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NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT STARTS HERE

by Ian Davison



designed by Phil Evans

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Opening Notes

• This is a small pamphlet about a big subject. So it may raise more questions than it has space to answer. But it tries to put plainly CND's basic case. It argues for urgent steps that must be taken towards getting rid of nuclear weapons in Britain as part of the drive for wider disarmament, in Europe and worldwide.

And it asks for your help and support.

• In this pamphlet, the phrase *nuclear weapons* is normally used to mean *all* weapons of mass destruction, chemical and biological as well as strictly nuclear.

So what's different about nuclear weapons?

Nuclear weapons are special. They are quite different from older conventional bombs. Of course it is difficult to draw an absolutely clear line between mass destruction and selective killing – like knowing exactly where your arm ends and your wrist begins. But there are six main differences between nuclear weapons and all other weapons.



Nuclear weapons can wipe out millions of people in one attack. The *small* nuclear bomb dropped on Hiroshima in Japan in 1945 killed 70,000 people straight off. In the end the death toll reached 200,000. One present-day Polaris nuclear missile submarine can kill

ONE: Megadeath

more people than all the bombs dropped in World War II.

The military have even had to invent a new word to describe the destructive power of nuclear warheads: **megadeath** – one million people killed by a single weapon.

TWO: Everyone's a target

Nuclear weapons can't be directed carefully away from innocent people, especially in the crowded countries of Britain and Europe. A nuclear explosion on a military target would still kill thousands of people in the surrounding area.

THREE: Poison that lasts a hundred years

It's not only the blast and intense heat of nuclear weapons that kill. Many people would die from radiation sickness, cancers and, in later generations, from genetic effects. Hiroshima victims are still dying of radiation diseases thirty-eight years later. In fact, a quick death might be easier than the long agonies of some survivors.

FOUR: Killing before use

The sheer waste of money on weapons is already killing the starving people of the world. But nuclear weapons also kill and injure people directly through radioactive fall-out from nuclear bomb tests and through radiation at the nuclear weapons labs, factories, stores and bases.

FIVE: No defence

You can try to put off enemies by threatening to use nuclear weapons if they attack you. But you wouldn't actually dare use them against an attacker either on or anywhere near your own land. So they cannot be a real defence.

There is the special neutron bomb which does rather less damage to buildings but it kills even more people through radiation. So it is more suited to an attacker than a defender. If it is ever used to "defend" Western Europe, it will kill the very people it is supposed to be defending.

The whole idea of a successful nuclear war is a hopeless, crazy bluff.

Nuclear weapons harden us to war. They make non-nuclear weapons seem almost harmless. Some people think that dozens of local "ordinary" wars all over the world are all right, so long as nuclear war doesn't happen in Europe.

The real experts on nuclear war are, of course, the Japanese. And they want nothing to do with it. The Japanese movement against nuclear weapons has always been the strongest in the world – the whole nation has grasped the horror of nuclear destruction through the terrible lessons of the nuclear attacks on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

SIX: Making life cheap

▼ Nagasaki





Lies, damned lies and civil defence plans

There is no such thing as defence against nuclear weapons. And because of the nuclear bases here—more than one hundred of them—Britain would suffer massive nuclear strikes early in a nuclear war.

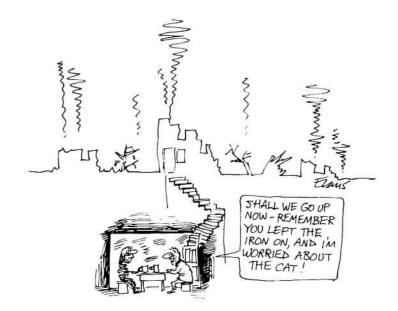
But NATO says that a nuclear attack might be limited, and that a nationwide system of civil defence would reduce the horror. This idea ignores just how bad the effects of *any* nuclear explosion would be.

The real aim of civil defence is to control the civilian population in the run-up to a "limited" nuclear war. This has been admitted in NATO documents, but only the peace movement has made the facts widely available.

Effects of Nuclear War

A nuclear explosion is not just a bigger bang. There certainly is a terrific blast, but also a blinding flash, a wave of heat like a million furnaces, direct radiation fired into the cells of your body, widespread fires that can come together in a giant firestorm, then more radiation in fallout dust and later waves of lighter fallout poisoning our water and future food.

A nuclear bomb can turn you into dust or bury you alive. It can crush you, cut you, burn you or bleed you to death. It can suffocate you. It may damage your stomach fatally, or give you cancers. It can also cause your babies to be born dead. Babies born afterwards can even inherit nuclear diseases from their parents.



