Between 1966 and 1974 the most important factors were the efforts of successive Governments to control domestic inflation through an incomes policy and to improve the framework of industrial relations. The CPGB, which differs from the mass of the Labour Movement in regarding political conflict as a means of advancing the class struggle, was able to exploit traditional trade union opposition to imposed reforms and interference in free collective bargaining to stimulate industrial conflict and turn it into political confrontation. As a result, the influence of the CPGB in the trade union movement has increased. At the same time, the ability of Government to exert effective control in the two vital areas of the economy and industrial relations has been limited.

4. Two major unions have been particularly important in these developments. The National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), in which Communist influence has grown significantly in recent years, has played a leading role in opposing wage restraint, including the defeat of the statutory policy in 1974. The Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers (AUEW), regarded by the Party in recent years as second only to the NUM as a vehicle for Communist influence, has also been in the forefront of opposition to wage restraint and industrial relations legislation.

5. Since 1974 the TUC has participated closely in the formulation and implementation of the Government's counter-inflation policy. As the concept of voluntary restraint has gained acceptance in the Labour movement, the CPGB's efforts have turned towards an attempt to drive a wedge between the Government and the Left wing of the Labour movement in order to create pressures to force the TUC into opposition. The NUM and the AUEW have again been the major vehicles for Communist influence. The Party's efforts to challenge voluntary wage restraint by persuading the NUM to adopt a massive wage claim have to date been unsuccessful. In the course of its manoeuvrings over the formulation of such a claim, a rift has developed between leading Communists in the NUM and SCARGILL, a Communist sympathiser. For the moment, this has weakened the CPGB's position in the union. In the AUEW, the main vehicle for Communist opposition to voluntary wage restraint at the TUC Conferences in 1974 and 1975, the CPGB suffered setbacks in elections during 1975 (see Appendix A). As a result the union has reversed its policy of opposition to voluntary wage restraint. Because of the difficulties which it has encountered in its attempts to extend its political influence through mass trade union action the CPGB is now placing greater emphasis on extending its influence in the Labour Party itself (see paragraphs 9 - 12 below).

Trotskyist groups

6. The Trotskyists, unlike the CPGB, do not generally seek to further their own political ends through alliances within the trade union movement. Their aim is to overthrow it, either by attacking and discrediting it from the outside, or by penetrating it in order to transform its character. One of the main threats posed by Trotskyist activity in industry (as elsewhere) has been its tendency to raise the level of agitation. In the short term this can create problems for the Communists, who sometimes feel obliged to outdo the Trotskyists. But in the longer term, the Communist Party, with its more respectable image and better organisation and discipline, benefits from the rise in

the temperature of industrial relations caused by this competition in militancy. In the present industrial relations climate Trotskyist agitation may benefit the Communists more directly by enhancing the apparent respectability of the 'Broad Left' alliances through which the CPGB attempts to influence important unions.

Soviet bloc subversion

7. The trade union movement in Western Europe is a major target for Soviet subversion. Through organisations under its control, the most important of which are the Soviet All Union Central Council of Trade Unions (AUCCTU) and the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU), the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) is making some progress towards its ultimate aim of creating a single Communist-dominated European trade union organisation. WFTU's contacts with some major British trade unions, such as the AUEW (in which the CPGB has considerable influence), are providing valuable assistance. Communist influence in the existing European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC) is increasing and the attitude of the British TUC, which itself appears to have no intention of re-affiliating to WFTU, could be a decisive factor in its further extension. Since 1974 there has been a considerable increase in the extent of British trade union contacts with WFTU, the AUCCTU and its counterparts in other Soviet bloc countries. The CPGB has used its influence in the trade unions to support these developments.

8. One of the CPSU's highest priorities in Western Europe at present is its campaign for disarmament. Since 1973 the World Peace Council (WPC), which it controls, has displayed a particular interest in expanding its connections in this country and involving them in international activities. In particular, it is seeking to link the current 'crisis of capitalism' with defence expenditure and to secure the support of leading figures within the British trade unions and Labour movement for the campaign. The International Forum on Disarmament, held at York at the end of March, was conceived by the WPC and is an example of the CPSU's attempts to influence public opinion on this issue. The WPC's activities and its policy towards the UK constitute a particular security threat. The non-Communists involved may believe that the 'peace' campaign is unrelated to the requirements of Soviet foreign policy or fail to appreciate its significance for the policies and interests of their own Governments.

The Labour PartyThe Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB)

9. In recent years Communist influence in the trade unions has made a major contribution to the leftward shift in influential sections of the Labour Party, particularly its National Executive Committee (NEC). The trade unions have opposed Government economic policies by industrial action and by their votes in the Labour Party Conference (where the trade unions control over 80% of the total votes cast), in the Labour Party NEC and in Constituency Labour Parties (CLPs). By exploiting this situation, the CPGB has made some progress towards establishing a broad front of 'Left unity' with the Left wing of the Labour Party. Through its influence in the Labour Party, particularly on the NEC, the CPGB played an important part in the withdrawal in 1973 of the Labour Party's list of proscribed organisations, a major step in the blurring of fundamental differences between Communist and social democratic politics. The list included all the Communist-controlled Friendship Societies and Peace organisations and the international Communist 'fronts', eg the World Peace Council (WPC) and the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU). The CPGB is now working towards a change in the rule whereby only Labour Party members may attend Labour Party Conferences. If Communists were permitted to represent their unions at the Conference the door would be open to direct Communist influence in the formulation of Labour Party policy.

10. In support of this long-term strategy the CPGB's present tactic is to create a rift between leaders of the Parliamentary Labour Party and the Party's Left wing. The CPGB believes that the development of Communist influence in the Labour Party NEC is of fundamental importance since, through its sympathisers and collaborators there, it is able to exploit disagreements on policy within the Labour Party and stimulate opposition to Government policy on key issues such as unemployment and wage restraint. Particularly relevant in this context is Communist influence on the Home Policy Committee and some of its sub-committees. The CPGB also has influence on the International Committee, which is encouraging the development of official links between the Labour Party and the Soviet bloc Communist Parties, thus benefiting both the CPSU and the CPGB. The presence of Communist sympathisers and collaborators on the NEC is contributing to its present reluctance to take action against Trotskyist activities within the Labour Party (see paragraphs 13 - 15 below).

