WARNING:

IN THE EVENT OF A NUCLEAR WAR, H.M. GOVT. WILL HIDE UNDERGROUND WHILE YOU DIE.

CIVIL DEFENCE



...WHOSE DEFENCE?

Read this booklet with care Your life and the lives of your family may depend upon it

Do as it advises Keep it safely at hand

Introduction

The government claims to base its defence policy on the idea of deterrence. Deterrence assumes that a nuclear war will never happen. Even so, the government has plans, some of them secret, for what to do at home in the event of a nuclear war. These plans are called 'Civil Defence preparations'. The government wants us to believe that these Civil Defence preparations will mean that most of us can survive a nuclear war. In this pamphlet we will try to show:

- 1) That while Britain is still packed with missile bases, NATO communications centres, and other targets which our 'enemy' must hit in wartime, there is nothing Civil Defence can do to prevent the vast majority of ordinary British people from being killed, or suffering appalling physical and mental injury.
- 2) That Civil Defence is part of the arms race, and part of a plan to prepare to fight and win a nuclear war the government has Civil Defence plans to show the Russians we are prepared to fight.
- 3) That Civil Defence actually brings war nearer, because it can fool the population into accepting nuclear war as realistic and survivable, rather than as something to be prevented at all costs.
- 4) That Civil Defence plans involve destroying the freedom which nuclear weapons are supposed to defend.
- 5) That Civil Defence plans are not just meant to be used in war. They are also meant to be used to control the population in case of civil unrest or major strikes, both of which our government may be expecting as the economic crisis deepens.

The Nuclear Arms Race

In the 1950s and 1960s, Western governments depended on the possession of nuclear weapons as a 'deterrent', to stop a war happening. The idea was to aim a few big bombs at your opponent's cities, so that they were too frightened to attack you. The 'Balance of Fear' was supposed to stop a war happening. But the Balance of fear didn't stop the wars in Vietnam and Korea.

The balance of fear, and competition between cast and West for control of some third world countries, led to a race for more and more sophisticated weapons. So, even after both sides had knough to destroy the other side several times where, the arms race didn't stop. It was making illions for arms companies, it provided research, oney and jobs for scientists and military bosses o it went on. Governments began looking for ways o fight and win a nuclear war, not to prevent me. The new strategy of 'Counterforce' was insented by US leaders.

Newer and highly accurate nuclear missiles were eveloped. You don't need accuracy to attack ities. The idea of the new missiles is to destoy your opponent's missiles before they are ared, while the missiles are still on the round, or in the sea. The longterm aim of this nunterforce strategy is to gain what is called a irst Strike Capability', which is the ability to stroy all or nearly all of your opponent's misses before they are fired, so that you have 'won'

a nuclear war. The new missile systems Trident, Cruise and MX are the Western attempt to reach a First Strike Capability.

This means we are facing a new crisis - the probability that before 1990 a number of new weapons, surveillance and communications systems will be developed that together may actually make the Western military believe that they have a First Strike Capability. (It is generally agreed that the west has more effective first strike weapons than the east, even though the Russians too are trying to get a First Strike Capability, and the new SS20 Russian missiles are first strike weapons. The west is ahead mainly because its missiles are more accurate, and because it has the technology to detect and destroy submerged submarines, which the Russians do not).

When one superpower believes it has a First Strike Capability, it will be tempted to use it when an opponent gets near to having such a capability. When two powers believe they have a First Strike Capability, we will begin living in a world of hairtrigger paranoia, each side afraid that the other will strike first. We won't need any other crisis - a first strike world is itself crisis enough.

Even though the new generation of nuclear weapons are clearly meant for fighting and winning a nuclear war, our politicians still pretend that they are intended for deterrence, to stop a war happening. They believe, as many people believe, that the way to stop a nuclear war happening is to spend more and more on nuclear weapons and war preparations. They are wrong. Every arms race in the past has led to a war, and this one will too, unless we stop it. There are some risks in disarmament, (though far fewer than many people claim), but we must take them, because relying on nuclear weapons means certain nuclear war, and perhaps sooner rather than later.



One of the main reasons for the present buildup of arms is competition between East and West for resources such as Middle East oil, and for control over parts of the third world which can make money for whoever controls them. But even rulers interests cannot be served by a nuclear war, which might well kill or bankrupt them. Even though a nuclear war would be suicidal, the arms race goes on. It can only be stopped by ordinary people.



What is Civil Defence?

The term 'Civil Defence' covers many different government plans, which are also called 'Home Defence' and 'Emergency Planning'. There are three main areas to look at:

Protect and Survive?