Chaos, confusion, collapse

A nuclear attack would cause chaos, especially if, as is likely, most parts of the country were bombed at the same time. Emergency services would disappear. You could then die of thirst, starvation, cold or burns. There would be epidemics, uncontrolled crime, execution squads, mass hysteria, mental illness and suicides.

Each bomb

Bomb effects vary, but any nuclear weapon likely to land on Britain today would be larger than the Hiroshima bomb. Some are a thousand times as powerful, with the explosive power of *ten million* tons of TNT.

A bomb like this, exploded near the ground, can blast a crater two hundred and fifty feet deep and over half a mile wide. It can cause serious damage fifteen miles away.

Its flash can burn eyes thirty miles away. People and objects can be sucked into a firestorm by winds of over 150 miles an hour.

Total attack

In nuclear attack exercises Government officials have never dared say that there would be any less than fifteen million people dead.

But in the summer of 1982 CND scientists set up a more realistic imaginary attack on Britain. The total power of the weapons was two hundred and twenty megatons – a "limited" attack on the crazy scale of nuclear destruction – and none of the targets was a city. The figures used to calculate damage and casualties were official American ones.

The computers showed thirty-nine million dead and four million injured within a very short time.

The real aim of civil defence

Saving people in Britain from nuclear deaths seems a hopeless task. Then why is the Government so keen to bother about civil defence?

One reason is that it fits in with modern war plans, which talk about fighting "limited but prolonged" nuclear wars.

Soothing

Another reason is to soothe public fears about nuclear weapons. To do that, the Government has to talk about only very small nuclear attacks and even then they have to play down the effects.

Too late

The civil defence system is also a general method of controlling the people. In nuclear war people in the areas worst affected would be forced to die "at home". Roads would be blocked, communications would be cut and cities sealed off.

Tough controls would certainly be needed after a nuclear attack. In the mess the survivors would see clearly that civil defence had been a useless hoax in a crowded island whose own nuclear weapons bases had made it a direct target. But by then it would be too late.



It hasn't happened to us . . . yet

A nuclear attack on Britain is a hellish prospect. But is it likely?

window-cleaner falling past the tenth floor. For a start, it's possible that a non-nuclear war, either in Europe or in some more distant

We can't just say "So far, so good", like the

trouble spot, could develop into a nuclear war. Or we could get into a nuclear war by accident or through a mistake. A nuclear war could even be started by someone trying to get in a surprise first strike with nuclear weapons.

Sneak attack

A surprise nuclear strike is not very likely at the moment. The nations keep a close eye on one another with sophisticated spy satellites. Unless some country works out how to track all enemy submarines even after a surprise attack, there would still be nuclear-armed submarines able to strike back.



Accidents will happen

And they do: False nuclear alerts; nuclear missile fuel exploding; nuclear-capable aircraft shooting each other down; missiles being dropped or going off course; submarines bumping into the sea-bed, fishing boats and each other; radar and other signals misread. Then there's the human factor — people on nuclear duty taking drugs, getting drunk, suffering from mental and other illnesses.

Slide to war

The most likely cause of a nuclear war, as far as we're concerned, is a slide, through threats, wrong guesses and accidents, from non-nuclear fighting, into the local use of smaller nuclear weapons and then into an allout, long-range nuclear war. This is the likely result of the strategy called **flexible response**.

British targets

Nuclear missiles are aimed already at the Polaris and Trident missile bases at Faslane, near Glasgow, as well as the cruise missile bases in Berkshire and East Anglia, British and American nuclear bomber bases all along the eastern side of England and the hundred or so other nuclear stores, reserve runways, spy and signal stations scattered over the country.

Other likely nuclear targets include nuclear weapons factories, nuclear power stations, military bases and command centres, key transport sites, military stores, docks and the larger industrial complexes.

An all-out nuclear war would mean bombs on all cities and most large towns as well.

This map shows the likely pattern of a limited nuclear attack on Britain, mainly on military targets: British and American bases, major communications facilities, weapons stores, factories and ports.

Each dot represents a nuclear explosion. They add up to a 220 megaton attack, delivered by more than 300 bombs equal in destructive power to more than 13,000 Hiroshima bombs.



How much?

All these targets add up to at least three hundred, each likely to be hit by a medium-sized nuclear warhead of about two hundred megatons. But in fact there are probably as many as six hundred warheads available to be targetted on Britain already. And as more nuclear weapons are produced and new types developed all the time, so extra, new targets are being thought up for them, both in Britain and elsewhere.

3

How did we get into this mess? . . .

