

Department of Humanities, Northumbria University

Honours Dissertation

**'Roaming Mobs of Mutants!' Anti-Nuclear Culture and
Protest in Britain, 1979–1989**

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List of Abbreviations

AOD	<i>Acts of Defiance</i>
CND	Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
MOD	Ministry of Defence
NOP	National Opinion Poll
RAC	Regions and Affairs Committee
SALT	Strategic Arms Limitation Talks
SYCND	Sunderland Youth Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament
USAF	United States Air Force
WONT	Women Oppose the Nuclear Threat

Introduction

In 1980, 40% of the British public thought nuclear war would break out in the next decade.¹ This belief was undoubtedly spurred on by the end of détente and a Cold War that was beginning to heat up. The limited resolution of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) II talks in 1979 allowed nuclear fears to pervade the collective consciousness and culture of the British population.² The establishment of American cruise missiles in several bases around Europe pushed the threat directly into the homes of every British citizen. Greenham Common United States Air Force (USAF) base, which alone was home to 96 cruise missiles, is the most prominent British example of this increasing American influence.³ The theatre of war had yet again touched Western Europe, but nuclear armament remained a contentious issue. The population still largely supported the bomb despite their fears of its great destructive power. In 1984, 94% of people surveyed by a National Opinion Poll (NOP) supported a double key system, but the government elected to give the USA full control over the bombs to lower costs.⁴

Jonathan Hogg argues that British nuclear culture in this decade became a 'persistent backdrop to everyday life, appearing more visible around times of crisis'.⁵ Unhappiness with the status quo and fear of burgeoning American control invigorated the declining Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND). The CND attempted to tap into the fatalistic mood of the generation and establish a power base strong enough to achieve disarmament. CND grew exponentially to a membership of 80,000 by 1987, with Paul Byrne estimating the total number of CND affiliated supporters at this time to be around 200,000.⁶ Unsuccessful in pushing the government into

¹ Andy McSmith, *No Such Thing as Society: A History of Britain in the 1980s* (London: Constable, 2011), p.51.

² Gerald J. DeGroot, *The Bomb: A Life* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006), p.308.

³ McSmith, *No Such Thing as Society*, p.50.

⁴ Graham Stewart, *Bang! A History of Britain in the 1980s* (London: Atlantic Books, 2013), p.354.

⁵ Jonathan Hogg, *British Nuclear Culture: Official and Unofficial Narratives in the Long 20th Century* (London: Bloomsbury, 2016), p.4.

⁶ Paul Byrne, *The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament* (London: Routledge, 1988), p.1.

disarmament, protesters still managed to permeate popular culture with the ever-present spectre of the nuclear threat.

It is important to note that the notion of a specifically British nuclear culture is contentious. There is no one singular British nuclear culture: different localities responded to the nuclear threat in varying ways.⁷ However, there is clearly a dominant sense of fear that pervades these diverse ideas and concepts. In order to better understand the development of nuclear culture in the 1980s, this dissertation will use Hogg's definition of nuclear culture. Hogg defines it as 'the complex and varied ways in which people *controlled, responded to, resisted or represented* the complex influence of nuclear science and technology, the official nuclear state and the threat of nuclear war'.⁸ This definition also extends to the concepts of 'official' and 'unofficial' culture, with official narratives spanning from sources that have a 'state-institutional origin', such as the lengthy *Protect and Survive* pamphlet and video series.⁹ Unofficial culture consists of narratives produced by individuals who commented on the nuclear state. Despite their differing sources, it is important to understand that these sources can both be for or against nuclear armament.

British nuclear culture has received less coverage than American studies on the impact of the nuclear state.¹⁰ While Hogg and Daniel Cordle have invited deeper introspection into British nuclear culture, their studies of the 1980s have focused mainly on the broad aspects of film, journalistic interpretation, and nuclear literature of the period.¹¹ Using sources that have been neglected in the historiography has thus been necessary in order to accurately discuss the impacts of anti-nuclear culture on both activists and the public imagination.

⁷ Hogg, *British Nuclear Culture*, p.5.

⁸ Ibid. p.7.

⁹ Hogg, *British Nuclear Culture*, p.9; *Protect and Survive*, available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=m6U9T3R3EQg>, accessed 10 February 2018.

¹⁰ Hogg, *British Nuclear Culture*, p.9

¹¹ Hogg, *British Nuclear Culture*; Hogg, Jonathan, 'Cultures of Nuclear Resistance in 1980s Liverpool', *Urban History*, Vol.42, No.4 (2015) pp.584-602.; Cordle, Daniel, 'Protect/Protest: British Nuclear Fiction of the 1980s', *The British Journal for the History of Science*, Vol.45, No.4 (2012), pp.653-669.

Due to the great scope of nuclear influenced culture in this decade, the evidence used in this dissertation is varied. Primary sources utilised include film, newspapers, fanzines, newsletters and the national CND papers. It is essential to understand that these sources are not necessarily indicative of the overarching worldview that encompassed nuclear perceptions, and in some cases are merely individual accounts that are purported as the popular narrative.¹² However, the sources selected are pertinent to the discussion of nuclear culture, and as a whole are clear evidence of the consuming fears that most citizens felt. This dissertation aims to analyse the ways in which nuclear culture developed, and how anti-nuclear activists crafted their own unique methods of protest in the face of the seeming inevitability of a nuclear conflict. In order to understand how this cultural activism manifested, three key aspects have been analysed; the impact of nuclear television and film, the culture and locality of Greenham Common, and the influence of Glastonbury and music subcultures on disarmament.

The first chapter will examine how nuclear warfare was portrayed in British film and television, and observe how activists and the media responded to the developing culture of the time. Focus will primarily be given to the impact *Protect and Survive* had on unofficial productions and how it ultimately crafted a dark and satirical norm for nuclear culture in the 1980s. The seminal *Threads*, which had widespread impact thanks to the BBC's 'After the Bomb' week, and *The War Game* will be scrutinised. Less obvious programmes, such as *Only Fools and Horses*, will also be analysed for their impact on the nuclear threat. The chapter will also discuss whether nuclear film and television was actually produced with anti-nuclear intent in mind, or whether it was simply a commercialisation of the cultural zeitgeist.

Chapter Two will analyse Greenham Common Women's Peace Camp, one of Britain's most iconic peace camps. As previously stated, British nuclear culture is not a monolithic term. Thus, the camp will be treated and assessed as a unique locality that had impact on local, national, and even

¹² Hogg, *British Nuclear Culture*, p.8.

transnational nuclear discourse. As Greenham already enjoys extensive coverage in the historiography, focus will be given to the singular culture that flourished in the camp community. This chapter will analyse the Do-It-Yourself magazine culture of the camp and its use of art and symbolism as a protest tool to convey anti-nuclear messages. The songs of Greenham, such as 'Brazen Hussies', and responses of the media will be considered. Film coverage of the camp and representations of women will also be explored via documentary footage and oral histories, in order to discover just what impact the camp had on national nuclear culture.

The final chapter will consider the use of music as a protest tool for the nuclear disarmament movement. From anti-nuclear punks to the Eurovision Song Contest, music and nuclear disarmament was inexorably linked in this decade. Jazz was the sound of the nascent CND in the 1950s, and this rich heritage of music will be explored to give context to the later movement. Chapter Three will also contextualise the relationship between CND and the Glastonbury Festival. Glastonbury's status gave CND a larger platform for campaigning, but relations between the two organisations remained contentious throughout the decade. The debate over the influence of anti-nuclear music on the population will be considered, and ultimately this chapter will evaluate the importance of music to the anti-nuclear cause.

As a whole this dissertation will ultimately assess the influence, importance, and scope of nuclear culture throughout this time period, shedding light on the debate over whether aspects of culture were truly important in helping or hindering CND and the greater anti-nuclear movement. The ties between nuclear culture, the state, and the protest movement that inspired most of the cultural aspects of this decade are intimately obvious, but the impacts and creation of nuclear culture in this decade still necessitate greater discussion and evaluation.