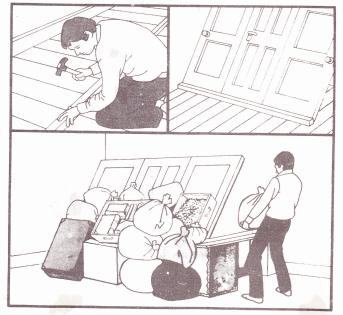


In May 1980, the government published a booklet called 'Protect and Survive', which claimed to tell you 'how to make your home and your family as safe as possible under nuclear attack.

If you live in a caravan, bungalow or block of flats, you are told to find yourself alternative accommodation fast. If you live in a house, it tells you to choose a room as far as possible from the outside walls, and to build an 'inner refuge' inside this room, to protect you from the deadly radioactive fallout which will be a danger after a nuclear attack. Here is an extract from the booklet, giving ideas for this inner refuge, which you are supposed to hide inside with enough food and water for 14 days.

Here are some ideas:

Make a 'lean-to' with sloping doors taken from rooms above or strong boards rested against an inner wall. Prevent them from slipping by fixing a length of wood along the floor. Build further protection of bags or boxes of earth or sand – or books, or even clothing – on the slope of your refuge, and anchor these also against slipping. Partly close the two open ends with boxes of earth or sand, or heavy furniture.



Among the other things you are expected to take into your refuge are:

- a portable stove, fuel and saucepans
- torches, a bucket, and plastic bags
- portable radio with batteries
- toys and magazines.
- changes of clothing, a first aid kit
- a box of dry sand.

The booklet makes the whole experience of nuclear war seem positively enjoyable, conjuring up visions of the warm company and happy singsongs which supposedly existed in the shelters during World War Two.

But will a nuclear war really be such a mild affair, merely a matter of hiding away for a couple of weeks before returning to life as normal? Or is there something the booklet isn't telling us? If we look closely at 'Protect and Survive', we can see that there are lots of things the authors are trying to hide:

1) HEAT AND BLAST

Heat and blast from nuclear bombs will kill many millions of people in an all-out nuclear war. Yet there is only one mention of heat and blast in the whole booklet: on page two, where it says:

'Everything within a certain distance of a nuclear explosion will be totally destroyed'

We are not told how far is 'a certain distance'. Of course not. The government is trying to calm us down with this booklet, so they don't want you to think you might be one of the unlucky millions who live too near a nuclear target for comfort.

2) HOW MANY BOMBS AND WHERE WILL THEY FALL?

The booklet does not tell us how many nuclear bombs will fall on Britain in a full scale nuclear war, or where they will fall. In fact, at one point, the booklet claims:

'If there is a nuclear attack on Britain, we do not know what targets will be chosen, or how severe the assault will be.'

This is a lie. The government may not know all the exact targets which will be hit by nuclear bombs in wartime, but it knows most of them. Military exercises often include lists of targets, and freely available information such as the map

(on p.4) shows where many of the Russian bombs will fall. RAF and American bases in East Anglia will certainly be targets. These bases hold nuclear weapons aimed at Russian cities and bases, so Russia has to hit them in wartime. Power stations and NATO communications centres, as well as cities and ports, will also be targets.

Again, it is not surprising that the government doesn't tell us these things. They are trying to convince us that most of us will survive a nuclear war, so obviously they don't want to let on that most of East Anglia will be wiped out in such a war, or that Britain can expect up to 400 bombs, each at least 50 times as powerful as the one which destroyed Hiroshima in 1945.

If the whole 170 million Americans had Air Raid Shelters, at least 50% of them would die in a surprise enemy attack. In the last analysis there is no such thing as a nation being prepared for a thermonuclear war.

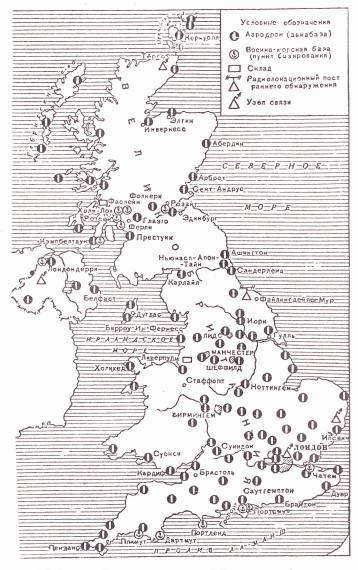
Val Peterson, US Civil Defence Administrator

'Protect and Survive'deals, in its own misleading way with how to protect yourself from radioactive fallout. Here are some of the problems of living through a nuclear war that the booklet doesn't even mention:

^MILLIONS OF rerugees. ^Huge Firestorms raging out of control in many areas. *Many millions of dead bodies, with practically no public services to deal with them. *Radioactive dust in the water, slowly killing most who drink it. *Plutonium, the most poisonous substance known to humans sprayed over the country when bombs hit our nuclear power stations or our weapons stockpiles. *Starvation as most food is contaminated, most animals dead. *Epidemics of many diseases as sewers are broken open, and hygeine conditions get worse and worse *Agriculture impossible in many areas for decades or longer, because vital worms and insects are dead from radiation. *Most hospitals destroyed, most medical staff dead, injured or fleeing. Children born dead or deformed for many generations to come.