The scramble to make more weapons, and to make the delivery systems bigger and deadlier every few years, should not really be called an arms *race*. No one can win anything through it. It is an arms *spiral* and an arms *spread*. There is profit and power to be gained from selling arms to countries that need everything except arms. But the rich nuclear weapons countries are also involving their own people in a wasteful "chicken" race, daring each other to the edge of the cliff.

And more countries are joining the main road to nuclear suicide (India, Argentina, South Africa, Israel and others).

... And where are we heading?

The sheer number of nuclear weapons is now so great (as many as 50,000 and rising) that there isn't much sense in arguing about balance. About four hundred H-bombs would be enough to wreck completely even the biggest nation. Once a country has more than that, it starts to worry about how clever it is at getting its bombs through and on target. The stages in the arms spiral have been marked not so much by numbers as by new intentions.

Generally speaking, America has set the pace with Russia replying, often in a crude tit-for-tat way. As Russia catches up, so America starts to move ahead again with new, more accurate weapons such as Trident, cruise and the projected MX missile system.

At the moment the greatest danger seems to come from this entirely new generation of highly accurate weapons. These, together with improvements in submarine tracking systems, could tempt planners or commanders into trying a surprise first strike against



enemy weapons rather than, as in the past, enemy cities. Russia has enough spare nuclear weapons but probably not the know-how for such an attempt. America is dangerously near to having both, or at least believing that it has.

Britain, on its own, could not consider a first strike. But because of the weapons based here we would be wiped out, either in the course of a Russian overall first strike or by either side, almost as a by-blow, as they struggled in the death-throes of an all-out nuclear war.

There are by now three and a half *tons* of explosive power for every person in the world.

The arms spiral

New weapons, or suspected new weapons, developed by one side are used as an excuse by the other to develop their own new weapons. The arms race, or spiral, by now feeds on itself—urged along by those who have a direct financial or career interest in it—until, sooner or later, it destroys us all. The nuclear balancing act cannot go on forever.

Invention	Atomic Bombs	Hydrogen Bombs	Medium-Range Missles	Long- Range Missiles	Submarine Missiles	Extra Bombs On Each Missile
America	1945	1955	1960	1965	1965	1970
Russia	1950	1955	1960	1970	1970	1975

The nuclear arms spiral, along with the constant flow of threatening inventions, breeds increasing fear and hatred. Tension leads to accidents and mistakes. Even those who get power or money out of organising the arms race will one day lose control of the violent system they think they have under their command.

And nothing but the truth



For several years we have been hearing ever more chilling threats and wilder scares about the Russian menace. There's supposed to be a decisive Russian arms lead, and even Russian control of the Western peace movements.

Lies about CND

Military people and their friends in politics, the arms business and the media say that CND wants Britain to give up *all* weapons. But CND is *not* asking for Britain alone to have no military defences at all.

It's also a lie that CND does not want disarmament talks. CND would be delighted to report treaties banning any type of nuclear weapon. Sadly there are none to report.

It has been said, too, that CND expects the whole of NATO, including the USA, to give up nuclear weapons, leaving Russia and the Warsaw pact with theirs. In fact no one would be stupid enough to suggest this, nor to make NATO as urgent a problem as British nuclear disarmament in CND's work.

The Foreign Office, Ministry of Defence and the Home Office have waged a public-funded anti-CND campaign. £70,000 of tax-payer's money was spent on the Government's very biased film **The Peace Game**, while films revealing the truth – for example, **The War Game** and **The Truth Game** – have been hindered or banned.



Lies about missiles

The pro-nuclear lobby pretends that its new horrors are mere replacements for older weapons. They play down the effects of all nuclear weapons anyway. They pretend that civil defence against nuclear weapons is possible. And they try to cover up the nuclear accidents, mistakes and scares.

Britain, although a democracy, is not an open society when it comes to nuclear weapons. For instance, £1,000,000,000 was spent in complete secrecy on bringing Polaris missiles more up-to-date.

They claim that countries are making steady progress on disarmament treaties. This too is untrue. With one exception, the treaties so far have only been for arms *control*, not disarmament. The SALT talks, for example, put high upper limits on missiles, but didn't force the superpowers to get rid of a single one.

So far the arms control talks have been part of the arms spiral, not an end to it.



Choose your weapons

Whenever military people want more money, or arms makers more contracts, they start a scare about some new "missile gap". This is easy to do because it is so difficult to judge the military balance exactly. A lot depends on whose numbers you accept and what you decide is important enough to include in your balance-sheet. For instance, is one good tank worth two older, poorer ones?