Chapter One: 'It's Not the End of the World': The Bomb on Screen

The grim acceptance of potential nuclear war in the 1980s meant that 'politically radical nuclear culture' could find a home in established forms of media on British screens.¹³ Instead of becoming resigned to the pit of forgotten and unofficial counterculture, works such as *Threads* (1984), *The War Game* (initially released in 1965, and broadcast for the first time in 1985) and *When the Wind Blows* (1986) featured on terrestrial television. TV allowed creators to directly pipe nuclear awareness into the homes of the masses. Viewers did not even have to leave their homes to learn of the gruesome ways they and their families could die in the event of a nuclear bomb strike. In the 1950s, the British government heavily avoided discussing its nuclear capabilities, meaning that nuclear culture of that period primarily kept conservative views on the bomb to avoid censorship. Films focused on the potential for war at the hands of bumbling and incompetent foreign Cold War scientists, rather than the actual effects nuclear fallout would have on the general populace after the initial attacks. While anomalies like *The War Game* existed, British film did not focus on the collapse of society in the nuclear post-apocalypse until the 1980s.¹⁴

When analysing the effects of film on responses to nuclear culture, American and European influences also require consideration. Tony Shaw argues this for the early Cold War context, and the same is true for 1980s. Hollywood films have always 'dominated the British market' and to not 'recognise the potentially significant role American productions had in shaping British perceptions' would be misleading of the whole decade.¹⁵ In the West German context, Philipp Baur claims that creators 'deliberately meant to warn their audience and saw their work as a form of protest.'¹⁶

¹³ Hogg, *British Nuclear Culture*, p.592.

¹⁴ Tony Shaw, *British Cinema and the Cold War* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2001), p.132.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* p.4.

¹⁶ Philipp Baur, 'Nuclear Doomsday Scenario in Film, Literature and Music', in Christoph Becker-Schaum et al. (eds.), *The Nuclear Crisis: The Arms Race, Cold War Anxiety, and the German Peace Movement of the 1980s* (New York: Berghahn, 2016), p.323.

Those who created nuclear works in Britain also wished to warn their audiences, but their broadcasters wished to avoid overt political messages due to the contentious debate nuclear armament caused. Instead, British nuclear film upheld a 'politics of vulnerability'.¹⁷ Productions provided seemingly apolitical broadcasts which lacked any clear notions for new nuclear policies but also established the weakness of the country. Attempts to exorcise politics from cultural productions was problematic itself, and even the most avowedly apolitical could not help but inadvertently include vulnerability politics. While portraying the violence of life after the bomb, programmes managed to expose the weaknesses in both the individual and broader society in the Cold War. The reoccurring theme of the breakdown of society and the helplessness of the individual in the face of nuclear war in turn exposed the weakness and lack of legitimacy of the Cold War status quo.

Nuclear culture became increasingly normalised due to the end of détente and the subsequent resurgence of nuclear resistance in the form of CND and its affiliated groups. Unique nuclear culture promoted unique methods of anti-nuclear protest, and disarmament protesters often used film as a protest tool.¹⁸ A clear case of this can be seen in the *Protect and Survive* videos, developed by the government in the 1970s in conjunction with the original pamphlets. Due to pressure from *The Times*, the videos were eventually released in 1980. While originally intended as a simple set of instructional civil defence videos for the general populace, CND and others utilised the videos against official culture. This can be most famously seen in E.P. Thompson's *Protest and Survive*. The videos briefly explain the immediate destructive properties of the nuclear bomb and fallout, along with doling out guidance on how to defend against it. The contents of the videos are laughable, as the meagre advice is largely inaccurate. For instance, using curtains and sheets to

¹⁷ Cordle, 'Protect/Protest', p.654.

¹⁸ Hogg, *British Nuclear Culture*, p.134.



Figure 1: *Protect and Survive* family, who bookended every video. *Protect and Survive*, available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=m6U9T3R3EQg>, accessed 10 February 2018.

cover broken windows would not protect from the encroaching strength of radioactive fallout. *Protect and Survive* did nothing to assuage the fears of the average citizen, despite the constant rejoinder from the narrator Patrick Allen that 'you can protect yourself and your family'.¹⁹

The more the government attempted to reassure the people, the more the prospect of nuclear war seemed possible. The reoccurring explosion and mushroom cloud that followed every *Protect and Survive* video only helped to cement it in the nuclear iconography of the decade and establish 'the absurdity of nuclear defence'.²⁰ In the series, Patrick Allen touts that 'no place in the United Kingdom is safer than any other', which attempts to reassure listeners that their own homes are the safest place to stay.²¹ Instead, the message is menacing: there are no real safe places in the event of a nuclear attack. The dissonance between the almost charming cartoon visuals and the bleak realities of nuclear fallout in the videos ultimately creates an unsettling experience for the viewer, rather than the comforting prospects of life after the bomb that the government wanted to reinforce. Cordle describes *Protect and Survive* as a 'temporary dissolution of the social contract on a

¹⁹ *Protect and Survive*.

²⁰ Cordle, 'Protect/Protest', p.656.

²¹ *Protect and Survive*.

national level'.²² The videos effectively foisted government responsibility to British citizens. If the government failed in deterrence, it would not be culpable, as all the responsibilities of civil defence would be down to families. The perfect image of the nuclear family is also a misnomer steeped in government ideology (Figure 1). The emblem of the *Protect and Survive* series completely disregards the fact that the country did not easily pair off into neat family units, outwardly rejecting seemingly unnatural family groups and the changing social structures of the 1980s.²³ The nuclear family was increasingly becoming a fantasy, just like the idea of true protection from the nuclear bomb.

Increasing fear meant that there was also 'an insatiable public desire for information', which broadcasters instantly picked up on.²⁴ Potential nuclear war scenarios were repeatedly showcased on national television, and new concepts like nuclear winter became commonly used terms. Government creations like *Protect and Survive* only served to 'normalize and confirm nuclear dangers', resulting in the videos becoming frequently parodied and referenced in numerous cultural productions over the decade.²⁵ *When the Wind Blows* tackles the absurdity of *Protect and Survive* head on, and the hapless protagonists continue to botch their attempts to build proper refuge from their government issued guides.²⁶ Their reliance on their previous experiences of World War Two and their lack of comprehension of the bomb sets them back, but it is their steadfast hope in government protection that is their ultimate undoing. While Kim Newman contends that *When the Wind Blows* lacks impact because it relies on viewer prescience, the 1980s was a time when the nuclear was the norm.²⁷ Viewers would likely have foreknowledge of nuclear terms. Even in the preliminary introduction for *Threads*, host John Tusa readily states that since the advent of the

²² Cordle, 'Protect/Protest', p.656.

²³ Ibid. p.660.

²⁴ Adam Lent, *British Social Movements since 1945* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), p.126.

²⁵ Hogg, 'Cultures of Nuclear Resistance in 1980s Liverpool', p.591.

²⁶ Hogg, *British Nuclear Culture*, p.149.

²⁷ Kim Newman, *Millennium Movies: End of the World Cinema* (London: Titan Books, 1999), p.241.

bomb, the public 'have grown accustomed to its vocabulary and even somewhat hardened to its ideas.'²⁸

References to the bomb were 'liberally sprinkled' throughout British television culture, even in programmes that had no immediate focus on the bomb.²⁹ The nuclear threat was so engrained in everyday life that comedies such as *Whoops Apocalypse*, *The Young Ones* and *Only Fools and Horses* made use of it as a plot device. The focus on urban destruction and life after the nuclear apocalypse was mostly ignored in these formats. In an episode of *Only Fools and Horses*, the main characters Del Boy and Rodney come across plans for a do-it-yourself fallout shelter. Rodney wishes to set up the shelter, playing the role of the politically conscious youth in light of fears of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. However, he does not play the role of a pacifist, reflecting the common support for nuclear armament. While not entirely accurate, Rodney blusters that the atomic bomb would 'leave you writhing in agony like a worm in bleach'.³⁰ Even in a comedic setting, the show does not hand wave the effects of radiation, acknowledging it with visceral (if exaggerated) detail. The failures of civil defence are also repeated through farcical comedy: the family fail to reach shelter on time in their practice run and lack proper supplies for the shelter they eventually build. At the end, it is shown that they have built their shelter in the worst place possible: on the top of their tower block. Their complete failure in protecting themselves or their unnatural family unit is highlighted by Granddad, who reiterates that there is no glory in war, only death. While the entire episode playfully turns the notion of nuclear civil defence on its head, it clearly also has an anti-nuclear stance despite its lack of a clear resolution for the Cold War's nuclear brinkmanship. Hogg suggests that the recurrent nuclear references in comedies in this decade 'ensured there was a strong anti-nuclear

²⁸ Mick Jackson, (Dir.) *Threads* (1984).