Hiding under a few doors and books isn't going to save us.

Soviet map of British and American bases in Britain



Why Stay at Home?

But if the 'Protect and Survive' instructions will not significantly reduce the number of deaths in a nuclear war, even more worrying is the fact that one of the instructions in the booklet will actually increase the number of deaths. This is the 'STAY AT HOME' instruction, which is on P4 of the booklet. It tells you not to move from your home area during a war. Now, while this may be sensible in the period after a nuclear attack when the main danger is from radioactive fallout, it is quite insane to stay at home before an attack if you live in a major target area like

to survive?

The government does seem to realise that, if a war comes, people will take no notice of this Stay At Home instruction, and they are secretly prepared for this: During the Civil Defence practice called 'Operation Square Leg' in 1980, 6 500 troops were used to stop people fleeing from target areas, so as to keep all major roads free for use in getting weapons ready for war. As we will see again later, Civil Defence is mainly about controlling you, not about saving your life.

PLAYING AT CIVIL DEFENCE

In 1974 the Civil Defence Planning Act was passed, which put the responsibility for Civil Defence firmly in the hands of County Councils. Each County employs an Emergency Planning Officer, whose job it is to co-ordinate Civil Defence plans for war, as well as to prepare for other emergencies, such as strikes or floods. The Cambridgeshire Emergency Planning Officer, with his staff of three, has an office in the grounds of Shire Hall, Cambridge. He gives talks to Councillors, Police Officers, the Fire Brigade, and others, to tell them what their job would be before, during and after a nuclear war.

All the year round, the Home Office sends out circulars to Police, Health Authorities etc., giving information about their nuclear war duties. It is the job of these bodies to write more detailed plans for their area in wartime. We will now look at a typical example of such a plan, the Cambridgeshire Area Health Authority War Plan of March 1981. All quotes from the plan are marked **

The plan accepts that massive numbers will die in a nuclear attack on Cambridgeshire, but is vague as to how many:

**'There will be areas of total destruction and loss of life. There will be areas of blast and fire casualties on a scale many times greater than any civil major disaster, but fallout conditions may prevent any organised lifesaving operations for days or weeks. These casualties will be left to die, or just possibly survive without treatment...'



NOTICE OFFICE OF CIVILIAN DEFENSE WASHINGTON D. C.



INSTRUCTION TO PATRONS ON PREMISES IN CASE OF NUCLEAR BOMB ATTACK:

UPON THE FIRST WARNING:

- 1. STAY CLEAR OF ALL WINDOWS.
- 2. KEEP HANDS FREE OF GLASSES, BOTTLES, CIGARETTES, ETC.
- 3. STAND AWAY FROM BAR, TABLES, ORCHESTRA, EQUIPMENT AND FURNITURE.
- 4. LOOSEN NECKTIE, UNBUTTON COAT AND ANY OTHER RESTRICTIVE CLOTHING.
- 5. REMOVE GLASSES, EMPTY POCKETS OF ALL SHARP OBJECTS SUCH AS PENS, PENCILS, ETC.
- 6. IMMEDIATELY UPON SEEING THE BRILLIANT FLASH OF NUCLEAR EXPLOSION, BEND OVER AND PLACE YOUR HEAD FIRMLY BETWEEN YOUR LEGS.
- 7. THEN KISS YOUR ASS GOODBYE.



Even so, the plan goes on to explain what pathetic attempts at 'bringing society back to normal after a nuclear war' should be made. It suggests that people should be encourage to care for themselves, with the help of Voluntary Societies such as the Red Cross and the St John's Ambulance Brigade:

**First Aid Posts will be manned by members of the Voluntary Aid Societies. Their purpose will be to give immediate treatment, and to sort casualties into those who can be returned home... and those requiring further treatment at a casualty collection centre.

("Yes, you go that way, Mr. Jones. No, of course that doesn't mean we're going to leave you to die, it's just that...")