11. Within the Parliamentary Labour Party the CPGB is making a sustained effort to develop contacts with Left wing MPs and in particular with a small group within the Tribune Group. By coaching these and other sympathetic MPs on particular issues, and manipulating them into leading posts in Communist-influenced pressure groups such as Liberation, the Chile Solidarity Campaign and the Anti-Apartheid Movement, the Party seeks to extend its links with the Parliamentary Labour Party. Applying pressure through such contacts the CPGB is able, on some chosen issues, to bring a decisive influence to bear on the attitude of the Labour Party. The CPGB also recognises that its influence in the Labour movement, particularly in the trade unions, provides it with the means to intervene in the selection of sponsored MPs. It plans to make more use of this tactic than it has in the past.

12. Communists cannot become directly involved in the management of CLPs, and the CPGB discourages clandestine penetration. The Party is, therefore, seeking to extend its influence on organisations affiliated to the Labour Party, such as trades councils, trade unions at local level and co-operative societies. It has declared its intention of working through constituencies to remove 'Right wing' Labour MPs. Through its influence upon delegates from CLPs as well as trade unions the CPGB has the means to intervene indirectly on selected issues at the Labour Party Conference.

Trotskyist Groups

13. Trotskyist groups are unlikely to reduce the scale of their attack upon the Labour Party while their activities at constituency level continue to meet with success and the Labour Party NEC takes no official action on the Underhill report. Trotskyist 'entrism' (the practice of working under cover in other organisations so as to influence and ultimately control their policies) in CLPs presents a direct threat to some MPs and thus to the Parliamentary Labour Party's ability to resist subversive pressures upon and within the Party as a whole. Because of its covert nature, the effect of 'entrism' is difficult to assess. In nine CLPs where there is Trotskyist influence, the sitting Labour MP is at risk. There are varying degrees of Trotskyist influence in a further 43 CLPs in constituencies with Labour MPs. In constituencies not represented by Labour MPs, Trotskyists have some influence in 24 CLPs.

14. The major Trotskyist 'entrist' group is the Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL) which, despite having held a successful National Conference in August 1975, refuses to admit its own existence. By Trotskyist standards it is

growing rapidly, and now has some 900 members. The main vehicle for its activities in the constituencies is the Labour Party Young Socialists (LPYS), whose National Executive Committee is under RSL control. The LPYS has 389 branches throughout the country. The RSL claimed to have had 45 delegates at the last Labour Party Conference. One of its members is a co-opted representative of the LPYS on the Labour Party NEC. Other Trotskyist groups practise 'entrism': for example, the recently formed International Communist League (ICL), which is a successor to Workers' Fight, an organisation which sought to promote revolutionary activity within the Labour movement. Two long-standing Trotskyist groups, the International Marxist Group (IMG) and the Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP), both of which had abandoned 'entrism', have resumed it within the last nine months (in the latter case on a limited and selective basis).

15. Some Trotskyists now recognise that overt involvement in protest action in constituencies could harm their interests by alerting the main stream of the Labour Party to the threat of subversion. Nevertheless, in addition to their 'entrism' activities, they are continuing their efforts to achieve influence in CLPs by penetrating affiliated organisations such as trades councils. Trotskyist groups have little influence amongst MPs or the national officials of the Labour Party. Their contacts tend to be opportunist. Nevertheless, through campaigns on particular issues, such as the Shrewsbury pickets, they are able to add to the subversive pressures upon and tensions within the Labour Party at all levels.

Soviet Bloc Subversion

16. The CPSU has declared its intention of 'strengthening Left wing currents' in the British Labour Party. Its increasing contacts with British trade unions together with less formal cultivation of British trade unionists are making an important contribution towards this objective. At the same time the CPSU is orchestrating all the instruments under its control to establish and extend relations with other influential members of the non-Communist Left. Representatives of the Soviet bloc intelligence services based in London under diplomatic cover continue to place a heavy emphasis on the cultivation of political and Parliamentary contacts. The CPSU is making a considerable effort to develop official links with the Labour Party. In this connection it has made increasing use of the East German Communist Party since the advent of 'Ostpolitik' and the recognition of the GDR by the West.

Forecast

17. The CPGB's policy of challenging voluntary wage restraint will be maintained, though no major union shows an inclination to stage a confrontation with Government during the present round of wage negotiations. Despite its own predictions to the contrary, the CPGB's influence on the TUC General Council has not been significantly increased by the changes which took place at the 1975 TUC Conference. The support of Jack JONES, General Secretary of the Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU), for the Government's wage restraint policy will remain an obstacle both in the trade unions and in the Labour Party to subversive efforts to undermine wage restraint.
18. The CPGB judges that the issue most likely to divide the Labour Party is unemployment. It has been conducting a broad-front 'Left unity' campaign, encouraging mass action in the form of demonstrations, lobbies and rallies, as well as protest action in the Parliamentary Labour Party, particularly the 'Tribune Group'. Its campaign has benefited from the parallel Trotskyist campaign, in particular the 'Right to Work' march organised by the International Socialists (IS). MPs and trade union officials have tended to support the Communist-inspired 'Assembly on Unemployment', held in London on 27 March, as a relatively respectable alternative to the Trotskyist campaign. The Assembly, which was a high point of the Party's campaign, called for militant action in the form of a 'day of action' on 26 May backed by stoppages, a march in London and a lobby of Parliament.
19. The CPGB hoped that its campaign would generate sufficient pressure to secure a recall of the TUC Conference, at which it might be possible to reverse or substantially qualify the support of the Labour movement for Government policies; it had intended that the Assembly on Unemployment would give a positive lead in this direction. This intention was, however, pre-empted by the TUC General Council, which, in mid-March, indicated that it would be calling some form of consultative conference to discuss a successor pay policy.
20. During the spring and summer, while discussions on wages policy continue, subversive groups will maintain their demands for a return to unfettered free collective bargaining. The NUM and the AUEW will retain their central importance to the CPGB. Despite setbacks in the AUEW (see paragraph 5 above) the CPGB has recently increased its representation amongst the union's Conference delegates. Nearly half will support the Communist line and the outcome may be finely balanced. The CPGB is currently attempting to formulate a