In counting the military forces in the European "theatre" of war, the West tends to miss out its own submarine nuclear missiles and complains that the Warsaw Pact has more ordinary troops and tanks. The West's lead in smaller "battlefield" nuclear weapons is ignored. So are the West's superior anti-tank weapons and better equipment all round.

In long-range nuclear missiles Russia has more, and they are bigger and cruder. America has more modern missiles carrying more warheads.

Even pro-Western missile watchers like the International Institute for Strategic Studies say, in their 1982-3 annual report, "there is an approximate balance between the strategic forces".

The nuclear gamble

Military leaders naturally like to think that their plans make sense. But it's hard to give a convincing explanation as to what use nuclear weapons really are—especially for Britain.

The first theory used to excuse having nuclear weapons was that you didn't actually intend to use them at all. This theory came into being *after* Hiroshima and Nagasaki of



course. The idea was that they would stop an enemy attacking you. And until only a few years ago most people still believed that we would never use nuclear weapons – or at least not first – and that if we did, it would be in some sort of despairing revenge, after they had been used against us. Then we would use them against enemy cities.

People started to see snags in this plan.

The more awful the weapons and the more money you spend on them, the less ready you are to get involved in any war which may lead to their use. Another country may then be tempted to call your nuclear bluff. After all, if you have a burglar alarm that will destroy your entire house if it goes off, burglars may dare you to set it at all.

New! Improved! . . .

So in 1958 NATO decided that it might use its big nuclear weapons if its forces were losing a non-nuclear battle. By 1960 plans included using short range nuclear weapons on any German battlefield. In 1966 there was developed a plan to use a limited but severe nuclear attack in order to teach any enemy a sharp lesson. And so by 1968 there was a fully fledged theory of "flexible response". This meant that any type of weapon might be used at any time.

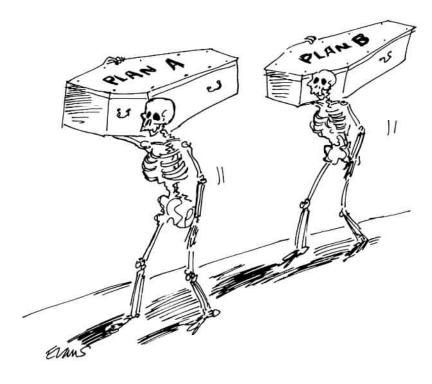
Later still NATO long range nuclear weapons were targetted on military targets, as opposed to cities, even in Russia itself – a policy called "counterforce".

The truth about these changes in war planning only became clear to the general public in 1980 when President Carter gave them his open support in "Directive 59."

... with added danger

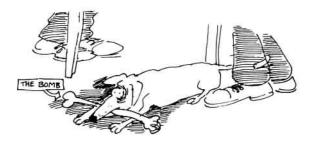
With the speed of recently developed missiles there will be no time for playing the war game in careful stages. In any case this whole new way of seeing "deterrence" is very dangerous because it abandons the idea that nuclear weapons are there never to be used. So sooner or later they will be used in a "limited" way. That is, we will try to limit nuclear war, but actually we will start sliding all the way over the nuclear cliff. Even General Rodgers of NATO recently said he would like more non-nuclear and less nuclear forces in Europe.

Most military experts believe that it is impossible to limit a nuclear war.



Britain's nuclear roles

As for the British independent deterrent, socalled, the British people have been given shifting reasons for it. First, we needed it to stop Russia using nuclear bombs on us (for some reason) or invading us (for some reason) or both (which would be lunacy). Later, our nuclear bombs were supposed to be needed to help frighten the Russians from invading West Germany. Next, we needed them as a vague "contribution to NATO", and to give us a seat at nuclear talks. (Russia and America still don't invite us.)



NO SEAT AT THE TALKS.

Then it started to become clear that we would have to use Britain's nuclear forces in Europe "as a contribution to NATO".

No logic

The reasons get vaguer and they contradict one another. The hawks tie themselves in knots trying to justify *new* British nuclear weapons and explain their choice of system.

Sometimes we are supposed to make the Russians more certain that we will take revenge against them. Yet Trident missiles will normally be aimed by NATO to hit military targets dead-on. Trident missiles are very accurate. You don't need accuracy to take revenge against cities. So the Russians can't be "certain" they will be used against cities rather than military targets.

Because the Russians may not believe in American keenness to defend Europe, Britain is also supposed to do that by worrying the Russians as a "second centre of decision-



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all over the world
are raising their voices
against the madness
of the arms race.

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making", with "independent" nuclear weapons.

No one really knows if British nuclear weapons can be truly independent at all. We seem partly to depend on America for missiles, supplies, deep-sea submarine tracking, missile guidance and targetting. Trident missiles will even be serviced back in America.

