

How many issues are really facing you, the delegates, to this 1963 Annual Conference of C.N.D.?

It may have seemed to you that the issues are many and that you have to make up your mind, or rather your groups have had to make up their minds on each one as a separate item.

We feel, however, that there is a connecting link which runs through the entire list of controversial items which will be discussed this weekend. This does not mean of course that once can take every issue and 'line' up on one of the two sides of an imaginary fence. Thank goodness the internal politics of the Campaign have not reached that stage! It does mean that one's attitude to the Campaign should tend to be a complete one and therefore reflected in each of the issues discussed.

Running like a thin thread through the entire range of debates this weekend is the question of leadership. LET US MAKE IT CLEAR NOW THAT WE FEEL THE QUESTION OF LEADERSHIP IS INSEPARABLE FROM THE WAY WE DECIDE EACH ISSUE IN THE DEBATES.

You will have been given a list of the debates which will take place on Sunday morning and afternoon. There are eleven of them ...Alliances, Bases & Spread, Unilateralism, World Issues China and UN, Steps technique, Non-Violence, Wider objectives & Demo's, Cooperation, Projects, General Election, Political and TU, Propaganda Admin and Finance.

Once again we stress that although there is no clear two-way division of opinion on all issues there are two very definite tendencies. They are expressed very well in the alternative choices of leadership.

The object of this pamphlet is not to sway you on any special issues - although of course the individual writers obviously try to do that - but to try and show that there is a link. We only ask you to read what follows and to decide what type of Campaign you want, and what is the best type of structure and leadership to achieve it.

T W O A P P R O A C H E S T O C . N . D .

"The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament is not only the Executive and Council, Regions and Groups, but the Committee of 100, the Direct Action Committee, all the ad hoc committees, the anarchists the beardies and the weirdies, and the Solidarity mob. However hard we try to pretend that we are all different, our common aim binds us together. What each of us does affects the operations of the others."

(Peggy Duff to National Executive - June 29 '63.)

"BLOW ME DOWN THE LONDON ANARCHISTS ARE NOT PART OF THE CAMPAIGN." (Canon L. John Collins on Panorama.)

"C.N.D.'s diversity, its variety, its ebullience, its inconsistencies and even its internecine battles have become a part of the British politics in the 1960's, possibly largely because of the outrageous dullness and orthodoxy of contemporary party politics."

(Peggy Duff to National Executive .)

"THE BASIC C.N.D. CASE IS A DULL CASE."

(Canon L. John Collins to Daily Express.)

"It (CND) is a mass movement seeking a revolutionary transformation in a way in which peoples and nations conduct their affairs. Leadership of a revolution requires courage, tolerance, understanding and participation."

(Peggy Duff.....)

"I THINK THE R.S.G. PAMPHLET WAS A JOKE."

(Canon Collins.)

"One of the reasons why the dangers of fragmentation and dissolution in 1963 are greater than ever before is that the Executive Committee has deliberately avoided discussing the underlying causes of these difficulties; mainly because they seem to be concerned with personalities, but also because too many members are out of touch with feelings in the movement and because to some they appear to be a threat to a continuing domination by the Labour wing of CND."

(Peggy Duff).

"I AM SERIOUSLY THINKING OF GIVING IT UP FOR A YEAR AND GOING AWAY TO WRITE SOMETHING SERIOUS...."

(Canon Collins).

T H E
S T E P S
T E C H N I Q U E .

By D a v i d S w a f f e r .

= As a result of the Easter
== demonstrations and the
== Spies for Peace drama the
== great controversy which
== arose in the Campaign
== over the question of Steps

Towards Peace has tended to be forgotten, and the whole issue has rather faded away into the background. No doubt as a result of the resolutions being put before Conference on this subject some of this controversy will be revived, and it will be interesting to see how the arguments both for and against Steps are inter-related with the arguments on other subjects of a controversial nature such as the meaning of unilateralism and the question of membership.

Any Executive committee has the right to issue statements of Campaign policy or limited programmes provided there has been adequate discussion beforehand but in the case of Steps practically no discussion took place in the Movement and the views of the movement were not even taken into account. No doubt this will be accepted in the future, but having said this it is worthwhile examining whether any programme of limited aims can ever be justified.

