CHAPTER II

PEACE MOVEMENT IN BRITAIN
Peace movement in Britain presents a close association of social movement, leadership and the policy-making. It covers a vast array of activities to strengthen human rights and peace - both at intellectual as well as non-intellectual levels. It has acquired the advocacy of political intervention and widely shared the sensitivities with many independent informal groups and aimed to influence the government for the betterment of social security. Some peace groups play a contemplated role in the way Britain is governed, while others seek influence through radical protest. Their particular actions have been duly recognized in the House of Commons which ensure smooth working of legislation through promotion of healthy public opinion. To explore new possibilities many peace groups have clinched for parliamentary proceedings while others supported civilian movement. Reasonably, their contributions to peace movement can be better understood through systematic study and research of the CND.

EMERGENCE OF CAMPAIGN FOR NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT

In Britain, the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND)- 'mother of all protest groups', was fundamentally created in February 1958 with view to generate better public awareness. The core demand was that Britain should renounce unconditional use of nuclear weapons against the NATO policies in Britain. Soon, CND became a mass organization.¹ Thereafter, responsibility was taken by Labour Party to develop consciousness among the younger generations. The official peace policy always raised doubts about the modernization of defence programmes. Occasionally, they offered

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'peaceful dialogues' with government. Soon, CND became more radical to formulate comprehensive social security for peace and disarmament.

**Historical Background of CND**

Historically, Britain's deep commitment to the US defence policy towards Atlantic Security remained loosely organized. US President Roosevelt helped Britain to recover from economic crisis. The establishment of UNO strengthened their relations. Moreover, sound public opinion also gave Washington a popular support to develop good relation with Britain. The US also supported Britain in 1956 for political dividends when Suez Canal was internationalized by president Gamel Abdul Nasser of Egypt. It was motivated by Eisenhower presidency to secure peaceful settlement without alienating his British counterpart. In case of any communist eventuality in the region, both intervened militarily. Hence, the US deliberately adopted fundamental principles of security and neutrality. The Monroe Doctrine, based on the US hegemony and Open-Door Policy, always impressed British government.² The US too helped Britain during economic repression of 1948 under Marshal Plan.³ The collective security policy of Roosevelt and Churchill against the axis powers was the milestone in strengthening diplomatic relations. Hence, the peace movement become more important in reviewing the significant

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decision. The gap between peace activists and policy-makers widened. On the whole, US did not find a real place in peaceful world order due to Cold War rivalries.

These radical changes and the unilateral policy of CND strongly opposed the US military bases in U.K. Soon, its supporters started the movement with better hopes and aspirations. CND formed a section of Christian pacifist and Radical socialist in 1957 following the development of Hydrogen Bomb in Britain. PM Harold Mc Millan's leadership (1957) permitted Britain to modernize defence programmes. In its reaction, Abolition of Nuclear Weapons Committee, was set up with CND alliance. Both developed anti-military sentiment by focusing on "ban the bomb" to strengthen social democracy and unilateral disarmament. The establishment of Direct Action Committee (1958) greatly promoted peace movement. CND's alliance with Labour Party and the communist party also remained important for peace movement. While the support of Labour members urging to go for the wisdom of unilateral renunciation of nuclear tests were warmly welcomed by J.B. Priestley, John Collins and Michael Foot. These three prominent members of Labour Party developed commitment to CND. The Labour Working Group gained popularity under Clement Attlee since 1945 who developed interest in peace-related activities in later years. But occasionally, there were some disagreements between CND and labour Party workers. Therefore, many CND sympathizers suggested for direct action against the ruling government through 'sit-ins', 'non-violence' and 'civil disobedience', as Gandhi did.

It was Russell, a British mathematician, who showed remarkable interest in peace activities. His address to the scientists of International Pugwash Conference and

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voice against ABMs system proved to be a great success. Dissent against government policy in Britain and USA that contributed to a nuclear arms race, came for open criticism. Despite all, the government worked against the Pugwash and Russell’s efforts proved fruitless and he resigned from CND presidency. Later on, he joined the Committee of 100, which organized peace rallies to adopt a neutralist posture against the government. In one of his statements he summarized the radical anti-nuclear activity as "better red than dead". Russell also founded and generously endowed Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation with objectives to launch crusade against nuclear weapons for mass destruction. Thus, Russell's enormous efforts, together with warmth, wit and compassion, made him one of the most influential leaders of the peace movement in twentieth century.5

CND's attitudes on the government policies was not less important. Other CND supporters, especially Cannon L.J. Collins, G. Arthur and Shiela Jones continued their efforts. British PM Harold Wilson's return in power in 1964 adopted different approach about CND. He critically accepted US policy in Britain. But the demonstrated success of Cuban missile crisis, together with the Limited Test Ban Treaty (1963) weakened CND activities. Henceforth many CND-labour supporters were in dilemma and failed to interpret the true position. In contrast, American efforts to counter the threat of qualitatively advanced ABMs to modernize polarize submarines led another round of controversy. Many peace workers demanded from government for a modest and sensible programmes of peace movement.

In 1970, Edward Heath as the leader of conservative party, returned to power. He was committed to economic and military reforms through the entry of European Community (EC) in 1972 but failed to impress CND sympathizers. Thereafter, strong anti-governmental protests took place against Heath’s support to Biological weapons in parliament. The US policies were questioned by the CND - Labour supporters. In 1974 elections, Heath's position came under severe attack resulting in the Hung Parliament.

Harold Wilson was the only compatible candidate.

In February 1973 elections Wilson became the PM of Britain. He supported trade union movement and jointly agreed to establish ‘social contract’. But the growing left-wing movement was critical of what they saw him too moderate and impatient for radical change. He was succeeded by James Challaghan in 1976. His US motivated NATO and ultra orthodox policy was strongly reacted by the National Executive committee (NEC). This opened a substantial conflict within the labour party due to some ideological differences. In fact, Labour-CND wanted a peaceful Britain. Hence, they demanded an open debate in the parliament. They also organized number of petitions, memorandum and peaceful demonstrations to generate better awareness. These dramatic changes revived CND’s relation with peace movement.