Three ways to go

The Government has booked us three separate tickets for a nuclear war.

American nuclear bombers in East Anglia and southern England with American Poseidon submarines based in Scotland. That's the first ticket.

British "battlefield" nuclear weapons, ready for use in Germany, that's the second ticket.

And, just to make certain we get involved in any nuclear war, the third ticket: British Polaris missiles based in Scotland.

If we agree to have American cruise missiles and British Trident missiles here as well, the situation will be even worse.



A simple question

We need a straight answer to this simple question about British-owned nuclear weapons. Can we rely on American-owned nuclear forces based here?

No?

Then no American nuclear bases ought to be allowed here and the idea of a NATO "nuclear umbrella" is nonsense.

Yes?

Then why do we need our own "independent" nuclear weapons?

We also have to decide whether we want nuclear weapons spreading to many other countries. If we keep our nuclear weapons, how can we say that other countries shouldn't have them also?

See where the logic of nuclear deterrence takes us? If Britain's bomb has really kept the peace then surely the safest and most peaceful world would be one where every single country had the bomb, and as many as possible.



The nuclear protection racket

We are spending £16,000 million on arms in Britain this year. This works out at £20 per week for the average British family. The Trident missile system will cost us about £10,000 million over the years.

It's not hard to think of all the useful things we could do instead with that kind of money: from tax cuts to boosting social spending, from overseas aid to supporting industry. Everyone could work out their own list.



Jobs, not bombs

These days, the most obvious use of all for the money would be to make non-nuclear jobs. (And we would get more jobs for the same money. See below.)

Two-fifths of British inventive skills are locked up in arms research and production, and this bottleneck holds back the whole economy and wastes resources. Arms spending also tends to cause inflation and foreign debts, which loses us still more jobs.

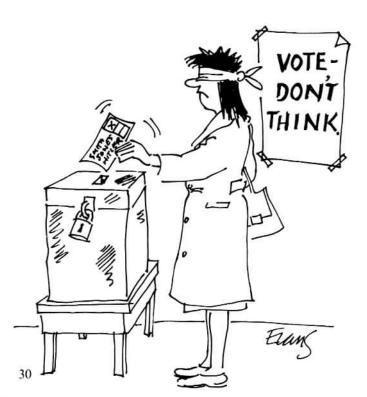
The US Bureau of Labor Statistics says that for one billion dollars military spending gives only 75,710 jobs (and a lot of fancy but useless machinery), whereas transport gives us 92,071 jobs, building gives 100,072, health 138,939 and education 187,299 jobs.

This poor military/job creation rate is even worse in the area of *nuclear* weapons. (See Section 10.)

Freedom and Democracy

Nuclear weapons give a handful of people life-and-death power over millions of their fellow citizens. President Nixon is said to have gloated openly about this power. And control may even be sometimes in the hands of people not elected by us. There is even some doubt that the final control of the British nuclear "button" will be under a British "finger" in every way.

The voters have never been given enough facts about nuclear weapons. None of the vital decisions was even taken by Parliament as a whole but in secret inner-Cabinets. The Press has, until recently, never encouraged popular debate or democratic control. Everything has been kept private and hush hush.



Nuclear weapons are evil



Never before has mankind had the power to wipe out our whole species, indeed all higher forms of life.

When pressed by the peace movement most politicians and church leaders will admit that nuclear weapons are evil. But are they a necessary evil?

"Dead or Red?"

Some people claim that nuclear weapons are the lesser of the two evils. But given a choice of two evils we have the right to reject both.

It's madness to imagine overall good coming from a moral choice in favour of the "lesser evil" of nuclear weapons.

If you are horrified at the possibility of having to "become a Communist", why should living in a Communist state make you into a Communist.

Now ask yourself: are you prepared to fire a nuclear weapon that will kill unknown numbers of ordinary people like yourself?

The new generation of nuclear missiles and plans means accepting the first-use of these weapons anyway. So NATO's theory of flexible response has ruined the weak moral argument that nuclear weapons are only a vague threat.

Your willingness to own, and one day use, nuclear weapons denies you the moral right to stop other countries raising the nuclear stakes. Or maybe you think that a British nuclear weapon is less evil than an American, French, Russian, Chinese or Indian nuclear weapon?



Using our imagination

People try to avoid picturing nuclear war honestly. And language is twisted and information withheld to help.

People roasted to death near tactical nuclear weapons explosions are called, by the military "collateral damage". Before an expected nuclear war "movement will be controlled". This really means people will be shot if they try to leave target areas.