If a limited programme is drawn up on any issue there is a tendency to accept these limited aims as being policy and as the maximum demand of a campaign rather than the minimum one. Many people assume that Step One was a tacit acceptance of Russian and American nuclear weapons and the failure to mention NATO anywhere in the programme immediately led to the assumption that the Campaign no longer opposed the alliance because of American membership. "To follow this up with a British initiative to stop the spread of nuclear weapons implied a mere appeal to the British Government rather than a vigorous campaign to deprive the British Government of support for its nuclear policies."

Step Three appealed to U.N. rather than to international unilateralist organisations in other parts of the world. The whole programme implied that CND would place itself alongside all the establishment organisations who pay lip service to nuclear disarmament but without actually having to do anything about it.

Steps is little more than the sort of plan governments have been putting forward for decades, full of agreeable

U N I L A T E R A L I S M.....

By.....

Maurice Patterson.

Is it not self evident that Unilateralism is the one idea which sets CND at once aside from the majority of organisations of a political nature which exist in the world?

In the first place Unilateralism rejects out of hand the concept of expediency. This idea which most politicians use that the moral considerations can be ignored providing what one is doing is being done for the common good. The idea that ends justify means is the basis of expediency politics. This is the theory that if the goal is right it matters little what methods one uses to attain it.

This is the system of thought which leads people to reject what has come to be known as Universal Unilateralism because Russian bombs are necessary to protect the Russian people from Western Capitalist aggression. It is the system of thought which leads many non-Communist supporters of CND to reject U.U. on the grounds that it would be unfair to ask America to unilaterally disarm because she needs nuclear weapons to protect her from the superior conventional forces of the Soviet Union.

Unfortunately there is an element of double think in this which is reminiscent of the conventional politics of which so many people have quite rightly tired. When we go canvassing or speak at public meetings how richly and how heartily we scoff at the theory of nuclear deterrence. What capital we make out of the idea that a father will be pleased to know that if his English child dies in agony a little Russian child will die too. And yet many of the people who so deride the deterrent theory for this country seriously condone its use by Russia and America even though they admit in passing (Like Lord Home) that they are against all bombs.

But what of the moral issues involved in this argument? I have deliberately not jumped in at this end because many people answer that one has to "be realistic" and "face up to facts" which means in this case that one can only act morally when it is not harmful to oneself.

When the horror of nuclear weapons first started to reach peoples consciousness in '50's there were many

thousands who declared to themselves: "This is more than I am willing to do - this is more than I am willing to condone."

This is the heart of unilateralism. It begins in the mind of man. It begins when a person decides to use the greatest power in the Universe, a power far greater than every nuclear bomb which has yet been exploded, and that is mans will to decide and to act on his decisions.

This, I know, is just so much airy fairy talk to the traditional politician. I thought that CND was an attempt to escape from the vicious circle of expedience which has been the hall mark of traditional politics for so long. I thought that we had decided that the crime of Genocide was of such a nature that it had to be considered by itself and we had come to the conclusion that we could not condone it. As he who keeps silent is guilty of condoning we had, I thought, decided to act for the abolition of weapons capable of comitting genocide. That is the intellectual idea; the emotional idea is that nuclear weapons and the things they do is so horrible, so repulsive that we decide to act for their abolition.

Personally I feel that nuclear weapons are simply the ultimate horror at the end of a long road of horrors. The particular type of politics which man has adopted in the past make nuclear weapons, given the scientific knowledge, inevitable. Let us at least face up to the fact that people, individuals as such do not want nuclear weapons. Why then do they persist? I would say that it is obvious that nuclear weapons will arrive automatically at points of concentrated power.

Dont lets talk scathingly about politicians or Governments or beaurocrats. Let us realise what is at the basis of these terms. It is power; where man gives the power of two men into the hands of one - there will he start the inevitable process which leads to weapons of mass destruction. My conclusion is that we must evolve a new type of politic which is based not upon power but upon the ethical judgments of individuals.

We start off in CND by saying 'NO' to nuclear weapons. But when you hear that nagging little voice - perhaps from the executive platform- saying "It would not be reasonable to ask America or Russia -" then LOOK OUT! For that is the first step backwards towards the conventional politics of expediency. It is the first step back to the German gas chambers and Hiroshima.