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claim for consideration by the NUM Conference in July which will provide a challenge to any wage restraint policy while being sufficiently realistic to secure strong rank-and-file support. These Communist efforts to bring about a breakdown in the understanding between the Government and the TUC over wages policy will be repeated at many other union Conferences prior to the TUC Conference in September. If such a breakdown should occur, subversive groups, principally the CPGB, may be expected to move quickly to exploit the situation, and at that difficult stage their activities could have serious consequences.

21. While concentrating on the central issue of domestic economic policy as a means of increasing its political influence, the CPGB will continue to exploit other opportunities to extend its influence at all levels in the Labour Party. It will maintain its contact and collaboration with members of the Labour Party NEC and continue its search for other short-term issues over which to develop links with MPs in order to subject the unity of the Parliamentary Labour Party to further strain.

22. The World Peace Council (WPC), the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU), the World Federation of Scientific Workers (WFSW) and the International Union of Students (IUS), all of which are international Communist front organisations under the control of the CPSU, are paying increasing attention to the UK. The WFSW which, like the WFTU, is taking up the Soviet theme of Western disarmament as a solution to economic problems, plans to hold a General Assembly in London in September.

23. The Trotskyist attack on the Labour Party at constituency level is likely to be maintained as long as the groups involved believe that they can make progress. The Labour Party NEC appears reluctant at present to take official action on the Underhill report (see paragraph 13 above). If subversive groups, particularly the CPGB, succeed in increasing their influence upon it, it may be even less inclined to counter Trotskyist activity in the future.

THE PUBLIC SERVICE

24. Although the security procedures introduced to give effect to the Attlee declaration in 1948, and their subsequent extension and refinements, were designed primarily to protect secrets, they have had the effect of excluding individuals with subversive views or associations from the Diplomatic

Service, from Under Secretary and more senior grades in the Civil Service, from commissioned ranks in the Armed Forces, from most of the Royal Navy, the Royal Air Force and large sections of the Army, as well as from posts which afford access to information classified CONFIDENTIAL or above (51 Communists or Communist sympathisers, 7 Trotskyists and 2 Fascists still had some access at the end of 1975. Of these, only 18 had access to information above CONFIDENTIAL).

25. The holding of subversive views is, however, no bar to employment in the Civil Service outside these senior grades or the departments and posts which afford access to classified information, and some 1,450 Civil Servants have significant security records. These tend to be concentrated in departments which have least involvement with classified information. Thus large departments in the social sphere, such as Employment (DE) and Health and Social Security (DHSS), tend to have rather more employees with subversive records than other departments. The numbers involved are a very small proportion of the total, but they constitute a potential threat to the efficient functioning of these departments.

26. The activities of subversive organisations in relation to the Civil Service tend to be concentrated on achieving influence in the two largest Civil Service unions, the Civil and Public Services Association (CPSA) and the Society of Civil Servants (SCS). Competition between subversive groups has raised the level of militancy, and the growth of subversive influence in these unions is the principal danger in the public service. An amalgamation between the two is under discussion. A serious threat to the Government's ability to administer its policies could arise if the present subversive influence in the leadership of the CPSA were matched in the leadership of an amalgamated union. The introduction of a post-entry closed shop would create further problems.

27. A popular tactic of the ultra Left is to seek out and publish information which will embarrass the Government. In this connection, although members of the ultra Left in the Post Office do not appear at present to be actively enquiring into postal and telephone interception, their presence constitutes a threat to the security of such operations. There is a danger that the replacement of Section II of the Official Secrets Acts by a more selective application of criminal sanctions will diminish a deterrent provided by those sanctions against disruptively motivated publication of official information.

28. Subversive influence in the Armed Forces is negligible; less than 50 members have significant subversive records and none has access to information classified CONFIDENTIAL or above. The CPGB carefully avoids recruiting serving members

of the Armed Forces and is circumspect in its propaganda. Ultra Left organisations, although not engaged in any deliberate policy of inciting disaffection, are less cautious.

EDUCATION

29. At this stage of investigation an authoritative assessment of the threat presented by subversion in education can not be made. Nevertheless, some provisional conclusions have been reached.

30. There is a threat of subversion to and through education. Subversive forces are attempting to revolutionise the educational system and to use it as a weapon in their attack on Parliamentary democracy. They operate in educational institutions and in unions and professional associations representing students and teachers. They include not only members of subversive organisations but substantial numbers of the non-aligned ultra Left.

31. All extreme Left groups recognise the importance of youth as a target and some (such as the IMG) are almost entirely student based. Rivalry between them for influence among students, reflected in competitive militancy, will continue to pose a threat to authority in universities and technical and training colleges. The ultra Left is also active in schools. For example, the aim of the IS-controlled unofficial Rank and File group in the National Union of Teachers (NUT) is 'to force change and progress ... in the general sociological and educational field'. IS and other ultra-Left groups advocate a change in the traditional relationship between teachers and school children, and support radical school childrens' movements such as the National Union of School Students (NUSS), which is being revived under an Anarchist President. The WRP, through its youth wing, the Young Socialists (YS), aims to recruit children in schools. It is clear that as well as seeking to revolutionise the educational system some Trotskyist teachers exploit opportunities to proselytize their pupils. They are certain to be supported, and may be pre-empted, by 'unaffiliated militants' and 'independent activists'.

32. The most important single instrument of subversion in education is the National Union of Students (NUS), whose leadership is at present dominated by the CPGB and its collaborators in the 'Broad Left'. It is used as a vehicle not only for Communist policy on higher education but in

support of the Party's more directly political objectives. To further both, the CPGB is currently encouraging the NUS to develop closer links with the trade unions.