It is the moral duty of those who think they can imagine something worse than nuclear war to describe it to us.

Many of the churches are now saying they don't think it can be done.

"In the nuclear field," says a recent Church report, "neither a just-war argument, nor deterrent theory are enough to justify the risks involved."

How could it be moral to suggest that the British people have sunk so low as to threaten mass murder of the innocent for selfdefence?

Defence instead of mass murder

We must reject the notion of a "nuclear umbrella". An umbrella doesn't stop the rain. Sometimes it leaks or the wind blows rain underneath it. The nuclear deterrent can't work 100% – nothing ever does – so we are in terrible danger. Almost any non-nuclear defence policy would be better.

Defence plans should be based on a clear picture of the world and our place in it: what we can afford balanced against the most likely dangers from outside.

We are not a giant nuclear nation. We could never, on our own, use nuclear weapons against the great powers – that would be suicide – or against the smaller countries – which would be a crime.

Our long term aim should be the breaking up of the nuclear alliances and our cooperation with neutral countries.

Britain's defence should be really defensive, concentrating on our own territory. Any alliances and pacts should only be a mutual guard against invasion.

How?

We might need fighter planes, patrol boats, small submarines, helicopters and small, non-nuclear, missiles.

Our troops will *not* attack as the best form of defence. We may need large part-time armed forces and wide training for the civilian population in guerilla warfare, strikes, boycotts and passive defiance.

What cost?

A modest foreign policy, really defensive alliances, tactics, weapons and training should cost less.

There are several non-nuclear policies we could follow. We *could* simply decide to scrap nuclear weapons and make no other changes. We'd make a straight saving and still be mightily armed. At the other extreme we could develop a purely pacifist form of defence, not based on any type of killing.



Better work for the world

A switch away from nuclear weapons would provide more useful and more satisfying jobs for people, either in production or services. We would also get *more* jobs. (See Section 8.) Nuclear-weapons systems need more gadgetry and less people than even Defence activities in general.



We could just pay people wages to stop doing nuclear-weapons jobs. But producing useful things instead would improve life, both here and also through the development of the Third World. Arms-work or the dole is a pathetic choice, usually offered through crocodile tears by pro-nuclear hypocrites.

Nuclear arms conversion to peaceful, or at least non-nuclear uses, will not be any harder to organise than the switching of the whole war effort after World War Two. Parliament should pass a Conversion Bill without delay, to get the early planning started as soon as possible.

Talks about talks about talks ...

The record of agreed or "multilateral" disarmament isn't good. So far there has just been some arms-control, not even arms limitation, and we have simply steered the nuclear train onto different tracks.

Real disarmament agreements would be easier to stick to because tension would be lowered, fewer people would have a selfish interest in arms and a new arms spiral would take longer to start.

Sincere disarmers

CND doesn't oppose agreed disarmament. We support any disarmament plan that is about real cuts and not a squabble about petty advantages.

We support the World Disarmament Campaign, which campaigns to get Governments to carry out the promises they made on disarmament at the United Nations in 1978.

We support END, the movement for a nuclear free zone covering all Europe – East and West. In return, we expect them to welcome any steps towards nuclear disarmament in individual countries. After all, nuclear arming goes on, step by step in individual countries. Isn't it reasonable to think that nuclear disarming might take place in the same way.

This is the most effective way of making sure that vague promises are turned into real steps towards survival.





Getting on with the job



Talks about disarmament can turn out to be nothing but talk, or even turn into a platform for blame and insults. *The missing ingredient is action*. Each country has got to start scrapping at least some of its own nuclear weapons whether the talks are getting anywhere or not.

CND makes most of its demands on the British government but any country can do something positive on its own. America could cut down on nuclear warheads or freeze new weapons. Russia could withdraw some of its forward forces or cut back on its big missiles. Within the stupidly high military balance there is plenty of room for cuts. French and British nuclear weapons are a definite obstacle in the talks between Russia and America, so both France or Britain could help on its own to lever open the logjam in bargaining.

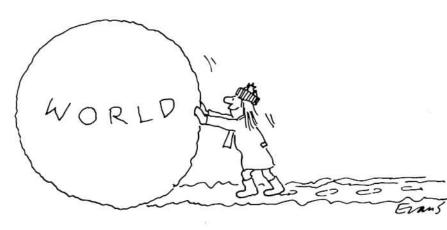
"Britain's example"

We can't be certain of the effects when Britain starts to give up nuclear weapons. We don't argue that Britain's example is bound to be quickly copied, or that nobody will be worried or upset. But in some ways Britain will be following rather than leading. Already Norway and Canada won't allow nuclear weapons on their patch. France won't have any foreign troops and decides for itself which NATO orders it will follow. Sweden refuses to join either of the big nuclear blocs.

