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1

Direct Action and the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, 1958–62

Jodi Burkett

The simplicity of the message ‘Ban the Bomb’ was the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament’s (CND) greatest asset and greatest liability. It enabled the organisation to attract a wide variety of people, but it also meant that they needed to undertake actions which would not alienate any of these disparate people. As the 1960s progressed CND, and its adherence to moderate activities, was increasingly marginalised within the radical left. As Adam Lent argues, ‘more than anything else’ the distinction between CND’s respectful lobbying strategy and the more urgent, rebellious approach of direct action ‘encapsulated the shift in movement politics during the 1960s.’¹ Focussing on the first four years of the CND, from its inaugural meeting in February 1958 through the passing of its first constitution in April 1962, we see an organisation at the vanguard, but also one fraught with tension over methodology. CND called for Britain to unilaterally renounce nuclear weapons, appealing to the morality of both politicians and the public. But it was not the only group making this demand. The Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War (DAC) also used moral arguments to call for British unilateral nuclear disarmament. The two groups diverged in their belief about the best way to accomplish this goal. While the CND hoped to use the pressure of mass public support to sway politicians to adopt unilateralism, the DAC thought that politicians could only be forced into this attitude through the use of direct action.

Extra-parliamentary organisations, or social movements, have consistently grappled with the question of which tactics to employ. Researchers have found that the public recognises a number of levels of extremity in social movement activity. As activists move from conventional to unconventional politics, through direct action and non-violence, they tend to lose support.² The desire for large-scale support tends therefore

to push organisations towards moderate activity. Yet, it is not just public opinion to which these organisations need to appeal. The type of activity they engage in also needs to galvanise their own supporters and provide internal cohesion and a sense of collective identity. Leaders therefore tread a fine line between advocating radical action to maintain rank-and-file support without alienating potential allies.³ The tension that these questions create within a movement was visible in the early part of the twentieth century within the women's suffrage campaign in Britain. Moderate suffragists worked to galvanise large sections of the public, while the militant suffragettes employed more radical tactics hoping to pressure those in power to create change more quickly.⁴

It was not just in Britain that these were important issues. Around the same time that the anti-nuclear movement was struggling with these questions, they were also being discussed within independence movements throughout the former British Empire. The argument for non-violent direct action was famously won by Gandhi in India where he used it to successfully gain his country's independence.⁵ This was not the only means of successfully fighting for independence as we can see by the examples of both Ghana and Tanganyika (later Tanzania) where moderate leaders worked with the British government to secure their countries' independence.⁶ Moderation versus militancy continued to be a major issue throughout the 1960s. It was of vital importance in the United States civil rights movement where Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. famously took up Gandhi's example.⁷

The anti-nuclear movement also drew on longstanding traditions of British pacifism. One of the reactions to the violence of the First World War had been to define Britain as a 'peaceable kingdom' thereby privileging peaceful, respectable, law-abiding protest.⁸ The Peace Pledge Union was the primary pacifist organisation from the early part of the century and became the 'source of the most extreme forms of protest against nuclear armament' after the Second World War. In 1950 they put forward a programme very similar to that advocated by the CND eight years later.⁹ From the middle of the 1950s small, local anti-nuclear groups were being formed throughout the country.¹⁰ The increase in nuclear tests also served to galvanise opposition and resulted in the formation of the first national anti-nuclear organisation, the National Council for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapons Tests in early 1957.¹¹

Though not without tension, the CND and the DAC enjoyed a working relationship and an overlapping membership for more than

two years. But by late 1960 questions of tactics had resulted in the division of the anti-nuclear movement. The creation of the Committee of 100, which advocated civil disobedience, and the resignation of Bertrand Russell as President of CND was, according to its chairman, 'a serious blow to the Campaign, and one from which it never fully recovered.'¹² This division was ostensibly about tactics, but the ability of CND and DAC to work together, shows that it was not that simple. The situation surrounding the formation of the Committee of 100, the personalities involved and their inability to work together, was equally important in causing the split in the movement.

