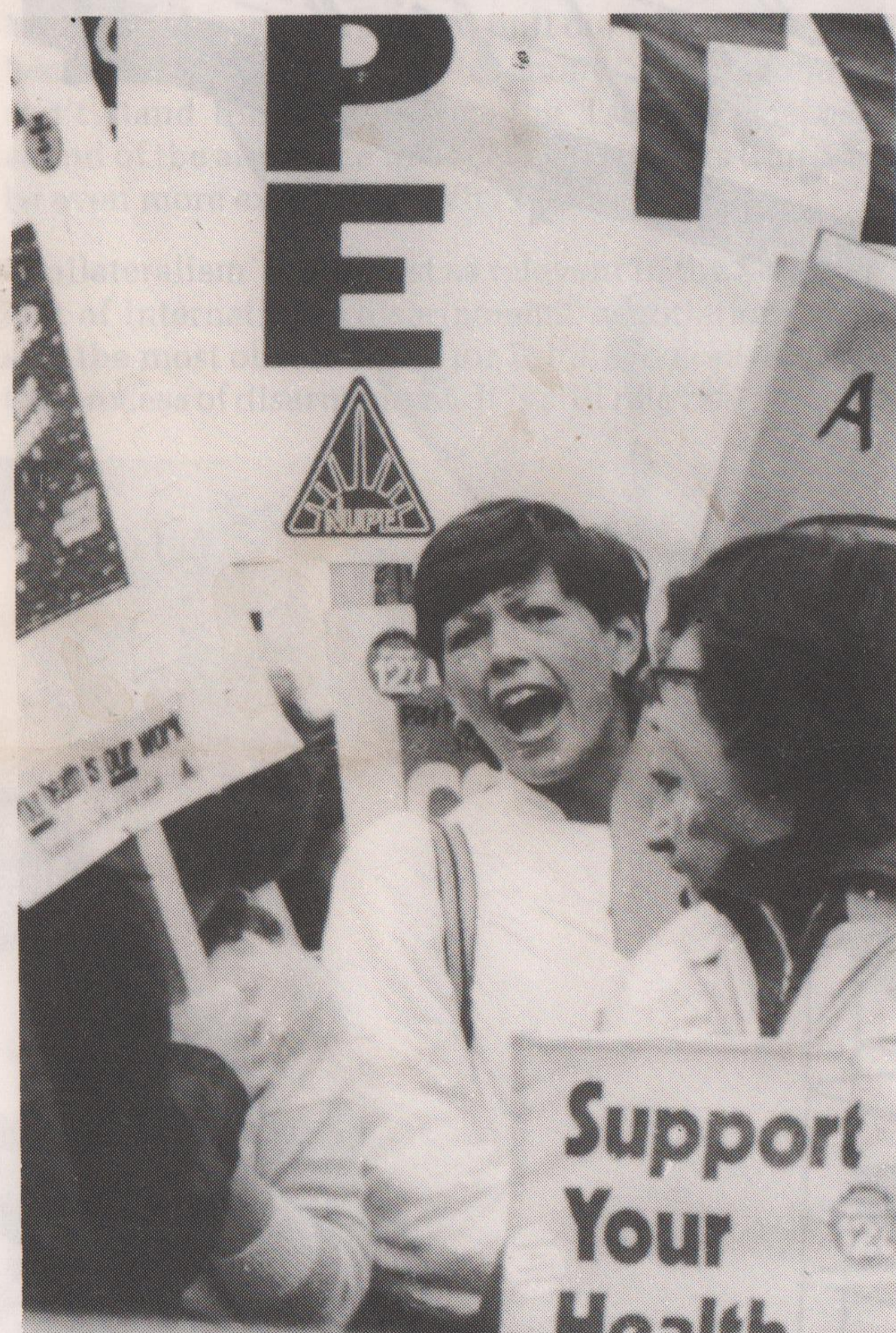


the public eye. Star Wars became a public joke when Reagan tried to make the arms race popular through depicting the SDI programme in cartoons on the TV.

