

Reviews

But who will guard the guardians? (*Juvenal, Roman satirical poet*)

David Caute, *Red List: MI5 and British Intellectuals in the Twentieth Century*, Verso, 2022, 426 pages, hardback ISBN 9781839762451, £34.99, (also available in Kindle edition)

David Caute is a professional historian who has held many distinguished academic positions. A prolific author, he has published 16 other such books, several overlapping with the present one. Since my review remains unpublished, I draw special attention to *Isaac and Isaiah* (2013), showing how Isaiah Berlin intrigued to deny Trotsky biographer Isaac Deutscher a well-deserved academic post. This sort of thing, with its implications, is a major theme of the present work.

Caute has also published 13 novels, some reflecting his historical concerns.

For other reviews, see Alan Judd's in the *Spectator* (June 25, 2022, available online) and a distinctly mixed one, also online, by Graeme Voyer of the *Winnipeg Free Press*.

It has been suggested that Caute's book is a hatchet job on Christopher Andrew's authorized *The Defence of the Realm* (2009). This is emphatically unfair. True, the pair are poles apart in their attitude to MI5, but Caute is evenhanded, with frequent mentions of Andrew, both approving and disobliging.

The book is divided into six parts, book-ended by Introduction and Conclusion, a survey of sources with promise of more released files to come, lists of leading MI5 personnel with some special attention paid to Stella Rimington's (first woman chief) memoir, with corresponding list of their victims, ample end-notes frequently expanding the text, a rich bibliography, and adequate general index. No illustrations.

Caute writes in clear, jargon-free prose, always readable, enlivened by flashes of wit. One piddling point: though correctly indexed as Wal Hannington (CPGB industrial organizer), he twice appears in the text as Val.

From a recorded conversation (September 16, 1959). CIA chief Alan Dulles reports Khrushchev saying, 'I believe we get much of the same intelligence from the same people. Perhaps we should share the wealth and only pay them once', a remark fittingly used by Len Deighton as epigraph to his novel *Funeral in Berlin* - maybe not such a bad idea ... The fictions

of Deighton and Le Carré have done much to create widespread distrust and contempt for British Intelligence. Deighton in National Service did photographic work for Intelligence. Le Carré has always masked what he actually did in his time there, but his attitude can be gauged by this epigram in the Smiley novels: ‘There’s a theory in the Service that Etonians are discreet’.

Since there is so much negative to say about MI5, Cate is right to praise them for not employing House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAAC) style persecutions. He notes that ‘McCarthyism’ is a word never found in its files.

We should also notice the ten years activity as a mole within the CPGB of Betty Gordon who went from flogging the *Daily Worker* at street corners to intimacy with high Party functionaries, resulting in a stream of invaluable information for her superiors.

Readers of *The Spokesman* will naturally look first in the index for Bertrand Russell, There are cursory mentions on pages 14, 24, 32, 225, 271, 347. But the place to look is note 3 to Part One where Cate states ‘A curious lacuna in MI5’s disclosed files is Bertrand Russell’. The dichotomy between undisclosed and disclosed files is a central issue. Thousands of files remain embargoed. Even Andrew was denied access to many for *Defence of the Realm*. There are other oddities. For easy example, some of Iris Murdoch’s dossier is ‘missing’. On the other hand, no file was kept on Alan Sillitoe, a ‘proletarian’ writer if ever there was one, who in *Saturday Night and Sunday Morning* included a friendly mention of Nottingham CPGB soap-box orators — John Peck springs to mind.

Another gap that should be noted by readers of this journal is Cate’s omission of classicist-communist (until 1956) Benjamin Farrington, whose *Head and Hand in Ancient Greece* was republished some years ago by *Spokesman*, with Introduction by myself at the kind invitation of Ken Coates — imagine the size of his dossier!

Sometimes I amuse myself by wondering if (along with many other foot-soldiers) there was a file on me. I fitted their bill: member of Healy’s Socialist Labour League/Workers Revolutionary Party, published ‘subversive’ articles under my real name. Perhaps I gather dust in some forgotten MI5 corner?