8. Ibid.
CND during Thatcher Era

Ironically, however, peace efforts miserably failed following the return of Conservatives in 1979 under the first British Woman PM Margaret Thatcher. She formulated a comprehensive defence strategy and took opportunity to praise and commend Reagan's militant policy. To win public opinion and gain her popularity she worked together to strengthen regional peace, honour of genuine democracy, respects for human rights and development. She, hence, impressed the CND supporter too. But logical argument of Thatcher Government was based on British-American Military Alliance-an integral part of NATO strategy. Both Reagan and Thatcher collectively supported battlefield and theatre weapons to guarantee the NATO alliance. But, at home, the government proved highly controversial due to economic crisis. Labour members David Owen, Shirely Williams and William Rodgers formed a new centre left group so-called the Social Democratic party (SDP) which formulated list of manifestoes to co-ordinate with peace movement alliances. SDP also condemned double - track decision, cruise deployment, Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, SALT-II and the Falkland war issues. While the government regarded peace movement as inconsistent and ill-thought, the cabinet was rather more interested to retain an independent strategic nuclear capability. Thus, the dilemma of labour party can be regarded as inconsistent policies reflecting the new conventional wisdom. Its attempts to compromise fundamental differences on defence and emphasis to reduce government's dependency on NATO, was highly praiseworthy. For many it truly reflected the attitude of peace movement.  

Despite all, Thatcher got victory in 1983 elections for her second consecutive terms and was able to command firm legislative support. It is no exaggeration to say that the outcome of Falkland war and dislodge of Argentine forces significantly increased the popularity of Thatcher despite socio-economic constraints. She energetically intervened in public affairs too to strengthen relations with EEC and NATO. But, her legitimate interest for national security was always suspicious by popular movement. At home, she was more critical due to rising unemployment, a bitter and protracted miner's strikes, increasing violence in Northern Ireland, attempted assassination of leading members of conservative party; series of riots of different character, and police clashes in major cities. It was noticeable that major supporters of peace movement during Thatcher administration became violent supporters due to uncompromising and alarming political situation, although they failed to reach at a final consensus. Subsequently, many of them proved conspicuous force, and were able to influence major political organizations of the democratic left. Although many peace groups virtually collapsed, yet it was important to understand the structure and type of new peace activities.11

In the midst of doubts and uncertainties during Thatcher era, many dramatic changes took place in party polices. Cabinet was reshuffled and despite Thatcher's authoritarian policy and her dynamism made prospects in 1987 elections.12 The third consecutive victory of Thatcher compelled Labour party to review unilateralism while Liberal SDP alliance supported anti-Trident manifestos. Probably, this was fresh opening for which had been kept aside for years.

11 Ibid, p.84.

12 Derbyshire, n.o, p.229.
Role of CND During Post – Thatcher Era

Thatcher's highly ambitious policy towards EC led sharp division in parliament and she became all-round critical. The chancellor of Exchequer, Nigel Lawson was replaced by John Major. Soon, the culmination of national rallies and violent protest criticized her position. SDP alliance enjoyed nationally by Labour party challenging the leadership of Thatcher. In November 1990 elections, she lost majority and John Major was appointed as new PM. His government had to face the chronic problems. His approval to join allied forces in Gulf war in early 1991 went against unilateral disarmament and peace policies. The development also witnessed the resurgence of CND, but remained far from satisfaction. Moreover, due to economic recession in 1992, government had to face opponents from political, economics and social wings. In a notable political event in October 92, around 30,000 coal miners joined anti-government rallies, threatened John Major's stand over Maastricht Treaty of European Union (EU) which refused to adopt 'Social chapter' resulting in dissident movement. The government became more critical due to terrorist violence in Northern Ireland and their continuous penetration into Britain. Although, Ireland-UK peace summit on 15 December 1993 to disarm Irish Army, and 31 August 1994 summit of cease-fire, have historic significance, yet the Democratic Ulster Union (DUU) openly blamed John Major for deceiving the people of Ireland. The terrorist activities continued in the forms of bomb explosion, arson and assassinations. Peaceful dialogues between John
Major and Irish Prime Minister John Bruten of 28 February 96 can be regarded as new steps for political process of legislation. 13

Winds of changes are sweeping in Britain. The victory of Labour party leader Tony Blair on 1 May 1997 opened avenues for social democracy. More recently the peace agreement signed on 17 April 1998 opened new chapters of securities. The Ireland Peace Accord laid the foundation of peaceful co-existence. It too helped to promote new democratic process when a referendum was held on 22 May 1998. 71 percent supported for border integrity. The movement was collective effort between British, French and US officials and described it as historic success. 14 Britain is now determined to work for common goals with informal style of working, and insisting that everyone should be called by their names and not by titles. The new brand of liberal socialism will play a high profile and active role in shaping and giving leadership to the future of Europe. New constitutional reforms with EU, peace initiative in Northern Ireland and ideological conflict with Tory rebels is likely to end. These fresh dialogues, however, are promising for Britain's efforts on unilateral peace and disarmament as earlier demanded by CND supporters.

ORGANIZATION AND STRUCTURE OF PEACE MOVEMENT

The virtual disappearance of CND in early 1964 and its resurgence in the 1980s raised number of interesting questions which can be explained through systematic study and research.


In last thirty nine years of development, CND was revived three times. As a result it became intellectually and socially weaker. But dramatic changes of thirty nine years were not left unnoticed by those directly or indirectly supporting CND. Its specialist sections: Labour-CND, Liberal-CND, Trade Union-CND and Green-CND continue to be relevant to contemporary peace campaigns. Many of its supporters are still mobilizing parliamentary debate on various nuclear issues. Today, it is merged with number of independent peace organization viz. green peace, environmental activists, women's movement, religion and labour party workers. Its vast network and co-alliance with Democratic left, Labour Party, Co-operative Party, Scottish National Party and Social Workers Party did make significant influence. Many peace workers have also joined christian pacifist, secular moralist and radical socialist ideologies. At the same time it has alliance with number of trade unions, like Association of University Teachers, National Union of Teachers, National Association of School Masters, Union of Women Teachers, National Union of Insurance Workers, and National Union of Journalists. Sometimes, these are supported by the group of scientists, intellectuals, doctors, engineers, and national workers. The active support also came from the National Council and Executive Committee which was committed to work for consolidation of national spirit. Besides, the Christian Democratic group was also formed for the purpose of enlightening and safeguarding social democracy.