The groups: CND, DAC and the Committee of 100

The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament was the largest mass movement in Britain since the war. It is extremely difficult to gauge levels of support as there was no mechanism for individual membership throughout this period, but we do know that mere weeks after their inaugural meeting in February 1958 there were more than 100 local CND groups.¹³ CND also took on symbolic importance and it was believed that 'identification with CND could be taken to be a capsule statement of a distinctive moral and political outlook.'¹⁴ While this statement is oversimplified, assuming much greater unity than existed in the campaign, it is how CND was viewed by contemporaries.

The structure of CND was rigidly hierarchical with the Executive making all decisions for the organisation. In fact, in the early years the vast majority of CND's actions were the direct initiative of its Chairman Canon Collins.¹⁵ The leadership of the CND was a self-selected group of well off, well known, politically important white men quite different from the rank and file of the organisation. A mass-based movement had not been Collins' objective¹⁶ He was convinced that the way forward was to keep the Executive small and in control of all major decisions as this would enable it to take action quickly.¹⁷ Throughout his tenure as Chairman, Collins resisted demands from the rank and file for representation at the level of decision-making. The creations of the Co-ordinating committee, made up of representatives of all affiliated groups to advise the Executive, and annual conference, were stop gap measures designed to placate the rank and file while preserving the existing Executive structure and power.¹⁸ A democratic constitution was finally agreed by the Executive in 1961 and passed at the 1962 annual conference. It included the election of Executive members but not individual membership.

In 1957 Sheila and Harold Steele attempted to prevent Britain's testing of its first hydrogen bomb off Christmas Island by sailing a boat into the test area. Although failing to do so, they gained worldwide publicity and were supported in Britain by an Emergency Committee for Direct Action Against Nuclear War.¹⁹ As this group transformed into the Direct Action Committee they did not lose their temporary nature saying that they did not intend 'to continue for years or to become an alternative political party.'²⁰ The DAC policy of direct action rested on a belief in personal responsibility. They thought that 'Britain should give up unilaterally all nuclear weapons and policies based upon them, without waiting for agreement between other countries' and that since they were asking this of their country they too should be prepared to act independently.²¹ They also held that direct action should be undertaken 'to focus public attention on the issues involved.'²² The success of their actions therefore relied on receiving media coverage and making a clear statement.

The organisation of the DAC was not dissimilar to that of the CND, but it managed to avoid many of their problems by being much smaller and more tightly knit. The biggest organisational difference between the two groups was their stance on the relationship of local and regional groups to the Executive. Whereas the CND Executive was determined to keep local groups under control, the DAC actively encouraged local groups to be independent. They thought that 'if direct action is to succeed it must go on independently of any particular group or persons. We hope that many other groups all over the country will initiate action.'²³ The preoccupation of the CND leadership with creating and maintaining an image of respectability by strictly controlling what was done in their name and avoiding controversy, was not present in the DAC. The leadership of the DAC expected their activities to be controversial. With the caveat that they hoped to get widespread support for their plans, they took pains to say that they did 'not immediately abandon any [plans] simply because they are controversial or unpopular in some quarters. Indeed one of [our] purposes is to initiate new types of action which, because they are unusual, are liable to arouse controversy.'²⁴

The Committee of 100 was, according to Richard Taylor and Colin Pritchard 'a disparate coalition, united only in its belief in the primacy of the nuclear issue, its conviction that civil disobedience was the correct method, and its deep antipathy towards the CND leadership.'²⁵ The Committee was the brainchild of Ralph Schoenman, a young American member of the CND.²⁶ When Schoenman first pitched the

idea of a new group to Bertrand Russell he was told that he 'should be able to work as part of the [existing] Direct Action Movement'.²⁷ Schoenman, however, succeeded in convincing Russell that a new organisation dedicated to civil disobedience was necessary.

The Committee of 100 consciously designed its structure to be different than that of the CND. In particular they tried to counter the hierarchical nature of CND, holding Quaker style meetings with members seated in a circle, each having the same authority to speak, and striving for consensus.²⁸ The Committee, like both the CND and DAC, was originally understood as temporary. Each of the three groups thought that they would be able to accomplish their objectives quickly and then disband. This proved not to be the case and they were forced to co-exist and, increasingly, compete for supporters within the movement.