²⁹ Daniel Cordle, "'That's going to happen to us. It is'": *Threads* and the Imagination of Nuclear Disaster on 1980s Television', *Journal of British Cinema and Television*, Vol.10, No.1 (2013), p.80.

³⁰ *Only Fools and Horses* (1981) [TV programme], BBC1.

satirical presence on television', but this satirical presence created little actual change for nuclear disarmament protesters or the movement at large.³¹

Representations of disarmament protesters veered widely depending on the content of the production. Newman argues that portrayals of CND and nuclear activists lacked accuracy, with little attempt to show a 'fictional but realistic view of the peace movement'.³² *The Edge of Darkness* (1985) uses the worldly and ultra-secretive GAIA as its CND stand-in, whilst the American *Future-Kill* (1985) depicts anti-nuclear protesters as militant mutants hell-bent on violence towards armament supporters. *The Ploughman's Lunch* (1983) portrays a group of women similar to the Greenham protesters as insipid and naïve but ultimately well-meaning despite their lack of worldly knowledge. The closest film that comes to showing nuclear protest in a realistic light is *Threads*, which portrays a group of protesters initiating a dialogue with locals. An argument over industry and jobs breaks out, and the woman running the anti-nuclear rally is shouted down by the locals and told to 'go back to Russia'. Her call of 'jobs not bombs' is ignored by the general public and her Cassandra-like omen of Britain imminently becoming a 'corpse of a country' becomes a devastating reality.³³ Non-fictional accounts of this era are more accurate. Beban Kidron's documentary *Carry Greenham Home* (1983), shows the day to day lives of Greenham women along with their acts of nuclear protest. Television from this period repeatedly exhibited nuclear activists in a negative light despite often containing anti-nuclear sentiment. Protesters became either well-meaning but ill-guided fools, or menacing, destructive individuals.

Despite only ever having two public broadcasts on BBC1 and BBC2, Cordle proposes that *Threads* heavily influenced adolescent perceptions of nuclear war, creating a more conscious youth and in turn shaped 'adult memories of the...late Cold War nuclear threat.'³⁴ *Threads* was originally broadcast with the documentary *On the Eighth Day* (1984) and a *Newsnight Nuclear Debate* special

³¹ Hogg, *British Nuclear Culture*, p.146.

³² Newman, *Millennium Movies*, p.201.

³³ Jackson, (Dir.) *Threads* (1984).

³⁴ Cordle, "'That's going to happen to us. It is'", p.80.

that focused on the nuclear debate. Situating *Threads* within this ‘two-day suite of nuclear programmes’ gave the drama a degree of realism and reinforced nuclear armament as a topic worthy of national debate.³⁵ The *Newsnight* debate following the broadcast had a male-only panel, unconsciously reflecting the male-dominated political sphere that had engendered nuclear armament. Like most nuclear films, *Threads* paid little attention to why nuclear war occurs. Hints are supplied that the escalating conflict is due to nuclear brinkmanship in Afghanistan, but after the bomb drops the first casualty is ‘clarity of information’.³⁶ The two northern families are quickly decimated, and ultimately it is down to daughter Ruth to carry the role of protagonist as her partner simply disappears amid the attack. The emergence of a female lead reflects the rapidly changing social roles women undertook in the 1980s, and the vulnerabilities of the Cold War link with the rising domestic insecurities regarding social structure in the UK.³⁷ Cordle contends that the drama’s shift towards female perspectives speaks intimately to the Cold War context, as ‘anti-nuclear protest movements had...been invigorated by their links with feminist activists’.³⁸ These internal insecurities are also represented in the sheer ineptitude of the Sheffield local council in the film. The futility of civil defence, from the impotent civil servants to the failed *Protect and Survive* inspired shelters, only reinforce that Cold War defence policy was hopelessly convoluted and horribly dangerous to society.³⁹

Newman claims because of this, *Threads* ‘is far more blatant in its anti-government stance than any other nuclear war film’.⁴⁰ Certainly, the complete breakdown of society thanks to government brinkmanship and ineptitude is not light criticism of nuclear armament. However, the film fails to actually advocate for specific policy positions on nuclear armament, leaving it as a bleak

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ David Seed, ‘TV docudrama and the nuclear subject: The War Game, The Day After and *Threads*’ in Cook, John and Wright, Peter (eds.) *British Science Fiction Television: A Hitchhiker’s Guide* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2006), p.155.

³⁷ Cordle, ‘“That’s going to happen to us. It is”’, p.72.

³⁸ Ibid. p.83.

³⁹ Seed, ‘TV docudrama and the nuclear subject’, p.166.

⁴⁰ Newman, *Millennium Movies*, p.237.

anti-government film than one explicitly anti-nuclear. Focus is instead lavished on urban destruction and survival after the first nuclear strike. In just over a decade in the *Threads* reality, language is reduced to a pre-industrial level, and the threads that once bonded society together and made it strong have now weakened it insurmountably.⁴¹ *Threads* succeeds in establishing that the global links of nuclear war are ever present, and inescapable.

Threads was broadcast again the following year as part of the BBC's 'After the Bomb' week, in remembrance of the nuclear attacks on Japan. Introduced by Ludovic Kennedy, the week of five programmes also included the first public broadcast of Peter Watkin's *The War Game*. The 'landmark televisual moment' reinforced the ultimately avoidable follies of nuclear war and combined the cutting drama of *Threads* and *The War Game* with damning documentary reconstructions of the atomic bombings of Japan.⁴² The week showed that nuclear productions could be crafted into media events for anti-nuclear protesters. The use of a themed week to introduce *The War Game* to public television was a reflection of the increased interest in cynical nuclear dystopias in the 1980s. This popularity overpowered the original fears the BBC had in censoring the film. Despite its censorship, *The War Game* was critically successful, winning an Academy award and two BAFTAs. Critical success did not stop the film from accusations of 'blatant propaganda' and a complete 'falsification of facts'.⁴³ Shaw explains that *The War Game* is one of the few nuclear films that was created in open protest, but its original censoring by the BBC meant that the sickening impact it had in the 1960s was limited due to an influx of nuclear productions.⁴⁴

Using the docudrama format instead of a 'straight' drama like *Threads* allowed *The War Game* to carry an intense degree of authenticity. Interviews with a public ignorant of the impacts of the bomb are interspersed with grainy, shaky hand-held footage of a simulated public undergoing

⁴¹ Hogg, *British Nuclear Culture*, p.150.

⁴² Ibid. p.149.

⁴³ Toni Perrine, *Film and the Nuclear Age: Representing Cultural Anxiety* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1998), p.157.

