

Discussion magazine for socialists & feminists

# ANTI-NUCLEAR ACTION

No4

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(20p unwaged)



## STOPPING TRIDENT

Inside: CND & Police, Greenham & Italy,  
Workers against the Bomb.

# KEEP OFF THE CENTRE GROUND!

The recent flurry of activity around Trident is, of course, to be welcomed. It's overdue. The shift of focus away from a strongly southern English perspective (with all that implies in terms of class and outlook) is also important. What is not at all encouraging, however, is the tendency among certain sectors of the peace movement (including the CND leadership) to consider Trident as a replacement campaign for an unsuccessful outcome to the struggle over Cruise.

The argument goes something as follows: 'well, we didn't win on Cruise; let's quietly move on to Trident now, and see if we have better luck this time'. This approach is closely linked to last year's emphasis on campaigning for a freeze, an approach which last December's CND conference rejected: the pro-Freeze elements were arguing for a broadening of the movement by moving our central demands to the right, and attempting to build a wider coalition around weaker demands.

We can expect the same views to reappear in the Anti-Trident campaign. Certainly, there is the prospect of a split in the Establishment over the issue (the Navy is divided, as are rank and file Tories, and the SDP is against). This is no reason to lessen the pressure we can bring to bear through campaigning activity however. The Navy can come to blows over the submarines without us wooing Admirals; the Tories can argue at garden parties without us emerging from molehills in the lawns.

## KEEP UP PRESSURE

One of the key lessons of last year was that the efforts of a few thousand Greenham women did more to sow seeds of division in the Establishment than any ritual marches of 3-400,000 people in London. It must remain true, then, that the politics of 1) surprise, 2) finding the Achilles Heels of the state (eg by making trouble at US bases), 3) sustaining activity over time, 4) challenging stereotyped views of gender roles in political work, and 5) decentralising the campaign, especially the decision-making side – that all these will continue to have more effect on government actions than softly softly approaches. And yet it is exactly this that CND nationally are *not* doing. Despite the 'no' vote to the Freeze motion at conference, the national executive has returned to freeze-style campaigning for Trident. (The decision is fairly blatant: the conference vote was dismissively explained in *Sanity* as being the result of delegates being 'confused' – so much for democracy! As last year, the emphasis is on winning this illusive 'middle ground', on converting Tory and SDP supporters, on creating majority support in the opinion polls. Much lower priority is given to the sort of campaigning

activity that might shake the Government out of its complacency.

At the same time, CND maintains that all is wonderful in the movement – all those new members, all the delegates at the conference used again and again to claim that CND has never been stronger. This is dishonest, and like all dishonesty, ultimately bound to lead to bad politics. The truth is that the arrival of cruise in the Autumn was a defeat – we need to analyse the implications of this carefully

## STRATEGIES

It wasn't just Britain, and the arrival of cruise missiles. At the same time, the German movement suffered a defeat also, when they failed to stop Pershing II missiles arriving. In neither case was the *movement* defeated – in the sense of being devastated – but in both cases there was failure. What's more, two very different strategies failed to deliver the goods – the German movement: strident, forceful, multi-organisational, and capable of organising, last October, several hundred street activities by a million people; the British movement: cautious, prioritising the lobby of parliament and the big London demos, and largely reliant on the NVDA network for provocative and effective actions. In neither case did the movement make significant inroads inside trade unions; in both cases, the social democratic opposition supported the movement but lost key elections; and in both cases the government of the day ignored the demands of the movement regardless of the size of the public majority behind these demands.

There are grounds here for concern. If we couldn't stop cruise with a majority on our side, why should we be able to stop Trident? If the Germans failed to stop Pershing even while bringing a million people on to the streets and winning the support of three-quarters of the population, what *will* shake a right-wing government? And if social democratic parties failed to win elections, even while siding with majority opinion on cruise missiles, how can we in future prioritise elections?

## GREENHAM

The efforts of the Greenham network and its supporters to make USAF

Greenham Common vulnerable and to make it impossible for the government to live with cruise must remain a main focus for the movement over the coming months. The priority will be to stop the missile launcher convoys leaving the base – or at least being able to return. The convoys (22 vehicles long) can't be slipped through the countryside unnoticed – an attempt to bring them out will be a major attempt by the government to defeat the movement.

We will be right behind the actions at Greenham: but we feel it necessary to raise some questions. We have never stopped transport before at Greenham for more than a few minutes, and the blockade at Upper Heyford was no more successful. We need to plan carefully now what we are going to do to ensure that this time our efforts are co-ordinated and successful.

## ISSUES

Two more issues merit attention: first there is the question of CND's relationship to the labour movement. Three articles in this issue look at various aspects of this – the action of Rolls-Royce workers against Trident, the problems facing workers on the Tornado programme, and the attempts by certain groups of workers in London to switch production from arms to non-military goods.

Secondly we carry in this issue an article on the deteriorating situation in Central America, where the prospect of greater US military involvement is high. National CND is refusing to take on the question of war in El Salvador, on the grounds that the first wave of CND (1957-64) was effectively brought to an end when many of the more committed activists moved to the campaign against the Vietnam War. However as this article shows, the missile build-up today is as closely related to the prospect of intervention in El Salvador as was the Kennedy era build-up to the intervention in Vietnam. It is our belief that there is a far greater threat to peace in American warmongering in the Third World than there is in Europe. Correspondingly, we feel that the peace movement would be culpable of the grossest hypocrisy were it to ignore this threat to peace. Again we welcome your comments.

# PEACE MOVEMENT IN ITALY

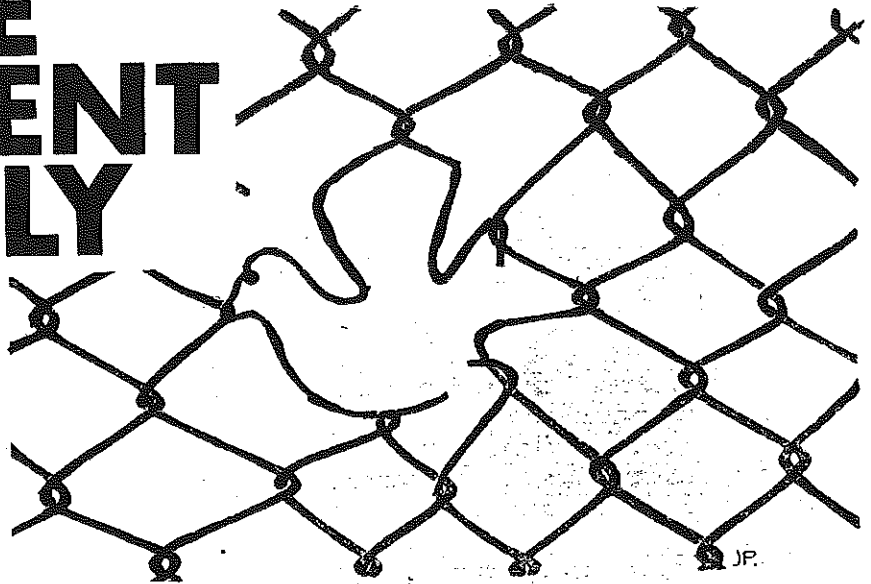
## PEACE MOVEMENT IN ITALY

It's important for us to remember that the Peace Movement is an international one. Here we print an article about the Italian Peace Movement, and about the Comiso Peace Camp.

Following the success of the October 22 demonstration in Rome, where half a million people marched for disarmament, the Italian Communist Party invited END to send a speaker to Bologna, to address a public meeting on 'women and peace'. I was asked to go, and I spent four days there, talking about Greenham and CND, and also finding out about the Italian peace movement and other issues they're working on at the moment. The Lebanon is the most urgent question there, as 1,000 of their soldiers are involved in the multinational forces. Only 400 of the men are volunteers, so there isn't much support for the action amongst the military. Many Italians are outraged at this use of their army, and people I talked with were surprised that we've not had a similar rash of demonstrations and public meetings about it in Britain.

## FERVOUR

Cruise missiles are important to the Lebanon issue for Italians because the missiles stationed at Comiso in Sicily will be able to reach the Middle East. With true Italian fervour 200 people turned up to a demonstration in the middle of a snowstorm in Bassano, a town of 20,000 about an hour's drive from Bologna. Euro-MP Fabrizia Badvel Gloriso addressed a Saturday morning meeting at a technical college on the subject, and 300 students got out of bed to hear her. Still, the women I talked to feel quite depressed about the level of political activity in general, and especially about the decline of feminist groups, many of which have simply disbanded. I spent an evening talking with a woman I met at the meeting I addressed, Renata Massanti, who has been an active feminist in Bologna for the last ten years. My Italian was very bad, but she was very patient, and she made me wish we had an English word for *simpatico*, because although it was never spoken, the concept was alive in our conversation and interactions.



## LIBERATION

It was exciting to find that we shared a lot of the same politics. Although she belongs to the Communist Party, she believes very strongly in the need for an autonomous women's liberation movement. She also drew a distinction that we make between women for 'emancipation', whom we call equal rights feminists, and women for 'liberation', who believe that society has to be reorganised. As a heterosexual woman she was agreeing with me that there were very, very few men who did, and then she corrected herself to say, who *tried* to understand the oppression of women. For me this reflected a similar politics of experience, and I did like her bloke!

Renata also felt a bit bitter about the lesbian network in Bologna, which she said was very closed. There are 300-400 lesbians at least loosely involved in it, and from the advertisement I saw for their hour-long weekly radio programme I think they must be among the most active feminists there. But the overwhelmingly heterosexual atmosphere at the 'women for peace' meeting made me able to empathise with the Bolognese lesbians. During my speech it seemed important to come out as a lesbian, to support my sisters there.