What were direct action, civil disobedience and the alternative?

All three groups existed outside of traditional political circles. Of the three, CND took the constraints of the political system most seriously when planning their actions. The official CND line was that British unilateral nuclear disarmament would only come about through a Labour government. They, therefore, advocated more traditional methods, trying to convince the Labour Party to adopt unilateralism, while the DAC and Committee of 100 employed a tactical militancy which made the Labour party uneasy. The model of direct action to which members of the anti-nuclear movement turned was that of Gandhi and Martin Luther King. This included 'obstruction, occupations, boycotts, tax refusal, industrial action, [and] illegal leafleting.'²⁹

One of the reasons direct action was so much debated and so divisive was that its relationship with non-violence and civil disobedience was unclear. The majority of those who propounded direct action agreed that it should be non-violent, but did not necessarily agree on what that meant.³⁰ In their 1959 policy statement the DAC used an extremely broad definition of non-violence. Not only did they argue that it required a complete absence of physical violence but also that it involved 'complete openness with the authorities.' This, they argued, was required because the purpose of non-violent demonstrations was 'not to score points off the authorities but to win public support and to protest in an effective and dramatic way.'³¹ To use violence would be 'tragically inconsistent' with their purpose. If they 'lapsed into secrecy,

sabotage and violence' it was argued, the Committee 'would inevitably lose all its moral power and defeat its own purpose.'³²

Direct action and civil disobedience were often conflated. In the 1980s Pat Arrowsmith, a member of the DAC Executive, remembered the debates about direct action as being about civil disobedience. As she says

many and prolonged were the wrangles about direct action by nuclear disarmers twenty years ago. Breaking democratically passed laws was undemocratic argued the constitutionalists. No it wasn't, the direct actionists countered – not when something so utterly undemocratic as planned genocide was involved.³³

Her assumption that direct action meant 'breaking democratically passed laws' illustrates this confusion. It was this confusion which often resulted in the rejection of direct action by more moderate supporters. For the DAC civil disobedience was only one of its many forms of activity in 1959. The creation of the Committee of 100 itself points to a clear distinction between direct action and civil disobedience. Again, Arrowsmith recalls that 'when the Committee of 100 was launched ... the question arose: were direct action and civil disobedience the same thing? If not, were they of equal value?'³⁴

The variety of activities undertaken by the CND and DAC in the late 1950s was not remarkably different. Both marched, leafleted and wrote to Members of Parliament. But CND focussed their energy on educational activities. In the summer of 1959 they organised a 'Nuclear Disarmament Week' whose suggested activities included 'stalls of stands in market places or shopping centres ... chain letters to three friends asking them to write to the Prime Minister and three other friends; speakers at Schools; [and] lunch time factory gate meetings.'³⁵ This emphasis on educational activities was in part a reaction to demands from regional groups. One such group, Sevenoaks, argued that an educational programme should take precedence 'until the movement attracts a greater measure of public support.'³⁶ They thought that small marches provided 'a hostile press with an excellent opportunity to ridicule the Campaign, and reassures our M.P.'s in their conviction that they can afford to disregard our lobbying and our letters of protest.'³⁷ There was a strong argument within the CND that effort was being wasted. 'Instead of spending time at local meetings' argued Richard Acland in 1958 'our National Names should give an equivalent number of evenings to long quiet conversations with four or five carefully chosen and carefully invited key people.'³⁸

The activities of the DAC did not focus on education. They continued to do things like lobby the House of Commons during debates on Defence Motions in 1959, but this was not their main form of action.³⁹ In December 1958 the DAC planned an intensive campaign at the rocket base at North Pickenham which marked the beginning of their most intense year of campaigning.⁴⁰ Throughout the summer of 1959 the 'DAC staged poster parades, open-air gatherings, picketings at defense sites Everywhere they urged defense workers to quit their jobs or strike.'⁴¹ This relentless activity had an effect on the authorities and in December 1959 seven leaders of the Committee, Arrowsmith, Hugh Brock, April Carter, Frances Edwards, Inez Randall, Allen Skimmes and Will Warren, were arrested and jailed. They refused the offer of release in return for giving sureties to keep the peace for one year and were held for two months.⁴² For Arrowsmith, it was an example of the Government persecuting the DAC, finding obscure laws, like the 1361 Justices of the Peace Act under which they were charged, to punish them.⁴³ It also showed others within the movement that they could be arrested and imprisoned for seemingly innocuous activity.