Cate makes what seems an irrefutable proof of basic MI5 credos: class-ridden, manifest in, for example, the policy of restricting low-level assistants to upper-class women. Some high-ranking officials were anti-semitic, leading to persecution of many individuals and going easy on

Hitler. Compared to the unrelenting attention paid to Trotskyists, right-wing groupuscules got little attention, except the moribund British National Party — nothing about neo-Nazi Colin Jordan and National Front leader John Tyndall, who did have some potential for trouble-making. MI5's obsession was always with 'subversion' and its myriad individual and collective cases. Caute devotes specific chapters to writers, artists, musicians, dancers, film-makers — 364 in all.

Another MI5 characteristic was homophobia, especially before the 1967 legalization. This led them to devote particular attention to people such as English Professor Arnold Kettle (who gave the most room-emptying talk I ever heard at Nottingham) and Michael Redgrave, thus giving an unexpected side to the dreaded classicist Crocker Harris in Rattigan's *The Browning Version*.

Mention of the tedious Kettle evokes another memory, that of an uproarious Nottingham talk by Hugh MacDiarmid, Scottish nationalist and author of 'Hymns to Lenin'. Caute devotes considerable attention to MacDiarmid, well laced with this remarkable man's comic side.

MI5 was suspicious of actors, authors, musicians, dancers, and so on. Caute deals in detail with many of those who were dubbed by classicist-wit Maurice Bowra as the 'Homintern'. There is some analogy here with Richard Nixon's advice to some political aspirant: 'Steer clear of the Arts. They're left-wing and Jewish.'

MI5 never did get Trotskyists quite right. Despite Stalin, they remained loyal to the Revolution and its ideology. They posed no threat, never have done anywhere, save a brief period in Ceylon. One of their many futilities was endless arguments about what to call Stalin's Russia, the main rival tags being 'Deformed Workers' State' and 'State Capitalism'.

Caute pays some attention to Healy, for a while leader of the biggest group (SLL/WRP) of the day, but also finds something to say even about the miniscule, totally impotent *Socialist Appeal*.

One mistake MI5 made was to take young student 'Reds' too seriously. For many who joined (briefly) the CPGB, it was more of a lark, a fad, the thing to do. Somebody once remarked of 1930s Oxbridge CPGB flirtations that it was all right as long as you could afford the lifestyle. I expand Caute's brief notice of Kingsley Amis. At Oxford, he became a CPGB member enhancing, after his war service with the Royal Corps of Signals, his 'subversive' image with the publication of *Lucky Jim* — hard to think of a dafter misreading. For a while, he published pro-Socialist and Labour Party tracts. Then, over his later years, he changed into a kind of cut-price Evelyn Waugh, parading extreme right-wing views more absurd than most,

along with his 'love' of Mrs Thatcher. What did MI5 make of this? Did they transfer him from left-wing to right-wing suspect?

Caute's opening chapter on MI5 and the Great War rightly draws attention to the concomitant birth of the British spy novel. His leading example is Erskine Childers' *The Riddle of the Sands* (1903), quite the most boring 'home reader' assigned to us at school. Better to go with John Buchan's well-known classics, with Somerset Maugham's *Ashenden: Or the British Agent* (1928), praised by Le Carré as having a great influence on his own novels.

Space exigencies compel huge chunks of the book to be passed over. I chose to highlight the chapters on the CPGB and the Labour Party. Neither Lenin nor Stalin had any hopes for the Communist Party, though some amounts of 'Moscow Gold' found their way to King Street. They invested much time and trouble in the Labour Party, but the latter did not reciprocate. Lenin's attempts to gain affiliation were overwhelmingly crushed, as did an offer to help finance the 1926 General Strike. The TUC and the working class were not interested in Bolshevik-style uprisings, and were quite capable of organizing strikes and other industrial actions without any help from Moscow.

Caute points to the files on Harold Wilson and Michael Foot, and the nonsense about Wilson being a Soviet agent. MI5 eventually discounted this, but only after exhaustive digging for evidence, which says a lot about their mentality.

As an addendum to Caute's superlative book, I subjoin Cécile Fabre's letter to the *TLS* about its review of her *Spying Through a Glass Darkly* by the MI6 ethics counsellor (do I hear Le Carré turning in his grave?) that 'the morality of intelligence work derives primarily from the justness of the cause it serves'.

Doesn't always work that way, does it? Does it ever?