CND has shown upward trend in membership: 4,000 (1979), 9,000 (1980), 20,000 (1981), 50,000 (1983) and peaking at 100,000 (1984). Such groups affiliated to

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15. For list of Principal Trade Union Application to Trade Union Congress, see *Europa World Yearbook*, 1995, pp. 3170-72.
CND were only 150 in 1979 while, the number rose by 1,100 in 1983 and 2,50,000 in 1985. Today, it is difficult to measure their numbers because they have either disintegrated or merged with various social organizations. Their annual expenditure was calculated $40,000 in 1980 which rose to $750,000 in 1983. Most of these are traditionally associated with church and enjoyed the privileged position. Their means of condemning the production, transportation and use of nuclear weapons have been debated in many national and international forums.

CND in 1980s

CND also organized mass demonstration from time to time. October 1980 rally was the revival of peace movement aftermath of double-track decision. It was attended by 60,000 people. In October 1981 rally, around 250,000 marched in London, and the April 1983 rally was attended by 125,000 in various Easter Marches. October 1983 rally was attended by 250,000 which demonstrated against cruise missile at London. CND also organized smaller rallies admittedly through Non-Violent Direct Action (NVDA) to enhance social effectiveness. Other CND instructions like normal dress, careful of media questions, peace communication, link groups in walkie-talkie and procedure of arrest were also discussed.

NVDA also condemned cruise missiles, stationed in different regions of Britain through coordinating phone-ins, letter writing, poster display, advertisement, slogans,


18. "600,000 March in Europe Over Arms Build up" *International Herald Tribune* (Paris), 26 October 1981. Also see, Missiles are Fine, if They are British*. *The Economist* (Boulder), 29 October 1983, p.58.
banners and stock holder meetings. It also organized rallies against Thatcher's policy in 1983, and 1987 elections, with the hope to achieve victory through social democratic alliance. But, CND did not succeed due to weak public opinion. Ironically, however, organizational fragmentation and disenchantment of Labour policies alienated sympathizers and shrewed disarmament have been responsible for the bifurcation of CND. Public opinion poll during 1987 about tacit acceptance of INF revealed the shattering image of peace movement. Since most CND supporters came from middle class background, their roles appeared to be tiny. While officials have been hostile to its existence. So a great deal of criticism has been developed within the establishment. Besides, technological innovation in the compulsion for upgrading conventional forces and retaining modern weapons has never fallen within the ambit of peace movement. However, it is a major debate about strategic doctrine and defense deployment.

During post-Cold War, CND's position is dramatically changed. During 1991-92, its earlier leader like Bruce Kent found difficult to convince the policy agenda. The issue of unilateral disarmament is virtually off from the international political agenda. It is now argued that Britain, including NATO, should declare a policy of 'no first use' of any kind of weapon. This will facilitate a fresh dialogue with New Labour. Time and again, CND is invited to submit Labour's current defence review, but how far it remains successful in future, is yet unknown. Its present 40,000 old aged and retired member, have also changed their minds. But CND must argue that the the scope for multilateratism during post - Cold War is more prospective. Britain has still nuclear weapons. Despite the end of all direct confrontations, the potential danger from nuclear-related accident remains.

Henceforth, CND's role as a mediator remains effective at least on moral ground, in the changing world order.\(^{20}\)

**New Peace Organizations**

Since 1980s, some well-knit organized groups have made extraordinary influence over the government's defence policy. Many anti-nuclear protesters have also formed councils to raise public consciousness. The Greater London Council and Sheffield City Council are actively working against the government's defence policy to promote the causes of peace.

Christian associations and professional groups do support CND-related organizations. Some of these are: Secular Professional Association, Scientist Against Nuclear weapons, and Medical Campaign Against Nuclear Weapons. Other supporting organizations are: Lawyer for Nuclear Disarmament, Journalist Against Nuclear Extermination, Teachers for Peace Education, Babies Against the Bomb, and Ex-Service CND.\(^{21}\) There are also number of London based international Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs). Some of them are: International Alert, International Bar Association, International Centre for Legal Protection of Human Rights, International Federation of Free Journalist and International PEN. Most of these groups raise funds through individual members, donations, semi-governmental and governmental organizations. These are also assessing the impacts of nuclear wars, and are exploring many new theories through voluntary efforts. Some of them want to compromise with the government to convince their dominance.\(^{22}\) Their methods of campaigning can be summed as follows:

\(^{20}\) Bryne, n.1, pp.432-33.

\(^{21}\) See, Byrd, n.10, p.70.

i. Continuation of the struggle by cautious involvement through civil disobedience action.

ii. Adding new theme of campaign to identify new areas of conflict.

iii. Disarmament and arms races should be free from political considerations.

iv. Formation of new security policy should be based on civilian defence and human rights.

v. Complete prohibition of arms exports, import, explosion and production.

vi. Britain is to be freed from nuclear weapons and no political alignment with NATO, EEC and other such organizations are permitted.

MAJOR ALIGNMENTS OF PEACE MOVEMENT IN BRITAIN

For a multifaceted understanding of peace movements in Britain, it needs to be discussed in the light of Christian pacifism, radical socialism, church organizations, women organizations, END and greenpeace. These alignments will provide fuller consideration:

Christian pacifism and Radical socialism

These two ideologies have been exercising extraordinary influence over the civilization. Christian pacifism wants to overcome evils and diseases of mankind through spiritual truth and mind, while radical socialism supports the principle of equality, liberty and fraternity. Hence, there is greater degree of cohesion between the two.