One of the most contested issues in this period was participation in electoral activities. Many members of the DAC worked extensively on the 1959 campaign of Lawrence Daly in Scotland. Will Warren was Daly's election manager. Several members went to Scotland to give assistance and the group sent a van, printed pamphlets and offered to stage a press conference.⁴⁴ Some members even sent cash donations to the campaign.⁴⁵ They also supported the London Universities and Schools CND proposal to create a 'Voter's Veto' group. The CND Executive was entirely opposed to participating in the election in any way and were particularly critical of the 'Voter's Veto'. At a Co-ordinating Council meeting in January 1959 Collins 'stated that if the Direct Action Committee went ahead with their plans [for a Voter's Veto] it would be necessary for the Campaign publicly to dissociate themselves from their actions.'⁴⁶

At its inception the objectives of the Committee of 100 were not entirely clear. For Russell the objective was simple publicity.⁴⁷ His focus on the propaganda effect of the Committees activities required highly visible, but not necessarily high risk, action. Schoenman agreed that civil disobedience could educate people by showing them the inhumanity and illegality of nuclear weapons. But it could do more. He hoped to unite the activities of the Direct Action Committee with the mass support of CND. By holding very large illegal demonstrations Schoenman thought he could force the government to its knees by

'filling the jails and thus paralysing the system to the point of collapse.'⁴⁸ This objective required an exaltation of going to prison which was visible in the rank and file of the Committee. As one member recalled of an early Committee of 100 'sit down' 'Bertrand Russell sat on the Air Ministry steps and we all sat down on the pavement. But I didn't actually get arrested. They just sort of picked me up and told me to go home. It was very disappointing.'⁴⁹

These different attitudes permeated the group and informed the location and types of action undertaken. Pat Arrowsmith recalled that:

certain Committee of 100 members argued that it was pointless, even possibly counterproductive, to block innocuous streets; the action should be at the bases. Others (at first the majority) said that to get thousands breaking the law conspicuously in city centres would achieve more publicity, hence be more useful, than getting (inevitably) fewer people to take action at remote bases.⁵⁰

The Committee was launched in the autumn of 1960, and held its first demonstration in 1961.

The activity which most characterised the anti-nuclear movement in the early period was the Aldermaston march. It was particularly identified with CND even though the idea, and the organisation, of the first march in 1958 were those of the DAC. Initially sceptical, the CND supported the first march both financially and by announcing it at its inaugural meeting. The first march, following the ethos of direct action, started with a rally in Trafalgar square and ended at the Atomic Weapons Research Establishment in Aldermaston. It was highly successful attracting many times the expected number of marchers.⁵¹

Despite the success of the 1958 march, there was controversy within the movement about whether or not to hold another in 1959. The Executive of the CND were divided on the matter. Collins was very much for it 'believing that it would be a cohesive force in the Campaign, as well as an active means of expressing our purpose.'⁵² Others within the CND, supported by the DAC, thought that the point had been made by the first march and feared that with repetition the march would lose its impact becoming almost an institution.⁵³ Collins' argument prevailed 'after considerable discussion' within the Co-ordinating committee.⁵⁴ Two important changes were made to the march that year. The organisation was taken over by the CND and the direction of the march was reversed so that it started in Aldermaston and ended in London symbolically bringing the protest to the seat of power.⁵⁵

Despite their differences of opinion the CND was able to work alongside the DAC throughout its first two years. The leadership of the two organisations may not have always seen eye to eye, but they appreciated that each other's work was valid and useful. For the rank and file of both organisations, the activities of the two groups complemented each other and many people participated in both.