The first time I worked the word into my speech was in saying that Greenham was a broad network, including socialist feminists, 'apolitical' women, Labour party activists, lesbian separatists. My translator and friend Annalisa Mollica found the word 'lesbian' so difficult to say, however, that she simply omitted lesbian separatists from the list. So the next chance I got I worked in, 'And there are many lesbians involved, like me'. Full stop, she had to translate. Over the four days I talked a lot about being lesbian, and of course the more I mentioned it the easier the word became to say.

## COMISO

Women at the meeting were very interested in the theory behind Greenham Common, and our tactics. I could tell them a lot about how we organise specific actions, but when it came to theory I had to say that there wasn't very much that was written down or even verbalised. It felt quite ironic to hear from Antonella Matzze, the CP paid worker who organised my trip, a few days later that the British were the *avant garde* of the European peace movement, knowing that our actions are based much more on passion and intuition than theory.

Comiso seemed something of a scare word, with several women telling me about the Italian Euro-MP who had her arm broken by the police there. None of the women I talked to had been there, partly because Sicily is hundreds of miles from Bologna, but also because of their fear of police violence. For this reason it seems important to me to try and go to Comiso, to state that we are not afraid of the police. I am also looking forward to going back to Bologna, to learn more about how they organise and about their culture, which impressed me with being very caring, and lively. Twice after dinner guitars were got out, and even those like me who can hardly speak the language can enjoy themselves.

My interpreter Annalisa is organising a CP month-long festival in Bologna for the last two weeks in August and the first two weeks in September, and I think this would be a wonderful time for anyone who's interested to visit, or to form a peace delegation to go to Bologna.

Connie Mansueto

# GREENHAM WOMENS ACTION THROUGH THE AUTUMN

The arrival of the cruise missiles at Greenham Common was on all accounts meant to be the end of 'all that'. But the action has far from just gone away.

The number of women at the December 11th action last year was 35,000, even more than in 1982, and there are now several camps around the base. This is in spite of Heseltine's publicity job and the gross attacks throughout 1983 on women both from local thugs and the national press.

The liberal press joined in this 'witch hunt' too (remember Halloween and the bolt cutters) but mass popular support and recognition together with well thought out publicity actions (the painting of the Blackbird surveillance plane; dancing on the silos) has for the time being gained press coverage and grudging recognition that if cruise is to stay then so are the women demonstrators.

## WOMEN'S STRENGTH

The importance of Greenham as a women only camp has been written about in ANA before (see issue 1.) and was again threatened in December as cruise was arriving. Several groups and individuals received a circular letter explaining that now cruise had arrived it was important that the action became mixed. Greenham women have rejected this, and been supported by the whole movement in keeping the action women only.

However, there's plenty of room out there for men. Many mixed peace camps have been set up and the demonstrations at all 102 US installations in support of the Greenham Women's American court case showed the potential for this type of action all around the country. Plenty of room too to get involved in the anti-nuclear action locally. So 'muscling in' on a highly successful women's camp — albeit the first one to receive cruise — is obviously more to do with 'you girls have had a good time, but your fun's over now — the serious stuff needs men'.

The recognition that cruise would arrive brought a new urgency to the movement and a new recognition of the forces at play. Tactics too have changed. A year ago we stood round the base holding hands and singing. This December more than a mile of fencing was pulled down in several places. Women stood around the fence and pulled — rocking back and forwards until it toppled. Necessity brings its own changes.

## POLICE AND THIEVES

Many arrests have taken place and the courts at Newbury have been full. We

Thatcher's Boot Boys' as the police broke up women trying to pull down the Greenham fence were widespread and marked a significant change in attitude towards the police.

In 1983, Greenham women visited East Germany and Russia to talk to the unofficial peace movements. They went on to the delegation to Armagh on International Women's Day and were visited later in the year by women from Sinn Fein. They have also had contact with women from SWAPO. The wider implications of cruise — a reflection of not only the cold war but of American Imperialism have obviously not been lost. The media caricature of woolly hatted women into weaving webs and pinning photographs to the fence is only half of the truth.



Photo: Pam Iskenwood

have learnt a lot about court tactics, about being arrested and about our rights. Women have also learnt about the role of the state. It is no mistake that every woman who has appeared at Newbury has been found guilty and that the police have become increasingly heavy-handed and often violent against women. Although you still see women chatting to the police as if 'we're all in this together' rather than recognising the role the police play — how they are the weapons of control for the state in working class and Black communities and that this will extend to 'peace demonstrators' when necessary — there have been changes. Chants of 'Maggie

And what of the future? No doubt hundreds of other actions will take place at Greenham and elsewhere, some publicised, some not. But the media won't be able to treat Greenham women with the dismissiveness and contempt they have shown in the past — not after October 29th and the bolt cutter episode when the police were left totally helpless as a thousand women clipped and pulled down miles of fence or after December 11th when 35,000 women surrounded the base and pulled down the fence in numerous different places!

Linda and Mary  
Harrington Big Flame

# EVERY WHICH WAY TO STOP THE BOMB

Joy Hurcombe's election last December as CND's Vice-Chairperson saw a candidate from the left of the movement joining the CND leadership. ANA asked Joy for her views on some of the issues currently facing the movement.

No one doubts the enormous growth of CND over the past two or three years. With such a broad based campaign, CND has the chance to force change on even this intransigent government.

However, to succeed, fundamental policy mistakes have to be avoided. To succeed, it is necessary to believe that you can. You have to aim for total victory. To succeed you have to have a message that is clear, concise and consistent.

This understanding was clear in the recent debate reflecting the nuclear freeze. CND aims to abolish all nuclear weapons. It is not enough to campaign to freeze them at current levels. We need to convince people that the nuclear arms race can be halted and put into reverse, not just into the cold storage of yet more negotiations. Those who advocated the nuclear freeze as a first stop never told us the next. CND's commitment is to break with the stalemate of cold war rhetoric by simply stating that a state can unilaterally disarm just as it can unilaterally arm itself to the teeth. If anything, we need to change how we put the message across, not change the message.

To improve CND's doorstep approach we need to answer the criticism that unilateral nuclear disarmament would leave this country defenceless. It is vital that we are able to answer convincingly about the alternatives to nuclear weapons and there are many examples of non-nuclear defence policies adopted by other countries which can be quoted. However, there is a danger that, in doing so, we may lose sight of the emphasis on disarmament, accept the terms of reference of nationalism and the armed state and find that the movement loses its bearings. We have to examine what it is we are defending and whether we are for ever to be locked into an alliance which has a global strategy based on the use of nuclear weapons at any level of engagement. It would be better to argue to get out of NATO and to start thinking about the rest of the non-aligned world than to argue, as some do, that we have to fill the gaps left by nuclear weapons.

Yes, we have to learn to answer the attacks of our opponents. We need to have ready the answers to all the questions, not least of them on the Soviet threat, but let us not argue for other ways of fighting wars.

One other difficult area on which there must be no back-tracking is the commitment to non-violent direct action. It is admitted by America that the Greenham Common women have succeeded in preventing cruise missile launchers from making vital exercises out of the base. In effect they are now prisoners. If they dared to come out, they wouldn't get back in! Recently the Thatcher government had to arrange for a helicopter to take MP's (Tory ones) into the base to prevent them from having to face the Greenham women. Fines and prison sentences only serve to increase the campaign. We must increase our actions now that we have the government on the run.

We can win if we have the courage to take on the government at every which way we can. Our strength will force them to make compromises. If we make compromises they will have room to manoeuvre and we will lose. FORWARD EVER, BACKWARD NEVER!

Joy Hurcombe  
Vice-Chair CND  
writing in a personal capacity.



Photo: Busa News

"Walking a Tightrope". Pamphlet from women in "Big Flame" on socialism & feminism and the women's movement. Price 95p (inc. p&p) from Big Flame, Room 265, 27 Clerkenwell Close, London EC1R 0AT.

## Letters

Dear Friends,  
I got a copy of ANA at Collets in Charing Cross Road a couple of weeks ago, and I was interested to see the ideas for action on page four. I've started to write slogans on bank notes, ranging from 'Don't spend it on bombs!' (an idea from the peace tax campaign) to 'Withhold 11% of your electricity bills in protest against nuclear power — details from 51 Leopold Street, Sheffield, S1 2GY'. This might be a very good suggestion for the next issue of ANA as something else people can do. As you point out, not many people can take part in the peace tax campaign, whereas everyone who pays their electricity bills by quarterly payments can do this.  
Yours in peace,  
Margaret Klis,  
London NW3.

### LETTERS

Anti-Nuclear Action welcomes your letters, comments and contributions. Send to: ANA, Box 11, 109 Church St., Wolverton, Milton Keynes.

Some copies of ANA issues 1 and 2 are still available, price 35p including postage.

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# ALTERNATIVES TO ARMS

Up to now one crucial area that the CND leadership has ignored in the building of an effective anti-nuclear movement has been in addressing the labour movement. And yet its inside this movement that sections of ordinary women and men help to keep the arms industry going, through their daily work. In looking at how CND can effectively work within the labour movement its important to look at two things. First how to break the link between peoples own work and arms production, and second, how to cope with the many problems being faced within the labour movement at the moment.

Its crucially important to relate to the second problem as it will be difficult to build CND in the workplace unless that struggle can be linked to the needs of workers now. It is within this context that work being done by many socialists around the question of alternative production is one that deserves serious attention.