Historically, Christian pacifism appeared in England in 1650s. It was Richard Cromwell (1626-1712) who supported an intuitive and personal appeals against the ravage of war. In the beginning of nineteenth century, the social structure of peace societies formulated more scientific and systematic moral protest against the material
Historically, Christian pacifism appeared in England in 1650s. It was Richard Cromwell (1626-1712) who supported an intuitive and personal appeals against the ravage of war. In the beginning of nineteenth century, the social structure of peace societies formulated more scientific and systematic moral protest against the material destruction. Peace movement became more relevant following the establishment of Universal Peace Congress (1843), and the League of Universal Brotherwood (1846). The establishment of World Peace Congress (London, 1851), and International Arbitration and peace Association (1877) opened new avenues of peace movement. Thereafter, new peace institutes were established. Prominent among them were: Liverpool and Bikenhead Womens Peace and Arbitration Association (1886), Friends Peace Committee (1887-88), National Peace Council (1908), Catholic Peace Association (1910), and Northern Friends Peace Board (1913). Most of these radical pacific organizations served as the powerful contrivance of peace movement and provided significant data for further research and development.

The World War I served as a catalyst to promote anti-war elements. The radical socialist seriously perceived the issues of capitalism and arms race. It also promoted number of vocal pacifists in many protest churches. During inter war period the formation of christian pacifists proved vital source of information for peace movement. Important organizations viz., No Conscription Fellowship (1914), Fellowship of Reconciliation (1915) and League of Nations Society (1915) promoted to work with spirit against war and arms race. Soon, new organizations especially, League of Nations Union (1918), Peace Ballot and peace Pledge Union (1936), Medical Association for

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Prevention of War (1951), and Russell-Einstein Manifesto (1955) came into existence. The big network of such groups in Britain are believed to be the foundation of CND. So, it is important to note that all the present peace organizations in Britain—both officials as well as non-officials have been derived from CND only. Hence, intellectual and historical foundations of peace movement are likely to serve as powerful forces against arms races in the coming decades.

**Church Associations**

Church associations in Britain enjoyed privileged and unchallenging status since ancient times. They are believed to be the oldest peace organizations of Christian Moralism and democracy. These loosely structured mechanism have influenced every aspect of politics, economics and society, and became integral part of peace movement in Britain.

The British Council of Churches, mainly Roman catholic organization, and pax-christi exert extraordinary influence over the English society. The vast network of church organization: Action of Churches Together, the Irish Council of Churches, and Churches Together in Wales coordinated the activities of universal brotherhood and peace. Most Christian peace activities are accounted by Church's Board for Social Responsibility. Number of times it has demanded explanations from government about NATO defence programs and other environmental issues and duly acknowledge their status in Parliament. Suggestions are also given by the Church authorities to promote Christian unilatralism and peace to solve contemporary global problem. It is no under that church ideas and ideals are very much relevant even day on the nuclear menace. Most churches

24 Ibid, pp. 182-85  

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agree that the unity and cooperation on global scale can bring universal peace and justice. Hence, their importance in peace movement has crucial significance. These are associated with others of different beliefs and way of life who wish to do something about the global threat.

**Women and Peace Movement**

The history of women's sacrifices assume greater significance in contemporary peace movement. On many occasions they proved to be greatest potential for saving the mankind from the disastrous consequences of war but they were victimized due to universal male domination. A famous British writer Vera Britain expressed dissatisfactions about the women who cannot shape the course of international policies because they were easily satisfied. A sociologist Jesie Bernard has clearly mentioned the "male ethos" of competition, power and dynamism; while "female ethos" as love, sex and duty.25 Despite all, women are characteristically the domestic creatures.

In case of Britain these arguments seemed to be cotradictory where women actively organized peace camps against arms races. Bulk of literature is also available which need a separate and independent research on women's movement. Though war machines and diplomacy were exclusive work of men; but by extension, they often argued that the women as mother felt a special interest in the maintenance of peace. Their involvement did help in eliminating the wars. In many ways, women's attitude towards anti-war movement seem to be more logical, morally stronger and civilized.

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The establishment of Women's Local Peace Association in 1873 is believed to be the foundation of women peace movement. It conducted systematic studies on women and supported the National Council of Peace Studies (1904), and Northern Friends Peace Board (1913). The Meeting of International Women Suffrage Alliance (IWSA: 1915) had been a great force of peace movement. Major peace exponents like Helena Swanwick, Maude Royden, Margaret Bonfield, Marion Phillips, Margaret Llewelyn Davis, Kathleen Courtney, Emmetine Peltick Lawrence and Elizabeth Cadbury significantly added new ideas of peace movement.26

The establishment of Women's International League, Women's Peace Crusade, and Women's Patriotic League in face of socio-economic crisis in 1917s have been other successful achievements. It made gallantry, fortitude and spirited efforts to fight against aggressive defence polices. But there have been ups and downs during those days, and women campaigners found tough job to change war time protests into votes for anti-war movement. No More War Movement (1921) and the Peace Ballot (1934) were two common organizations which took active part with men and did help women in succeeding the peace movement. With the entry of women in parliament, the crises of capitalism and economic depression developed collective spirit against war. The Peacemakers Pilgrimages of 1926 represented by 10,000 women, viewed the uncertainties of Disarmament Commission Movement when the women took active part and criticized government's intentions. The Women's Cooperative Guild with 67,000 membership did help in peace celebrations. During 1927-30, the women's movement was active through selling of peace handkerchiefs, tablecloths, and white poppies to

memorize the horrors of war. The most notable example about the success of peace movement came from Women's Institute and the National Council which had distinction of having over one million membership. It was vaguely internationalistic rather than nationalistic.

Women's efforts through various peaceful organizations were not fruitful. Neither British cabinet nor Labour Party Workers cared about their activities. But it did make significant impact during various elections. Many government officials recognized Women's interest by appointing Mary Agnes Hamilton, S. Swanwick and Margery Carbett Ashby as delegates to the League of Nations. Hence, women remained as the visible elements in many war and peace issues during interwar period.

The status of women changed a little during the post Cold War era. The Cold War politics increased the popularity of earlier established peace organizations. Women's Coopera-tive Guild played a greater role in organizing rallies and peaceful demonstration in 1955s. Women's Peace Carvans and Christian Women Association together with CND played crucial role in 1958. The double track decision worked as catalyst and the women's voice were heard across the sea. Important peace slogans: 'women for life on earth', 'women for peace marches', and 'women for world order', were welcomed by popular movements. Their marches from Cardiff to Greenham Common in Berkshire to protest NATO's decision in stationing cruise missiles in Britain is believed to be the notable achievement of peace movement. It originated in the women's march from South Wales in 1982 to the American cruise missile base at Greenham Common.