33. The threat from subversion in education is likely to increase, particularly if subversive influence in the teaching unions grows, and if teachers, converted as students to revolutionary beliefs, begin to indoctrinate their own pupils on a wider scale.

THE MEDIA

34. There is no evidence that any subversive group at headquarters level is pursuing a deliberate policy of infiltrating members and sympathisers into the Media in order to carry out a co-ordinated programme of subversion. The threat is rather one of a constant erosion of the authority of established democratic institutions, through the work of individuals and small circles of collaborators with varying degrees of subversive affiliations. These subversive individuals may not only produce slanted work on their own account; they may also exploit and encourage the anti-establishment and highly articulate (but not necessarily subversive) people whom the Media - particularly television, radio and the press - tend to attract.

35. Subversive groups are aware of the value of the Media. The Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP) in particular has attracted to it a small number of talented writers, directors and producers whose abilities are exploited in its interests. Gerry HEALY, the General Secretary of the WRP, appears more interested in employing their technical skills and the charisma of their contacts in the entertainment world directly for the Party than in penetration and manipulation of the Media. Nevertheless, in television drama members and associates of the WRP produce work containing elements of Trotskyist propaganda. At the same time, the WRP has a wide range of contacts in the Media through whom Trotskyist influence may be brought to bear in the reporting of news and current affairs.

36. A number of other individuals with records of membership of, or sympathy with, subversive organisations or of contact with officers of hostile intelligence services, occupy positions of influence in the Media. It is generally difficult to establish whether such bias as may be detectable in their work or that of their protégés (who may themselves have no subversive intention) is subversively inspired. Amongst those organisations in the Media which appear to have

acquired a disproportionate extreme Left element on their staff are Granada TV (particularly the 'World in Action' documentary programme), the Sunday Times, and the Guardian. In the case of the first at least, there is some evidence that individuals with subversive affiliations have deliberately recruited others with similar views.

RACIAL ISSUES

37. Despite the inferior social and economic status of the coloured community, the exploitation of racial issues by extreme Left (including Black Power) organisations does not in the short term pose a substantial subversive threat. The coloured community is particularly vulnerable to a decline in economic standards, and a continuing rise in unemployment could render it more susceptible to subversive influences. In the longer term the prospect is more threatening. In some urban areas with high coloured populations the involvement of 'second generation' black youths in crime and violence now poses a significant law and order problem. This could lead to a severe deterioration in race relations. Should this happen, such factors as the growing alienation of black youths from the older generation, their deliberate cultivation of separate social customs, unemployment, housing difficulties, or even the emergence of an influential extremist to provide leadership, could well produce a situation which Black Power and other subversive organisations could exploit with serious effects. The threat would come not only from Black Power and other extreme Left groups but also from the extreme Right.

THE EXTREME RIGHT

38. On the extreme Right there is a number of neo-Nazi organisations. None is of any real significance, as their limited membership renders them largely ineffective. The largest is the British Movement, with a little over 400 members. Its members occasionally pursue its racist policies with violence. The Union Movement, still led by Sir Oswald MOSELEY, retains some (around 400) of his former supporters. Recruitment is negligible and the membership is ageing. Before it split into two in December 1975 the National Front (NF) was neither Fascist nor subversive. The 'Nationalist' faction led by the former neo-Nazis John TYNDALL

and Martin WEBSTER, which has retained the name National Front, may now adopt more seriously National Socialist policies. The 'Populist' faction, known as the National Party (NP), will probably continue the policies embraced by the NF before the split. Apart from their virulent racism, these owe little to Fascism. Nevertheless, the NP also numbers former neo-Nazis amongst its leaders.

39. Because of the readiness of the ultra Left to exploit the antagonism which 'Fascist' policies arouse, the extreme Right presents more of a law and order than a security threat. Should there be a severe deterioration in race relations, a small number of genuine Fascists (including those in the NF and the NP), would attempt to take advantage of the situation to encourage violence in order to further their own political ends.

40. The extreme Right has in recent years threatened to react violently during periods of severe industrial unrest. Though this does not pose a problem at present, the threat could arise again should widespread national industrial action re-occur. In such circumstances the strength of an extreme Right 'backlash' would be specifically related to the extent to which industrial action appeared to have been instigated by subversive elements on the extreme Left.

POLITICAL TERRORISM

41. The passing of the Prevention of Terrorism Act in 1974 caused domestic ultra Left organisations to modify their attitudes to the Irish Republican Army (IRA). None now publicly expresses unqualified support: most believe that violence in Great Britain may damage their own interests. As organisations they do not appear to be involved in IRA activity. Individuals with ultra Left sympathies have, however, been involved in bomb incidents. Others may follow their example, but their motivation is likely to be Irish rather than ultra Left. Similarly, individual adherents of the ultra Left could offer support in this country to other external terrorist groups.

42. Some of the genuine revolutionaries within the broad spectrum of the 'Alternative Society' may be prepared to use violence in the furtherance of their aims. There is still evidence of the existence of that blend of traditional Anarchist, Situationist and Alternative ideologies which led to the formation of the Angry Brigade. Some Maoist and Anarchist groups, apparently following a pattern established

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by the New Left in Germany, are deliberately attempting to recruit prisoners. Their intention appears to be to acquire criminal expertise, and this could herald an increase in 'revolutionary criminality'.

43. There are a few extreme nationalists on the criminal fringes in Scotland and Wales who are prepared to use violence. The level of their activity is to some extent dictated by political circumstances. For example, in 1975 the Scottish Tartan Army claimed responsibility for attacks on oil installations. Such incidents may become more frequent as production increases. Dissatisfaction with the outcome of discussions on devolution could encourage extreme nationalism in both Scotland and Wales. The level of activity in Wales, lower at present than in Scotland, could increase when John Barnard JENKINS, a prominent Welsh extremist, is released from prison in the summer.