The Labour Party has a set of policies which make economic, political and electoral sense. But the only way to win elections in the current political environment now is to campaign on the policies over an extended period. Support for those policies has to be fought for, it won't just happen by accident.

If the Party remains a passive victim rather than an active shaper of the political culture in Britain it will



Health workers demonstrating for better pay and conditions. Why should they have to?

Yes, I want to join CND. Membership rates:
Household £12 ☐ Waged £9 ☐ Unwaged/Student/
Pensioner £3 ☐ Youth (under 22) £2 ☐

I also want to stay informed. Please send me Sanity CND's
monthly magazine £10.50 Standard ☐
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I also enclose a donation of £ _____

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Please make cheques or postal orders payable to CND and
return with completed form to:
Alison Williams, CND, 22-24 Underwood St, London N1 7JG

Kinnock - Sun 4th July 1988 NHS Rally - London
'If you choose to buy a new generation of
nuclear weapons, of course there is less money
for health.'

stay in the wilderness regardless of what its policies
are. People can change their minds in favour of
nuclear disarmament if the arguments are put to them
clearly and consistently. If the Party *campaigns* on its
policies it is on to a winner.

DEFENCE EXPENDITURE AS PERCENTAGE OF GDP (1987)

| | |
|-----------------------|------------|
| United States | 6.6 |
| Greece | 6.3 |
| United Kingdom | 4.7 |
| Turkey | 4.7 |
| France | 4.0 |
| Norway | 3.2 |
| Portugal | 3.2 |
| Netherlands | 3.1 |
| West Germany | 3.0 |
| Belgium | 3.0 |
| Italy | 2.2 |
| Denmark | 2.1 |

HEALTH EXPENDITURE AS A PERCENTAGE OF GNP (1985)

| | |
|-----------------------|------------|
| USA | 10.5 |
| West Germany | 9.2 |
| France | 8.6 |
| Netherlands | 8.5 |
| Ireland | 7.7 |
| Switzerland | 7.3 |
| Denmark | 7.0 |
| Finland | 6.9 |
| Italy | 6.9 |
| Austria | 6.7 |
| Norway | 6.6 |
| Belgium | 6.6 |
| United Kingdom | 5.9 |



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DISARMAMENT AND THE LABOUR PARTY

A CND BRIEFING



People queuing up to buy stale bread in Tyneside in 1983

INTRODUCTION

'As our society is steadily asset-stripped to pay for nuclear defence, the idea that we need it to ward off imminent Soviet invasion begins to look less and less credible. The INF deal between the US and the USSR put the writing on the wall for nuclear weapons in Britain' - Ron Todd, General Secretary of the T&GWU, message of support to TUCND's AGM 1988.

Last year's Labour Party conference reaffirmed Labour's commitment to 'the unilateral removal of all nuclear weapons and bases from British soil'.

But the vote was close, and attempts are clearly being

made to tone down the Party's disarmament policies - especially unilateralism, that is the unconditional removal of those nuclear weapons and bases.

With its firm opposition to the nuclear arms race, the labour movement has had a key role to play in making Labour's policy. Now that policy is being reconsidered as part of the Labour Party Review, it is essential to keep up the pressure - to make sure the voices of Party members and trade unionists are heard.

The successful negotiation of the INF treaty, and the possibility now of 'deep cuts' in long-range missiles, have shown what can be done. For the first time, a whole type of weapons is to go - would this have come about without the pressure of the international peace movement, in which Britain's labour movement plays such an important part?

The progress made with INF must be built on, with further measures of missile reductions and steps to end the international arms race. And we need a party which puts these demands to the fore. There is no reason why nuclear disarmament should lose votes. In a matter of weeks, President Gorbachev went from being seen as 'the evil emperor' in the United States to rivalling President Reagan in popularity as it became clear he was really trying to bring about disarmament.