27. Ibid., pp.105-6.  
29. Ibid., p.314
and Molesworth. The camp was motivated by 'feminist inspired anti-militarist march' in USA which produced the Women's Pentagon Action Unity Statement. This was outlined for feminist analyst of the linkages between patriarchy, militarism and violence. It produced an alternative to disarmament, peace and Justice.\footnote{See Jill Liddington, The Long Road to Greenham Feminism and Anti-Militarism in Britain since 1820 (London, 1989). see also, Alice Cook and Gwyn Kirk, Greenham Women Everywhere: Dreams, Ideas and Actions from the Women's Peace Movement (Cambridge, 1983), p.30.}

Greenham Common, an ideal type of feminist organization, has international public attention. It has been an inspiration to all those women organizations which have not started their activities against the government as yet. In fact the women's platform through Greenham Common became the attention of media as well as the labour members despite political negligence. Many wanted to extend their support through sharing common opinions with women. In due course of time it became a guiding principle to many women who had never thought the ideology of war and peace. In true sense the activities of camp have its own philosophical reasons which can promote the cause against those voices which were reluctant to listen the hue and cry of war. Many supporters of contemporary believe that the women can be better equipped through their cries against arms raise policies which are politically motivated through various disarmament summits. Greenham common can be used as a platform to start the agitation against bureaucracy and government's policies. It significantly helped to cement the alliance between various peace and the
women's movement into a social movement. Despite harassment and gross ignorance, women continued to be present in the camp and ensured series of permanent camps at the various gates into the base, and encirclement of base by a chain of women and various propagandist actions. The camp got good response in terms of attendents. For example, in December 1982, around 30,000 women attended to 'embrace' the camp. For many the camp approach was arbitrary as it alienated men due to bureaucratic reasons. Others agreed that the camp was rooted in fear and helplessness. A famous British Journalist Joy Melville interviewed with some Greenham women who had been on the front of Gulf War. The opinion poll showed that the women were more active than men. But because of isolated and fairly typical feminist character the women's movement failed to convince policy makers. Despite fear and insecurity they actively protested in London and gheraoed the foreign offices memorizing "war is monstral envy", " war is not the answer", "no military action", and "choose peace".

Bea Campbell, the author of Iron Ladies, agreed that the women's ideology about war and peace was rather more realistic. Hazel Rennie who spent sometimes at Greenham and presently a member of WILPF, interviewed with many women and commonly agreed that British, French, Swedish and German women opposed war. An associated active groups so-called "Women Against War in the Gulf" also demonstrated at Trafalgar Square, London during Gulf War and send number of peace missions, collectively with WILPF to Middle East, Western Europe and Eastern Europe. The group also demonstrat-

31. See, Pfaltzgraff, n.10, pp. 72-73.

ed against Britain's policy in Scotland, Bosnia, and politically motivated European security in recent years, despite virtual disappearance and criticisms of the camp.33

Doubts have been raised about the status of Greenham and other women organizations. Many contemporary peace researchers considered such organizations as illogical, unethical and blackmailing procedure. In one way it has been ultra-democratic, and non-hierarchial with no effective leadership. Its character, motivation and utility have been based on prejudice, wrong choice, and no successful attempt has been made. Many women leave the camp after involving in romance and marriage and establish different identity in society. Dwokin's logical statement agreed on the principle of non-seriousness of women's role in peace movement. They have been systematically excluded from both-popular opinion as well as government policies on many issues.34

For many camp has been a source of entertainment. On the eve of New Year's Day, Good Friday and Christmas- there have been celebrations of fancy dresses and decoration of barbed wire with children's toys. These symbolic and theatrical gestures hardly attracted media or public. Rather, it has been laughter, mockery, ridicule and even passive. To make the movement successful it needs broad socio-political support and sacrifices rather than toddy wears and hand-linked women.

Despite these limitations, the role of women in modern world is increasingly important because men are incapable of living in peace. The complication of war can be helped only through modern feminist movement to bring fundamental social

33. Ibid

transformation. The entry of British women in politics and assuming the leadership role monopolized by men, would be an important step towards reducing international tension. The female ethos of love and duty can never be laughing or merely sex symbol. The Greenham offers had been the best example which worked as inspiration to remove the missiles. The women camp was helped to transform policy-matters into an ecological park.  

**European Nuclear Disarmament**

While CND has been the heart of radical left, the European Nuclear Disarmament (END) is its brain, a composer of anti-nuclear and peace intellectuals. It is highly philosophical and broadly covers the democratic-socialist disarmament. As a traditional follower of unilateralism it actively criticized the deterrent theory of war and power politics.

Transnational movement of END was designed to facilitate communication between peace groups in the West and human right activists in the East. It was initiated by a great socialist-historian Edward Palmer Thompson on 28 April 1980 in memory of the Bertrand Russel Foundation. Thompson - sometimes known as self-proclaimed "dissident Marxist" and exponent of "Pan-Europeanism", was well familiar about the dangers of nuclear war, decisive role of NATO and East-West ideological confrontation. Hence, he came out with series of peace proposals. END- a global


appeal was directed to fight against cruise and pershing Missiles in Britain and to establish nuclear free zone from Portugal to Poland. Thompson strongly opposed Britain's alliance with NATO; defense agreement with USA; and widely appealed public opinion to provide wider based to END. He also blamed offensive Soviet Union's strategy towards Eastern Europe and Moscow based group to establish trust. Mary Kalder, an exponent supporter of END, has suggested to adopt an independent END for anti-nuclear and peace stance. It must be well admitted that the END dialogue was the key inspiration in promoting human values in socialist world. Kalder's view "detente from below" proved major asset in ending Cold War.

Thompson's argument about US Pershing-II Missile Bases in UK were based on nuclear shield often proved harmful to public opinion. The Pentagon's tragic tactics has been responsible for indiscriminate destruction and quarrels among the British people. He cautioned and even criticized many CND supporters for sitting missile sites. For Thompson the best way to fight honourably against any deterrent attack proved more meaningful. END, being pacifist and utopian unilateralist, did succeed in extending the intellectual debate in the fields of human rights and freedom.