44. There is a continuing external threat of Arab or Arab-sponsored terrorist activity in the UK, primarily against Israeli targets, and some risk to British targets. Those engaged in such activity could include not only Palestinian Arab revolutionary groups, such as the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) and its offshoots supported by the intelligence services of Arab countries (eg Libya, Iraq and the PDRY), but also non-Arab groups and revolutionaries operating on an agency basis (eg the 'CARLOS' group and the Japanese Red Army (JRA)). The possibility that any of these external groups might be supported by Arabs, non-Arabs or British subjects resident in this country cannot be ruled out.

45. A lesser, but no less persistent threat is presented by the presence here of Croatian and Spanish terrorist elements. Certain Chilean refugees in this country, who in Chile were connected with the revolutionary Left, also pose a continuing problem.

46. There is no evidence that the Soviet Union or any other country in the Soviet bloc exerts any central control or direction of terrorist groups. The Soviet Union openly supports national liberation groups, but not urban guerilla activity, which it regards as 'adventurist'. In certain cases, however, it does give clandestine support to terrorists on an unattributable basis. For example, it provides training and assistance in travel through Soviet bloc countries. The 'CARLOS' group had a support base in East Germany (GDR) to provide arms. 'CARLOS' himself was in Moscow from 1968 - 1970. Opportunities for the training of non-Arab terrorists, including individuals from the UK as well as from Ireland, are provided by Palestinian groups (eg the PFLP) in the Middle East.

47. There is also an important Cuban dimension to this subject. Since 1970 the Cuban Intelligence Service (DGI) has had a number of KGB advisers in its midst. Its allotted task has been not only to collect intelligence but also to support selected 'national liberation' groups. It is now clear from the 'CARLOS' case that the Cubans are prepared to support certain terrorist groups in Western Europe. They are active 'politically' amongst the ever increasing number of Latin American Left wing extremists reaching Western Europe as refugees.

48. Soviet bloc intelligence services display an interest in the affairs of Trotskyist, Maoist and other revolutionary groups. Through its control of the DGI the KGB has some access to the revolutionary ultra Left, to whom the Cuban revolution has had a particularly emotive appeal.

SUBVERSION IN SOME MAJOR UNIONS, THE TUC AND THE SCOTTISH TUCThe National Union of Mineworkers (NUM)

1. Communist influence in the NUM has grown significantly in recent years, not only within the National Executive Committee but also at area level, particularly in the key Yorkshire area, and through an unofficial Communist-dominated organisation, the Miners National Left Club. In the 25 man Executive Committee the Party can rely on the support of six Communists, including McGAHEY, the Vice-President, and four Communist sympathisers. In practice the Party line is generally determined by the Communist Party's Industrial Organiser, RAMELSON, and McGAHEY. The Party has taken increasing care in recent years to ensure that its policies have had the support of the Yorkshire Area President, SCARGILL. Its Industrial Department is seriously concerned at the breakdown in its 'Broad Left' opposition and the breach with SCARGILL which occurred during the NUM Conference in July 1975. Despite RAMELSON's efforts to restore the unity of the 'Left', it is increasingly becoming apparent that SCARGILL is preparing himself to stand for national office in the NUM with or without the support of the CPGB.

2. The Miners National Left Club also makes an important contribution to the framing of Communist policy in the NUM. This unofficial body, which meets annually in Yorkshire, is controlled by leading Communists and sympathisers from the NUM Executive, notably McGAHEY and SCARGILL, and also by Professor Vic ALLEN, a Communist Professor of Industrial Relations at Leeds University. ALLEN, who has published his views on the necessity of conflict in industrial relations in a capitalist society, made a significant contribution to the strategy and tactics of the NUM in its national strikes of 1972 and 1974.

The Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers (AUEW)

3. The CPGB has in recent years regarded the AUEW as second only in importance to the NUM as a vehicle for Communist influence. RAMELSON attaches great importance to his professional relationship with the AUEW President Hugh SCANLON, and increasingly with Ken GILL, the General Secretary of the Technical and Supervisory Section (TASS).

4. The CPGB has in the last 12 months suffered a series of reverses in the AUEW, beginning with the defeat of its candidate, Bob WRIGHT (a Communist sympathiser) by John BOYD, a moderate, in the election for the post of General Secretary, continuing with the frustration by the High Court of attempts to assist other Communist-supported candidates for other offices in the union through violation of the union's rules, and culminating in the defeat of WRIGHT and the Communist Jimmy REID in Executive elections whose results were announced in mid November. In both sets of elections held last year, other Communist-supported candidates for less important posts suffered significant defeats.

5. The Party has recognised the recent results as a major setback to its activities in the AUEW. Despite its public condemnation of 'massive interference' by the media, it admitted privately that previous successes were often artificial on the basis of a low poll (it is in no doubt that the postal ballot is a factor seriously unfavourable to it), and saw in the results an indication of confidence in the Government's counter-inflation policy. Nevertheless the Party has resolved to reinforce its efforts in the AUEW and has particular hopes of securing an improvement of its position in the National Committee of the Engineering Section.

The Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU)

6. Following recent elections to the 39 member General Executive Council the Communist representation has been reduced from nine to four. However, the Party is well satisfied with the increase from two to three Communists in the important eight member Finance and General Purposes Committee. Communist influence in the union continues to be limited by Jack JONES' determination to maintain personal control of the union's policies and there is no likelihood of the Party's restoring its former working relationship with him. During the recent elections JONES indicated that he would welcome a reduction in the number of Communists on the General Executive Council.

The National Union of Seamen (NUS)

7. Following a period in which Communist influence had been in decline in this union, Jim SLATER, a former Communist sympathiser, was elected to the General Secretaryship in 1974

with the active support of the Communist Party. At the union's Biennial Conference in May 1974, the Communists and their supporters successfully opposed the predominantly moderate platform's resolution on wages, and gained significant influence in the newly elected Negotiating Committee. The Party followed this with a successful election campaign, which resulted in the new Executive Committee of the union, which took office in January 1975, containing four Communists and six sympathisers among its 19 voting members. Nevertheless, the Communists have been disappointed to see that the General Secretary, SLATER, despite his past connection with the Party, now associates with the moderate group on the Executive, and seeks to pursue a conciliatory line.