Y O U T H S A Y Y E S +
T O U M B R E L L A . + By Keith Hudson.
=====

During the past few months it has become increasingly apparent that many members of both CND and YCND are completely out of touch with what is happening in the Campaign. Despite the attempts that have been made this summer to convey the "Tell Britain" concept, few supporters seem to have understood its implications. The publicity given in the national press to the leadership and 'umbrella' dispute has only served to exacerbate the confusion, and one can only hope that during the course of CND's Annual Conference this weekend many of these issues will be clarified.

The Youth Campaign held its Annual Conference a fortnight ago, in Birmingham, and much of the discussion centred around the problem of communications, the "Tell Britain" approach, the 'umbrella' concept and the question of leadership. It is impossible to convey a complete impression of the conference here, but the following should suffice in conveying the general attitude of YCND to these various issues.

Perhaps the most surprising, and pleasing, aspect of the Conference was the large measure of agreement shared by delegates towards what in CND circles appears to be far more controversial. The question of the Youth Campaigns leadership was the subject of a long resolution from Kent Region YCND, which was approved by an overwhelming majority, and resulted in the complete re-organisation of the National Executive Committee. The essence of the resolution was to extend the principles of democracy, and called for the abolition of individual membership of the National Executive and greater regional participation.

While no direct references were made to CND's leadership, a definite policy was implied. It was stressed that the leaders, both in CND and in YCND, should above all have very definite links with the movement and be active in the Campaign.

Personally, I feel that the time has passed when it is necessary to have leading public figures leading the Campaign. People such as these, while they may command,

By Peter Moule.

The 1963 Annual Conference of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament comes at a crucial juncture in the Movement's history. Originally planned as a "short sharp campaign" five years have since passed since its formation. Many things have been achieved, but the basic objective remains as far away as ever. The image of the Campaign has changed, and the high tempo achieved two years ago has gradually declined. The partial Test Ban, the probable advent of a Labour Government, the gradual fade out of the "independent nuclear force, the spread of nuclear weapons and the growth of NATO as a nuclear power; these and other things have all had their effect upon the movement. The resolutions show an awareness of the situation.

On the question of Unilateralism, resolution after resolution calls for a clear unilateralist policy. That is the renunciation of nuclear weapons as a matter of principle and not as a matter of political expediency. This was the position the Campaign started with, but since seems to have drifted away from. The Campaign needs to be quite clear on this. We need to spell out much more clearly that this would mean the withdrawal of American bases, withdrawal from NATO, economic and social changes and a fundamental change in foreign policy. Unilateralism could be disastrous unless backed up by a comprehensive foreign policy.

The Campaign should have its own clear policy and be quite independent of any of the political parties. "Tell Britain" has offered an excellent lead on this, pointing out the dangers of being deceived by the Wilson policy (which has nothing to do with Unilateralism) yet at the same time recognising the value of the work done by those who work in and through the Labour Party. Industrial Action on a wide scale also needs to be developed, both within and outside the Trade Unions). A lead is given also by the Campaign's plans for the General Election.

We need to attack on a broad front, and in the same way that people have different levels of commitment, people also approach problems in different ways, although they all desire the same end. So long as the means are

Evolution Of An Umbrella.

=====

Long before the Easter demonstration '63 and the revelations of the "Spies for Peace", the Campaign was rapidly changing its character. This change was no doubt partly coming about with the realisation that a protest movement was not enough, that in future a long term campaign to convert a majority of the British to unilateralism was necessary.

In the past CND has always been a movement of people not an organisation; its values were those of humanity - not of politics; it appealed to ordinary men and women to oppose nuclear weapons in this country and throughout the world on moral principle and not according to the expediency of the privileged minority elements ruling on both sides of the 'Iron Curtain'. As a result thousands of ordinary people, for the first time since the war young people, joined the Movement from outside the ranks of the traditional political parties.

What form therefore was the changeover from a protest campaign to a long term campaign to take? CND would either throw its ranks open to all ideas and methods including those of the political parties, and allow each to develop concurrently within a loose structure, or it could adopt a particular 'line' within a narrow framework, to the exclusion of all others. In practice - if not in theory - the latter approach was gradually accepted, as was inevitable, given the large amount of Labour Party thinking amongst the hierarchy of the leadership.