Barry Baldwin

Healthy resistance

John Lister and Jacky Davis et al, *NHS Under Siege: The fight to save it in the age of Covid*, Merlin Press, 2022, paperback ISBN 9780850367775, £9.99

The ongoing struggle of the National Health Service in Britain to combat the Coronavirus pandemic has become common knowledge over the past two and a half years due to its extensive airtime and media coverage. Despite many public expressions of gratitude towards the NHS, such as nationwide doorstep clapping and ‘thank you’ messages plastered across public transport or shop windows, it’s essential that *NHS Under Siege* ensures that the British government’s failure to protect lives, and its negligent behaviour towards the service, do not go overlooked. As the UK is still run by a dangerous government intent on privatisation and public sector cuts wherever possible, this book will be well received by those who refuse to allow the NHS to fall into disrepair as a result of these Tory attacks. By retelling the history of the relationship between government and the NHS over the past twelve years, the authors show that the Conservative Party are not to be trusted with overseeing this public service.

From the first page, it is clear that *NHS Under Siege’s* primary aim is to buttress resistance to ‘the siege’, which Lister and Davis describe as the ‘real terms cuts to the NHS in England’. Alongside their expert contributors, the authors consistently lay blame for NHS failings on consecutive Tory governments who have under-funded the service and have negligently allowed the country to be thrust into a pandemic without adequate medical preparations.

NHS Under Siege has a foreword by Michael Rosen detailing the importance of the NHS throughout his own life, from small injuries through to an induced coma due to COVID. Rosen makes it abundantly clear that ‘free at the point of use’ health care is an absolute necessity in the UK, and it should be protected from further cuts and privatisation at all costs. Following this, Lister and Davis’ introduction and first chapter (‘The first decade of austerity’) identify the failings of successive Tory governments, detailing 12 years of their attacks, beginning with David Cameron’s arrival in Downing Street in 2010 in coalition with the Liberal Democrats under Nick Clegg. By doing so the authors point out that, prior to the beginning of the COVID pandemic, the NHS was already on its

knees as a result of austerity policies and privatisation. Reinforcing their points with key statistics, for example drawing attention to the ‘9000 “general and acute” beds having closed along with 22% of mental health beds’ on the eve of the pandemic, *NHS Under Siege* is hard to disagree with, and it becomes clear that the governing party for the last 12 years are not only incompetent but also seriously negligent.

Lister and Davis highlight and explain each of the current government’s shortcomings throughout the coronavirus pandemic. They hold the government to account for their lacklustre initial response to COVID, including their failure to procure personal protective equipment (PPE), failure to lock down the country promptly and effectively, and their failure to protect vulnerable and elderly people as the virus swept through care homes following mass untested discharges from hospitals.

The authors go into great depth exposing the facts and figures behind the government’s awarding of public contracts and their wasting billions of pounds of public money on a test and trace system which did not work. They detail how the government repeatedly chose the private sector, despite its failure to adapt to the problems posed by the pandemic time and time again. Boris Johnson’s government opted to line the pockets of their own, instead of using the NHS and public health teams, which are more experienced and better equipped to respond to the pandemic. Some examples of these shortcomings include the procurement of PPE, the test and trace system, and the ‘NHS App’ contact tracing system, which was designed to help with test and trace, yet sent out false alerts to users.

NHS Under Siege should be read widely, particularly before the public’s next opportunity to vote in a general election. Even those with Tory sympathies would surely find it difficult to argue against their party’s utter incompetence and contempt for the National Health Service, which it reveals. As arguably one of Britain’s greatest achievements, the NHS should be protected and developed, and a useful first step towards this would be to read this book. *NHS Under Siege: The fight to save it in the age of Covid* is well informed and well presented. It goes a long way to ensuring the reader understands the ongoing conflict between the government’s priorities and one’s own ability to receive free health care from cradle to grave.

Nathan Collett

Women of Palestine

Jehan Helou, *Making Palestine's History: Women's Testimonies*, Spokesman Books, 2022, 236 pages, paperback ISBN 9780851249056, £14.99, Kindle Edition £8.99

When Germany lay in ruins after World War Two the men were absent and it was the women – *die Trümmerfrauen* – who, we're told, cleared the rubble and rebuilt the shattered cities. It seems the same happened in the ruined Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon. Women alone rebuilt Ain al-Hilweh camp, which the Israelis had flattened by massive aerial bombardment.