## ALTERNATIVES

The general idea of alternative production is a basic one. It raises the question of what production is for and puts forward the idea that workers can have some control over what they produce and what its used for. The message then is that instead of producing weapons, workers can use the same skills to produce more socially useful things. Such a demand raises a whole series of questions, many of them fundamental to the situation in the workplace today.

Currently there is much demoralisation in the workplace, and the effects of mass unemployment has been to make struggles more difficult to wage. Here one of the crucial areas has been how to struggle against redundancies.

Although there have been hopeful signs in many places, most activists in the workplaces must be well aware of the many problems of fighting redundancies. A lot of the fatalism that comes up in these struggles, from the easy acceptance of redundancy payments, through to the lack of militancy on issues like productivity deals, comes from the fact that many workers, women and men, don't believe in an alternative to redundancy. This is seen as an inevitable fact of life, which has to be suffered along with many other ignominies, in the current climate.

Overcoming these doubts and anxieties and releasing the dormant energies and creativity of workers is a difficult task. In this context the ideas and practices of alternative production come into their own. Many of these ideas are now being

used in London by the Greater London Enterprise Board to help save jobs. Recently over 300 jobs have been saved in companies threatened with closure using this approach.

In these struggles challenging the managements right to manage is a central part of the strategy and demonstrating the workers ability to be involved in design, production and all aspects of the company is a constant even. The problems of redundancy and demoralisation can be replaced with the possibility of more direct worker control and its within this context that the question of what kind of production and what for makes sense.

Two hundred workers at the Thorn EMI factory, owned by the Ministry of Defence, are at the moment threatened with redundancies. The factory makes electrical components which are used in the mechanism of mines for military use. The Ministry wants to move production to another of its factories and close the Thorn works down. Many of the workers at the factory are women and they have started to develop plans about producing other things. The discussion got started not only because of the threat of redundancies, but also as a result of what was happening in the Falklands/Malvinas war.

plained: *'We talked about it for the first time during the Falklands. One of the women said to me "Did you see that mine on telly? Was it one of ours?" I said it wasn't but, my god, it could have been and it got me thinking.'*

The response of the women to the thought of what happened to the end product of their work was the start of many plans for new forms of production. Workers in the arms trade are often highly skilled and the machinery they use highly versatile, so alternative plans are more viable in this sort of environment.

The women have planned a whole series of different products they could be making and ones that have a good possible market. These are mainly focussed round the kinds of products needed by the rest of the Thorn empire, components for video equipment, televisions and stereo record players. There is a demand for these and Thorn are already planning an extra input into these areas of growth.

While there are some problems with the idea of producing input into high technology areas, where these products are themselves used in not very sociable ways by the big companies, the plans so far developed have opened up the possibilities of the women developing their own priorities for what they want to make and the idea of linking this to some kind of social need. It is also helping their negotiations with Thorn. At the moment they have managed to get official backing for their plan from their union, the Transport and General, and have the backup of the national body.

Negotiations have started with the company over the plan and although they are at early stages the confidence of the women remains high. The possibilities of saving jobs at the factory is on the cards. The women have taken a big part in the negotiations, not leaving it all to the Union reps. The range of products showed how workers could regain self respect in their work and confidence in their abilities. These proved crucial in building resistance to redundancies which is still going on today.

Arguing the needs for resources to be moved away from arms production and towards other things opens up a lot of space for the Anti-Nuclear Movement. Using these tactics in relating to the workplace can help both win greater support for the central issue of unilateral disarmament, but also help with overcoming the difficulties being faced in workplace struggles right now. Such a combination could prove crucial in building a movement of resistance to the bomb that includes in it the seeds of a struggle for a socialist future.

**David Stones**  
**S. London BF**

With thanks for information to the Greater London Enterprise Board and the GLC booklet "Jobs for a Change".

# TORNADO TROUBLE

CND committed itself at the conference 'to work with trade union organisations, to mobilise the millions of trade union members into practical activity, including effective industrial action against work connected with nuclear weapons'. But what are the problems in mobilising for CND at the workplace, especially in industries dependent on military work? ANA has been speaking to an activist at Rolls Royce's Coventry plant, where a workplace CND branch has been built up, about the possibilities and difficulties.

*How did the CND group come to be set up?*

It was set up by people who were bothered by nuclear weapons, mainly by activists: Labour Party, CP members, you know. Not all are politically minded, though — a lot just want a future for the kids. We've got more than 100 members — even one or two foremen, who don't believe in cruise.

*What sort of activities have you had?* Films, speeches: from a doctor, and from Trade Union CND. We went on the national march, and a few of us went to Upper Heyford. Education is the main factor to put the point across. Many people are against cruise, being American you see. Once we can get people against cruise, then we can slip in information about things like Trident — explain to people what the hells going on.

*Rolls Royce at Coventry is quite dependent on military work, isn't it?*

Yes, probably the majority of the work we do is military work. Quite a lot of work is for the Tornado aircraft. We didn't know about the nuclear side to the Tornado, what it was going to be carrying, until we went on October 22 and we saw a banner, 'CND Against Tor-

nado', and we thought, 'oh shit'. Nobody had relayed any information to us, so it came as a bit of a shock. Lads off the shop floor have pushed so that they can get their kids along to see the fighter planes, and in fact there's a trip from Rolls Royce being organised to RAF Cottesmore to see what we've been making!

*So it must be very difficult to campaign against Tornado?*

Impossible! If you say no to Tornado, you say no to your job. We had 600 redundancies here recently, but that would mean hundreds more redundancies, it would be inevitable. That's why Tornado's a funny subject for us. We've got to build on what level of support we've got — the support against cruise for instance. But with the recession, people are frightened. We're facing problems as it is with new technology coming in. It used to be one person, one machine but now two machines and three people could take over the work done by 15 people, for instance.

*How useful in actual practice are initiatives like the Lucas Shop Stewards' plan for socially useful production?* I think it's a good way forward. But it's difficult to change from a plane



costing millions of pounds to, say, kidney machines and still keep jobs and pay the going rate. And, unlike Lucas, we're nationalised. If Thatcher wanted to close Rolls Royce down, she could close it just like that.

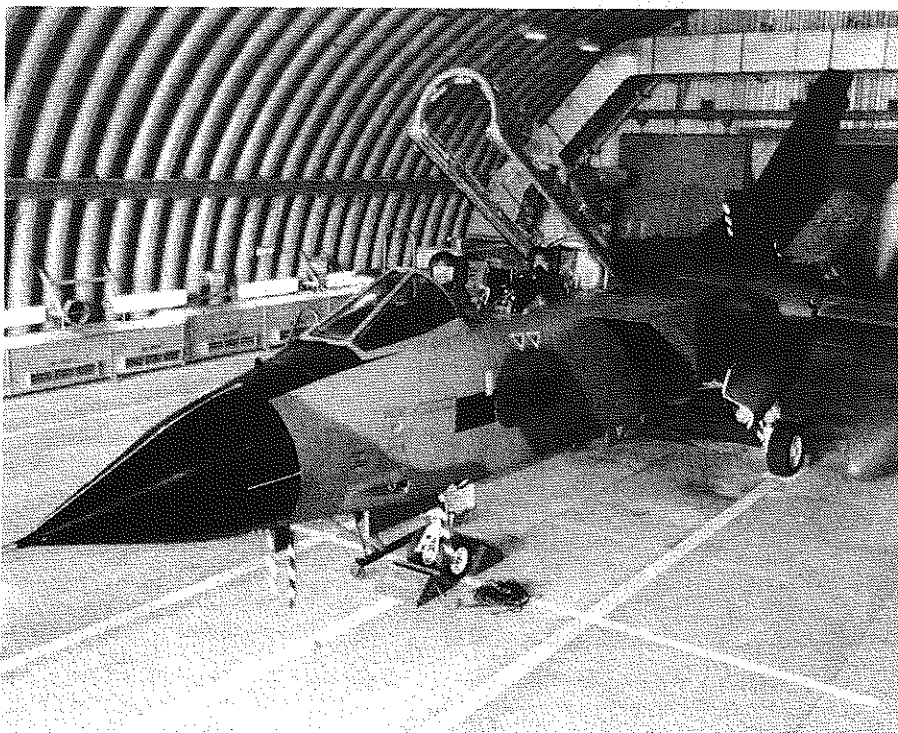
*It's wrong to say that workers who find themselves working in military industries are any more responsible for what they're making than everyone else — it's a collective responsibility that we all face. But I want to ask you if you feel any moral or ethical problems about your work.*

Personally I don't feel very good about it at all. I do feel some disrespect for myself because I have very strong views — and I look up to the women at the peace camps because I think they're stronger than anybody. I think other people have doubts too, but they're scared to show them. Some people are frightened just to put their name and address on a piece of paper.

*How can CND start 'to mobilise the millions of trade union members into practical activity'?*

It's all right unions being affiliated to CND, but unless we can change the union leadership there won't be any sort of lead given. In the AUEW, Mr Terry Duffy, probably soon to be Sir Terry, won't say a bleeding word. There should be notes and information about CND when ballot papers and mailings come from the union, so everyone knows they're affiliated to CND. At the moment, as far as I know, Trade Union CND material isn't distributed at district level. I think token stoppages are possible. People probably would stop work for a few minutes. And other CND members can help. If they've got a bit of time, they can stand at the gates of factories, in the mornings or at night; in the mornings is better, because at night everyone's trying to get the hell out of it.