⁴⁴ Shaw, *British Cinema and the Cold War*, p.141.

those very effects, in discomfiting horror.⁴⁵ The interviews themselves are perhaps more horrific than the 'melting of the upturned eyeball' shown in the film: the interviews were not scripted, and emphasised just how little the average person knew about nuclear war.⁴⁶ The film, like most nuclear productions, avoids an overt political agenda. Instead, the film aims to breakdown the comforting lie of the government's policies on civil defence.⁴⁷ This was even more relevant for viewers in 1985 than it was when the film was originally created in 1965, as the population had become much more used to the barrage of nuclear dialogues. Viewers may have been more aware of vocabulary of nuclear war, but belief in nuclear armament and the protection of civil defence was still popular and frequently touted in the press.⁴⁸

Responses to nuclear culture remained diverse, but they overwhelmingly cemented the importance of nuclear film on the British viewer. After the first screening of *Threads*, the BBC had more than 100 calls, of which '70% were glad that the programme was shown' according to a BBC spokesman.⁴⁹ *Daily Mail* reviewer Herbert Kretzmer criticised *Threads* as creating a profound sense of inertia rather than rallying the population to be in opposition of the atomic bomb.⁵⁰ By dictating that the average person could do nothing, *Threads* cemented a view that it was pointless to act, paralysing the populace. Kretzmer's claim that it would be 'widely forgotten by the week-end' was completely unfounded. Responses to the article varied: One 'Dr H.L.M. of Leeds' wrote that the grim terrors of *Threads* meant nuclear armament was a successful practice as 'without the threat of such terror there would be no peace.'⁵¹ An 'Isabel Mardon, of Molesey' had a completely different view, stating the impact of *Threads* would 'always remain with her' and that she would now 'campaign very strongly for nuclear disarmament.'⁵² The *Daily Mail* found themselves inundated by so many

⁴⁵ Seed, 'TV docudrama and the nuclear subject', p.155.

⁴⁶ Perrine, *Film and the Nuclear Age*, p.157.

⁴⁷ Seed, 'TV docudrama and the nuclear subject' p.156.

⁴⁸ Paul Johnson, 'The sinister truth behind CND's election sham', *Daily Mail*, 16 May 1983, p.6.

⁴⁹ 'Viewers say war film "disturbing"', *The Times*, 25 September 1984, p.2.

⁵⁰ Herbert Kretzmer, 'Just chilling the blood...and numbing the mind', *Daily Mail*, 24 September 1984, p.27.

⁵¹ Herbert Kretzmer, 'Tying up the Threads of your nuclear reactions', *Daily Mail*, 27 September 1984, p.23.

⁵² Ibid.

letters regarding *Threads* that Kretzmer had to reply three days later, desperately asking for 'No more *Threads* letters, please.'⁵³

Women were more likely to support nuclear culture that showed the dangers of nuclear war, reflecting the increase in women involved in the disarmament movement. One woman who wrote to the *Daily Mail* questioned the criticism of *Threads*, and stated that the programme had compelled her to write in to a newspaper for the first time. She now felt that she had to 'do something to protest about the wicked insanity of the arms race', and would now protest in the name of nuclear disarmament.⁵⁴ In an article featuring a range of opinions from *Daily Mail* writers, Lynda Lee-Potter argued that everyone needed to watch *The Day After*, as 'the time for indifference was over'.⁵⁵ In opposition, Russell Lewis complained that *The Day After* contained 'all the marks of CND propaganda' and was derisive of the work despite the fact that the film claimed to be apolitical.⁵⁶ When *Threads* was made available for use by teachers, Dr John Marks, an opponent of peace studies, was highly critical. He stated that *Threads* was biased against nuclear weapons and 'was out to scare people rather than to explain political factors such as armaments levels and the fate of peace movements in Eastern bloc countries'.⁵⁷ It is apparent that nuclear culture rarely changed minds and instead merely affirmed views on nuclear armament. Several *Daily Mail* readers affirmed that they had been 'politically unaffected' by nuclear productions.⁵⁸ Many also criticised the use of docudrama, as it made it difficult to decipher whether productions meant to 'frighten or to inform', and that *Threads* in particular could have gone further with its fact analysis.⁵⁹ Normal

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ 'Shocked out of my Apathy', *Daily Mail*, 8 October 1984, p.23.

⁵⁵ 'Mega-shocker or just a nasty?' *Daily Mail*, 8 December 1983, pp.20-21.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ David Nicholson-Lord, "'Threads' video criticized', *The Times*, 2 October 1984, p.3.

⁵⁸ Kretzmer, 'Tying up the Threads of your nuclear reactions', p.23.

⁵⁹ Peter Ackroyd, 'The fragile web of human society', *The Times*, 24 September 1984, p.13; Hugh Hebert, 'Most grim of reapers', *The Guardian*, 24 September 1984, p.12.

documentaries received more praise, as *The Guardian* thanked the BBC for finally 'tackling the realities of nuclear war' with the *On the Eighth Day* documentary that followed *Threads*.⁶⁰

American films significantly impacted British nuclear culture. The Three Mile Island incident helped revive nuclear fears, and several American films including *The China Syndrome* (1979), *WarGames* (1983) and *Testament* (1983) were broadcast in Britain. The influx of nuclear culture helped change British perceptions.⁶¹ *The Day After* was another of these films, utilising grainy stock footage and similar camerawork to *The War Game* to emphasise a sense of chaos and destruction as families struggled in the nuclear fallout of an atomic bomb. Seed depicts British imaginations of nuclear war as being directly influenced by American visions, but *The Day After* lacked the sense of inclusion that British productions had.⁶² *Threads* was widely considered to be more realistic due to its bleaker tone and local northern setting. British people found it difficult to connect to Americans in media thanks to fears of Americanisation of international culture. These fears are reflected in *Edge of Darkness*, as an American company attempts to buyout a disguised plutonium plant from its British owners. The American characters are the cause of many problems in the programme, including the death of the main character's daughter, reflecting the fears of American nuclear control over the British public.⁶³ Despite these foreign fears, it did not stop the spread of British nuclear culture to other countries. Peace movements in Western Germany particularly made use of these films, showing nuclear productions as part of the Youth Film Club of Cologne. The Verein für Friedenspädagogik (Association for Peace Education) in the German university town of Tübingen also recommended nuclear films as a tool to protest against Pershing missiles in Europe, to little success.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ 'Television: BBC-1', *The Guardian*, 24 September, 1984, p.26.

⁶¹ Hogg, *British Nuclear Culture*, p.145.

⁶² Seed, 'TV docudrama and the nuclear subject', p.154.

⁶³ Lavender, Andrew, 'Edge of Darkness (Troy Kennedy Martin)' in Brandt, George (ed.) *British Television Drama in the 1980s*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993) p.106.

⁶⁴ Baur, 'Nuclear Doomsday Scenario in Film, Literature and Music', p.325.

Overall, it is clear that nuclear film and television contained anti-nuclear messages but was never explicitly utilised as a method of protest. While Toni Perrine debates that nuclear films 'can have no more effect than to cause a brief, highly mediated national debate', nuclear productions had a clear impact on the minds of the masses and forms of protest.⁶⁵ The heavy presence of the nuclear bomb in fiction was necessary for the public to actually process the reality of the Cold War. They were not 'symptoms of a period in crisis' but rather a necessary form of digesting nuclear realities on a national scale.⁶⁶ However, it is important to note that creators of nuclear fiction understood the market. The public was hungry for information on the looming nuclear threat, and not everything that was produced regarding the atomic bomb was made with protest in mind. Regardless of its intentions, the presence of nuclear culture on terrestrial television did influence British viewers. Nuclear culture did not create a generation of CND members, but it certainly crafted a more nuclear conscious society that would remember the ominous fears nuclear brinkmanship brought to everyday life.

⁶⁵ Perrine, *Film and the Nuclear Age*, p.171.

⁶⁶ Baur, 'Nuclear Doomsday Scenario in Film, Literature and Music', p.333.

Chapter Two: 'Pass the Bolt Cutters': Protest Culture at Greenham Common Women's Peace Camp

In 1979, the small town of Newbury in Berkshire was catapulted onto the world stage due to the establishment of cruise missiles at Greenham Common USAF base. Part of a broader decision by the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) to place 464 short-range nuclear missiles across Europe, the cruise missiles heavily disrupted SALT II and threw once dormant fears of the nuclear apocalypse back into the homes of ordinary people.⁶⁷ Greenham Common, one of the most famous peace camps for nuclear disarmament, had relatively humble beginnings. The Welsh group 'Women for Life on Earth' banded together '36 women, four babies in pushchairs and six men' to protest the cruise missiles, which arrived at the Common in 1983.⁶⁸ Marching to the base, their nine day journey ended on 5 September 1981, having taken them over 100 miles from Cardiff straight to the gates of Greenham Common USAF. On arrival, they were summarily ignored and derided by the military, who ignored their requests for a formal televised debate with the Ministry of Defence (MOD).⁶⁹

In response to this, protesters resolved to camp outside the base, while four of the female campaigners chained themselves to the fence surrounding the perimeter fence. This began a 19 year tradition at the camp.⁷⁰ However, the decision to make Greenham a female only camp did not arrive until February 1982, which caused contention with the men already there. Many women at the camp, like Katrina Howse, blamed men for militarism and the nuclear brinkmanship that had so far guided the Cold War. As she put it, militarism, imperialism, racism and sexism all existed 'because of

⁶⁷ Alice Cook and Gwyn Kirk, *Greenham Women Everywhere: Dreams, Ideas and Actions from the Women's Peace Movement* (London: Pluto Press, 1983), p.9.