The Union of Construction, Allied Trades and Technicians

(UCATT)

8. In elections at the end of 1975 for the 15 man General Council the Communist Party fared badly and it now has five Communists and two sympathisers on the Council, compared with its previous representation of eight Communists and three sympathisers. On the 14 man Executive Committee, which is the most influential of the union's governing bodies, there are currently three Communists and one sympathiser. The Party hopes to improve its position in the Executive when elections are held later in the year.

The Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen

(ASLEF)

9. In the last two years the Party has significantly improved its position in ASLEF; there are two Communists and two sympathisers in the nine man Executive. Notwithstanding this, the Party has been unable to exercise effective influence over ASLEF policy. This is largely due to the chaotic workings of the ASLEF Executive which make intervention from outside difficult. Leading Communists in ASLEF and the NUR are currently co-operating in their efforts to generate opposition to cuts in railway expenditure. The CPGB will link this issue with its major national campaign against unemployment.

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The National Union of Railwaymen (NUR)

10. While Communist Party influence in the NUR has declined in recent years, the Party has, nevertheless, managed to maintain significant representation in the union's 24 man Executive Committee where there are currently six Communists and two sympathisers. Following the retirement of Sir Sidney GREENE as General Secretary in 1974 and the arrival of Sidney WEIGHELL, the Party has discerned an increase of militancy within the union, though it has no influence over WEIGHELL himself.

The Civil and Public Services Association (CPSA)

11. Communist influence in the CPSA, which had been slight for many years, increased considerably during 1974 and has remained at this high level. The National Executive Committee of the CPSA now contains five Communists and three Communist sympathisers. The voting strength of the Executive Committee is 29. The Communist Party has also succeeded in forming a 'Broad Left' group within the Executive Committee, consisting of 16 Party members, sympathisers and uncommitted Left-wingers, through which it seeks to extend its influence. As a reaction to this increased Communist influence, a group of moderates have organised themselves to try to counteract the 'Broad Left'. They were partially successful at last year's Annual Delegate Conference where their candidates were elected to the post of President and the two posts of Vice-President. The increase in Communist influence on the CPSA Executive is due in part to competition in militancy between the CPGB and Trotskyist groups.

The TUC General Council

12. Ken GILL, General Secretary of the Technical and Supervisory Section (TASS) of the AUEW, who in September 1974 became the first Communist to gain a seat on the 38 member General Council in a contested election, is now in his second year of office. In addition, there are seven members with varying degrees of Communist sympathy and one Maoist. The Communist Party's Industrial Organiser, RAMELSON, takes advantage of GILL's presence on the General Council to obtain intelligence on its proceedings. He hopes that the Communist sympathisers on the Council will, in due course, establish themselves as a group, taking the lead from GILL.

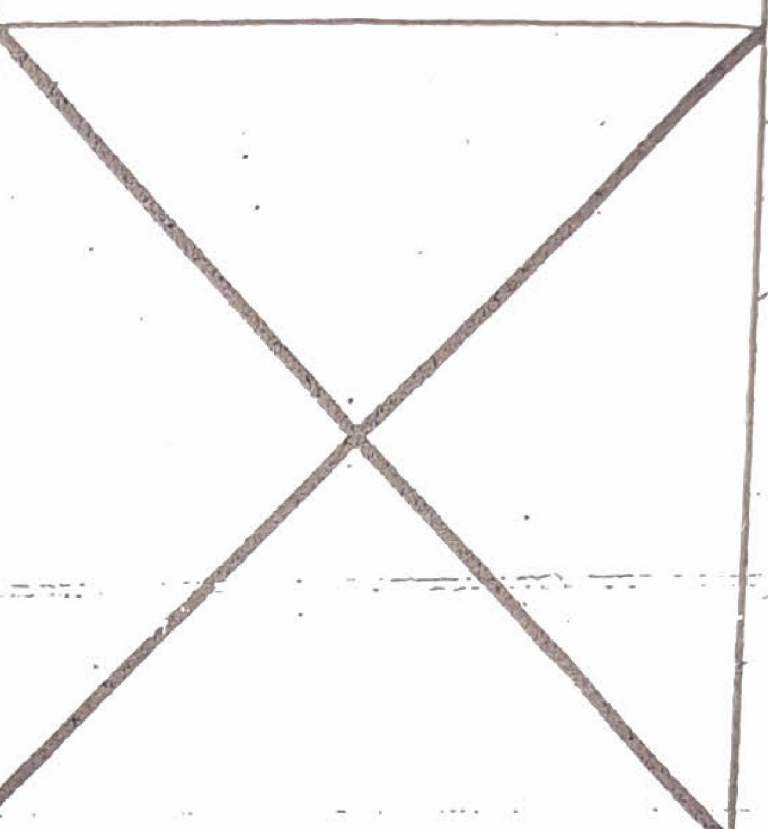
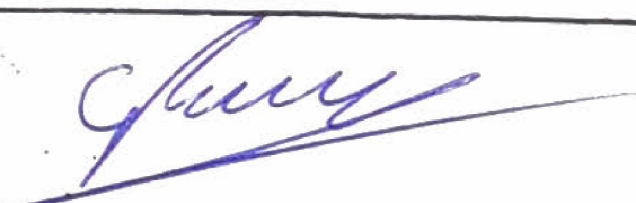
The STUC General Council

13. The present STUC General Council is substantially dominated by the Communist Party. Six of its 20 members are Communists, two are Communist sympathisers and at least a further two are prepared to act in concert with the Communist Party. In addition, the General Secretary, Jimmy MILNE, is a Communist and the Assistant General Secretary, James KIRKWOOD, is a Communist sympathiser.