Relations between the groups

The primacy of the discussion of tactics tends to obscure the large spheres of agreement between all three groups. As Michael Randle, member of the DAC Executive, put it they all 'shared a rejection on moral grounds of nuclear weapons.'⁵⁶ All were in agreement that the goal was to 'Ban the Bomb', that nuclear weapons were immoral and that it was necessary to mobilise the public if they were going to be successful. The 1961 CND Annual General Meeting passed a resolution that 'CND, Direct Action and the Committee of 100 are three techniques in a united attack on preparations for nuclear war.'⁵⁷ Yet the tension that existed between those advocating different methodologies did not disappear.⁵⁸

The attitude of the CND toward direct action was never simple. Its leadership was largely uncomfortable with such tactics, yet many of its earliest supporters were committed to direct action. Just months after its foundation the Executive committee made it quite clear that it 'felt it was very important that Direct Action should be a part of the Campaign in conjunction with other propaganda such as meetings, literature etc.'⁵⁹ Direct Action was legitimised, but not privileged, as a form of action. Peggy Duff, secretary of CND, was generally positive of the DAC saying that 'they brought to the campaign a commitment to and an understanding of non-violent techniques which was supremely important at that time and which set a tone and produced a quality for demonstration which lasted for many years.'⁶⁰ From the summer of 1958

a division of labor was established whereby the CND would have complete charge of mass demonstrations, while DAC would be free to 'concentrate on more specialized types of action suited to a small and flexible body, including demonstrations which have to be mounted at speed, and the more radical types of direct action projects.'⁶¹

Both organisations seemed relatively comfortable with this breakdown of responsibility.

The formal relationship between the groups can be vividly seen in the discussions of both the CND Executive and Co-ordinating committee. The Executive of the CND wanted close contact with the DAC, to know what they were doing and to co-ordinate activity. Within the Co-ordinating committee there was also a desire to include the DAC. Some members expressed anxiety about the possible inefficiency of a division in labour while others pointed to the success that had already accrued because of CND support of DAC activity. It was clear that many members of the Co-ordinating committee wished the DAC was more actively involved in their work. At their October 1958 meeting the committee agreed 'that a special effort be made' to persuade the DAC to take up the delegate space that had been offered them.⁶²

This effort paid off initially as Michael Randle was the DAC representative at their January 1959 meeting. At that meeting he asked if he was there as a delegate or an observer. The response of the Committee acknowledged that there had been some confusion on the issue, but they agreed that 'they were welcome as delegates.'⁶³ But this did not last. In May 1959 it was reported back to the Co-ordinating committee that two representatives of the CND, Ritchie Calder and Benn Levy, had met representatives of the DAC to discuss the relationship between the two groups. The Chairman proposed that 'after very friendly talks it had been agreed to recommend that the Direct Action Committee should no longer be represented on the Co-ordinating Committee, but that a separate Liaison Committee be set up in order to avoid confusion or difficulties on strategy and tactics.'⁶⁴ After some discussion the proposal was agreed upon. The general attitude of the CND towards the DAC was seen by members of the DAC as benign. It was described as 'one of slight distancing but general support.'⁶⁵ The executive of the CND clearly did not want their organisation accused of direct action, but saw that it had a place in the movement as a whole.

There was also a division within the DAC about what sort of relationship they should have with the CND. They did send representatives to CND Co-ordinating committee meetings and corresponded with the CND President, Bertrand Russell relying on his financial and strategic backing. Immediately after the formation of the CND the DAC sent them a letter 'asking for further co-operation.'⁶⁶ Their 1959 Policy Statement said that 'although they do not always agree on the methods to be used, both the Campaign [for Nuclear Disarmament] and the Direct Action Committee agree on the basic principle of unilateral nuclear disarmament ... and there is a formal liaison between the Direct Action Committee and the Executive Committee of the

Campaign.’ DAC Executive member Hugh Brock stressed the need for the closest possible liaison between the two organisations. He criticised the actions of his colleagues for ‘rocking the boat too much’ saying that they would not have been so successful ‘without the backing of the Campaign.’⁶⁷ On the other hand, the 1959 policy statement also asserted that ‘the Direct Action Committee is a completely separate body from the Executive Committee of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.’⁶⁸ This attitude was taken up by Michael Randle who was keen to illustrate the DAC’s independence to the CND Executive defying the larger organisation on issues like the Voter’s Veto.