⁶⁸ *March to Greenham* [documentary], available at <http://www.yourgreenham.co.uk>, accessed 20th December 2017.

⁶⁹ Anna Feigenbaum, 'From cyborg feminism to drone feminism: Remembering women's anti-nuclear activisms', *Feminist Theory*, Vol.16, No.3 (2015), p.272.

⁷⁰ Margaret LaWare, 'Circling the Missiles and Staining Them Red: Feminist Rhetorical Invention and Strategies of Resistance at the Women's Peace Camp at Greenham Common', *NWSA Journal*, Vol.16, No.3 (2004), p.20.

patriarchy – male rule’.⁷¹ The men agreed that the camp could be women-only, turning it into a space that was not only explicitly anti-nuclear, but also feminist in nature. Before this decision, the camp was not explicitly feminist. Early portrayals of women at the camp largely focused on women’s status as mothers first, rather than individuals with their own needs, wants and fears regarding the potential nuclear apocalypse.⁷²

In the words of the Greenham women, the camp was ‘an initiative by a small group of women who felt desperate...and angry that resources are being squandered on weapons of mass destruction’.⁷³ Its newfound status as a women’s peace camp allowed for the inhabitants to create their own nuclear culture specifically orientated around women. These unique perspectives made the camp well known, drawing thousands of women to the camp over the decade. Anna Feigenbaum argues this was primarily due to the ‘rich, emotive culture and passionate energy’ Greenham campaigners showed to the world.⁷⁴ This was most evident in their cultural outputs, which included newsletters, songs, poetry, murals, knitting, banners and other unique forms of cultural production. These materials were mostly ephemeral in nature, but the women of the Common still managed to create distinctive, lasting impacts on methods of anti-nuclear protest.

One of the most important methods of cultural protest utilised by the women was the creation of camp newsletters. Feigenbaum further contends that Greenham’s protest culture ‘encouraged forms of expression often absent from both institutional and social movement publications’, thanks to the camp’s lack of an inherent structure and its ‘Do-It-Yourself’ attitude.⁷⁵ The newsletters, while always irregular in design, size, and circulation, fostered a sense of community among the multiple gate communities at Greenham and beyond. Due to their anti-

⁷¹ Barbara Harford and Sarah Hopkins, (eds.) *Greenham Common: Women at the Wire* (London: The Women’s Press, 1984), p.166.

⁷² Elaine Titcombe, ‘Women Activists: rewriting Greenham’s history’, *Women’s History Review*, Vol.22, No.2 (2013), p.311.

⁷³ Cook and Kirk, *Greenham Women Everywhere*, p.11.

⁷⁴ Feigenbaum, ‘From cyborg feminism to drone feminism’, p.280.

⁷⁵ Anna Feigenbaum, ‘Written in the Mud: (Proto)Zine-making and autonomous media at the Greenham Common Women’s Peace Camp’, *Feminist Media Studies*, Vol.13, No.1 (2013), p.5.

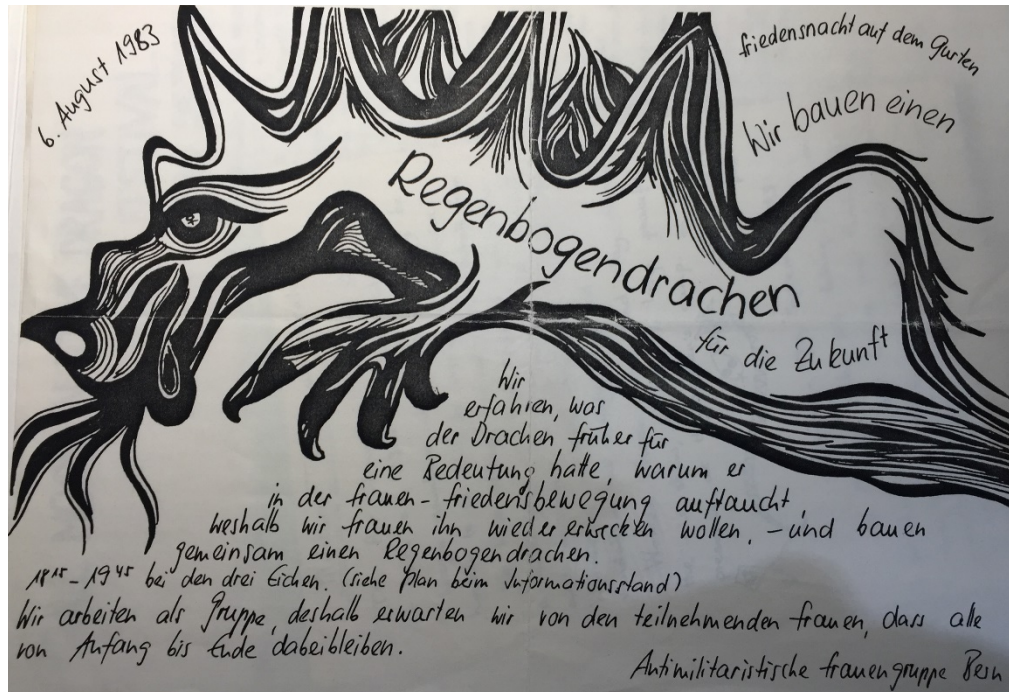


Figure 2: Poster for the Rainbow Dragon protest, 1983. TWL@LSE, Greenham Common, 1982-1983, Folder 1 (5GCC/C).

nuclear focus, Greenham publications became intrinsically transnational. Reports of events from the camp itself and other anti-nuclear protests across the world had equal coverage, such as the evictions of the mixed-gender Woensdrecht Peace Camp in the Netherlands, and the formation of a ‘Womyn’s’ Peace Camp at Australia’s ‘largest research and development complex for defence’, the Weapons Research Establishment.⁷⁶ Thanks to this transnational dialogue, women's groups from all over visited the camp. A poster from an antimilitarist women's organisation based in Bern, Switzerland, co-adopted the rainbow dragon dialogue from British women and passed on the message in German (Figure 2). This encouraged the idea that Greenham women existed ‘everywhere’, working beyond the spatial limitations of both the Common and the physical protest Greenham women could perform.

Newsletters were very clearly produced by whatever materials could be found at hand, and women regularly asked for direct contributions from their readers.⁷⁷ This resulted in media that

⁷⁶ *Green and Common Womyn’s Peace Camp Newsletter*, July 1984, p.8.

⁷⁷ *Green and Common Womyn’s Peace Camp*, January 1985, p.1.

contained 'poetry, cartoons, sketches, songs, intricate drawings and haphazard doodles', further illustrating that Greenham's cultural productions became ultimately non-hierarchical in structure, like the camp itself.⁷⁸ Greenham publications purposely used 'we' and 'our', rejecting traditional formal terms of address to the audience.⁷⁹ Just as the camp was envisioned as a bridge between the divisive nature of masculine public and feminine private spaces, the newsletters also engendered a sense of community by combining both organiser and audience. For Greenham women, anyone could take part in the fight against nuclear weapons. There was little to divide organisers and participants in Greenham's cultural media: they were in fact one and the same.