What we can say is what Britain's bad example does right now: it forces non-nuclear countries to consider going nuclear.







Britain: a special bad case

CND concentrates on British nuclear politics, not because the eyes of the world are on Britain's example, be it good or bad, but because we pay British taxes and elect British governments. And because Britain's many and confused nuclear policies cry out for action. Britain has "independent" nuclear weapons but depends on American help for them. Britain also allows foreign nuclear bases here but has no control over how or when their nuclear weapons are to be used. And new British nuclear weapons systems are on the way.

This latest 'choice' is the giant American submarine missile system, Trident 2, which is even more complex and expensive than Polaris. Part of the price of Trident has also been our acceptance of American cruise missile bases, again uncontrolled by Britain.

British steps

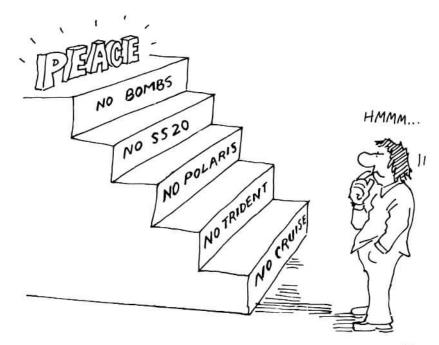


So Britain has a good choice of modest first steps it could take in the opposite direction, towards gradually cutting its whole nuclear weapons connections. Most of our military leaders and experts themselves are against Trident missiles for a start, and many want to see an end to all British-owned nuclear weapons. In CND we go further and ask for Britain to do away with *all* the nuclear weapons in Britain, foreign or British, and to take the first steps now, without any pledge or say-so from other countries.

The steps for Britain to limit, reduce, then cut out its nuclear-weapons connection:

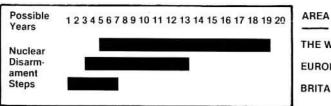
- No new British nuclear weapons – starting with a ban on Trident
- No new American nuclear weapons here − cruise missiles, etc.
- Scrap all British nuclear weapons
- Close American nuclear bases in Britain
- Close all foreign military bases in Britain
- Withdraw partly from NATO, like France
- Leave NATO if it still has nuclear weapons





World disarmament

Once Britain starts taking its own steps towards survival, the strong European peace movements will move faster towards nuclear free zones in various areas, and a whole nuclear free Europe, East and West. The overlapping programmes might look something like this:



THE WORLD
EUROPE
BRITAIN

Of course, the number of years is just guesswork. The general pattern might even change. Things could move very fast, the timetable is probably a bit optimistic.

Once disarmament starts happening, the nations will be less trigger-happy and we will be able to afford more time and give more thought to forms of disarmament which will last.

General disarmament

Just as British nuclear disarmament will encourage European and World nuclear disarmament, so nuclear disarmament is likely to encourage cuts in weapons generally. Early non-nuclear cuts could start well before the whole nuclear rundown is finished. Then

these cuts would feed back to encourage the next steps in nuclear disarmament itself.

Blueprint or method?

We can't predict the exact patterns of nuclear or general disarmament. But the likeliest general approach is fairly clear. We can't rush the campaigns or we will make political mistakes. But our strongest argument is that action is needed before too long and a fresh approach is long overdue. The disarmament bus has been stuck on a level-crossing across the express line to nuclear war.

Success of some kind is vital to get disarmament moving at last. So we must work hardest on the likeliest questions at the moment: nuclear weapons, and especially nuclear weapons in Britain.

Nuclear disarmament starts at home, with low-risk but real cuts against the most unpopular weapons.

Join the winners

So who will see that we manage to win the survival game? Are there great players to do it all for us on the field while we just cheer from the sidelines now and again?

In a global arms race there are no sidelines. We are all choosing sanity or disaster, either by our actions or by our failure to play a part. We have the best arguments, but we also need great determination.



Choices

If we care enough to put in the effort, we have a choice of three ways to work. We can campaign alone, talking, writing, donating money, and so on. Or we can get support for nuclear disarmament in the groups and organisations we belong to already: social, community, church, trade-union, political, etc. Most direct, we can join an active peace group like CND, and work in it, locally or nationally. CND has over a quarter-of-a-million active supporters, in over 1,000 groups. There's probably one near you, but if there isn't, you'll get every help in starting one.