Since Aldermaston '63 the concept of the "umbrella" has shown the way. The Easter demo's. showed that the "narrow" approach could never be accepted by the Movement, whereas the "umbrella" projects which have taken place since have allowed each section of the movement to make its own contribution, thus making a stronger and a much more united movement than ever before.

The election of a leader not dedicated to the broader approach of the "umbrella" could lead to a disastrous fragmentation from which the Campaign could never recover.

N O T I M E F O R P O L I T I C S

. A S U S U A L ! - Michael Craft .

A General Election in this country is usually regarded as a time of some particular significance. English political history can, in a sense, be charted by reference to the history of parliamentary elections. In fact the way we go about the business is perhaps uniquely parochial and self-conscious. If it were not for the magnitude of today's issues in the election we could afford to smile at the formal attempt at fairness embodied in electoral apparatus as compared with the faceless cynicism of party machinery and professional politicians. The fact that, for example, there is a limit on what a candidate can spend but not on what his National Party in fact spends.

Nuclear disarmers are, in an undefined way, at odds with the fact of elections and all that they imply in terms of inadequate political democracy. We seek to influence parties and governments amongst other things, but we also have a deep and inherent distrust of the whole phoney set up. We are concerned to put our case across at the time of the election but sceptical about forcing our case into the strait-jacket of an atmosphere dominated by party bureaucrats. In the past we have made an effort at General Elections and in general have acquitted ourselves well enough, particularly in places where one or more candidates has encouraged or actually agreed with us. But we have never really achieved any enthusiasm about it,

Today however the situation is rather different. Since the last General Election we have lived through storms of abuse about our "irresponsibility" in politics. We won a major party to us at Scarborough only to be faced with a bitter and disgusting reversal of movement by the leadership of the party. We have suffered the outrage of being abandoned by established political figures who out of expediency have altered their alignments. We have witnessed the remarkable establishment of our point of view in political thinking and the consequent inevitability of the issue of nuclear strategy at the next General Election. There can be no doubt that Macmillan's decision - if decision it was - to make the Independent Deterrent an issue at the next election has a great deal to do with our insistence of the overwhelming importance of the subject.

But most important of all, every person who supports the idea of nuclear disarmament and the struggle for a way of life not based upon nuclear weapons, knows that today, they stand alone as far as organised politics are concerned. The fact is, that one of the nett effects of 5 years campaigning has been to make us non-aligned in the strictly party sense and isolated as the only alternative to those who believe in defence based upon violence and the threat of mass destruction. That is what the major parties believe. We are, I think, acutely aware of this and it will make all the difference to our attitude at the next General Election. We just will not allow them to get away with the barbaric monstrosity of presenting nuclear weapons as something we can accept and as an instrument of foreign and defence policies.

There are many people in CND now talking enthusiastically about creating an "independent presence" at the General Election, and using all our techniques and all of our support. It means that despite the phony nature of parliamentary institutions, we can all pitch into the election. It matters not, I suggest, that one is a Labour Unilateralist, Communist, Liberal, Conservative, Co Committee of 100 supporter, INDEC supporter, pacifist or anything else - all can have a direct moral, emotional and practical reason for crying death to the politics of the Bomb at the General Election.

The CND General Election Planning Group has been spelling this out in a number of practical options that different groupings can pursue in the one campaign. All candidates will receive a questionnaire designed to reveal a whole range of attitudes in the issue. A National survey will be carried out on attitudes to the Bomb, and on the basis of the results of these 2 things - Labour people can work for Labour Unilateralists in their own constituencies or nearby; Liberal similarly; where the candidates are all clearly opposed to us we can work in other ways, either using conventional techniques such as meetings and deputations etc, or in less conventional ways. This can be done by organising a separate 'ballot' for all those who whilst voting in the normal way or abstaining can also register another vote for nuclear disarmament. The results could be startling. Still others may, on an

By Ken Weller.

Over the past 2 years there have been many symptoms of the growing crisis in CND. Conflicting views have shown themselves in two main areas.