These DIY publications allowed Greenham women to create their own narratives, separate from the lens of established print media. Greenham publications constantly reiterated that 'ordinary women' ran and organised them, in order to engage potential audiences and increase participation.⁸⁰ Anyone could perform the 'extraordinary' acts of direct action that the Greenham women did, because they were simply ordinary people. This differs greatly from the typical narrative of conventional journalism, which lacks direct interaction with the audience. Nick Couldry states that Greenham lacked the technology to 'function as full-scale alternative media'.⁸¹ While certainly true that the camps lacked the time and resources to publish reliably (with the 1986 issues becoming so late that eventually only one was produced to cover the entire year), they still managed to disrupt official state-produced culture and produce their own unofficial narratives and forms of peaceful direct action.⁸²

Greenham women had questionable legality at the camp due to the frequency of evictions and lack of stable housing on the common. Margaret LaWare proposes that the Peace Camp 'literally

⁷⁸ Feigenbaum, 'Written in the Mud' p.2.

⁷⁹ Ibid. p.5.

⁸⁰ Nick Couldry, 'Disrupting the media frame at Greenham Common: a new chapter in the history of mediations?' *Culture & Society*, Vol.21, No.3 (1999), p.346.

⁸¹ Ibid. p.351.

⁸² *Greenham Common Newsletter*, 1986.

and figuratively transgressed boundaries by being visibly and disruptively “out of place”.⁸³ Home life for Greenham residents was intrinsically a matter of protest because they lived there illegally. Ordinary people like the Greenham campaigners lacked clout in the public spheres that actually dictated military policies. Their actions and use of culture helped break down the physical and imaginary borders of both the perimeter fence and the border between public and private life.⁸⁴ They invaded the public, masculine space of the USAF base in a multitude of ways, but primarily by simply existing in the same space. This did not create real policy change, but constantly highlighted the actions of the base to the public. Their acts also emphasised that family life could not be protected in the ongoing nuclear age. The nuclear family was already unstable thanks to the rising divorce rates and an increase in single mothers, reflecting the uneasy stance of family social structure and the Cold War in the 1980s.⁸⁵ Women at the camp made sure their non-traditional lifestyles were deliberately silly and feminine to make light of their poor living standards at the camp, the decade’s social uncertainty, and the unnerving threat cruise missiles posed to humankind.

Typical days at Greenham involved ‘an awful lot of housework’.⁸⁶ Sasha Roseneil claims that the relaxed, malleable way in which housework was performed was ‘queer feminist political action’. Women contributed whatever they felt like contributing, and the ‘fuck housework’ attitude was another method of protest against the prevailing norms of both the patriarchy and the simple acceptance of nuclear bombs from the public.⁸⁷ However, women at the camp still had limited resources, and in order to live, they needed to adapt with the materials they had at hand. Knitting was a necessity as the women had little money to buy clothes, but many often produced nonsensical cultural items to adorn the perimeter fence instead of practical items. Among such items included a ‘15-foot purple dinosaur’, which was swiftly removed from the fence but remains immortalised in

⁸³ LaWare, ‘Circling the Missiles and Staining Them Red’, p.19.

⁸⁴ Couldry, ‘Disrupting the media frame at Greenham Common’, p.339.

⁸⁵ Cordle, ‘Protect/Protest’ pp.663.

⁸⁶ *A Day in the Life* [documentary], available at <http://www.yourgreenham.co.uk>, accessed 20th December 2017.

⁸⁷ Sasha Roseneil, *Common Women, Uncommon Practices: The Queer Feminisms of Greenham* (London: Cassell, 2000), p.100.

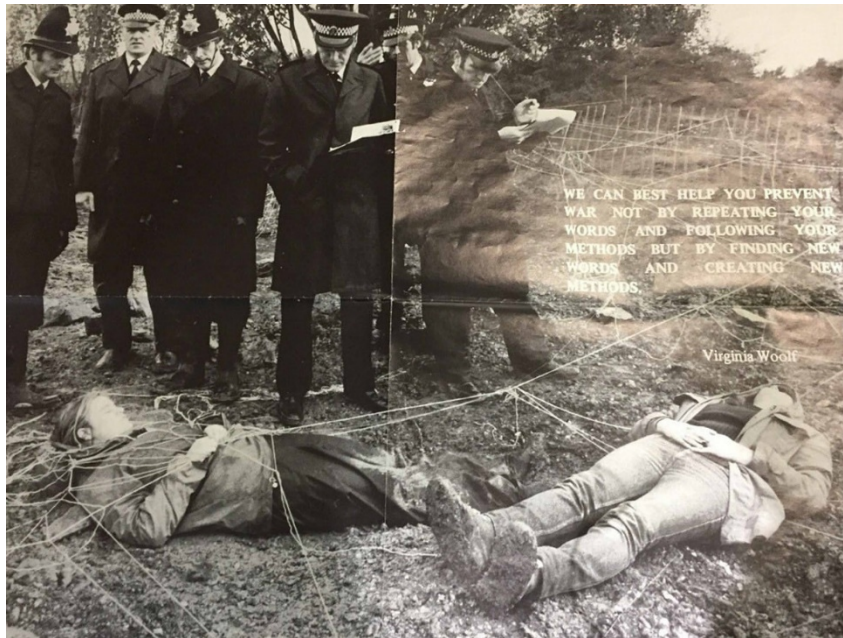


Figure 3: Poster of web-based protests at Greenham, including the Virginia Woolf quote 'We can best help you to prevent war not by repeating your words and following your methods but by finding new words and creating new methods.' TWL@LSE, Campaign Leaflets, 1982-1984 (5GCC/B).

the September edition of *Greenham News*.⁸⁸ The necessity of housework made its way into the camp's cultural production – in the 'More June News' edition of *Green and Common Womyn's Peace Camp Newsletter*, the DIY guide explains how to procure a new grill, with the audience invited to 'Use Your Imagination' for the third step.⁸⁹ Greenham inhabitants still managed to preserve their creative nature no matter the pursuit – Green Gate women in particular enjoyed the work of 'digging shitpits in the shape of women's symbols, peace symbols and doves'.⁹⁰

With less focus on the importance of work, women devoted more of their time to increasingly creative methods of protest. In *A Room of One's Own and Three Guineas*, Virginia Woolf states: 'We can best help you to prevent war not by repeating your words and following your methods but by finding new words and creating new methods.'⁹¹ Greenham women took these words to heart, with the quote appearing both physically on several posters and in spirit through the protests the women undertook (Figure 3). This was particularly evident in Greenham's protest art.

⁸⁸ *Greenham Newsletter*, September 1987, p.41.

⁸⁹ Feigenbaum, 'From cyborg feminism to drone feminism', p.279.

⁹⁰ Roseneil, *Common Women, Uncommon Practices*, p.108.

⁹¹ Virginia Woolf, *A Room of One's Own and Three Guineas* (London: Vintage, 2001), p.241.

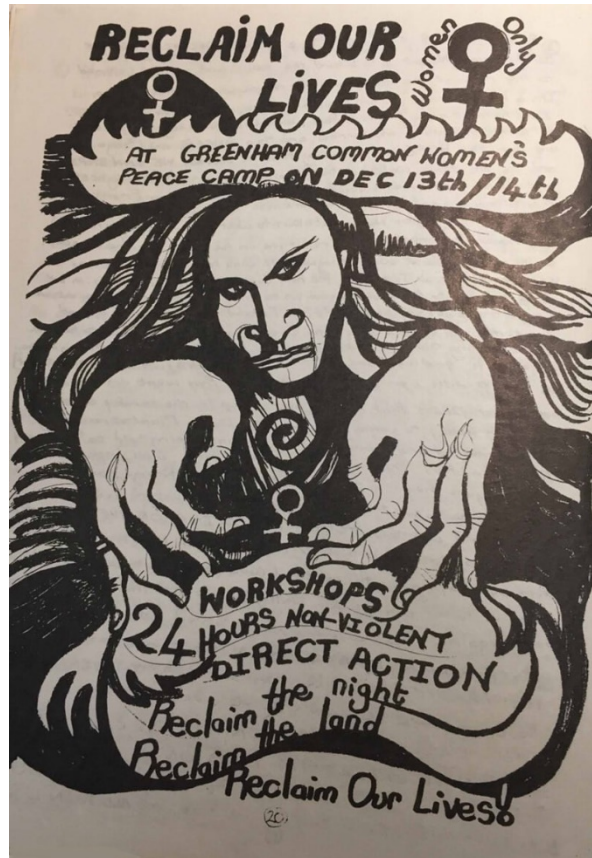


Figure 4: Katrina Rowse's artwork in the Greenham Newsletter, 1986. TWL@LSE Special Collections periodicals.