The plan is twelve pages long, and none of its pages contain anything more useful than the above suggests. The provisions of the plan would have little or no effect on the misery following a nuclear attack on Cambridgeshire, an area packed with nuclear targets. But the really horrifying thing is that the people who write these plans can accept that a nuclear war should be allowed to happen. We should be working to prevent a nuclear war, not making silly plans for what to do after.

It is a hopeful sign that many medical staff now refuse to take part in the making of such plans and instead are campaigning against nuclear weapons, believing they can only lead to war. This is part of a statement by an international group of medical staff:

'Medical disaster planning for a nuclear war is futile. There is no possible effective medical response after a nuclear attack, and there is no effective treatment for those who initially survived an attack. As doctors of Medicine and scientists in health related fields, we conclude therefore that the prevention of nuclear war offers the only possibility for protecting people from its medical consequences. There is no alternative.'

Spreading Confusion

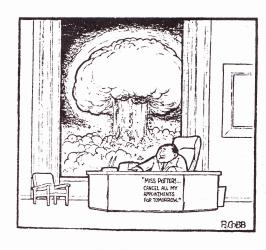
And yet the Emergency Planning Officer and other civil servants keep on holding meetings, writing circulars, and talking to voluntary organisations about how Britain will recover after a nuclear war. Why do they do this, if the idea is so ridiculous?

The answer lies in information. The government doesn't tell its servants everything, just like they didn't tell us everything in 'Protect and Survive'. In the circulars to Emergency Planning Officers, they again pretend they don't know what targets will be hit by nuclear bombs. When we asked the Emergency Planning Officer of Cambridgeshire where the bombs would fall near us, he said:

'Oh, the Home Office are never as precise as that. They tell us how many bombs are expected to fall on Britain as a whole.... they talk about 80 targets... but they don't split that number up into what will fall where.'

As we saw earlier, the government knows where most of the targets are. Then why aren't they mentioned in their circulars? The reason is that, if the Civil Defence staff in each County had to make war plans based on accurate estimates of where the bomb's will fall, it would become very clear that Civil Defence was a waste of time. While the plans are vague and confused, however, they can keep

pretending (and believing) that Civil Defence in a nuclear war is realistic.

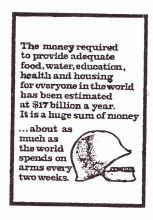


All through the government circulars too, runs the idea that nuclear war won't be so bad. In a year or two things will be back to normal, they pretend. One thing they certainly never mention is the long term effects of radiation. Some of the radioactive substances produced by nuclear explosions remain deadly radioactive for hundreds or thousands of years. They also concentrate in certain parts of plants and animals, making them even more dangerous. It is the long term effects of radiation that make some scientists believe that a full scale nuclear war could cause the extinction of the human race completely.

Obviously, when sending out its orders, the government has problems with those civil servants who think that preparing for a nuclear war is silly, or immoral, or both. So they often put this note on the front of their circulars:

"Some of the information in this circular may offend individual beliefs. Recipients may wish to restrict its distribution to those who have a need to know."

This year, the Cambridgeshire Emergency Planning Officer has spoken to the following organisations: St John's Ambulance Brigade, Womens Royal Voluntary Service, Women's Institute, British Legion, and even to Help The Aged. All these people are being fooled. There is no effective defence against a nuclear attack, and rather than have an ineffective farce based on despair, we must decide on disarmament and a new form of society which has no place for war.



Bunker Democracy

For the purposes of Emergency Planning (Civil Defence), the United Kingdom is divided into 12 regional government areas. These are officially called 'Home Defence Regions'. Ten are in England and Wales, and one each in Scotland and Northern Ireland. Within the Regions there are seventeen sub-regions. So for example, region 4, which is the East, is divided into sub-region 41, Cambridgeshire Norfolk and Suffolk, and sub-region 42 - Bedfordshire, Essex and Hertfordshire. Each of the twelve regions is under a regional controller, who, in a war or other emergency, would have supreme power.

The system of regional government has been with us since well before nuclear weapons had even been invented. Here is its history:

1919

The system started under the Geddes Plan. The country was divided into 12 internally ruled regions as part of a plan to deal with potential insurrections or general strikes. There have been some changes, but Emergency Planning has always stuck close to this system of a dozen regions.

1935-45

Plans are modified to include Civil Defence against air attack or invasion. Bomb proof shelters are built to protect public and government.

1950

Commencement of blast and radiation proof War Room programme to house Regional Commissioners, and about 50 regional staff.

1957

Air Minister Duncan Sandys announces Britain's abandonment of any hope of defence against air attack.