*What about workplace CND branches?* Well, the Rolls Royce combine met at the end of last year with delegates from all the RR factories and agreed that we'd try to set up CND branches in all the factories. So that's a good start — very good news, in fact. The decision got a standing ovation.

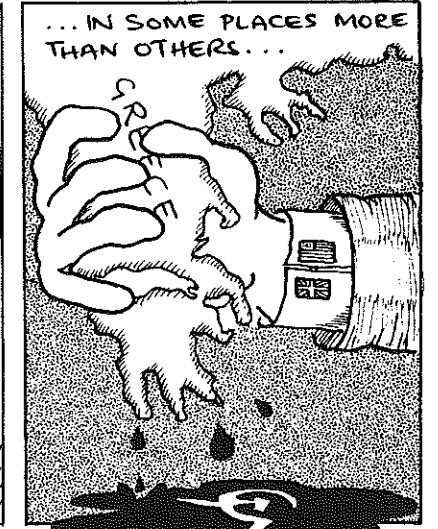
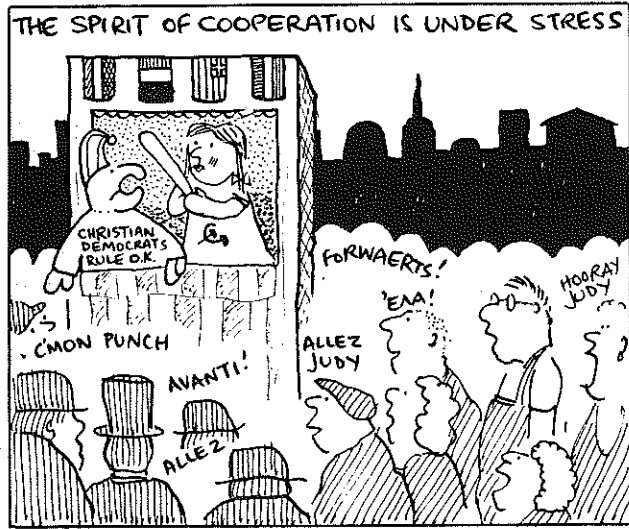
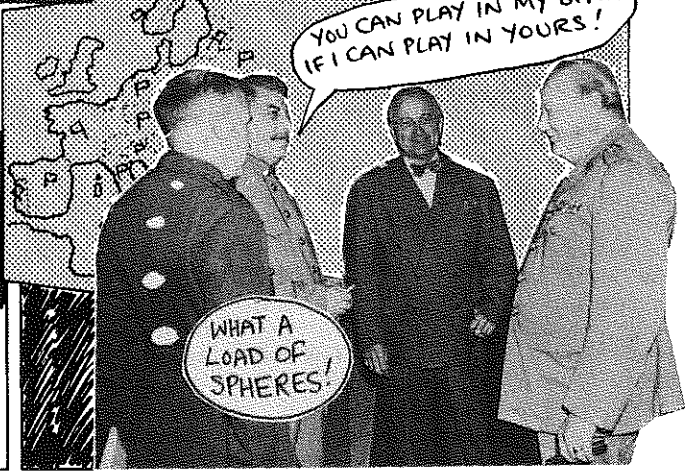
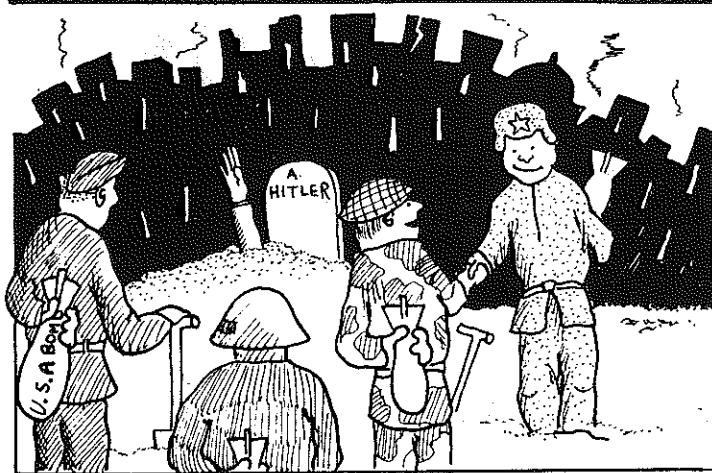


# NATO FOR BEGINNERS

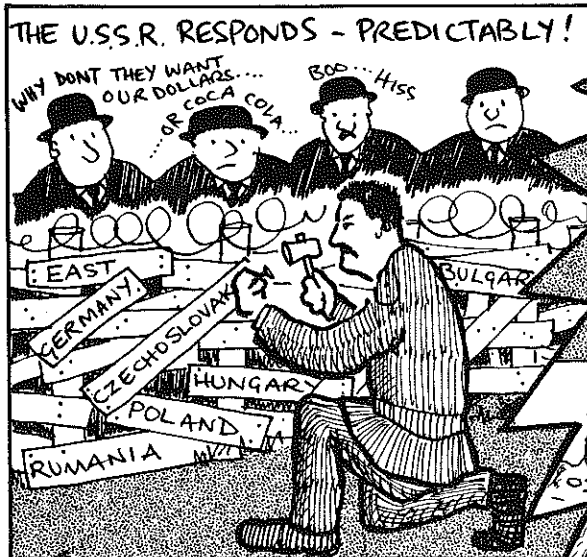
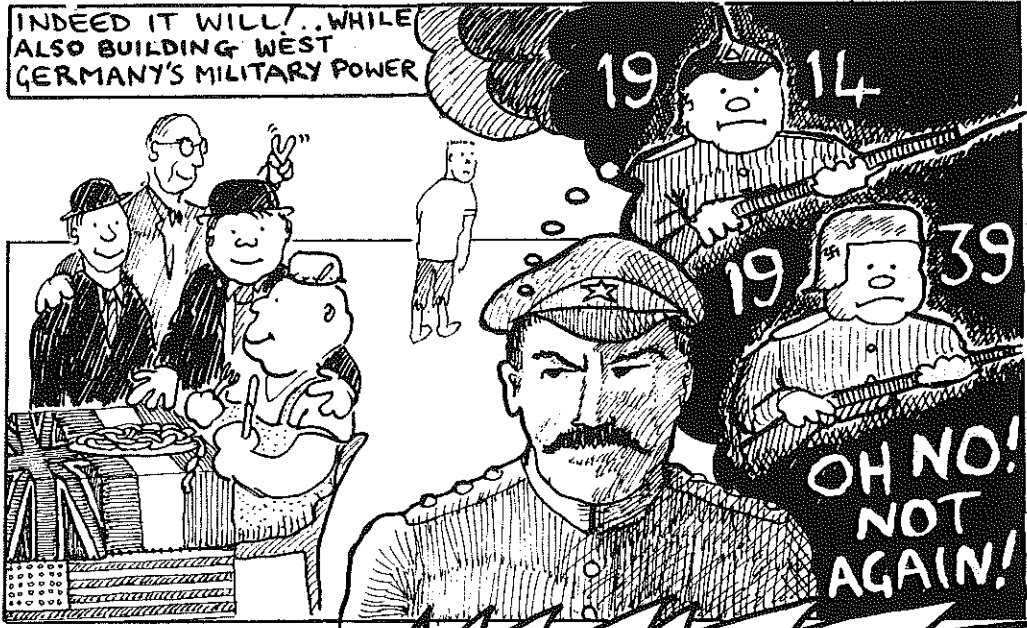
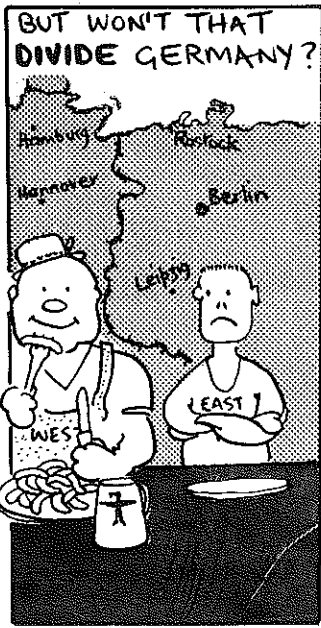
part one

by Ivan W. Ben

AS W.W.II ENDS... A NEW EUROPE IS PLANNED...