We can win if nuclear disarmament is put to the electorate as the positive move it is. But if the Labour Party wavers on its policy, voters will end up not knowing what to believe; Neil Kinnock has said publicly he will never push the nuclear button and no one would be convinced by an apparent change of policy. 'If the policy can be changed at conference, why can't it be changed back again after Labour are in power?' would be a question in many minds if the Party ceased to push for nuclear disarmament.

This broadsheet presents some of the reasons why CND believes nuclear disarmament is a vote-winner. If the Tories are to be dislodged from Westminster, we need a set of clear, positive policies. And we need to take those policies out to the electorate with a clear, positive *campaign*. If voters understand the danger of the present government's nuclear policies – and the kind of country we could build instead – we're on to a winner.

WHY IS NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT POLITICALLY SO IMPORTANT?

The Conservative Party cling to nuclear weapons because they believe them to be of tremendous



Margaret Thatcher at the 1980 Conservative Party conference

political benefit. There is a philosophy of force, where power is equivalent to an ability to destroy. But in the modern world power rests also on a healthy economy which can itself be used to influence world events.

Nor does military power serve the needs of ordinary people in Britain. You don't need to be able to destroy the planet to be a force for good in the world.



General medicine ward at King's College Hospital, London 1987

NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT AND OTHER POLITICAL ISSUES

When the next Labour government comes into office a huge amount of work is going to have to be done to overcome the systematic asset-stripping that this

government has indulged in. The NHS, for instance, needs massive funds not only to rebuild its services but to maintain them once they have been rebuilt.

To make private medicine pay, the quality of care through state provision has to be very poor. So this government has been undermining wages, morale, and staffing levels in hospitals through such policies as the privatisation of domestic services. It will not be enough for a Labour government simply to change the employer when they deprivatise cleaning and other services etc: wage and staffing levels must be increased. Remember – 40% of nurses and 70% of auxiliaries are paid below the European standard (poverty level).

If the Party promises it is going to do something about the NHS, it must also say where the money is coming from.

Britain's industry is steadily shrinking. This may not disturb the banking and stockbroking fraternity in Britain but it ought to disturb those of us who earn a living by, for instance, building ships. Whereas other countries in shipbuilding systematically support their industries with financial backing, Britain does not.

In Britain 90% of the government-funded research for shipbuilding is spent on developing warships. Other countries spend their money on designing merchant ships. West Germany spends twice as much per head on health as Britain and twice as much as we do on a child's education. Four in ten British children reach GCSE level, whereas eight out of ten West German and seven out of ten French children reach that level.

Spending on housing is running at something like £1 billion below what is required to keep our housing stock up to standard. Since this government came to power, homelessness has developed apace. There are now roughly 1/2 million people, of all ages, living either on the streets or in emergency accommodation.

The ignorance and poverty creeping into Britain's everyday life are not acts of God. They happen as a

THE SOCIAL COSTS OF DEFENCE

| | Planned total 1988/9 (£ billion) | Change in real terms since 1978/9 |
|---------------------|--|---|
| Defence | 19.2 | 17% |
| Health | 20.7 | 37% |
| Education & Science | 18.0 | 10% |
| Housing | 3.0 | -80% |
| Transport | 4.7 | -11% |
| Overseas Aid | 1.8 | -13% |

'In absolute terms, as a percentage of gross domestic product, and per capita, the British defence budget continues to be among the highest in NATO'

(Statement on Defence Estimates 1988)

direct result of government policy.

At 5.2%, Britain spends proportionately more of its GDP on defence than all NATO countries except the United States. West Germany spends 3%. Japan spends even less – 1%.

If defence spending were reduced money could be freed to support industry and social services. A major way to do this is to remove defence from a dependence on nuclear weapons.