1963

The <u>Spies for Peace</u> disrupt the whole system by revealing the location and nature of all the 12 Regional Seats of Government (as they were by now called). This causes the locations of the RSGs to be changed, but does not deter the increasingly secretive aims of the RSG system.

1964

The new Sub-regional Headquarters (SRHQs) are set up, intended not to rescue, comfort and protect survivors among the general population, but to ensure the survival of a chosen few through control of the remaining resources after a war.

1968

Home secretary James Callaghan announced cutback in Civil Defence. Activity is now geared to building up a bunker and communications system that can be used for 'internal security'.

1971-2

Under the Heath Government, "Home Defence" has a revival. Planning now openly includes peacetime emergencies. Home Office circular ES/1/1972

"It is considered that there is much common ground between war planning and the preparations required for and the organisation appropriate to a major peacetime emergency or natural emergency."

1974

A very important series of developments now puts this plan into effect. The boundaries of the subregions are adjusted to coincide with the reorganisation of local government under the 1972 Local Government Act. Then the boundaries of the 52 local police forces in the UK are adjusted at the same time. Finally the regional areas for the Territorial Army Volunteer Reserve, and for the 10 Army UK Land Forces Districts are also largely matched with those of local government, the police, and the regional government areas.

In March 1980, Duncan Campbell, after very thorough research into the bunker system as it now is, concluded that:

'In an emergency, the military would be in almost complete control. The new regional Armed Forces Headquarters (AFHQs) have taken over the role once performed by the largely civilian Regional Seats of Government, of controlling what remains of society.'

Why do all these complex developments matter? They matter for the following reasons:

- 1) The underground bunkers are designed for very few people.
- 2) The purpose of Civil Defence is not to protect the population, but to control it.
- 3) These measures of control are designed to be used, and have been used, in peacetime.



1. The Underground Bunkers

All the underground bunkers have one thing in common. They are meant only for top civil servants, government ministers, military staff and senior police officers.

In each sub-region there is a Sub Regional Headquarters (SRHQ), which is the centre of power. Although the SRHQs vary in design, they are very much 'nuclear shelters', and are a long way from the makeshift shelters for the population outlined in 'Protect and Survive.' Take SRHQ 62 at Basingstoke. This building is about 25 000 sq ft large, on two levels. It has concrete walls $1\frac{1}{2}$ ft thick, and metal doors an inch thick. It is equipped with air filters to stop radioactive dust, its own generator with 10 000 gallons of fuel, and enough food for 30 days. And this is not the best protected of the government bunkers. Indeed, the Home Office has described it as 'Quite frankly, not very good'.

Exactly who will survive a nuclear attack in these bunkers is impossible to discover because of the secrecy surrounding them. It is only those in the SRHQs who would stand much chance, however.

The County War Headquarters, lower down in the Civil Defence structure, will not provide much protection for the County Council staff who will hide there in wartime. We found this when we were shown round the Cambridgeshire War HQ by our Emergency Planning Officer. Clearly it is only the top people who are really well protected. A more significant fact about the Cambridgeshire 'War HQ' was the maps which we saw on the wall. They showed preparations, not for a war, but for a strike by water workers.



2. The Purpose of Civil Defence

There is plenty of evidence that the main purpose of Civil Defence is to control the population rather than to offer it help and protection. Here are a few examples:

- * A Home Office document of 1973 on the 'Machinery of Government in War' explained that the staff of the SRHQs would be concerned not with 'immediate short term aid to the hardest hit areas' but with 'the maintenance by the police of law and order, and with the general behaviour and morale of the survivors.'
- * At the annual seminar for local authority representatives at the Home Defence College at Easingwold in Yorkshire great emphasis is put on 'law and order'. In 1978, the first item in a paper entitled 'The police in war' was: 'Special measures to maintain internal security with particular emphasis concerning subversive or potentially subversive people.'
- * The Army Manual 'Land Operations' vol 3 ('Counter revolutionary activities') 1969, sees its enemy as 'subversives, who take action to undermine the military, economic, psychological morale or political strength of the nation and the loyalty of its subjects.' We can be sure that all peace campaigners and strikers would be included in this definition if a crisis came.
- * During 'Operation Square Leg' in 1980 (a Civil Defence Exercise), troops and police were used to prevent people from fleeing cities; large amounts of CS gas were distributed to troops to 'help keep order'; and pacifists, and other 'subversives' were rounded up, imprisoned, and sometimes shot.
- * In an emergency there are plans to cut of 95% of telephone subscribers, so that they can only receive calls. The people in the bunkers can, meanwhile, go on talking to each other.