International Socialist (IS) influence in white collar unions

14. During the last two years the Trotskyist IS has recognised that its revolutionary aims can be better pursued if it first establishes a position of greater influence in the trade union movement. It has therefore competed more strenuously in trade union elections. Whereas it has not made significant progress in the large and powerful manual unions, it has achieved some success in the professional and white collar unions, particularly in the National Union of Journalists (NUJ), and the National Union of Teachers (NUT) and, to a lesser extent, in the Association of Cinematograph and Television Technicians (ACTT), the Association of Scientific, Technical and Managerial Staffs (ASTMS) and the National Association of Local Government Officers (NALGO). In the NUJ there are now two IS members and two sympathisers in the Union's Executive of 27 members, while in the NUT three of the 44 Executive Committee members belong to IS.

A The National Archives

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SOVIET BLOC SUBVERSION

Introduction

1. The Soviet Union is a one-Party state, dominated by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) which, through the Politbureau, exercises control over all elements of Soviet society both at home and abroad, including the Russian Intelligence Services (RIS) (ie the KGB and GRU). Similar situations exist in other Communist-dominated regimes of Eastern Europe which in turn accept direction from the CPSU.

CPSU relations with foreign Communist Parties

2. Doctrinal disputes between the CPSU and many other Communist Parties since 1956 have eroded the CPSU's previously undisputed claim to leadership of the international Communist movement. There is no longer any central organisation, such as the pre-War Comintern, to co-ordinate the activities of national Communist Parties and/or to promote revolutionary activities abroad in association with the RIS.

3. Furthermore, non-governing Communist Parties in the West have their own interests and priorities, some of which diverge from those of the CPSU. Nevertheless, most Western Parties, including the CPGB, which has been amongst the more independent, support the overall aims of Soviet foreign policy in this current era of détente, and are prepared to co-operate with, and to receive financial support from, the CPSU. Whereas they may differ over domestic tactics (one version of these differences was given considerable publicity recently as a result of an article by John GOLLAN in 'Marxism Today') there is no fundamental difference between the CPSU and the CPGB over the basic Marxist/Leninist policy of encouraging the world revolutionary process. It is unlikely that the CPGB's 'Morning Star' (which is well regarded in Moscow) would survive in its present form in the absence of the considerable subsidies it receives from Soviet sources.

4. On the other hand, the fact that national Communist Parties, such as the CPGB, stress their ostensible independence of Moscow makes them in some ways a more effective instrument

for the achievement of Soviet aims. For its own part, the CPSU remains as anxious as ever to reinforce 'proletarian internationalism' and maintain as much unity of purpose as possible between the Parties. At the same time it seeks to strengthen Party-to-Party links by bilateral and multi-lateral contacts through its own organisations, as well as through the international Communist fronts which it controls. The CPSU effectively controls the World Marxist Review (WMR), published in Prague, which lays down ideological guidelines.

Sovbloc Communist Party contacts with the non-Communist Left

in the UK

5. 'A number of Socialist Parties support class, anti-imperialist positions. The CPSU has developed good friendly relations with them ... also very important is the strengthening of Left wing currents within such Parties as the British Labour Party'.

(Boris PONOMAREV, Kommunist, October 1971)

6. Most European non-governing Communist Parties, including the CPGB, are realistic enough to appreciate that their only hope of achieving power is by the exploitation of the conventional democratic processes rather than by a revolution. Thus, the cultivation of temporary alliances with other Parties of the Left is a task of prime importance for all Western European Parties.

7. Since PONOMAREV, a leading CPSU theoretician and Head of the CPSU's International Department, wrote the sentences quoted above in 1971, détente, the growing influence of the trade union movement on UK Government policies and the return to power of the Labour Party have increased the scope for the 'strengthening of Left wing currents'. The CPSU has placed greater emphasis upon the establishment of direct relations with influential members of the non-Communist Left. Such relations may be maintained either through bloc diplomatic representatives in this country, visiting representatives of international or 'specialist' front organisations, or invitations to British subjects to visit the Soviet bloc. By helping to blur the distinctions between Communist and social democratic politics these contacts make an important contribution to the CPSU's subversive attack.

8. At the end of 1974, the CPSU was anxious to obtain an invitation to send an official delegation to the British Labour Party. In the event, this project was not pursued. Early in 1975, representatives of the CPSU made a visit to London to coincide with a one-day Labour Party Conference on the EEC. At the 1975 Labour Party Conference several Communist Governments, including East Germany (GDR), Bulgaria and Romania, were represented for the first time. Since the advent of 'Ostpolitik' and the recognition of the GDR by the West, the East German Communist Party has become an increasingly important instrument of the CPSU.

International Communist Front Organisations

World Federation of Trade Unions

9. International Communist front organisations remain, as they were conceived by the CPSU, an important means of promoting or defending Soviet foreign policy initiatives in non-Communist countries.

10. At the present time, particularly in the context of the 'deepening crisis of capitalism', the trade union movement in Western Europe is a major target for the CPSU. It acts through its subordinate, the All Union Central Council of Trade Unions (AUCCTU), which in turn, together with its satellite counterparts, dominates the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU).

11. The WFTU's ultimate aim is to create a single Communist-dominated European trade union organisation. With this end in view, both the WFTU and AUCCTU have striven to re-establish and strengthen their links with Western trade unions and trade unionists at all levels, including those in the UK. WFTU has also exploited the official Soviet presence in the International Labour Organisation (ILO) to engineer East/West trade union gatherings in Geneva.

12. The existing European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC) is itself a target for Communist penetration. The Italian Communist-influenced Confederazione Generale Italiana del Lavoro (CGIL) has succeeded in joining, and the Communist Confederation Generale du Travail (CGT) of France (the other major Western European Associate of WFTU since 1949) wishes to follow suit. The AUCCTU and WFTU doubtless hope that eventually Communist influence within the ETUC may open the door to the admission of trade union 'national centres' from Sovbloc countries. Within the ETUC, the TUC wields considerable influence and its attitude could be a decisive factor in deciding the fate of the CGT initiative.