The 1982 'Jobs not bombs' May Day demonstration on Tyneside

FOREIGN SUBSIDIES

Favourable terms offered to domestic shipowners for home ordering

| | Loan | Interest | Repayments |
|-------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|--------------|
| UK | Nil | Nil | Nil |
| Belgium | 70% | up to 3% subsidy | 15 years |
| France | 80% | 8% 2 years grace | 12 years |
| West Germ. | Nil | Nil | Nil |
| Italy | Nil | 2.7% | 12 years |
| Netherlands | Nil | 12% subsidy + 2.3% premium | 5 years |
| Norway | 80% | 8% | 8.5 years |
| Sweden | Depreciation loan of 25% | | |
| Japan | 50-60% | 7.5% 3 years grace | 13 years |
| S Korea | 50% | 8-10% subsidy | 8.5-11 years |
| Taiwan | 80% | 8.5% | 7 years |
| Brazil | 85% | 5-10% | 15 years |

'CONVENTIONAL' AND NUCLEAR DEFENCE

In public, Britain's military policy is based on the idea that we need to be defended against a Soviet invasion. Yet even government ministers accept that there is no reason to believe that Soviet leaders want war in Europe (1988 White Paper).

The equipment we supply our armed forces with is to enable them to fight a nuclear war. The ships we buy, the tanks, the artillery, the aircraft and the electronic support systems are all designed around nuclear war.

Our possession of nuclear weapons means that we have a particular defence system which also implies a whole range of types of equipment, from frigates to radar. Possessing nuclear weapons has implications for all the military equipment we buy.

If we are to develop a non-nuclear defence policy or move towards cuts in defence spending, it will mean substituting new types of production in our defence industries.

Conventional defence is no easy option, it is a radical step with very tough implications. We need a planned arms conversion policy.

CONVERSION

This is the term used to describe shifting the resources we currently use on producing military equipment to producing things of value to Britain's economy and our people. Building weapons contributes nothing to the economy. Build a merchant vessel and it generates wealth. Trident can't carry coal, it can't drill for oil, it can't carry bulk grain, it can't research the seabed.

One in ten of the people employed in manufacturing industry in Britain is employed in making military equipment. Technology in weaponry is developing in such a way that this equipment is becoming increasingly expensive. It costs so much to design and develop that the only way to be commercially competitive is to have large production runs. This means that US companies, with a much bigger home market, have an enormous advantage.

Times are therefore changing. Even if Britain continues to pour money into defence, we will soon be faced with substantial and growing job losses in the arms industries. We will lose our ship building industry, we will lose our aerospace industry, we will lose our electronics industry - all of which are now heavily dependent on arms production.