The art of Greenham women was frequently displayed throughout newsletters produced by the camp, along with the pamphlets and booklets that received public circulation. This can be clearly seen in Katrina Rowse's newsletter spreads (Figure 4), and even in Greenham's Christmas cards (Figure 5). The sophisticated technologies of the military meant that activists needed to apply unique and creative tactics to garner any effect. Women 'generated their own symbols, figures, and myths – out of pens, paint, glue, wire, fabric, needles, wool and stolen bits of chain-link fence.', using any materials that came to hand.⁹² Greenham's artistic works were often accompanied by several reoccurring symbols, such as fire, blood, spider's webs, serpents and uranium itself.⁹³

Serpents and webs remained the most important and recurrent symbols within Greenham's cultural works. Webs already featured throughout feminist anti-disarmament discourse, primarily

⁹² Feigenbaum, 'From cyborg feminism to drone feminism', p.273.

⁹³ LaWare, 'Circling the Missiles and Staining Them Red', p.38.



Figure 5: Christmas card from Greenham Common. TWL@LSE, Greenham Common, Folder 5 (5GCC/C).

drawing inspiration from the Vermont Spinsters protests in 1979.⁹⁴ Rebecca Johnson, a Greenham woman, reiterates the importance of the web to the Peace Camp, as ‘each interconnecting thread of a web is very, very fragile and can break very easily. But if it’s all connected up, a web can be powerfully strong.’⁹⁵ Spider webs frequently show up in media produced by Greenham women, from newsletter covers to chapter motifs in *Greenham Women Everywhere*.⁹⁶ The most obvious use of the symbol was the ‘Widening the Web’ protest on 14 December 1985, which brought around 12,000 women to the camp.⁹⁷ The event suggested that nuclear disarmament was an important facet of feminist campaigning, and that it needed the links of the feminist movement to succeed (Figure 6).

⁹⁴ Feigenbaum, ‘From cyborg feminism to drone feminism’, p.274.

⁹⁵ Rebecca Johnson in *The Fabric of Greenham* [documentary], available at <http://www.youngreenham.co.uk>, accessed 20th December 2017.

⁹⁶ *Greenham Newsletter*, 1986.

⁹⁷ Beth Junor, *Greenham Common Women’s Peace Camp: A History of Non-Violent Resistance, 1984-1995* (London: Working Press, 1995), p.52.

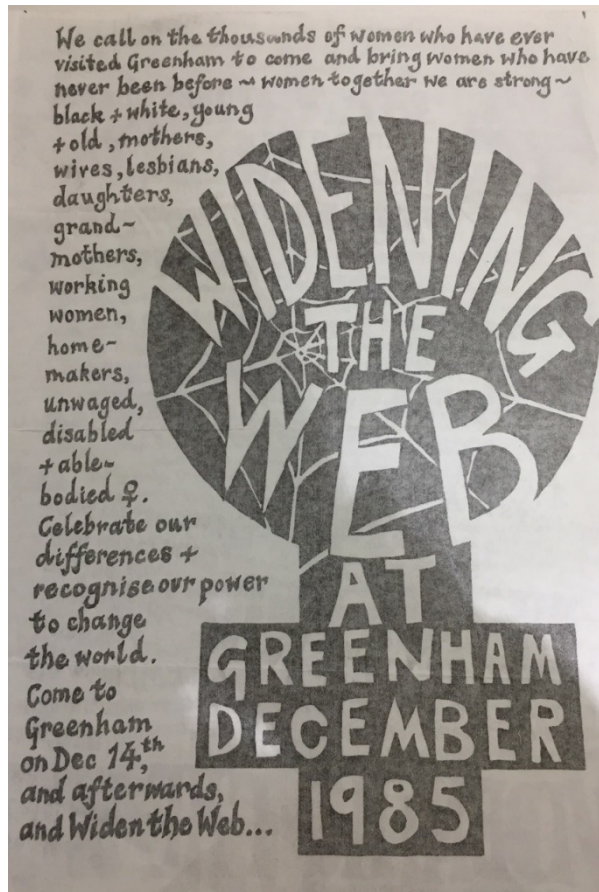


Figure 6: Widening the Web pamphlet. TWL@LSE, Greenham Common, 1985, Folder 3 (5GCC/C).

Webs unquestionably became a vital part of Greenham's odd, but unique, nuclear language.⁹⁸ The interconnected nature of the webs strengthened individual protesters and their causes, while also utterly baffling their opposition.⁹⁹

The traditionally negative connotations of serpents and dragons did not stop Greenham women from reclaiming them. Symbols of snakes dominated newsletter spreads, booklets and pamphlets produced by Greenham activists. Feigenbaum argues this was 'an attempt to confront and subvert the meanings ascribed to them by dominant culture', just as the Greenham women did with the prevalent attitudes on the use of nuclear bombs.¹⁰⁰ Snakes appealed to Greenham women as they grew 'in power and wisdom by shedding all constricting ideas and attitudes'.¹⁰¹ The first of

⁹⁸ Feigenbaum, 'From cyborg feminism to drone feminism', p.275.

⁹⁹ Jane Lockwood in Harford and Hopkins, (eds.), *Greenham Common*, p.70.

¹⁰⁰ Feigenbaum, 'From cyborg feminism to drone feminism', p.276.

¹⁰¹ Eleanor McManus in Harford and Hopkins (eds.), *Greenham Common*, p.102.

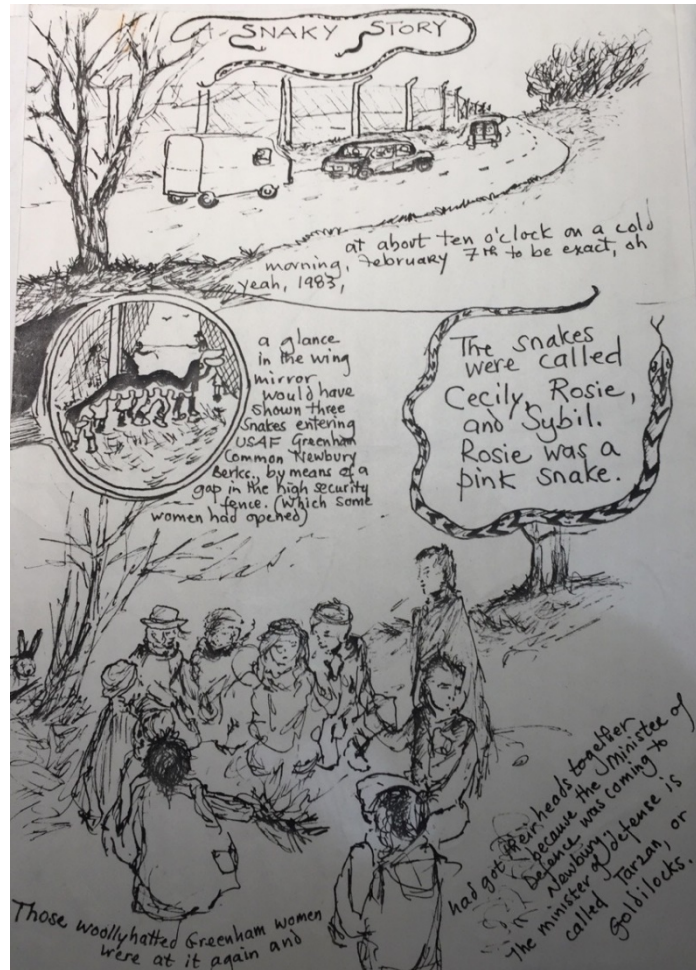


Figure 7: Cartoon, 'A Snaky Story', detailing the events of protest action at Greenham. TWL@LSE, Greenham Common, 1982-1983, Folder 1 (5GCC/C).

the Greenham snake actions took place on 7 February 1983, using cloth snakes made by women of the camp.¹⁰² The snakes distracted the confused police, allowing the women to nearly travel the whole length of the base as snakes. The event was documented in cartoon format as 'A Snaky Story', further spreading the power of snake symbolism (Figure 7). The camp women's bizarre and unique methods of cultural protest became their most effective. The Rainbow Dragon protest in June 1983 also utilised snake imagery (Figure 8). The demonstration also made use the symbolic opposing dichotomy of fire; the negative, 'nuclear fire' utilised by the base, and the maternal, life-giving fires that the women used around the camp.¹⁰³

¹⁰² Ibid. p.103.