Perhaps the most fundamental aspect of the relationship between the two organisations in this period was the fact that their membership largely overlapped. The DAC acknowledged that ‘most participants in direct action [were also] members of local Campaign [for Nuclear Disarmament] groups.’⁶⁹ No matter how much the executives of the two groups wanted to distance themselves from one another their overlapping membership made this difficult. Collins was keenly aware of this. He thought that ‘the vast majority’ of the rank and file ‘were loyal to executive decisions’ but acknowledged that they ‘also admired those who engaged in direct action.’ He neatly summarised the difficult position of the leadership of both groups saying that ‘the rank and file never seemed fully to realize that in their desire for the kind of campaign envisaged by the executive and their understandable, though often sentimental, feelings about direct action, there was, implicit, a contradiction.’⁷⁰

The relationship between the CND and the Committee of 100 was characterised by much more antipathy than that of either group with the DAC. This is as much a result of the personal relationship between Cannon Collins and Bertrand Russell as any tactical difference between the two organisations. Collins clearly felt betrayed by the way in which the new Committee had been announced. Russell claimed he consulted Collins about the creation of the new group, but Collins insisted that the first he heard of it was through Victor Gollancz.⁷¹ The timing of the launch of the new organisation was a particular bone of contention. Its creation was leaked to the media mere weeks before the Labour Party conference at which they were expected to vote for unilateralism. Collins thought that the creation of this militant group, and CND’s association with it, would jeopardise their chances of getting the policy passed. The creation of the Committee of 100 resulted in the acknowledgement by Russell that he was unable to work with Collins and his resignation as President of the CND.⁷² The new Committee was

not just seen as competition for the CND,⁷³ but according to Collins it brought 'bickerings, misunderstandings, irreconcilable attitudes and strained loyalties which inevitably reduced the effectiveness of the Campaign, hindered its progress, and created such tensions between those who favoured the technique of civil disobedience and those who did not that the unity of the movement was destroyed.'⁷⁴

These feelings went both ways. The Committee of 100 were united in their antipathy to the leadership of the CND. There was a widespread belief that their moderate tactics, particularly the reliance on the Labour Party, was not only too slow but ultimately ineffective. One member of the Committee said she 'felt CND was holding back the anti-nuclear movement because they were trying to be respectable and establishment all the time.'⁷⁵ For Schoenman, the actions of the CND did not match the danger that was posed by nuclear weapons. He called the leaders of CND, 'the cultivators of popular-unpopular causes, those indulgent phrase-makers who plague every dissident movement with their reformist illusions and irrelevant ambition.' He said their activities, were in effect saying to their supporters 'we are in imminent danger of mass annihilation; join our annual march' which, he said 'seemed pathetic.'⁷⁶

The relationship between the Committee of 100 and the DAC was much more sympathetic. The Committee of 100's activities 'rapidly overshadowed' the DAC, and by the end of 1961 they had agreed to dissolve themselves and joined the Committee of 100 *en masse*.⁷⁷

Youth were an important presence throughout the three organisations. The Executive of the CND encouraged the growth of youth groups requesting that all groups and regions 'foster the growth of Youth Groups wherever possible, and ... allow them representation on adult Committees and on Regional Councils.'⁷⁸ Direct action was as controversial within the Youth CND as in its older counterpart, but they took a different stance on the issue approving 'the idea of direct action and shock tactics within the law'⁷⁹ at their quarterly meeting in November 1959. In general young people tended to support the more radical activities of the DAC and later the Committee of 100.

Conclusions

The debate about tactics and methodology within the anti-nuclear movement mirrored that occurring throughout the left in the 1960s and within social movements through the rest of the century. The ability of disparate groups to unite around a common goal was under-

mined by their inability to agree on how best to achieve them. These differing ideas on methodology led to personal antipathies which may have been even more damaging than the tactical disputes themselves. With the creation of the Committee of 100 the extent of overlapping group membership throughout the anti-nuclear movement decreased. The divergence between the CND and the Committee of 100 required that people choose between organisations, effectively weakening the whole movement. The creation of the Committee of 100 did disrupt the functioning of the CND, even if not quite as catastrophically as Collins suggested. Without pressure to reform coming from DAC members within CND, the organisation drifted farther and farther away from the vanguard of the radical left.