13. There is no suggestion that the TUC itself intends to re-affiliate to WFTU, or even to be officially represented at its meetings. Nevertheless, since 1974, there has been an appreciable increase in the extent of British trade union contacts with WFTU, as well as with the AUCCTU and its counterparts in other bloc countries. In January 1976, under arrangements made by Boris AVERYANOV, the Soviet Secretary of WFTU, Pierre GENSOUS, the General Secretary of WFTU, visited the Scottish TUC and met two leading trade union officials in London. This was the first visit to the UK by a WFTU Secretary since 1949. AVERYANOV hoped that GENSOUS would be received officially by the TUC. In the event, no invitation was forthcoming.

14. The AUCCTU, notwithstanding occasional 'solidarity' payments to British unions, is unlikely to attempt to interfere in British industrial disputes either on its own behalf or through WFTU, or to give tactical guidance to the CPGB. On the contrary, the CPSU will probably be content to see the AUCCTU, WFTU and its supporters in the West unobtrusively consolidating the gains made through détente and seeking further means to increase their influence at all levels in British and other Western European trade unions in support of Soviet foreign policy objectives.

The World Peace Council

15. The CPSU regards its campaign for disarmament as one of its highest priorities in Western Europe at present. Increasing use has been made of the WPC in the implementation of the 'peace programme' adopted by the CPSU at its 24th Congress in 1971. Since the Moscow Peace Congress of October 1973, the WPC has displayed a particular interest in expanding its connections with this country and involving them in international activities on a scale not seen since the days prior to the Sheffield Peace Congress in 1950. In particular the UK was selected as the venue for an International Forum on Disarmament held at the end of March 1976. The Forum was designed to exploit the climate created by the Helsinki Conference on European Security and Co-operation (CESC) of August 1975 and the pressures upon Western countries to reduce expenditure on arms rather than on social services. After leading Soviet bloc representatives, who had hoped to attend a preparatory meeting in January, were refused visas, the WPC withdrew its official sponsorship. It is organising its own 'World Forum' at Helsinki in August.

16. The WPC's activities and its policy towards the UK (and its NATO partners in the wider sphere) constitute a particular security threat. It is effectively controlled, and

largely financed, by the Soviet Union and its East European allies. It seeks to disseminate its propaganda and exploit popular and largely non-Communist support for 'peace' under the pretence that its purposes are unrelated to the requirements of Soviet foreign policy. Those non-Communists and genuine peace groups involved may overlook or fail to appreciate the significance of such activity for the policies and interests of their own Governments.

The World Federation of Scientific Workers

17. The World Federation of Scientific Workers (WFSW) is the only international Communist front organisation to have its headquarters in the UK. It is currently being used in support of the Soviet campaign for disarmament. The most important WFSW activity in 1975 was the symposium which it held in Moscow in July on 'The Role of Scientists in the struggle for Disarmament'. It is to hold a General Assembly in London in September on 'socio-economic developments and their relation to science and technology'.

The International Union of Students

18. For the first time in many years, the Soviet-controlled International Union of Students (IUS) appears to see an opportunity to establish a close relationship with the British National Union of Students (NUS). They arranged a joint international student seminar on Chile held in London from 10 - 14 November 1975. In addition to paying all costs incurred outside the UK, the IUS sent a powerful delegation, supported by representatives of other international front organisations. Since the conference, however, the NUS has censured its Secretary (a Communist) and removed her from her post as its International Organiser on the grounds that the NUS' international policy was one-sided, attacking American but not Soviet imperialism.

The role of the Committee for State Security (KGB) and other Soviet bloc Intelligence Services in the promotion of subversive activities

19. The KGB is an integral part of the Soviet state machine and is represented at the highest levels in both

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Party and Government structures. Its position in the Soviet hierarchy and its role in the implementation of Soviet policy (it has no parallel in any Western democracy) are reflected in the scale of the resources that it deploys, in the degree of assistance that it is able to draw upon from other Soviet organisations and private citizens, and in the wide objectives that it pursues abroad, ranging from the collection of foreign intelligence to intervention in the internal affairs of other countries.

20. Soviet official missions and agencies abroad provide large numbers of cover posts from which KGB officers, assisted by other Soviet officials co-opted as necessary for intelligence work, engage in subversive activities as well as intelligence gathering. Visits, including those arising out of academic, cultural and scientific exchange programmes, are also exploited in the intelligence and subversive attack.

21. The intelligence services of the Soviet Union and the East European countries have increasingly been harnessed to these political objectives. The significant expansion of the KGB role in the promotion of subversive activities is reflected in the upgrading in 1967 to full directorate status of the component responsible for the co-ordination of these activities. Defectors have reported that there are similar organisations in the East European services and that their activities, in turn controlled and directed by Moscow, play an important part in the overall scheme. In the UK, in particular, the Romanians and Hungarians, and to a lesser extent the other Communist intelligence services, are all known to be engaged in the promotion of subversive activities. The intelligence officers of these services, like the KGB, occupy cover posts in the official missions and agencies of their countries.

22. The Soviet and East European intelligence services seek to achieve their subversive objectives in a number of ways. Amongst them are the manipulation of information, true and false, the circulation of forgeries, the spreading of rumours, and the mounting of discrediting and disruptive operations directed against individuals, Governments and other organisations considered hostile to the Soviet bloc.

23. An important aspect of the subversive attack by the intelligence services of the Soviet bloc is their use of agents of influence - people who are in a position, consciously or unconsciously, to influence Government policy and public opinion in the interests of the Communist countries or to supply inside information about policies, personalities, and parties which can be exploited for disruptive purposes by these services. Amongst these are journalists, Government officials, public figures (including politicians) and employees

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of intelligence services. Trade unionists, in particular those who have visited the Soviet Union or some other country within the Soviet bloc, are also known to be cultivated as agents of influence.

24. While the Soviet bloc intelligence services' overall responsibilities and objectives in the subversive field are quite well documented, it is often difficult to identify and attribute particular cases. ^{former} intelligence officer who defected in 1969, estimated that 300 - 400 such operations are carried out every year by the Soviet bloc services throughout the world.

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