There's much evidence in *Making Palestine's History* of women clearing rubble, rebuilding homes, digging wells, organising sewers, paving roads and cleaning, cleaning, cleaning. They sourced food, medicines, blood, even guns – thus keeping everything going while under fire from the Israelis, the Lebanese, and sometimes from factions within their own ranks. At one point, it was four young women refusing to leave a battle scene who shamed the few young men left into staying, thereby saving Miyye wa Miyye camp following an attack by right-wing Lebanese Christian militia in 1982. (p181)

Author Jehan Helou, herself a distinguished activist, conducted 53 interviews in her bid to record the crucial role of women in the Palestinian Revolution during the 1970s and early '80s. It is clear that in taking part in the political and armed struggle to liberate Palestine, these women found themselves struggling for their own liberation. Muiyassar Ismail documents the change:

'As for the age of marriage before the Revolution, it was young – 13 to 15 – due to the large number of family members – often from six to 13 in one family and so the father would want his daughters to get married, enabling him to be free of the burden and responsibility for them ... (the revolution helped) ... some girls reach high educational levels such as doctor or teacher. It also contributed to improvements in the economic situation of the family ... the marriage ages of girls increased to between 18 – 20 years old.'

Shadia Helou records her personal awakening:

'The revolution is my life. I became aware with the revolution and I developed

with it. Before I didn't know where I was. It opened up a whole new world, a world related to politics, sociology, philosophy and religion. All my culture was turned upside down. Before I was an ordinary Palestinian girl wandering. I was still young. No, it is certain that the revolution made deep changes in my life.' (p70)

Because these Palestinian sisters stayed out all night with men on operations, wore their hair uncovered, chose their own husbands, and trained as wireless operators, engineers and soldiers, previously conservative parents came round to accepting this and their fellow revolutionaries – men – realised that they were truly equal.

'I was the only woman among 75 men: I took it in my stride. All the training that took place was with the attitude that we were all brothers and sisters in struggle and there was a common purpose. My parents knew ... but did not object ... in fact my mother prayed for me,' says Amal Masri. (p100)

There were no so-called honour killings during this period and one woman sets her dowry at one Palestinian pound. Although they were never previously coerced, we're told, now they chose their own husbands or, indeed, chose not to marry at all.

Lots of the women travelled: some went to Vietnam to learn of women's involvement in the struggle against the United States' disastrous proxy war against communism. Others attended the UN Women's Congress in Mexico in 1975 where they succeeded in having Zionism condemned as a racist endeavour (later rescinded, unfortunately). And, like many of their brothers, hundreds of them travelled to the Soviet Union to receive their university education: all this at a time when their sisters in some other Arab countries couldn't leave home unless accompanied by a male relative. This was happening at the same time as the second wave of Women's Liberation swept over the West led by Betty Friedan,¹ Germaine Greer² and Kate Millet.³

Most of these Palestinian women are not particularly famous themselves but there are cameo appearances by those who strode the world stage at the time. Leaving Yasser Arafat aside, Palestinian-American academic Edward Said mentors one of the interviewees. Leila Khaled, who came to public attention through her involvement in hijacking planes, and diminutive Chinese surgeon Dr Swee Chai Ang, who testified against (then) Israeli defence minister Ariel Sharon, get a brief mention.

But these unknown women were the grass roots who enabled the

Palestinian Revolution and *Making Palestine's History* provides a valuable resource for those who will study the much-neglected role of women in this period of Palestine's history in years to come.

So the Palestinian Revolution – not usually named as such outside the Middle East – begins with the emergence of Yasser Arafat who gave the Palestinians back their dignity following the humiliation, dispossession and disorientation of losing their homeland to the nascent Israeli state, created by the UN. It is seen here as really having come to an end when Arafat did a deal with the Israelis and relocated the Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO) from Lebanon to Tunis in 1982. At that point the infamous massacres in the refugee camps of Sabra and Shatila took place. Israel, then occupying Beirut and Southern Lebanon, facilitated the right-wing Christian Lebanese militias who entered the camps to slaughter the women, children and non-combatants left behind; an appalling event which seared – and continues to sear – the soul of every Palestinian.