Green Party and Peace Movement

Greens which appeared only in 1973 in Britain, has been associated with as 'Ecology Party' and adopted its present name only in 1985. Ideologically it is associated with


38. Pfaltzgraf, n.10, pp. 73-74.

In Britain, the Greens have been active since 1989 when they got fifteen percent vote by support of 23,00,000 people in European Parliament elections. Since then they have inspired debates with the support of popular democracy. They have also successfully organized elections at local and national levels through promotion of environmentalism. Its active supporters Sara Perkins, Martin Sewell, Mallen Baker, Margaret Glover and Caroline Lucas are still active and urge to build a "Rainbow Alliance". It widely covers the coalition of ecologists, pacifists, feminists, and neutralists. It struggles for a well balanced economic growth and fundamental changes in EC policies. Many Greens have become radical leftist since 1987 following the obsessed nuclear policy of Thatcher. Some of them switched from Labour Party to independent Green party.39 Later they forwarded non-violent pro-democratic and social defence with alliance of other Greens. They also urged for ecological balance, and end of all environmental threats.40 Some radical party supporters like Jonathan Porritt, Rick Duriez, David Icke, and Brig Oubridge have proposed for "Greens 2000" to elect single leadership to save Britain from environmental dangers. This will unify the party's spirit of grass-roots democracy to win the confidence of voters by rejecting the political leaders and their policies. Opinion polls conducted in mid of september 1991 suggested Greens


40. "Nuclear Policy Firmly Defined", in Ibid.
as the "Best Environmentalist". A very small fraction of British citizens have supported Greens movement. And, as compared to Germany, Norway, Sweden and the Netherlands, the Greens in Britain have played a shorter role due to lack of well established Greens' authority. Moreover, Greens could not reach to co-opt the true political profile as Labour and Conservative parties did. In fact, environmental awareness is not the only issue.

Despite many obstacles, the contemporary Greenpeace activists have shared sensitivities to UK's concerns on various environmental related issues and activated debates in parliament. Inside Britain, there is every possibility of civil war between pro and anti-environmentalists on the issues of military-industrial complexes. Greens are intensely trying to avoid such possibilities by implementing new theories to generate awareness among the political leaders. John Gummer, former Secretary of State for the Environment, has coordinated number of joint meetings with Greenpeace to strengthen environment related peace and came out with many alternative suggestions.

Since World War II, environmentalist groups have been active. Britain has been the centre of power rivalries and nuclear explosions. From 1945 to 1996, Britain has conducted 21 atmospheric and 24 underground nuclear explosions. Greenpeace movement in Britain is always shared by public opinion and condemned the nuclear disasters. For example in the Shetland tanker disaster of 5 January 1993, the major oil pollutant incidence on North UK, off the Shetland Islands, was the sign of environmental pollution. In the accident, approximately 84,500 tonnes of crude oil leaked into the sea.

41. Michael McCarthy, "Realist Demand a Single Leadership to Improve Image", in Ibid.
42. SIPRI Yearbook 1997 (New York, 1997), Table 12B.2, pp.434-35.
UK Greenpeace actively intervened and asked for detail investigation. In another notable event, Britain's approval to Thermal Oxide Reprocessing Plant (THORP) - the major pollutant was declared illegal, unsafe was predicted to turn Britain into a "nuclear dustbin" in December 1993. THORP has been major Uranium and Plutonium supplier to obtain nuclear arms. Despite radioactive emission, heightens risk of terrorist group, the functioning of plant remains a political decision.

THORP has also been criticized by Ireland, Norway, Finland, and Denmark where peace groups have voiced serious concerns. To mark the black day to close THORP, around 200 greenpeace activists, dressed like corpses strewed themselves infront of EU building at Brussels, Belgium on 16 December 1993. While British Radiological Protection Board denied all the allegations of Greens, UK Greenpeace constantly demanded to close down the THORP.44 One more such notable event came to light in November 1996 when anti-nuclear protestors organized local camps against the Pressurized Water Reactor (PWR), situated at Druridge Bay, a six-mile long stretch of Northumbrian coastline. The movement was associated with Druridge Bay Campaign (DBC). It was formed in 1979 when few environmental and civic groups collectively mobilized public protest.45 The group had also organized number of rallies with anti-nuclear protests, including many environmentalists and trade unionists. Prominent among them was the Friends of the Earth. Eventually, the DBC, a federation of 38 organizations,


Besides, it also got support from liberal leaders like Alan Beith and labour leader Jack Thompson during Thatcher government which forced her to privatize many nuclear reactors. This gave fresh opportunity to mobilize public opinion.46

Efforts to undermine the expansion of nuclear power remained the priority agenda of Greenpeace. It continued to pressurize over the government to commit for global moratorium and promoted anti-nuclear lobby. In another notable event, Greenpeace also condemned the approval of National Power and Power Generator (NPPG) which was officially supported by Kenneth Clarke, the Chancellor of Exchequer. NPPG is believed to be the worst pollutant reactor in Europe.47

The most violent act of greenpeace is associated with Brent Spar. It is an oil storage and leading buoy in the North Atlantic, 100 miles from Northwest Scotland. The plant became highly controversial in June 1995 when some British officials approved the dumping of waste materials near the seaside. Greenpeace took effective action by sustaining the new conventional wisdom. It urged for 'painted green future'. A prominent article in the Independent (London, 21 June 1995) was headlined: "Shell's loss is democracy's gain."48 Green activist Hugo Young considered the case as the reduction of party politics. Since then, Green movement consolidated its position in democratic set up.49 As a strong reaction to Greenpeace, John Major had to face tough trial with EU

46. Ibid, pp. 386-91.
environmental officials during G-7 summit, at Halifax Canada (15-17 June 1995). The mounting pressure continued against the government and Greenpeace was successful in gaining public sympathy. A poll by Opinion Leader Research (February, 1996) showed 74 per cent support over the Greenpeace attempt on Brent Spar case. In another survey in Summer 1996, opinion poll showed 76 per cent in favour of Greens' environmental policy. In the successive events, Greenpeace organized summer 1997 campaigns to disrupt oil exploration in the Atlantic Frontier. The petition was signed by 250,000 activists and gave memorandum to John Major. In fact, in his earlier address, John Major had agreed: "I am delighted to think goodness, Shell saw the light in time". It was an attempt to impress the Greenpeace. In true sense, Shell acknowledged the need for action to prevent environmental danger. Thanks to Greenpeace only which helped the company in early 1998 to set up a Social Accountability Unit to deal environmental issues.