* The seven Home Office Circulars issued in 1975 reveal that services and communications would only be available to the staff of the bunkers. The small food reserves held by local authorities would be under the control of the Regional Controllers. Meanwhile, there are plans to shoot people found looting in shops outside-

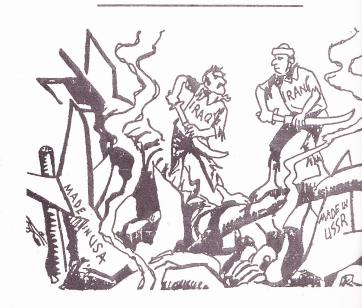
What the government thinks is most important is shown in the classified document Home Office Circular ES/3/1976, entitled 'Briefing Instruction for wartime Controllers' The circular deals, in the context of a nuclear war, with just 4 topics: "Law and order, the use of surviving industrial resources, manpower, and the collapse of the monetary economy."



3. Control in Peacetime

Do not think that just because we have not had a nuclear war the Civil Defence plans have not be used. During the miners strike of 1974, the whole system of bunkers was put on standby. So now we see what the four 'States of Emergency' called by the Heath Government really meant. The system was used again, this time by a Labour Government, in 1977, during the firemans strike. And, of course we would have seen the system used in 1981 if the water workers had carried out their threat of an all-out strike. When Essex County Council's Emergency Plans were first published in 1974, the the Emergency Plannong Officer, Group Captain Bowen, emphasised that preparing for strikes was "a major priority of the system."

We must remember that these plans, supposedly designed to protect 'freedom' and 'democracy', have been drawn up in an undemocratic way, so as to more efficiently restrict freedom. The plans already exist. The people who drew them up are ruling us now.



WHAT SHOULD WE DO?

Perhaps the situation looks hopeless. It is not. People can change their fate. One hundred and fifty years ago it looked impossible that every man in this country would have the right to vote. One hundred years ago, it seemed impossible that every woman would have the right to vote.

In the 1970s, people's movements have had some remarkable successes. They have stopped the building of several nuclear power stations in Europe, and have slowed the nuclear energy programme of the United States to a crawl. In France and Japan, people have prevented land being seized for military bases. We can also point to the incredible liberation struggles of the Black Civil Rights Movement in the USA, of Gandhi in India, and more recently of movements in Zimbabwe and Nicaragua. The disarmament movement should take heart from these struggles.

In the last year alone, the disarmament campaign in Britain has achieved some extraordinary things:

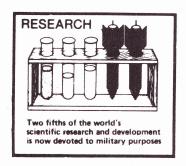
The government has been forced to officially launch a campaign to try and counter the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, because CND's arguments have begun to convince so many people. Several local authorities have declared their areas nuclear free zones, and the Greater London Council has gone further and refused to take part in any Civil Defence plans for war, even though it is legally bound to do so. The force of public opinion has prevented the introduction of the neutron bomb, and may have contributed to the delay in the siting of cruise missiles in Britain. Several Trade Unions now support disarmament, and there are a number of specialist groups for doctors, teachers, Journalists, Civil Servants etc. against the bomb. The Labour party has adopted unilateral nuclear disarmament as party policy, and all the parties have had to make clear where they stand on this issue.

But there is a long way to go yet. We need a mass movement that understands the causes of war, and which knows how to bring about social change.

What exactly can you do about Civil Defence? Well, you may be able to think of some new things, but here are some suggestions of things which have proved successful so far.

**Find out more. Try to read books and pamphlets about nuclear war. /Watch out for TV or Radio programmes about the issue. Find out about the international situation, and about other movements that have successfully changed society.

**Join your local peace group, and the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. Try and make them more effective groups in educating as many people as possible about government war plans. They need your ideas.



** Try to get your local council to declare your area a nuclear free zone, to refuse to take part in any Civil Defence plans, and to open any nuclear shelters they have for the public to see.

** Go and see your Emergency Planning Officer. Ask him/her in detail about Civil Defence plans.

** Talk to anyone you know who might be involved in Civil Defence plans - Police, fire brigade, medical staff, members of voluntary organisations. Try to convince them that our only defence is disarmament.

** Find out the location of any government bunker near you. Publicise its whereabouts to everyone in your area, and demonstrate outside it (or inside them...)

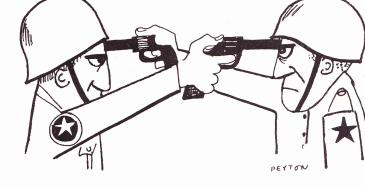
** Tell as many friends as possible. Write to newspapers, try writing a leaflet and distributing it. Get together with friends to do street theatre or other things you can think of...