"I DO NOT KNOW OF ANY RESPONSIBLE HIGH OFFICIAL, MILITARY OR CIVILIAN... WHO BELIEVES THAT THE SOVIETS NOW PLAN CONQUEST BY OPEN MILITARY AGGRESSION"

JOHN FOSTER DULLES [US SEC OF STATE] 1949

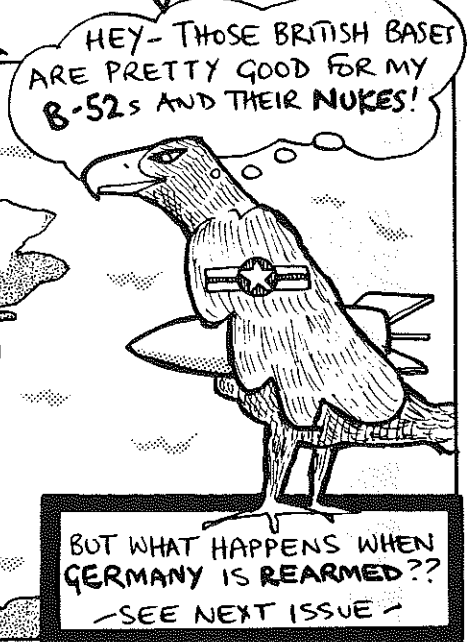
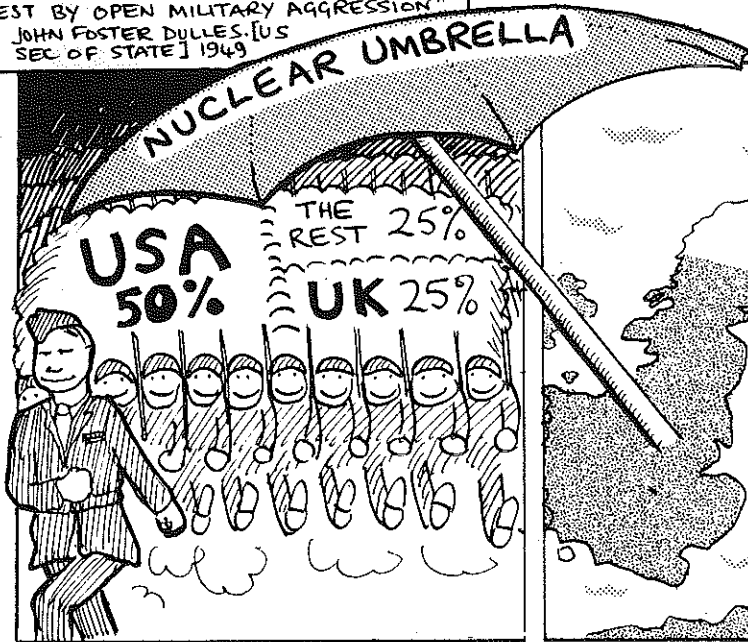
THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY WAS SIGNED IN

**1949**

—

INTEGRATED MILITARY COMMAND WAS ESTABLISHED FROM

**SEPT. 1950**



# Parity; not just a dirty word

There are, to my mind, three basic problems with Rip Bulkley's article in the last issue of *Anti-Nuclear Action*.

- 1 His argument that CND is seen as soft on Soviet weapons and therefore that it can't get its message across to most people.
- 2 His explanation of the Cold War and rejection of this notion of a new Cold War.
- 3 His suggestion that Soviet nukes can be equated with US nukes.

My perception of CND's difficulties are quite different from Rip's. CND is always having to argue against nuclear weapons as a whole (viz: the debate after *The Day After*), while the multi-lateralists tend to defend them (as keepers of the peace!). So it is not the case that CND is always seen as one sided on the question of nuclear weapons. The key problem for CND in respect of a 'Soviet threat' and the accompanying view of the United States as 'our ally'. It is this that disturbs people about unilateralism. And it is because of this that I think Rip is wrong to put such emphasis on Soviet nuclear weapons, as he thereby makes the unnecessary concessions to the 'Soviet threat' argument.

The notion of a Soviet threat emerged during the Cold War of the late 1940s. In 1946-7, the USSR was drastically reducing its conventional forces and urging moderation upon its Communist Party (CP) allies in Western Europe. But US capital was ripe for expansion and its European counterpart was eager for American support in the battle against the European CPs.

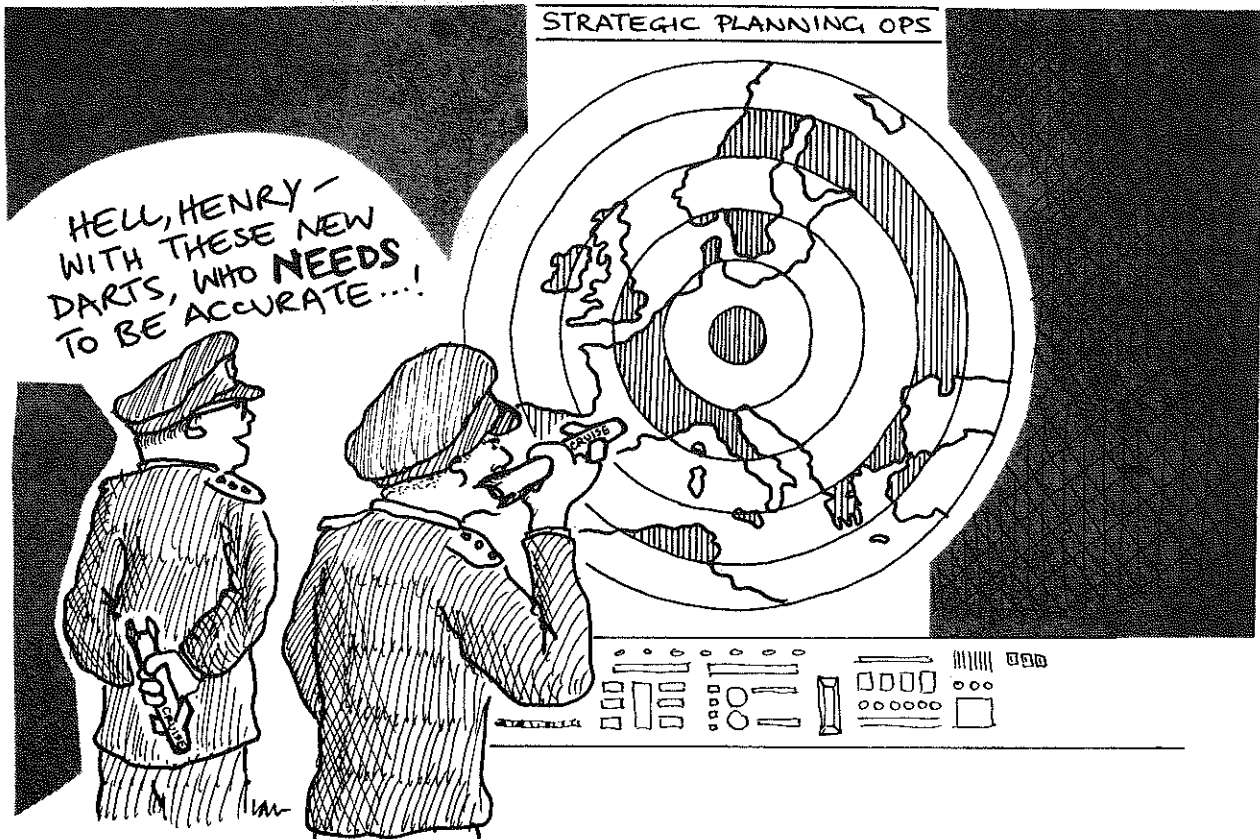
Both these helped to fuel the Cold War, but anti-communism only reached fever pitch when the US international capitalists and their domestic allies wanted to win approval in Congress for expansion into Europe (the Marshall Plan). Only the notion of a 'Soviet threat' enabled congressional resistance (from

the southern and western politicians) to be overcome, while the resulting polarisation of world politics enabled the left to be removed from power in Europe.

The Soviet Union was a willing accomplice in the first Cold War, and brutally crushed opposition in eastern Europe in response to the US offensive. But at no point did it indicate a desire to expand westwards. This time around it has been a less willing accomplice (pleas for detente etc. . . .) and its rule in eastern Europe is far more shaky.

There was more rapid and more thorough repression of independent movements in eastern Europe in the first Cold War, and no possibility of, for example, Hungary and Rumania joining the IMF. Solidarity, though defeated, is still having a lasting influence in the Soviet bloc. The Soviet empire is in trouble, and it is this that will preoccupy the Soviet leaders in the coming years. Expansion westwards is the last thing that is on their minds.

The US empire is also in difficulties. Revolutions round the world have left it without a number of former allies and



dependancies. And western Europe is now strong enough to think independently on a number of issues. For a number of US militarists and politicians, assessing the state of the empire in the '70s the problem lay in *parity*, not US inferiority. They associated US strength with its period of overwhelming nuclear superiority (1945-67) and opted to push for a return to superiority in order to repair the cracks in the empire. To do this they mounted a propaganda campaign based on the military *balance*, always arguing that the balance was tilting in favour of Moscow, and thus demanding an appropriate American response. Behind this, as such belligerent bodies as the Committee on Present Danger have admitted in interviews, was a desire for more forces for imperial intervention and more, too, directed at the Soviet Union to limit its role in the Third World. Cruise and Pershing II fit the bill here.

## FIRST STRIKE

Soviet missiles cannot be equated with US missiles, whether strategically or technically. This is an important point and Rip is wrong to evade it by downplaying the significance of Soviet inferiority. If the Soviet Union was vulnerable to a US first strike up until the mid-1960s, and developed a huge armoury to protect itself, this is not something to scoff at. Evidence now available shows that the US Air Force seriously considered taking advantage of its first strike capability to attack the USSR on numerous occasions between 1948 and 1963 — and it was precisely this superiority that brought us so close to the holocaust over Cuba in 1962.

That said, I do not altogether reject E. P. Thompson's argument that things have now changed. The Soviet Union has been relatively secure from attack for perhaps fifteen years, so the size of its nuclear forces cannot be merely defensive. But then the Soviet Union has never had the same offensive intentions as the USA. Though regionally aggressive (and devastatingly so in some

cases), it has been remarkably unadventurous beyond its immediate region. Its main preoccupation has been to provide a counterweight to US or US-backed aggression in the Third World. Its desire for global parity in nuclear weapons is intended to provide something of a counterweight, not least by boosting Soviet influence in global diplomacy (this is the professed intention, even if we may question the reasoning behind it). The main argument that the Soviet Union is expansionist and aggressive on a global scale rather than a regional basis stems from the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. This is absurd. The turmoil in Afghanistan prior to the invasion was a threat to Soviet control of its *internal* Moslem population, not a golden opportunity to expand globally. And once Moscow had invaded the country, the occupation became an impediment, not an aid to further aggression.