The latest manifestation of Greenpeace, associated with New Social Movements (NSMs), is characterized by anti-poll tax, anti-nuclear movement and animal protection. These are accompanied by popular movements only. For example, in July 1997, Hyde Park (London) witnessed the participation of 100,000 against the exploitation


52. Ibid, p. 400.


54. See Bennie, n. 51, p. 404.
of farmers. The February 1998 event was promoted against the slaughter of animals. The slogan of 1 March 1998 rally: "Let the Country's voice be heard" was viewed as the victory of Greenpeace. Total 284,000 participants got support from National Cattle Association, National Federation of Young Farmers, Worship Company of Saddlers, British Association of Shooting Conservation, and Garden Machinery Association. In recent event on 21 April 1998, Green-Labour M.P's accompanied by many protestors voiced against nuclear dustbin. The warning to UK Atomic Energy Commission for supporting Georgian Shipment, loaded with rich uranium to produce bomb in Britain, came as a surprised victory of Greenpeace.

All these events have shown the increasing popularity of Green. Today, there are about 410,000 members with varied interest and nationalities. Most of them are Britishers, living in other parts of Europe. The Scottish National party has already joined Labour and Liberal democrats to support greens. Some active supporters of this movement include: Ruddock, Rose, Cromarly, Charles Kennedy, Dingwall and McLennan. These members are working to build up an environment based democratic institution in modern Britain.

The growing popularity of Greens is definitely a new direction in the field of peace movement. Had there not been such organizations, the future of Britain would have been in dark. Many peace researchers consider them as powerful voluntary organization, environment angle and soul-searching agents. They are opening new campaigning front

55. See Jordon, n.48, pp.314-17.

environment angle and soul-searching agents. They are opening new campaigning front by humiliating media as well as government. Its millions of supporters around the world are active now. Their efforts through EU, a new policy of confronting people with solutions and move from single approach to multi-track approach are effective. They are earning recognition and influence through mass rallies, demonstrations and non-violent actions. There is definitely need of some more responsible, sincere and dedicated workers to make movement more meaningful.

The contemporary British democracy is deeply rooted and widespread sense of freeing public opinion in the forms of environmental activism. The struggle for systematic world view and to change the attitude of people are being implemented. National Trust and Royal Society for the Protection of Birds are working against global problems. By 1997, there were sixty active groups of Green Environmentalists in Britain. Prominent among them are: Friends of the Earth!, British Earth First!, Action Update, World Wide Fund, Alarm UK, Land is Ours, Road Alert, South Coast Against Roads, Proper Insurance Against Nuclear Accidents and Criminal Justice Act.57 Today, Greenpeace is among the most radical environmental groups which has brought major changes in the post-materialistic society.

**Referendum Party**

The latest manifestation of post-Cold War Peace Movement has been the appearance of Referendum Party (RP). As a reaction to Cold War, the RP was created in November

1994 by James Goldsmith. The party prepared its provisional agenda on 25 October 1995 to promote sympathetic approach towards Britain's future in EU by making fundamental changes. Besides, it also opposed centralized, bureaucratic and supranational attitude of Britain. The party has also been very active in promoting various social policies and legislations through collection of donations and other means to achieve its objectives.58

Many members of Labour and Liberal also supported the popular movement and promote the membership through democratic support. By February 1997, it claimed 160,000 registered supporters of rich businessmen, academicians, media workers, decision makers, and ordinary citizens including Scottish and Welsh origins. The party also convenes national conferences, regional training, information camps, public addresses and opinion polls. Its present activists actor Edward Fox, the former Speaker Lord Tonypandy, the ecologist David Bellamy and millionaire John Aspinall are constant supporters. In future the party may enter in bargaining relationships to promote changing character of contemporary social movement.59

DEVELOPMENT OF PEACE RESEARCH IN BRITAIN

Like Germany and US, UK has made rapid progress in peace studies, which can be found in number of universities and independent institutes.

The National Peace Council (1908), an independent and non-aligned charitable trust, was the first successful peace research institute. It was established at


59. Ibid.
London in which strongly opposed the policies of allies during interwar. Its supporters Leonard Woof, H.G. Wells, Philip Noel Baker, Victor Gollaniz and Lord Soper made notable contributions in peace research. Its monthly publication i.e., newsletter and Towards Disarmament have wider circulations. Many believe that the NPC led the foundation of peace research in Britain. Peace research became more systematic in Britain during and after the Pugwash Conference about which the comments have already been given in first chapter. Many contemporary peace researchers believe that the Pugwash movement was the key factor behind the end of Cold War.

The establishment of Generals for Peace and Disarmament (GPD), London in 1981, was another notable achievement. The intellectual inspiration to GPD came from SIPRI and PRIO. The small group of retired army officers from the armed services of NATO and Warsaw Pact Treaty were not satisfied from their policies. They activated debate by highlighting the problems of arms race and developed confidence building through promotion of peaceful dialogues. Later on, it was also supported by Germany, France, Italy, and Norway.

The establishment of London Centre for International Peace (LCIP) in March 1983 was a great success. The institute worked collectively with peace researchers of other European peace organizations. It urged to fight against the denial of basic human rights. The exponents of LCIP, Michael N. Harbottle, John Whitemare, Waterlaw

62. See Peace, n.66, pp.41-42.
Leggett, Barnby F. Johnson, R. Harrison and Barnby Lewis collectively supported for environmental equality and eradication of all ideological and political conflicts. Its maxim: "Peace is everybody's Business" supported exchange of views, peaceful dialogues, and effectiveness of disarmament and social diplomacy. Today, the LCIP is a global network and is being promoted with active support of Australia, New Zealand, USA, Western Europe and Eastern Europe states through coordination of workshops, exchange programmes, conferences and researches.