We must warn you that there will be people who don't like you knowing about the things which control your life. When the Spies for Peace revealed the true nature of the Regional Seats of Government in 1963, the Home secretary of the time, Henry Brooke, declared in the Daily Mail:

"THIS IS THE WORK OF A TRAITOR".

"DETERRENCE IS BASED ON THREAT WHICH IS ONLY BELIEVABLE IF OCCASIONALLY CARRIED OUT"

what if that



SOME FURTHER IDEAS

While we were writing this pamphlet, we came up with a number of further points that we feel need to be thought about when trying to understand what Civil Defence is really all about. But we don't claim to know everything about Civil Defence, so rather than presenting some of our more complex and controversial ideas in the main part of the pamphlet, we decided to collect them together here. You don't have to read them if you don't want to, but we'd be grateful for your comments.

Trying to understand the silliness

It is too simple merely to dismiss many of the governments Civil Defence plans as silly. Instead, we should ask ourselves why they make these plans. Is there method behind their apparent madness?

This depends a lot on just what kind of a nuclear war the government expects to see Civil Defence used in. This is hard to establish. On the one hand, the top military see a small-scale nuclear war as possible: when the US Defence Secretary was asked in 1974 'Do you think it is possible to have a limited nuclear war, just to exchange a couple of weapons?' he replied 'I believe so.' And in a television interview on May 18 1981, Caspar Weinberger, the new US Defence Secretary, also said a small scale nuclear war was possible. On the other hand, all paper NATO exercises which started with a small scale nuclear exchange have ended in full scale nuclear war.

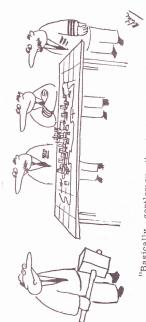
(which, incidentally, we believe is the only kind of nuclear war likely), all the government plans for Civil Defence would be useless. Even many of the government bunkers would be destroyed. But in a small scale nuclear war, the government's policy, with its emphasis on 'keeping law and order' begins, in their own terms, to make a little more sense.

We should look very carefully at who exactly is being told what about Civil Defence preparations. It may really be true that the Emergency Planning Officers know little more about Civil Defence than ordinary people do. But it seems likely that the top military and government people know a great deal more.

The Civil Defence Instructions for survival are essentially a Public Relations Exercise. Their provisions are not secret. And we should remember that 'Protect and Survive' was designed to be issued to every house in Britain just before a nuclear war, to prevent panic, so the government is less concerned about whether its instructions actually work than with whether or not they would succeed in calming the population in wartime. It is very significant, however, that the more horrifying parts of Civil Defence Plans are much more secret. Local Government quietly accepts this. Essex County Council, in their restricted Civil Defence documents of April 1978, list the problems of 'law and order', and then simply state:

'Plans do exist to assist solution of these problems, but, as might be expected, these are classified.'

against radioactive fallout'. On the other hand, large scale rescue attempts will be possible immthirds of the population will survive', and that never be a nuclear war anyway. The contradictions are endless. Perhaps it is simply that the ediately after an attack, while still telling us one which sees a potential subversive or Russian 'an ordinary house offers reasonable protection own inconsistency. On the one hand we are told spy in every citizen, which swears that deterr-Our attempts to understand the mind of our nuclear state has found its own kind of logic, ence will work and is prepared to die to prove order to say that it will never happen. Really, that deterrence is so reliable that there will government is made almost impossible by their the government admits, less publicly, that no it, and one which prepares for nuclear war in that nuclear war won't be so bad, that 'two it is a logic we never want to understand.



"Basically, gentlemen, the strategy is this."

The Logic of Fear

The arms race is based on fear. The justification for having nuclear weapons is based on the existence of a largely invented Russian threat. A system which is based on fear ends up creating fears in order to justify itself. The policy of 'law and order' in a national emergency is based on the state's belief that some mysterious Soviet 5th columnists will appear to try and overthrow the government. US General Haig believes that supporters of nuclear disarmament are really pro-Russian agitators. This kind of absurd paranoia has become a vital part of the nuclear state, and is one of the reasons the government is prepared to be repressive and anti-democratic in the name of Civil Defence

Dare they use them?

Putting Civil Defence plans into operation in the run up to a war has problems of its own.

Here are two examples.