It's interesting to note the attitude of the interviewees to Arafat – Abu Ammar. They love and revere him with many a 'God rest his soul', when they mention him but they are also exasperated that he doesn't get it. Amal Masri:

'The PLO worked to build female cadres to qualify them for leadership of organisational positions: but the liberation of women was not their concern ... There was not a single woman on the executive committee. Why? We used to laugh about it.' (p102)

And Hasna Rida:

'All the women who made it to Fatah's executive committee got there because their husbands were martyrs, not because they were elected or because the leadership acknowledged their role ... As for the educated men, most of them, with very few exceptions, admired the struggle of the women as long as she was not their wife! This changed over the years ... However, if there had been awareness at leadership level that women's liberation was a priority and a basic right, there would have been more positive outcomes and achievements.' (p133-134)

Since then things have gone backwards – it is very notable in the photos and drawings of the interviewees only one wears the hijab. In Palestine, Jordan and Lebanon in the late 1960s and early 70s the hijab was not common. It is more than common now. Muyassar Ismail:

'Women's situation regressed after the withdrawal of the Revolution in the area in 1982. There was reneging on the reform regarding marriage, and early marriage was practised again for girls and even for boys ... Religious currents and organisations benefited from the setback of the Revolution ... the Revolution had not realised the ambitions of the masses ... the oppressed reverted to religion hoping to find there the solutions to their problems.' (p90-91)

Ironically, perhaps, Muyassar is the only woman in the book pictured in a hijab.

Fadia Foda said: *'I feel sorry for the current generation which is lost between the religious streams that are trying to put them back in boxes.'*

The interviewees, now elderly (or even deceased), are admirable in their devotion to their own long-suffering people, their willing self-sacrifice to the ideology which supports their life's work. Their terminology is mostly rather formal and there is a lack of concern for the personal. At one point a woman mentions that her husband took a second wife. We don't know whether she is divorced or if she remains married to him. It's as if her private life is of no account in the great scheme of things. It makes the narrative all the more poignant when emotions are alluded to – see Shadia Helou's account of own awakening, cited above.

Making Palestine's History finishes with the testimony of the only man we hear from: Kassem Aina. He alone seems to stand back and takes an overall view from a very human and humane stance. His focus is on giving children orphaned by the struggle a happy and secure family life. His feeling for women's position is manifest. He says:

'The Revolution helped bring out the capabilities of a woman, giving her some freedom, respecting her as a human being, ensuring she was a partner in the building of society and family. We were all drawn towards political activity; it's a short period from 1970 to 1982, and it's good that these achievements took place. We made it internationally; our battle was not only inside but outside also. I think the Women's Union played a positive role, but it was cut short as a result of the defeat. 1982 was a defeat.' (p235)

Sharen Green

Notes:

- i. *The Feminine Mystique*, 1963
- ii. *The Female Eunuch*, 1970
- iii. *Sexual Politics*, 1970

END

Susan Colbourn, *Euromissiles: The nuclear weapons that nearly destroyed NATO*, Cornell University Press, 2022, 378 pages, hardback ISBN 9781501766022, £27.99

Those of us engaged in European Nuclear Disarmament (END) rarely expressed opinions about NATO. The END Appeal referred to the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation and the Warsaw Pact in these terms: ‘... *For at least 25 years, the forces of both the North Atlantic and the Warsaw alliance have each had sufficient nuclear weapons to annihilate their opponents, and at the same time to endanger the very basis of civilized life ...*’ It concluded: ‘*We offer no advantage to either NATO or the Warsaw alliance. Our objectives must be to free Europe from confrontation, to enforce détente between the United States and the Soviet Union, and, ultimately, to dissolve both great power alliances ...*’

It is unlikely that politicians such as Robin Cook would have committed himself publicly to END if it was seen as destabilising NATO. Ken Coates commented that the drafters of the END Appeal had ‘sweated’ to get the ambiguities into the Appeal so that it could attract broad support. So Susan Colbourn’s book affords an interesting and enlightening perspective on the 1970s and 1980s when ‘theatre’ nuclear war threatened to incinerate Europe. She has combed the official governmental and NATO sources, with particular emphasis on Canada, Germany, UK and US. She has also probed the much more uneven archives of the peace movements in Europe and North America. Unfortunately, she didn’t visit the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation in Nottingham, which holds the archives of the international Liaison Committee that prepared the annual END Conventions in different European venues each year for a decade from 1982, so her assessment of European Nuclear Disarmament is somewhat incomplete. Hopefully, this will be addressed on another occasion, and we extend an invitation to her and other scholars to examine these primary sources about END held by the Russell Foundation.