Despite the importance of these issues within the movement, to those outside these divergent groups were often seen as one large amalgam. Most often the CND was used as shorthand when referring to the entire anti-nuclear movement in all its guises. This was true right from the beginning with a DAC protest in 1958 being 'one of the first occasions when the press showed itself quite incapable of distinguishing between the various wings of the movement.'⁸⁰ This was frustrating for both the CND and the other groups. Each fought hard to define their own boundaries and resented the blurring of the lines.⁸¹

Looking at the relationship between the CND, DAC and the Committee of 100, we can begin to unpack the assumption that a split over tactics meant that the movement itself would inevitably divide. The CND and the DAC were able to work together, sometimes even at the same demonstration, while holding radically different ideas about the best way to accomplish their mutual goals. The circumstances surrounding the launching of the Committee of 100, and the personal antagonisms between its leaders, played as much a part in splitting the anti-nuclear movement as ideological differences. Proponents of unilateral British nuclear disarmament were divided by their age, class, gender, and political beliefs. Yet they were united in their abhorrence of nuclear warfare and belief that Britain should take the moral high ground in renouncing the weapons and stepping out of the nuclear game. It was through this unity that they created the first mass movement to 'Ban the Bomb'.

Notes

- 1 Adam Lent, *British Social Movements since 1945: Sex, Colour, Peace and Power* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), p. 43.

34 *NGOs in Contemporary Britain*

- 2 Russell J. Dalton, *Citizen Politics in Western Democracies: Public Opinion and Political Parties in the United States, Great Britain, West Germany, and France* (Chatham, N.J.: Chatham House Publishers, 1988), p. 65.
- 3 Donatella della Porter and Mario Diani, *Social Movements: An Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), p. 182.
- 4 On the debate within the suffrage movement see Jill Liddington and Jill Norris, *One Hand Tied Behind Us: The Rise of the Women's Suffrage Movement* (London: Rivers Oram Press, 2000).
- 5 For discussion of tactics within the Indian independence movement see for example Anshu Singh, *National Movement and Communal Strife in India from 1937 to 1947 (a Study in Strategy and Interactions)* (Delhi: Kalpaz Publications, 2004).
- 6 See Gregory Maddox, ed., *Colonialism and Nationalism in Africa: A Four Volume Anthology of Scholarly Articles*, 4 vols. (London: Garland Publishing Inc., 1993). Particularly volumes 3 and 4 for discussions of other paths to independence.
- 7 For discussions of civil rights in the United States see Simon Hall, *Peace and Freedom: The Civil Rights and Antiwar Movements in the 1960s* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005). These issues were also discussed in the Northern Irish civil rights movement. For a discussion of this see Bob Purdie, *Politics in the Streets: The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement in Northern Ireland* (Belfast: Blackstaff, 1990), pp. 137ff., 239ff.
- 8 This legacy is discussed in Holger Nehring, 'The British and West German Protests against Nuclear Weapons and the Cultures of the Cold War, 1957–64', *Contemporary British History* 19, no. 2 (2005), p. 231.
- 9 Frank E. Myers, 'British Peace Politics: The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and the Committee of 100, 1957–1962' (PhD, Columbia University: 1965), pp. 7, 38–9.
- 10 Adam Lent, *British Social Movements since 1945: Sex, Colour, Peace and Power* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), p. 40. See Jones, Sheila, *Peace News* 7 March 1958 obituary of Gertrude Fishwick quoted in Frank E. Myers, 'British Peace Politics: The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and the Committee of 100, 1957–1962' (PhD, Columbia University: 1965), p. 82.
- 11 Wayland Young, *Strategy for Survival: First Steps in Nuclear Disarmament* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1959), p. 40.
- 12 Canon L. John Collins, *Faith under Fire* (London: Leslie Frewin Publishers Ltd., 1966), p. 318.
- 13 Frank E. Myers, 'British Peace Politics: The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and the Committee of 100, 1957–1962' (PhD, Columbia University: 1965), p. 105.
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