In general, then, the Soviet Union is a regional power with global pretensions, while the US is a global power. The Soviet Union always strives for parity, the US strives for superiority in periods of Cold War, while accepting parity in periods when tensions are reduced.

## MILITARY BALANCING ACT

As I said, the arguments about the military balance were advanced by the Right with political ends in mind. We ought to be wary of responding on the same terrain, as Rip implies we should. Weapons are never quite what they seem. Size can reflect technological inferiority not superiority, and this is generally the reason for the vast bulk of many Soviet missiles, as well as its submarines. Excessive numbers can also reflect inferiority. The Soviet Union has for some time possessed more missiles because the United States is ahead in multiple warhead technology. Not only are there more warheads on US missiles (though the Russians are fast catching up), but the US missiles are more accurate and more reliable.

Again, this is of some significance. The

Soviet Union has never come remotely near a first strike capability, whereby it could wipe out all US missiles without fear of retaliation. But if the US continues to improve the accuracy and reliability of its missiles, it could conceivably restore its first strike capability. Certainly, all the Soviet submarines are vulnerable to immediate attack (which is not true of US or British subs), and cruise and Pershing II missiles, as well as Trident and MX, would make most Soviet land-based missiles vulnerable.

This is where the SS20s are important. The SS20s are the first Soviet solid-fuelled missiles, and are thus more stable and reliable and more quickly assembled than the liquid-fuelled missiles used hitherto. All the long-range US missiles are solid-fuelled, and the main reason why SS20s are targeted on Europe is that the Russians were not able to develop a long-range version and were left with the option of a medium-range version or nothing. This is obviously of profound significance, as it suggests that the SS20s are more than anything else a symbol of Soviet inferiority and old-fashioned deterrence doctrine. Cruise and Pershing II, on the other hand, symbolise both American superiority and Washington's desire for a first strike capability within a new doctrine of limited war.

None of this is to excuse Soviet actions. The peace movement is rightly opposed to all nuclear weapons, Soviet included. Nevertheless, we cannot counter anti-Soviet propaganda and develop an alternative foreign policy unless we are able to *explain* Soviet actions within a coherent framework and develop an independent analysis of the arms race. It is hoped that this article will aid towards this objective.

For further information, see for example Andrew Cockburn, *The Threat*; Robert Aldridge, *First Strike*; and Fred Halliday, *The Making of the Second Cold War*.

Ben Lowe

# TRIDENT WORKERS SUCCESS

Workers at Rolls Royce Hillington, near Glasgow, have given a big boost to the campaign against nuclear weapons by voting again not to touch work on Trident.

Earlier last year, the company announced that it planned to tender for work on the American missile system, but the workforce decided in May not to have anything to do with it. For a few weeks, nothing was said. Management, however, was looking for a show-down. They have succeeded in imposing more than 3000 redundancies at the plant since the beginning of 1981, and obviously thought that they would meet with only token resistance on the 'political' issue of nuclear weapons.

So, at the beginning of September 1983,

they threatened any employee refusing to work on the tender with instant dismissal. At the same time, they put it about that the possible contract could lead to work at the plant of many millions of pounds, and thus help to save jobs.

Trade union officials were called in for a plant conference with stewards and management, and then the issue was put again to a full meeting of the shop stewards. The result: a unanimous decision to carry on the boycott.

But it wasn't left at the stewards' level. They in turn took back the question to mass meetings of the workforce, and the latter again voted by a two to one majority not to do any work connected with Trident.

This decision by a bruised and battered workforce is incredibly important. It shows the linkup which is possible between the peace

movement and workers in the arms industry if the effort is made.

Getting boycott action to stick will never be easy and requires a huge wave of popular support for the workers involved. At the time of writing, it seems that Rolls Royce management have let the issue drop, but given the dodgy future of the plant, management are likely to raise the question of work for Trident once more in the future.

Messages of support to: Gavin Keown, Shop Stewards Convenor, Rolls Royce, Hillington Estate, Glasgow G52.

Martin Meteyard  
(Secretary, Anti-Trident Campaign).  
(An earlier version of this article first appeared in *Strathclyde Labour Briefing*).

# TRIDENT

## THE MOST POLITICAL WEAPON



What role is Britain to play on the world's stage over the next 10-20 years? What is to become of this fading, post-imperial and increasingly post-industrial island? Of course we can still put on a damn good show, as the Falklands/Malvinas war proved. British troops, highly trained in police work (Northern Ireland), breaking-and-entering (Iranian embassies a speciality), and community work (industrial disputes too numerous to mention) were able to defeat the Argentinian armed forces without much difficulty.

However this sort of gunboat diplomacy is essentially a 19th century activity and hardly represents a promising career for Britain at the close of the 20th century. If China were to lose patience with Britain over Hong Kong, we could expect a much tougher fight from the People's Army than from the Argentinian generals. However if Britain were to acquire some much more powerful gunboats and concentrate their activities on policing the North Atlantic region . . . Enter Britannia, stage right, wielding Tridents.

The Trident II D5 submarine is the most powerful weapon system yet invented. It makes Polaris look like a water pistol. Each Trident missile has only two more warheads than the 6 on a Polaris missile but each one is 10 times more accurate. With greater punch per warhead also, each missile is nearly 200 times more

lethal. The missiles have a range of 7,400 km. They can reach Trinidad from Portsmouth harbour, Berlin from New York. The commander of each Trident submarine will have more destructive power at his disposal than anyone except the leaders of the super-powers. Our government is buying four of them.

### WHAT KIND OF WEAPON?

The Tories present Trident as simply an updated version of Polaris, an independent nuclear deterrent for the '80s and something that no really modern government can afford to be without. Even the Advertising Standards Authority might have some doubts about this claim. As a deterrent weapon Trident is absurdly over-sophisticated and therefore extravagantly expensive. There can be no doubt that Trident is potentially a first strike weapon, designed to inflict enough immediate damage to make retaliation impossible.

The most dishonest aspect of the Trident sell is the claim of independence. In fact Trident will depend on American facilities for maintenance, spares and control systems. Crucially, the guidance system for Trident warheads depends on American NAVSTAR satellites: without the data the missiles can be fired but the warheads cannot find their targets.

### THE NEW BRITISH STATE

It seems inconceivable that the Thatcher government was unaware of these aspects of Trident when it placed its order. Indeed, I think we can reasonably assume that they see the characteristics of Trident as a positive advantage. From remarks made by government ministers and other indications, it appears that the British state is concerned that NATO may collapse and/or American forces may be withdrawn from Europe. This would deprive the British state of the immediate support of its closest ally. It could also lead to a resumption of the rivalry between capitalist nations which periodically devastated Europe until 1945. From ministerial statements, it appears that the British government are particularly concerned that France should not become the only nuclear power in Europe.

However, by purchasing a very powerful weapon system which depends on American co-operation, the British government hopes to preserve its alliance with a technological fix. The deal is that the American Tridents will be deployed in the Pacific and Indian Oceans whilst the British Tridents patrol the North Atlantic. The British strategy is to secure continuing American 'protection' by becoming an indispensable part of their global police force. Understandably, the British government feel it would be tactless to draw our attention to this. America's regional policemen, past and present, have been an unattractive bunch: the Shah of Iran, Generals Pinochet, Somoza etc, the Israeli military, the Greek colonels . . .

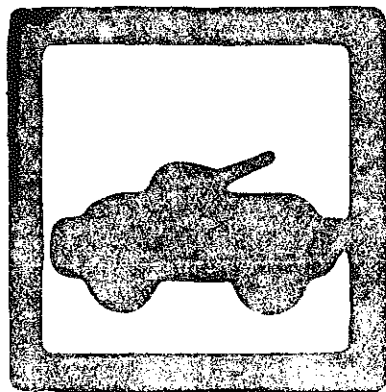
Stephen Cook

# Prison Letters

There has been much debate in CND about the way the National organisation tries to run the campaign. Here we print a letter written by Bob Phillips, from Milton Keynes, to two friends in the USA. It refers to the demonstration in Whitehall on October 31st 1983. The letter makes some important points about a crucial debate and has already been reprinted, among much controversy, in the Milton Keynes Campaign newsletter.

Dear David and Diana,

I am sitting in a little cell in Rochester Row Police Station; with, apparently, lots of time on my hands. One is entitled to take pen and paper with one into custody, presumably this is because one is meant to use up all the time in catching up with letters to friends. Anyway — the circumstances explain the rather grotty, much folded, paper.



Cruise missiles are in the UK. The first sets of warheads were flown into Greenham Common on Friday night. The women there were magnificent. One and a half miles of fence destroyed (out of a nine mile perimeter). The police and air force were outnumbered, out thought and outclassed.

By contrast, tonight's events make me want to weep for CND. The Government announced a debate in the Commons 'welcoming Cruise' at almost no notice, intending to catch CND on the hop. However, with a weekend to prepare, thousands of people poured into Parliament Square and Trafalgar Square this afternoon and evening. Dancing, singing, women ululating — an eerie and very effective noise, candles, and even bonfires in the middle of Whitehall and the road going round Trafalgar Square. Yet, at 10 o'clock, the Chair of CND arrives and says 'Go home now; it's all over', and everyone meekly disappears. The main singing 'we shall not be moved' from the pedestal of Nelson's Column finishes his verse and announces 'We're all going now — don't forget to pick up litter.'