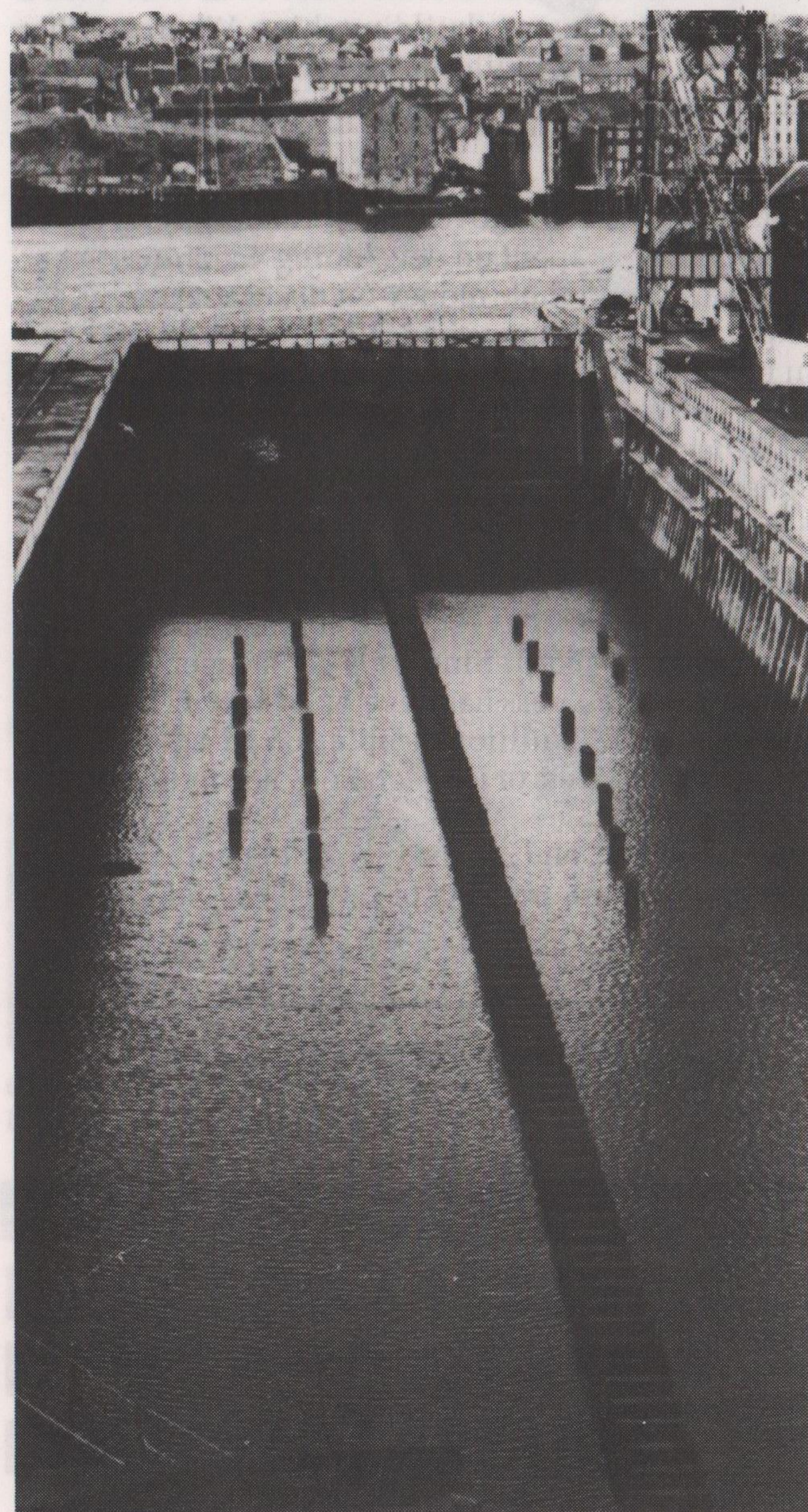
These industries, skills and facilities are very valuable; they could be of enormous benefit for our

economy and for humanity if they were converted to production for the civilian economy. India, for instance, spends more on civilian space research than Britain.

We therefore need a programme of developing alternatives for our defence industries so that we do not lose the skills, the jobs and the production facilities.

This means government money and support for civilian research and development. It means as much government support for British manufacturing industry as our industrial competitors, such as Japan, give to theirs. In aerospace it can take fifteen years to develop, market and begin to see returns on an aircraft. This is only feasible if the industry is supported by our government in the way that other countries support their industries.

Conversion is forward planning for jobs.



A disused drydock - with a sane set of government priorities this could be working, employing people and creating wealth

Military R&D expenditure in \$ million
(1980) prices and exchange rates

| | 1961 | 1985 |
|---------|-------|---------|
| Britain | 2,072 | 3,814.2 |
| Germany | 280 | 1,139.7 |
| Japan | 19.8 | 212 |

As a % of GDP

| Averaged over | 1961-63 | 1982-84 |
|---------------|---------|---------|
| Britain | 0.78% | 0.63% |
| Germany | 0.12% | 0.11% |
| Japan | 0.01% | 0.01% |

RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT

Britain spends more on military research than any of our competitors. In a high-tech world, good research is absolutely essential to a manufacturing economy and yet we spend far less on civil research and development than any of our industrial competitors. This has happened over a very long period and is clearly one of the primary reasons for our industrial decline.

The amazing thing about this is that, although even this government accepts that poor industrial perfor-

mance is closely linked to under-resourcing R&D, Britain is about to cut its civilian R&D. No one else in the world is doing this. Even the United States, which this government normally sees as its role model, is proposing to increase considerably its government funding of civil research.