1. Is CND Unilateralist? Is it opposed to all nuclear weapons? There are legitimate doubts on this point. Look what happened to the Crew Resolution of the 1961 Conference which called for unilateral nuclear disarmament in USA and USSR as well as in Britain. We also remember Steps To Peace and the way it was foisted on the movement. Some of us even remember Canon Collins antics at the Oxford Conference of Jan. '63 and his attempts to line up CND with organisations which were certainly not opposed to the nuclear policies of their own governments.

Is Unilateralism (the struggle against one's own government) still a principle? Or is it merely "designed to break the present deadlock in negotiations for a multilateral agreement?" (Canon Collins).

2. What methods of struggle should we use and how should we organise internally to achieve our aims? Here too there have been many disturbing symptoms: the attitude of CND leadership to the resolution on Industrial Action passed at the June '62 Conference, which led directly to the resignation of Pat Arrowsmith and Michael Scott from the N.C. The bureaucratic exclusions in Marylebone CND, the reluctance to Cooperate with the C of 100 despite Conference decisions; the reactions of Canon Collins and Peggy Duff to the Spies for Peace disclosures and the reluctance of some members to stand for re-election.

What lies hidden between the lines of the official statements? Why are the 'elder statesmen' beefing about the 'umbrella policies' and 'activities they can't support'?

Two different conceptions of the Campaign, now confront one another. They reflect different conceptions of the nature of society and of the means needed to change it. On the one hand stand the 'traditionalists'. They see the struggle against war as separate from the struggle against the social system which breeds war. They see parliamentary institutions as a means of changing social reality,

not as a means of perpetuating it. Because of these naive beliefs, these political realists place their faith in the Labour Party, whose representatives sanctioned the dropping of the first A.Bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, secretly decided to build the British Bomb without reference to Parliament, later voted the initial appropriations for Aldermaston and Porton and doubtless have many 'Socialist' official secrets.

Because these people accept the State they respect it. And because they respect it they feel hostility towards those whose actions are 'unconstitutional', undermined the States authority and breed contempt for its institutions.

Side by side with the traditionalists on all crucial issues stand the Communists and others, who for 'tactical' reasons support the Labour Party - or the present setup of CND - or both. On the other hand stand those, increasingly numerous who have seen through this fraud. They see the struggle against war as the struggle to take power out of the hands of the few and vest it in the hands of the many. They see the struggle against the Warfare State, its ideology and its institutions as part of the struggle to Veurocratise society down to its very roots.

This consciousness must bring - and has brought - people up against the state; The Police: The Judges: The Goals: The Official Secrets Act. It has brought them up against spokesmen for the Establishment such as Henry Brooke. And it has earned them rebukes from 'Labour' politicals such as Patrick Gordon Walker and Anthony Greenwood, who are only awaiting their turn to administer the same kind of society.

In this great confrontation many have fallen between two stools. They wish to dissociate themselves from the excesses of the Collins leadership, in which they themselves have participated to the full. They sense, that these policies are driving many of the best activists out of the movement. On the other hand their social background prevents them from going further. For tactical reasons they cannot disown the radicals ..but neither can they initiate really radical action themselves.

Michael Howard is now opposing Cannon Collins for the Chairmanship of CND. Does he stand for anything really different? Where does he stand on Industrial Action, (unconstitutional Industrial Action for such action would never be endorsed by the leaders!)? Where does he stand on

WHO ARE WE AND WHAT ARE WE DOING?

By:- Ros. Hobart.

Crisis or Change? So we've reached the great crisis? The Test Ban Crisis, Labour Party Crisis, Leadership Crisis,all at once. "Is C.ND. Finished?" "Not Dead Yet!" Fire the Canon,..Ditch The Duff.....Ban Boulton.....Shoot Shuttleworth.....Hang Hall.....Reject Roberts.....these are some of the headlines and slogans that are being bandied around the Campaign these days.

Why does a change in the political scene always have to be a crisis for CND? Whats the matter with us that we could not foresee and prepare for this fraudulent paper Test Ban Treaty? And if indeed the Campaign does rely on mere figureheads for leadership then it does not deserve any more than a "twittering ninny" for spokesman.