Britain has also been a centre of peace research education and peace studies. Avon Peace Education Project has been a pioneering institute since November 1933. Its founders Rathenow and Smoker have conducted series of research on Local Education Authority. 63 Another contribution on peace education was initiated by O'Connel, a supporter of Quakerism. Connel's effort to promote Bradford Peace Studies has now acquired international reputation for various peace research activities in Britain. 64 David Heater's efforts to promote peace research through cross-cultural movement also added new priorities contemporary peace movements. 65 While Hick's methodology of peace studies involve cooperation, participation, league and self-reliance, trust, sensitivity and commitment. 66


These peace studies helped to promote intellectual debate in Britain since 1979 when CND activities became more promising against the deployment of cruise missiles. Such studies are also believed to be the master-minded behind the anti-nuclear and peace movements. The subject is extremely useful in multidisciplinary research. The new forms of contents, limits, styles and conceptions might also give a fresh impetus to the whole research enterprise.

Today, the subject is no more confined to schools and universities only. There is also suggestion that the subject should not support politicization of education, lower intellectual status and hypothesis of foregone political conclusions. Instead of involving biased or prejudiced conceptions, it should be based on fundamental contribution to peace and aggrandizement values.

Presently, most universities and many independent institutes, have full-fledged department of peace studies. These are engaged in fundamental research on various global problems through introspection, self-criticism and objective appraisal. After US and Germany, Britain has the highest number of peace institutes. It has also distinction of publishing over hundreds of journals, newletters, peace-bulletins, newspapers, magazines and regular features. Some of them are: Anglican Pacifist (Oxford), Arms Control (London), Conflict Studies (London), East-West Digest (Surrey), The Friends (London), International Affairs (Oxford), International Interactions (London), International Studies Quarterly (Surrey), Just Peace (London), Journal of Strategic Studies (London), Military Balance (London), Millennium: Journal of International Studies (London), New Internationalist (Oxford), New Peace (Surrey), Peace and Freedom (London), Peace News (Nottingham), Peace Press (London), Quaker Peace
and Service (London), Reconciliation Quarterly (Surrey), Sanity (London), Survival (London), Teachers for Peace News Letters (London), and WRI News Letter (London) etc.67 The advance technologies have made possible to record materials through microfilms, compact disks, video cassettes, e-mail, fax, and other communicative means.

**Major Areas of Peace Research in Britain**

For about two decades, peace research in Britain has made rapid progress and has entered in many fields. The researchers have involved critical thinking, historical traumas and the search for new alternatives. Since there have been abrupt unanticipated institutional changes during Cold War, peace research has become more relevant. Hence there has been every effort of making it intellectual for critical, descriptive and explorative commentary and empirical testing. Today, it has become a difficult task to cover the whole areas and to make a paradigm. Some important areas of peace research can be summed as follows:

1. Since 1968 Britain took active part in NPT and played an important role in negotiations on the recently agreed Nuclear Test Ban Treaty which it signed in September 1996. The CTBT has been helpful in reducing Britain's Nuclear forces through on-site inspection. Besides, the government is committed to the universal elimination of nuclear weapons through multilateral negotiations.68

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67. For details, see Peace, in n.5, vol. 4, pp 146-47 & 152-54.


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2. NATO has been the most important institutional vehicle of Britain, other than USA in Europe. It decided Britain's defense and security policies against any external threat. As a permanent member of NATO since beginning, Britain played a crucial role in maintaining peace and stability. During post-Cold War, Britain has also supported US-Sponsored PFP and NACC. Besides, the memorandum of Understanding on Bilateral Defense to promote, exchange and encourage cooperation for, peace keeping and humanitarian operation and to intensify its efforts against the proliferation of weapons against mass destruction have also been supported. Peace researchers agree that the Britain should reduce its dependence on NATO through modifying her target capacity and reliance on allied forces.  

3. Britain has also been an active supporter of council of Europe's Convention and Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms. These democratic principles are based on freedom of expression, thought, conscience, peaceful assembly, security and fair trial. Britain's key role in elimination of racial discrimination, abolition of slavery, refugee status and women's right have been widely accepted by peace researchers.

4. The approval of Masstricht Treaty by the European Parliament in February 1992 is described as masterpiece in post-Cold War period. Britain, with some disagreement, has shown commitment with the treaty. This provides common economic and monetary union, principles of subsidiary, clarification and codification of union competencies for regional strategy, consumer protection, environment and public

69. Ibid, p.143-44.
70. Ibid, p.154.
Britain's support to intra-governmental basis for greater security is greatly important for peace movement.

5. Britain's independent contribution to Global Environment Facility (GEF) has special significance of Greenpeace researchers. Through GEF, Britain renders valuable assistance and protection to developing countries. Britain has also supported environmental summits organised on time to time. In 1995-96 Britain contributed £153 million to support 182 projects aimed at protecting environmental related problems.

Most of these official agreements of Britain over various policies have multidisciplinary significance for contemporary peace research. Last, but not the least, peace research has to enter and interpret most of these policy-based political agreements by comprising and compensating all barriers. It will be rather unfair and unwise if peace researchers concentrate only on popular-social movement as they did during 1980s. Their approach should be liberal which needs a great effort and sacrifice, by all possible means, to make it more specialized, sophisticated and independent.

**Appraisal:**

Peace movement in Britain centres around the CND which remains the widest network of peace to achieve nuclear disarmament. Its elements of pacifism, liberalism and internationalism provide intense scholarly debates. Besides, CND remains the coalition of

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71. Ibid, p.124

largest popular and heterogeneous organization. It helped in proliferating peace, fought against NATO policies, provided neutrality and democratized the social and economic policies. It also coordinated with political parties and leadership behaviour. Ironically, CND remained partly successful due to political reasons as compared to Greenpeace which exerted extraordinary influence over West German society. Besides, the rapid growth research institutes have also strengthened the scope of peace movement in future. The forthcoming chapter will examine in great depth about the most successful example of West German peace movement.