UNILATERAL NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT FOR BRITAIN

There is a great deal of rubbish talked about unilateral nuclear disarmament.

When CND began, unilateral nuclear disarmament was the single main demand of the peace movement. At a time when no negotiations were taking place, it was seen as a way of trying to reduce tension and make it less likely that other countries would develop nuclear arsenals.

Dinner time at Croxteth Socialist Community Comprehensive school. Despite reducing the entitlement, free school dinners have increased markedly since 1979. Britain needs the resources we spend on arms to support our social services and to revive our industry.



PHILIP GORDON

But instead of developing its own disarmament policies, Britain followed the United States and poured money into the arms race. This was a big mistake – we have gone from a vibrant manufacturing country to a crumbling economy and a crumbling society. Frank Cousins, the then General Secretary of the T&GWU, warned against it and it was for this reason that he resigned from the Wilson government.

We have taken resources out of industries while other countries put money into theirs. Now we have to take it from our social services as well to keep up with the growing costs.

Now we desperately need to pull out of the arms race because it is ruining our economy. Our economy can't stand the strain of buying Trident. The next round of the arms race in ten or fifteen years time will be even more expensive. Why wait?

'Unilateralism' is still just as relevant in the new context of international disarmament negotiations. It is still the most obvious way for Britain to contribute to the process of disarmament. It is still relevant because



What the government should be doing with our money.

the arms race costs us far more than we can afford and because we simply don't need nuclear weapons to defend ourselves.

TUC decisions on defence

1982 TUC congress called for the immediate cancellation of Cruise and Trident.

1983 Congress reaffirms this position.

1984 Congress opposed basing the neutron bomb in Britain.

1985 Congress declares its opposition to Star Wars.

1986 Congress calls for 'planning for the conversion of resources from war to peace production, with due regard for the well-being of those workers temporarily displaced.'

1988 Congress reaffirms its firm commitment to unilateral nuclear disarmament.

Labour Party decisions on defence

1983 Conference overwhelmingly passes resolution to remove all nuclear weapons and bases from Britain within the lifetime of one parliament

1984 NEC document 'Defence and Security for Britain' reaffirms commitment to scrapping all nuclear weapons and bases.

1985 Conference calls overwhelmingly for high-profile campaign on anti-nuclear policy

1986 Conference again calls for campaign

1987 Election manifesto includes scrapping Trident and removing US nuclear bases, using savings to improve conventional forces. Two-year policy review set up – including defence and foreign policy.