Despair. The sit-down blockade of Whitehall disappears, even though

many, many confused people cannot see why we don't go on.

Our contingent went home in a feverish sort of back-slapping mood that I just could not face. The doubts are too near the surface; the sense of pointlessness; and the efforts to hide it — from ourselves — are too obvious and painful. So I wandered around for a while until I decided to sit down again in Whitehall, on my own.

This was the single most important event of 1983 organised by CND. All that has happened at Greenham through the Women Peace Camps seems to have been in spite of CND, and puts CND to shame. For most of 1983, especially before the General Election, we have all been saying to each other at CND rallies — 'No Cruise', 'Over dead bodies', 'The people united will never be defeated', and so on. Well, tonight was the test. The Tories are in power, tonight they are congratulating themselves on that power, and are bringing in the weapons we have sworn to oppose. And CND runs away, as if it was the weak thing that the Tories want everyone to believe.

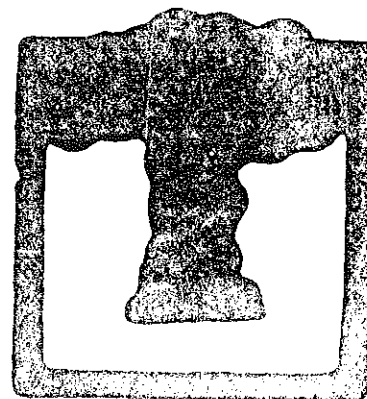
We are strong. We could have shown them. If we had sat on in Whitehall and elsewhere — all night if necessary —



there would eventually have been hundreds of arrests, and the world would have known that *WE OBJECT*. Hundreds of people, perhaps thousands, would have been further politicised and made ready for the next struggle.

But . . . CND did the Tories' work for them. Instead of mass protest, we have

a quiet, peaceful demonstration, dominated by candles and song, with a crowd of benevolent policemen watching over it. Well before the last train, everyone clears up their litter and goes home to a cosy bed. Democracy is safe in England; aren't our policemen wonderful; and the wise men who bring us safety on our streets also make our country safer with new weapons. I know that one arrest achieves nothing. I know that it is a pathetic gesture in the face of the total success of the forces of 'law and order'. But I could not just see it all vanish without saying that, for me, October 31st was an important, tragic day, and I will not take it meekly.



So I sat. At least I kept 65 policemen and women standing for 40 minutes wondering what to do. I was carried away; I returned and sat again; carried away again, a little more roughly; when I tried to 'cross the road', I was arrested and dragged off to a van.

What is CND coming to?

One of the dominant features of the sit-down was the tension between the ones singing and holding crosses, and the ones standing, shouting 'Jobs not bombs', 'Britain out of NATO', and waving banners. The former shouted to the latter to sit down, constantly. Why? They cheered — one or two actually cheered and said 'Good riddance' — when the banner carriers left.

OK. So the banner carriers pushed themselves to the front, and made a concerted attempt to take over the chanting. But, what were the rest of us achieving? To sit quietly in front of the police, singing our songs, and going away at 10pm is not going to convince anyone that CND is strong, and capable of resisting Cruise. A day as important as this surely deserves a little more resolution; and this resolution requires to be encouraged and led, which only the SWP chanters were willing to undertake.

Left groups have been upsetting 'everyone' recently by attempting to get their

*Anti-Nuclear Action*

# Kisses for the Constable

Last summer, shortly after the Upper Heyford blockade, a few of us in 'Big Flame' wrote a letter to *Sanity*, trying to draw out lessons. It was, we thought, a mild enough piece of prose, because — mindful of our audience — we consciously tried to avoid any offputting lefty rhetoric. We discussed the role of the police at Heyford, and the attitudes of demonstrators to them:

*'... Next time we'd rather not see the chatting and joking between demonstrators and police, which in fact merely belittled and devalued our protest. However apparently friendly an individual police officer may have been, the role of the police at Upper Heyford was to defend the decisions of past and present governments to allow nuclear weapons, American bases and participation in NATO. Policing will remain benign only for so long — as the experiences of black people in inner cities should make clear.'*



Our comments obviously got hackles rising. *Sanity* published two replies in a subsequent issue ('I was astonished to read the 'police not friends' letter. . . I cannot see how hostility toward the police can help our cause in any way . . .') and the rumbles continued as late as November when another critical letter was published.

Our views were, it seems, not popular. Certainly they could not have been very palatable to Mr Trevor Brown ('West Berks elected representative, Thames Valley Police Authority) who, writing before us in May's *Sanity* had the following observation to make on the Easter actions:

*'The day also demonstrated that 'British is Best' in both peaceful protest and policing. I was particularly impressed at the end of the day by a final roadside conference between a senior officer and one of the organisers, which ended in the officer receiving a grateful kiss . . .'*

However, while many in the peace movement might join with me in not sharing Mr Brown's enthusiasm for Kissing with Constables (and in not sharing, too, one sincerely hopes, his gross national chauvinism), nevertheless the fact has to be faced that neither would they necessarily agree with the views expressed in Big Flame's letter.

We need to investigate carefully why this is the case. I think we can identify a number of strands of thinking behind this:

1. A concern to keep public opinion on our side, by our evident courtesy, tidiness, etc. The problem is that no political movement can determine its strategy only from options acceptable to the media, or on what the media pronounce to be accepted public opinion: to do so is to guarantee political powerlessness. I remain convinced that people are won over to our view by our actions and our arguments — not by our attempts to play safe by offending nobody.
2. A desire to stay respectable — not to carry our protest beyond certain boundaries. Different people will be able to make different commitments to the movement. We should not expect everyone, for example, to live in a peace camp, get arrested, go to prison or even necessarily go on a demonstration.

(Continued on p.15)

(continued from p.13)

own people on to CND group executives and committees. CND has responded by cutting out the cancer; closing down organisations that are tainted with trots and setting them up again. But the strategic point underlying it is fairly simple; CND thinks that it is vital not to alienate potential supporters, so it backpedals on policy issues that might upset people who otherwise share some of CND's aims. CND justifies this by saying that the more 'extreme' aims, such as Britain out of NATO, unilateral disarmament are not winnable in the current climate of opinion, so it ditches these aims, or at least, plays them down.

These abandoned positions are principles that were at the centre of CND's aims once, before the General Election.

The left says raucously and impolitely that no political position was ever won by conceding the contentious points to the opposition at the outset. On the very eve of the advent of Cruise missiles, we should be looking to the membership we have, which must include most of those who are determinedly against Cruise and Trident, and our main strategy should be to use the membership to fight the enemy: militaries and the Tories. With this strategy, retaining our policies on unilateralism and NATO, and restating them to the world, will build solidarity and strengthen the movement.

I am, by the way, no longer in the Police Station. I have been released, having refused to give them all the information that my helpful legal notes tell me that they are not entitled to, and having had a chat on the 'phone with Anna (my statutory 'phone call — I asked her to phone CND's arrest office for me), and a reassuring talk with CND's solicitor (he 'phoned me). I am obliged to surrender to custody at Horseferry Road Magistrate's Court at 10am on Tuesday, 29th November on a charge of without lawful authority or excuse, wilfully obstructing the free passage along the highway.

I am now on the 2.30 train back to Milton Keynes and bed.

Bob Phillips

(continued from p.14)

But we should be very hard with the attitude of mind which wants to keep the peace movement respectable at all costs — to keep our protest safely within limits. Behind this attitude is the idea that ultimately we're not asking for very much — at any rate, nothing that a sensible government shouldn't be pleased to grant us. In fact, we're demanding far more than the state can voluntarily give us — and it's about time we realised this. Raise the slogan: Down with respectabilism!

3. *A fear of getting physically hurt.*

There's nothing wrong with not wanting to get hurt. It's sensible. It's also time some traditional lefty macho views of political action got challenged. However, it's certainly a mistake to imagine that courtesy to the police will be repaid in kind. Unfortunately, there is no guarantee that — even with strictly non-violent actions — people won't get hurt.

4. *A philosophical commitment to attempt to resolve conflict situations and to work for 'reconciliation'.*

We need to sharpen up what we mean by peace; for socialists any attempt to impose a 'peaceful' solution of the world's problems around a position of everyone being nicer to each other completely negates all we understand from our theory. Individual workers aren't exploited just because their boss happens to be particularly unpleasant — they're exploited because of a fundamental lack of identity between the interests of ordinary people and the interests of the capitalist system, and this fundamental conflict takes place however nice or nasty the individual capitalist may be. Similarly women share a common oppression in living in a male dominated patriarchal society, a system of oppression which is more than just the accumulated actions of individual sexist men.

Resolution of conflicts must take place dialectically — by seeking to move forward, in due course to new conflicts, through the transcendence in struggle of existing conflicting forces. A struggle for peace which is not at the same time a struggle against capitalism, patriarchy and imperialism is ultimately a struggle for the status quo — it's an attempt to treat symptoms not causes.

5. *A similar commitment to non-violence.*

Anti-Nuclear Action has discussed before the debate about 'non-violence' in relation to the left. It's a big debate. But, in any case, a decision to undertake only non-violent action does not also demand an obligation to chat with the police.

6. *Finally an 'all human beings together' view.*

It is undoubtedly true that police men and women are individual people, from the same society as us. It is also true that revolutionaries have in the past stressed the importance of attempting to subvert — or at least demoralise — members of the armed forces and the police forces.

But I suspect that subversion is not what people advocating friendly relations with the police have in mind; and the point is anyway that, no matter how many individual members of the police may be won over to our views (some might even choose to leave their jobs as a result) nevertheless the police as an institution will continue very much in existence.