But none of these things presents crisis to the Campaign that I know. A change of working situation, yes, but crisis - NO. And the arguments as to whether or not the Campaign is dead or alive are totally irrelevant. As long as nuclear weapons continue to be a threat to humanity there will be a campaign. The Campaign of the world of Roberts and Boulton might worry about the new situation, but while these so called leaders and voices argue over fancy theories and details the campaign of the local group and region has to face the changes and carry on.

AND THIS IS WHERE THE NAME SLOGANS COME IN, FOR THE GROUPS AND REGIONS ARE NOW BEING OBSTRUCTED IN THE WORK OF THE CAMPAIGN. Things are not happening, help does not come when help is called for, direction does not come when a bit of direction is needed. Our ideas never seem to penetrate up there at the top so its no longer our voice which is heard emerging from the heights.

Whose is it? Well there's a few names that we know, maybe its them. And if it is then they 're getting in the way and they must go.

But in fact the names are too irrelevant, just so long as they dont obstruct. If they're prepared to listen to us, understand us, help us when we ask, join us in fact, so when they talk about the Campaign they are talking about us and not some vague combination of personalities and theories, then things'll be okay. But if they're no then there must be changes.

(ROS ROBERT - CONT)

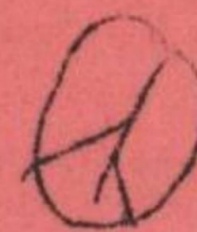
The Brolly. That seemingly controversial object the Brolly is now also presented to us as a crisis. Are we one or are we not? It seems to me that if we dont rapidly forget this whole foolish argument we shall soon be using that friendly little apparatus to keep out the Sun rather than the rainand then where shall we be - we the lovers and the defenders of life? We shall be sickly pale and wilting in our self-made pool of darkness.

It is not a question of whether the ND movement can afford to be exclusive. We're all Banning the bomb its as simple as that. We are not the CND, the C. of 100, INDEC or any other strange name to the world; we are the 'Ban the Bombers' and I'm delighted to believe that until the bomb is banned we shall stay that way.

This summer the ban the bombers suddenly realised their identity and in a very constructive way. First they wrote a book about it (Tell Britain-price 6d at the door) and then got together and between them planned and carried out one of the best and most complete programmes of work the movement has ever undertaken. They planned it together and they worked on it together and no one got in the way.

The leaders approved the plans because they respected what the ban the bombers working together represented and the secretaries wrote the letters they were asked to write because the ban the bombers had their eyes on them. How stupid to believe that had they each gone off and banned the bomb alone without any idea of what the other was doing this would have been better.

Now we've got a job to do and its called 'banning the bomb' - are you going to help us or are you going to get in the way? Because you know what'll happen if you get in the way dont you? We shall march over you; we shall sit down; we shall ban you for being in the way, just like we ban the bomb.



Ros Hobart said 'they must not get in the way'. Well, will they? Let us take a look.

On October 4th Kingsley Martin spoke of the Umbrella concept in scathing terms (New Statesman). "The results of this..(Umbrella)...were lamentable....notably on the demonstration -not sponsored by CND - when the Queen of Greece visited England."

This is sheer waffle! First of all Martin claims the demo proved the Umbrella concept a failure and then goes on to admit that it wasn't even organised by CND!

But what about the Chairman? Do we have to tell you that it was he who said: "Unless I and those who think like me win I would not expect to be a member of CND much longer"? It was the same jolly old Canon who admitted on Panorama when CND had just organised a very big national project in Scarborough that he didn't even know it had taken place.

It would be easy to put such an admission as that down to carelessness and lack of interest, but if we do this we are ignoring one fact. That same person was Chairman of the meetings which decided to organise the demonstration.

Why then should he say to an audience of millions that he knew nothing about it when such a statement was bound to give the impression that the administration was organising things without the Executive's consent? Clearly we are now in very deep water.

The final blow comes when we look at an article in the Herald by an ex. National Council member now seeking re-election; James Cameron. He stated: "In three weeks time CND meet for their Annual Conference. It is not impossible that it may be the last." Why should a person who thinks that the Campaign is on its last legs seek election to N.C.?

And talking of Elections.....we have already learnt that the Labour Wing wishes to keep control over CND. Very well - are they prepared to make CND a priority? Some very obviously are - and let's give credit to them for it.

Many more however simply want to keep a finger in the pie and this is one more of the obstructions we must remove.