Make Democracy Work

British nuclear disarmament, in some forms at least, is now the wish of the majority of the people and it is the policy of major political parties, churches and trade unions. We can't let our political system fail to deliver the goods on this life-or-death matter. We can make it clear that nuclear disarmament is our main desire at the moment if we all speak up, stick together on this question, and keep up the pressure. We must educate people, pester our leaders, and show our public strength from time to time.

Already, in 1982, we forced the Government to cancel its "Hard Rock" civil-defence exercise because of the large number of local authorities opposed to making preparations for nuclear war. In fact, at local authority level, the whole of Wales is already a Nuclear Free Zone.

We Are With Friends

All over Europe and America people are speaking out by the million for arms limitation and disarmament: against cruise and Pershing missiles, against Trident and MX missiles; for Nuclear Free Zones and for a Freeze on new weapons.

All together, we can reject the nuclear death-wish and make ourselves a life free from nuclear weapons.

BOOKS

Two books containing useful background to the basic arguments in this pamphlet are:

John Cox, **OVERKILL** (Penguin, 1981), £1.75 A primer on the nuclear arms race by a former chairperson of CND.

Paul Rogers, Malcolm Dando and Peter van den Dungen, AS LAMBS TO THE SLAUGHTER (Arrow, 1981), £1.75 The facts about nuclear war by members of the Bradford School of Peace Studies.

Other recommended titles:

Duncan Campbell, **WAR PLAN UK** (Burnett, 1982), £6.95 The truth about civil defence in Britain

Noam Chomsky, Jonathan Steele and John Gittings, SUPERPOWERS IN COLLISION (Penguin, 1982), £1.50 An analysis of the roles played by the superpowers in the deepening international crisis.

John Cox, **NO NO NATO** (CND, 1982), 50p A short study of the Atlantic Alliance and the implications of British membership.

John Hersey, **HIROSHIMA** (Penguin, 1946), £1.25 A classic eyewitness account of the effects of the first atomic bomb.

Nicholas Humphrey, FOUR MINUTES TO MIDNIGHT (Menard Press, 1982), £1.00

Dr. Humphrey's famous BBC Bronowski Lecture.

James Avery Joyce, **THE WAR MACHINE** (Hamlyn, 1981), £1.50

An analysis of the mechanisms of the arms race by a leading UN consultant on disarmament.

Jeff McMahan, BRITISH NUCLEAR WEAPONS: FOR OR AGAINST (Junction, 1981), £3.95

A detailed examination of both sides of the argument about British nuclear disarmament.

Alva Myrdal, THE GAME OF DISARMAMENT (Spokesman, 1976), £4.25

An account of the global arms race by the 1982 Nobel Peace prize winner.

Robert Neild, HOW TO MAKE UP YOUR MIND ABOUT THE BOMB (Andre Deutsch, 1981), £2.95

A lucid presentation of the case against nuclear weapons.

Cambridge University Disarmament Seminar, **DEFENDED TO DEATH** (Penguin, 1983), £3.50

Practical and persuasive arguments for nuclear disarmament by a team of leading British academics.

Jonathan Schell, **THE FATE OF THE EARTH** (Picador, 1982), £1.95

The best-selling study of the likely consequences of the nuclear arms race.

Gavin Scott, **HOW TO GET RID OF THE BOMB** (Fontana, 1982), £1.95

A blueprint for individual and group action to prevent nuclear war.

E.P. Thompson, **BEYOND THE COLD WAR** (Merlin Press, 1982), 60p

The text of what was originally intended as the BBC Dimbleby Lecture for 1981.





NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT STARTS HERE

Nuclear disarmament is a subject in which everyone has an interest. It concerns today's single biggest and most urgent issue — our survival, not just in some academic, long-term future, but now. And because it is such an overwhelmingly important issue many people are bewildered and nervous about even starting to think about it. It sometimes seems too large and too daunting a subject for ordinary people to tackle. Government, scientific and military experts have surrounded it with a dense complex scaffolding of technical terms, strategic theories and political jargon. Yet underneath this mass of words, figures and theories lies a series of clear, simple facts and ideas.

So **Nuclear Disarmament Starts Here** explains these central, simple facts in non-technical language.

It explains just why, and through what sort of thinking, we have been landed in our present position. It describes the real effects of a nuclear attack on Britain, the reasons why we could be attacked and why the dangers have increased to a crisis point that makes it essential for us to do something about it now. No-one can any longer leave it to the experts or the government. Nor need people crouch helplessly, like rabbits caught in a car's headlights. Everyone can make a start now by finding out the facts, the issues, the ways and means of making certain they have some influence over their own futures.

CND hopes that **Nuclear Disarmament Starts Here** will provide that starting point on the route to nuclear sanity.



40p

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