1) If, during a period of international tension, Civil Defence plans were put into operation by regional government, the plans might anger the population so much that the government would only be able to 'justify' them by making them part of a nuclear war. So as the war gets nearer, the incentive for the government to back down is reduced, because they may not be able to face the anger of their own people. This is a problem which the government are thinking about. One Civil Defence Document says:

ented, would certainly arise during a phase of increasing international tension leading to a pre-war crisis.....Not the least difficult factor here is the possibility that a crisis might even at a late stage recede, and in such circumstances, it would be essential that any special preparatory measures could be run down without having disrupted the economy and other matters too far.'



is part of preparing for war. For this reason it can become too dangerous to use. During the Cuban Missile crisis in 1962 (which almost led to a nuclear war), there was no Civil Defence alert in this country, or in the USA, or in the Soviet Union. Why not? Because any government seeing an enemy putting Civil Defence plans into operation may think that a nuclear attack is on the way, and so strike first.

a blatant double standard. The government claims ern military claim that the Soviet Union will now Union develops its Civil Defence plans, the westprepared to start a war. This is used to suggest weapons. The result of all this is a complicated Defence has to be developed a bit to show we are prepared to fight; but not a lot in case it proence - they show the Russians we are prepared to that our Civil Defence plans are part of deterrbe able to withstand a nuclear attack, and so be that the Soviet Union is being provocative, and fight. But on the other hand, when the Soviet Because of this, Civil Defence gets given vokes the other side to develop more weapons or that the West must therefore have more nuclear and dangerous series of double bluffs - Civil even start a war.

We know that a peaceful world cannot long exist one-third rich and two-thirds hungry ""

Jimmy Carter. United States, 1977



Is there ever any point to Civil Defence

The instructions in 'Protect and Survive' are not simply silly. They could be very useful - if Britain had no nuclear targets on its soil. At present Britain is a target. In the event of a nuclear war, we would suffer massive attack.

Weapons can defend us, and instead make alternative, non-nuclear, and truly defensive plans for our protection against any agressor, then there would be a place in this country for a Civil Defence policy.

We must remember that the USA has intentions every bit as aggressive as the Soviet Union. Paul Warnke, President Carter's first SALT negotiator, has said:

'We (the USA) don't like their (the USSR's) system. We would like to see it changed. If we could sponsor a successful coup in the Soviet Union, we would do it. Now they know that, and as a consequence they resent the double standards that we apply. And we do apply double standards.'

We cannot afford to be sacrificed to such mutual fear. Civil Defence will offer no realistic defence for the mass of the population of this country until there are no longer any obvious nuclear targets. This means that all American bases, British nuclear weapons, and NATO Communications centres must be removed.

When radiological conditions permitted movement, district and borough London controllers should assume that one of the priority tasks for their staff, in areas where survivors were to continue residing, would be to collect and cremate or inter human remains in mass graves.

Once the initial clearance of corpses has been completed, there would be still a problem of several weeks, and perhaps months, of an above average rate of dying from disease and radiation effects. Nevertheless, a return to the pre-attack formalities should be the objective in the longer

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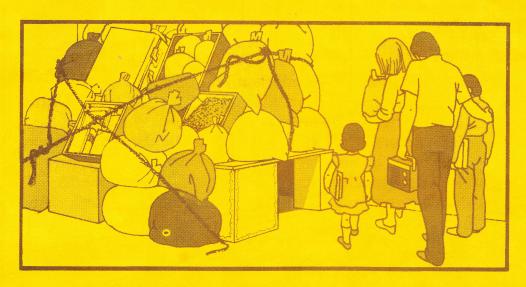
Mark Harrison John Mullen

Disarmament Information Group

6A Park Terrace, Cambridge

June 1981





doesn't have to happen

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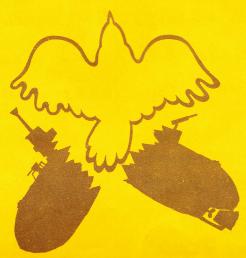
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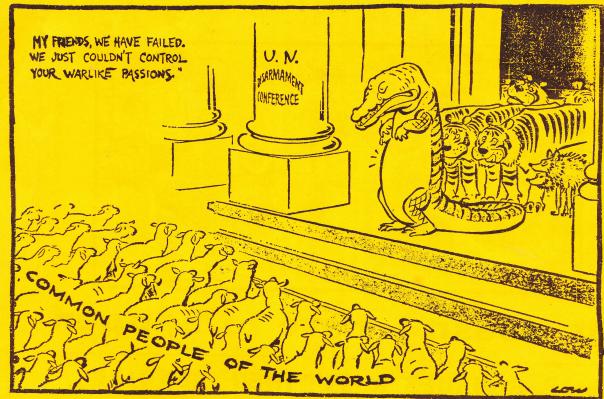
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THE CONFERENCE EXCUSES ITSELF

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