In short, a view that the police are merely the sum total of the individuals involved — and not an institutionalised part of the forces of the state, defending the interests of that

state — is an archetypal *liberal* stance, and one that we as socialists need to be very hard on.

It is, I'm afraid, a symptom of the middle-classness of much of the peace movement that this gut understanding of the essentially repressive nature of the police is not an automatic part of the consciousness of the movement. Middle-class people, used to living in a society whose rules, by and large, they feel they understand and can use, have a very different experience of the police from working-class people, especially those marginalised under capitalism.

Given the size of the struggle which the peace movement has before it, and its importance to all of us struggling for change, these manifestations of liberalism can't be left unchallenged. It was extremely disappointing, for example, to see some speakers at the CND conference hold back from their support of the NGA dispute with the Stockport Messenger because the Warrington picket line had not remained non-violent. Yet at Warrington the same friendly bobbies that the peace movement have befriended at Greenham and Heyford turned loose on the picket lines — undoubtedly acting on orders from a high level — a frightening display of violence and brute force. As a woman writing recently in Socialist Worker said, 'I have not been to Greenham Common, but I've got more sense than to believe the media when it portrays those brave women as loonies. So I expect Jane Ricketts (a previous letter writer) to give the same consideration to the people who picketed Eddie Shah's factory. Unfortunately we were not able to sit down peacefully. We were baton-charged, crushed, picked out and

pulled behind police lines to be kicked and batoned by policemen . . .'

Peace activists will be joining trade unionists at the receiving end of the repressive new Police Bill, if it is allowed to become law. It's time now for activists in the movement to realise where our allies are, and be prepared to show some practical solidarity. It's time for the kissing to stop.

Arthur Curtis

Don't rely on chance to get your next copy of ANA. Make sure you get it, immediately after publication — take out a sub.

Now that our national distributors, Publications Distribution Co-Op, are — sadly — no more, we can't guarantee that ANA will reach all the outlets it used to get to. We're working hard to ensure that copies *do* get distributed — but it's even more sensible now to ensure you keep in touch by subscribing.

£2.50 will bring the next four issues mailed direct to your front door — send a cheque or PO to ANA, Box 11, 109 Church St, Wolverton, Milton Keynes. (PS. We've still got some copies of ANA issues 1, 2 and 3 available. Issues 1 & 2 are 40p inc. postage, issue 3, 50p inc. postage from the same address.

*The idea for Anti-Nuclear Action came out of a fringe meeting held at the 1982 CND conference, where amidst much mutterings and mumblings it was agreed that a magazine to link together socialists and socialist-feminists active in the peace movement and to help us develop a stronger left tendency within the campaign was urgently needed.*

*The first issue of ANA came out in time for the Easter 1983 actions, and was something of a pilot issue. It was produced and distributed by a group of women and men who, as well as being active in the anti-nuclear movement, were also members of the revolutionary socialist and feminist group "Big Flame". As we said then, it wasn't our intention to produce just a 'line' paper propounding Big Flame's views but to "begin a dialogue with other socialists and feminists working in CND, to develop our thinking and to attempt to influence the direction the peace campaign follows".*

*ANA 1 produced a welcome response, both in sales and also in contributions for future issues, and in the last three issues we have printed contributions from activists in other left groups, in the Labour Party and from people who are non-aligned. However, this interest hasn't extended to the editorial and distribution of the magazine, and the reality is that it is "Big Flame" members who are mainly responsible for the production work, and also the work of selling the magazine at meetings and demonstrations. Whilst we hope ANA is useful, honest and non-sectional in its contents (and whilst we certainly wouldn't want to see ANA turning into a front for any one organisation), if there is a discernable flavour to the magazine it is perhaps the flavour of Big Flame's particular politics and practice.*

*We hope that ANA, by continuing to provide a forum for socialists and feminists in the movement, can play a part in making the necessary links with other campaigns, and with injecting an internationalist, anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist perspective into the struggle against the missiles. The peace movement can't survive in a hermetically sealed 'non-political' vacuum isolated from other political issues and struggles, and the input socialists are making into the movement needs to be much greater if these vital connections are to be made and sustained.*

*We welcome more involvement from others who share these general perspectives — in buying ANA, writing for it, sending us letters, and — if you can — helping us produce and sell it. We'll see you about!*

# Kicking With Both Feet

In previous issues of ANA we have argued that the main reason for the possession of nuclear weapons has little to do with the so called theory of deterrence. In this article we look at the increasingly aggressive stance of the USA and the consequences for Latin America. Given the extension of US nuclear hegemony to Europe we have every need to extend solidarity to the peoples of these countries as an essential part of our strategy against nuclear weapons and nuclear power.

During the first wave of Cold War (1947-54), the United States enjoyed a position of overwhelming nuclear superiority. The official rhetoric was of fighting local wars against communism, and the civil war in Korea was the chosen arena. By intervening, the US contributed massively to a death toll of over 2 million. During the second wave of Cold War (1958-63), US hawks, still enjoying a position of nuclear superiority over the Soviet Union, revived the rhetoric of limited war. This time the victim was Vietnam where, over a period of fifteen years, the US contributed handsomely to another death toll of around two million. When the Reagan administration came to power, embarking on a drive for nuclear superiority and reviving the old Cold War rhetoric of limited war, there seemed to be every possibility that the United States would once again start an elephant charge into the ant-hills of the world.

## GLOBAL INTERVENTION

The summer of 1983 saw ominous signs of self-confidence in the White House. Not all the components of nuclear superiority — MX missiles, Trident subs, the B1 bomber, laser beam weapons, etc — were running off the production line, but progress was sound. Crucially, cruise and Pershing II missiles, the most intimidating weapons directed at the Soviet Union in many years, were all set for deployment. What's more, the main force for intervention in the Third World, the Rapid Deployment Force, had been substantially beefed up and was ready for action. Finally, leading dissidents in the US administration who had opposed the hard line of Reagan and Defence Secretary Weinberger had been removed.

It was in this context that the United States suddenly appeared to be intervening all over the globe. Its marines were in the Lebanon, propping up a minority pro-Western government; the 6th Fleet was manoeuvring in the Mediterranean, in part backing up the Lebanese operation, otherwise helping to intimidate Libya's Colonel Gaddafi (in order to force him out of neighbouring Chad); and there was a show of force by a huge US fleet off Nicaragua — this to further

the destabilisation of a socialist government that acts as a source of inspiration for socialists throughout Central America. Given all this activity, it didn't take a soothsayer to see that the White House was intent on dragging itself into a bloody conflict somewhere. It was only a matter of time.

The invasion of socialist Grenada was no less tragic for being so predictable. Of course, the official reasons given for the invasion were sheer fabrication. The US military had not only planned the operation for at least a year, it had even carried out a practice run — this on the island of Vieques, off Puerto Rico, in 1982. The actual timing of the operation was only partially to do with the upheaval in Grenada itself. Reports from Reagan's private golf club the previous weekend (the planning HQ, no less!) suggest that he and his chief advisers were concerned first and foremost to avenge the loss of over 240 American lives in Beirut resulting from the bombing of the US military base. Of the limited options available, Grenada seemed the most credible and winnable.

Ironically, for all its apparent ease, the Grenada invasion revealed the number one obstacle to a new wave of interventionism. For despite the practice run, despite the 6,000 crack US troops and the miniscule size of the Grenadian militia, and despite the confusion in Grenada which inhibited armed popular resistance to America, there was still sufficient loss of life for coverage of the operation to be heavily censored at home. The Administration won people over of course, thanks to Reagan's long training in Hollywood. But if such a straightforward exercise could lose 18 plus US lives and leave question marks in the popular mind, what of nearby Nicaragua, which could keep up a defence for years?

## KISSINGER RE-EMERGES

Until the end of 1983 it seemed that the Grenada invasion, combined with the debacle in Lebanon, had begun to inhibit the Administration's interventionist ambitions. And when Nicaragua — the most likely target — promised elections in 1984, Reagan's gun seemed



well and truly spiked. However, the White House had one more card to play — the special commission under Henry Kissinger. Set up in 1983 to help to legitimise US operations in Central America, the commission has now reported back.

The most disturbing aspect of the Kissinger commission report is the massive \$2 billion (?) aid proposed for El Salvador. America dragged itself into Vietnam through ever-increasing aid to a decrepit dictatorial regime which, before long, was nothing without the US military presence. The same could happen in El Salvador if opposition from within and outside the United States is not soon able to cut off the flow of aid.

This last point highlights the limitations of the general peace movement response to the invasion of Grenada. It should be abundantly clear by now that Cold War means America fighting hot wars in the Third World and that talk of theatre war has far from theatrical repercussions for people combatting imperialism. Grenada, combined with Reagan's rhetoric directed against radical forces in Central America, should have been seen as providing ample confirmation of this, thus leading to a shift in the priorities of the peace movement. Instead of calling for a meaningless 'dual key' for cruise, the movement could have been doing more for world peace by developing a dual strategy for opposing both the missiles in Europe and the new danger of interventionism that accompanies this missile deployment. But then, it is not too late. The danger of intervention in Central America is still very present. The peace movement is still alive and kicking. We only need to learn to kick with the other foot.

Ben Lowe

*For further info., contact the El Salvador Solidarity Campaign, 29 Islington Park St., London N1. The El Salvador News Bulletin, produced by the campaign, is indispensable. Several cities have their own local campaign, some with their own publications.*