Dr Colbourn rightly focuses on developments in the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany), which was on the frontline in preparations for ‘limited nuclear war’. Not only were nuclear capable cruise missiles (she calls them *Gryphons*) to be stationed there under the US ‘dual track’ decision of 1979, but also super fast Pershing Two ballistic missiles, which threatened targets to the East. The US ‘Dual Track’ comprised preparations

to deploy on one track and superpower arms control negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union on the other. Dr Colbourn charts the twists and turns along these tracks, paying particular attention to 1983, the year the first cruise missiles were scheduled to be deployed at bases in Europe.

It was in Spring 1983 that the second END Convention gathered at the International Congress Centre in Berlin, notwithstanding sustained attempts by the official Soviet Peace Committee to scupper it. Yuri Zhukov, longtime operator within the Soviet Peace Committee, denounced preparations for the Berlin Convention following a visit to Moscow by a small group of the German organisers. Perhaps Mr Zhukov had detected emerging interest in German reunification amongst his visitors. Certainly, this was a prescient theme in the discussions in Berlin, that included Egon Bahr and other prominent representatives of the SPD, which had recently lost power and was reviewing its policy. Petra Kelly of the Greens joined the discussions at the ICC, before taking the metro for a manifestation in East Berlin. Oskar Lafontaine, voice of the new generation in the SPD, journeyed to Berlin from his native Saarland to speak for peace. Alva Myrdal, Nobel Peace Prize laureate in 1982, spoke of the new 'resistance' in her message to the Convention, while Paulo Gentiloni, who much later became Prime Minister of Italy, said the Convention 'spoke for all of Europe'. Many of these contributors are photographed in *ENDpapers* 5, entitled *The Berlin Convention (Spokesman 44)*. Worldcat records 21 libraries holding copies of the journal, including many in North America.

From the Russell Foundation, we organised a coach of some 50 activists to travel from Nottingham to Berlin via London. Before departure, I recall receiving phone calls from Spain from prominent members of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (PSOE) who were travelling to Berlin for the END Convention. In May 1982, Spain had joined NATO, the first addition for several years. The governmental decision was confirmed in a referendum in March 1986. Shortly before this, Olof Palme had been murdered in Stockholm, and then Alva Myrdal died, so that END lost two of its most prominent supporters and spokespeople. Palme had been a friend of Felipe Gonzalez, who was Spanish Prime Minister in 1986. 'Spain was sucked into the vortex of the bloc system, and her neutrality has now been annulled' (Editorial, *ENDpapers* 12). In later years, the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party politician Javier Solana became NATO Secretary General and, subsequently, the European Union's High Representative for Common Foreign and Security Policy. Other Spanish END activists had campaigned for a 'no' vote in the referendum (see *ENDpapers* 12).

Dr Colbourn quotes E P Thompson: ‘if there are enough nuclear weapons now in Europe to destroy the continent 30 times over, what does it matter if one side can do it 14 times and the other 16?’ Regrettably, such a perilous situation continues, although now more dangerously as the Intermediate Nuclear Forces Treaty between the US and the Soviet Union (subsequently Russia) has been abrogated. END helped to establish the context for the INF Treaty, signed in 1987 by Presidents Gorbachev and Reagan, which famously outlawed a whole class of nuclear weapons. My colleague at the Russell Foundation, Tom Unterrainer, regularly revisits these arguments through *END Info*, primarily an online journal, which addresses Europe’s increasingly hazardous nuclear situation without protection of the INF Treaty. The imminent upgrade of US Air Force nuclear bombs forward deployed in several European countries, possibly to include Lakenheath in England, adds to the complexity and risk.

Far from NATO being ‘destroyed’, Finland and Sweden, formerly longstanding neutral countries, have applied to join the nuclear-armed alliance following Russia’s invasion of Ukraine. In this perilous world, we need more books such as Dr Colbourne’s so that we might begin to have a more comprehensive understanding of European Nuclear Disarmament, an idea whose time has, once again, surely come.

Tony Simpson

END Archives

European Nuclear Disarmament: Bulletin of Work in Progress

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