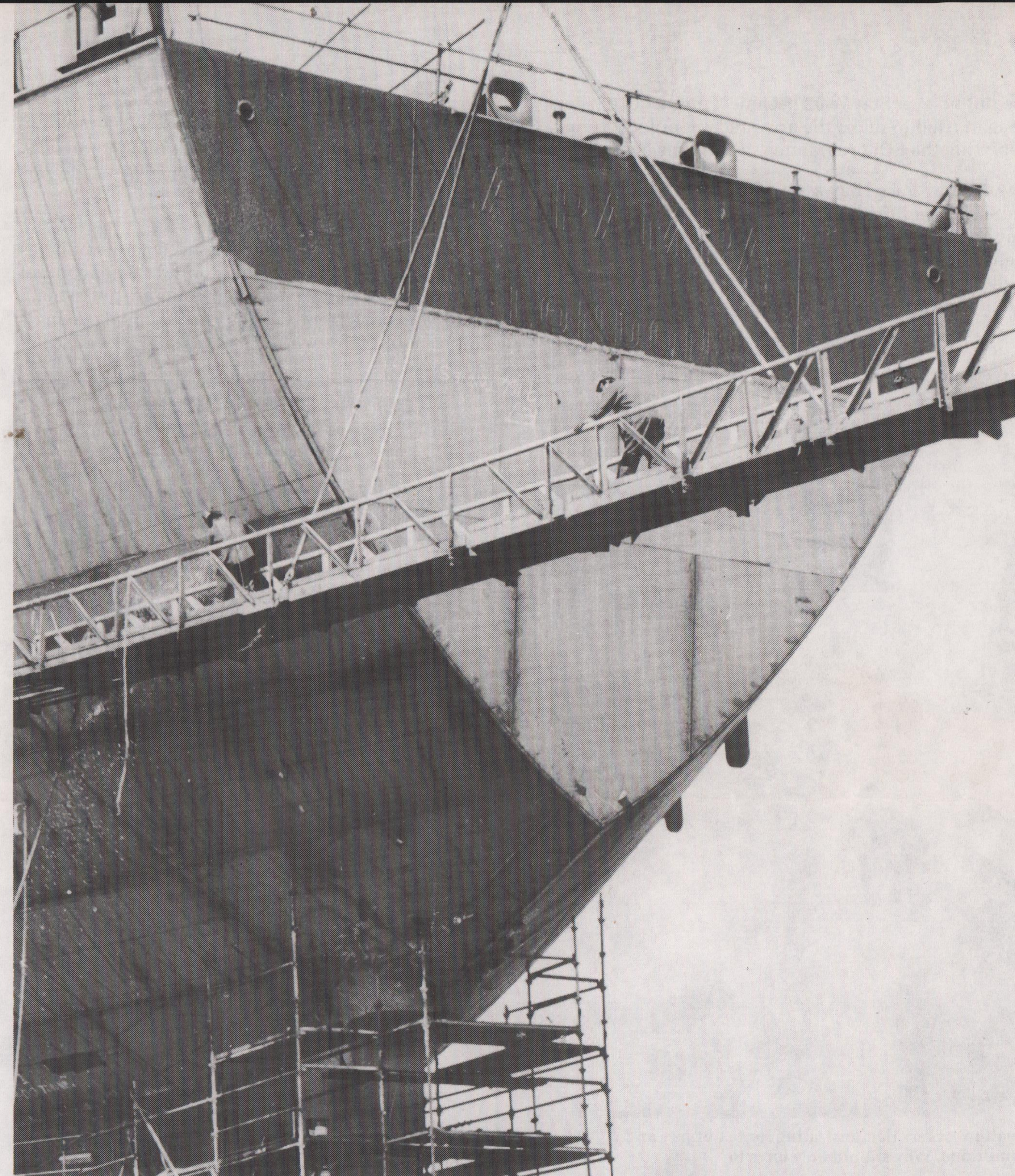
1988 Initial report from Policy Review Group does not mention unilateralism. Conference reaffirms call to scrap all nuclear weapons and bases in Britain and to use savings for welfare.

WHAT IS THIS GOVERNMENT UP TO?

Almost the whole world rejoiced at the signing of the INF treaty. One of the exceptions was our government. Instead of supporting the initiative the government have openly admitted in parliament that they are bringing weapons into Britain to replace those abolished by the INF agreement. More cruise missiles will be brought in on US aircraft, warships and submarines.

Under the guise of 'modernisation' Britain is about to increase the nuclear targeting capability of its submarines eightfold. The 'replacement' for NATO's short-range 'Lance' missiles will also be a considerable increase. It is obvious that these are not replacements or modernisation. They are considerable and dangerous increases in the weapons potential.

Nor is it true to say that the completely new air-launched cruise missile being developed for our Tornado aircraft is a 'modernisation/replacement' for anything. It's a major innovation.



Merchant shipping under construction. Withdrawal from the arms race would help to revive our economy.

WE DO NOT HAVE INDEPENDENT CONTROL OVER THESE WEAPONS

Trident will depend on US satellite guidance, on US targeting, US servicing for the missiles. Our own Navy personnel refer to it as being rented from the United States.

WHAT CAN BE DONE IN BRITAIN?

Britain has an enormous amount to offer in terms of supporting the disarmament process currently gaining momentum internationally. The current government are pushing as hard as they can in the opposite direction. They are possibly one of the most reactionary governments in the democratic world today and they are vulnerable on their defence policy.

Cruise became untenable because it was pressed into