¹⁰³ Titcombe, 'Women Activists', p.312.

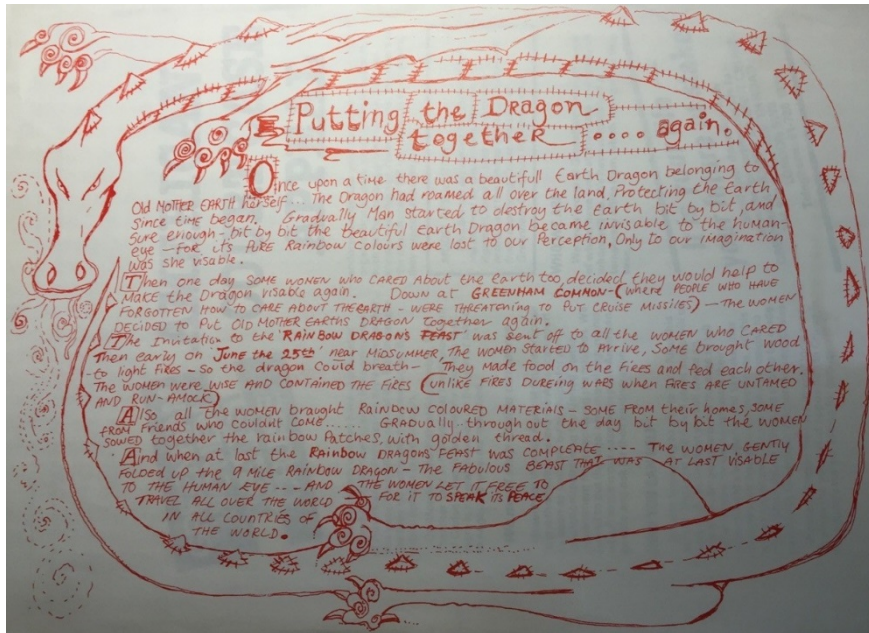


Figure 8: Rainbow Dragon poster, June 1983. TWL@LSE, Greenham Common, 1982-1983, Folder 1 (5GCC/C).

Spoken word was another important cultural tool for Greenham women. With little power or resources at their disposal, their own voices and bodies became vital for protests. Popular songs like 'Carry Greenham Home' and 'She is Like a Mountain, Old and Strong' commonly accompanied both demonstrations and daily camp life. New songs were frequently created and circulated via the camp newsletters.¹⁰⁴ Several collections like *Chant down Greenham (and other songs)*, which featured a recording of 'Carry Greenham Home' by American folk singer Peggy Seeger, financially supported the camps and spread the message of nuclear disarmament.¹⁰⁵ A *Greenham Song Book* was also produced, of which several revisions were produced due to its popularity and the further development of new material over the decade.¹⁰⁶ Singing allowed women to increase the web of their protests while also keeping up spirits, much to the irritation of those at work on the bases. Women's voices were also spread via keening, or 'the lament used as part of funeral rites for expressions of grief'.¹⁰⁷ A traditionally passive female act was turned into a form of direct action by Greenham women with their 1982 'Keening Action' protests. Keening and other forms of song

¹⁰⁴ *Green and Common Womyn's Peace Camp news*, March 1984, p.3.

¹⁰⁵ *Chant down Greenham (and other songs)*, 1983.

¹⁰⁶ *Greenham Song Book*.

¹⁰⁷ LaWare, 'Circling the Missiles and Staining Them Red', p.33.

allowed women to avoid breaking the law while also protesting in creative ways. Song also allowed women to recuperate, and in the words of Lisa Tide (a German campaigner who moved to Greenham in 1982), 'to reconnect ourselves to mother earth'.¹⁰⁸ Greenham's songs were vital to the spirit of the peace camp and to the cultural aspects of their protest.¹⁰⁹

Ultimately, while they had limited degrees of success, Greenham women successfully developed unique and non-traditional methods of local cultural protest in the face of a traditional acceptance of nuclear weapons. This involved all resources they had to hand, whether it be donated fabric, perimeter fence, or even their own bodies. Divisions in the camp began to sprout as the divisions between the superpowers began to cool down, and failure to garner real change limited the rate of cultural protest from the camp.¹¹⁰ While Graham Stewart claims that Greenham activists were 'never admitted to the party' of the debate regarding nuclear weapons, it is clear that the women of Greenham Common Women's Peace Camp did contribute to the culture of nuclear disarmament and the wider discourse of the Cold War during the 1980s.¹¹¹ The camp was always about creating a space for women against nuclear arms, and in the process created a part of the 'major social and political movement that contributed to the end of the cold war' with their use of unique cultural campaigns and protests.¹¹²

¹⁰⁸ Lisa Tide in Harford and Hopkins (eds.), *Greenham Common*, p.102.

¹⁰⁹ Stewart, *Bang!*, p.358.

¹¹⁰ Margaretta Jolly, "'We are the Web": Letter Writing and the 1980s Women's Peace Movement', *Prose Studies*, Vol.26, No.1 (2003), p.207.

¹¹¹ Stewart, *Bang! A History of Britain in the 1980s*, p.358.

¹¹² *Did we make a difference?* [documentary], available at <http://www.yourgreenham.co.uk>, accessed 20th December 2017.

Chapter Three: ‘Beware a Movement That Sings!’: Activism and Nuclear Music

Music has always been a mobilising tool for protest movements in Britain.¹¹³ The introduction of *The Anti-Nuclear Songbook* maintains that ‘all popular social movements have used song to express their grievances, to make propaganda, to bring people closer together, and the anti-nuclear movement is no exception.’¹¹⁴ This sentiment was not unfounded: nuclear armament protests in the 1980s drew on a rich heritage of anti-nuclear song from the nascent CND. Traditional jazz was immensely popular in the original anti-nuclear movement. George McKay states that ‘it was relatively easy to play passably, to listen to....and to dance/march to’ which made it widely accessible to even the most tuneless of protesters as long as they supported the cause.¹¹⁵ Trad was the genre of choice for those who took part in the first Aldermaston march, but this did not stop riotous and chaotic variety in their musical protest. Ian Campbell remembers that while jazz groups dominated at the first march, the open diversity of the anti-nuclear movement allowed even for ‘a bagpipe-tuba duo or a children’s kazoo and percussion band’ in the demonstrations midst.¹¹⁶ It was impossible to remove music from the movement: from 1959 onwards, musicians frequented marches and the use of music bled into the entire anti-nuclear movement.¹¹⁷ Activist Jeff Nuttall is particularly effusive about the original use of trad music in the movement, arguing that the ‘wild public festival spirit’ of jazz spread the message of CND throughout the country.¹¹⁸ ‘Happenings’ created by anti-nuclear jazz musicians in popular clubs (such as the Cavern in Liverpool) allowed for ‘multi-media anti-nuclear

¹¹³ George McKay, ‘Just a Closer Walk with Thee: New Orleans-style Jazz and the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament in 1950s Britain’, *Popular Music*, Vol.22, No.3 (2003), p.263.

¹¹⁴ *The Anti-Nuclear Songbook* (Nottingham: The Russell Press, 1982), p.2.

¹¹⁵ McKay, ‘Just a Closer Walk with Thee’, p.265.

¹¹⁶ Ian Campbell, ‘Music against the Bomb’ in John Minnion and Philip Bolsover (eds.), *The CND Story: The First 25 Years of CND in the Words of the People Involved* (London: Allison and Busby, 1983), p.116.

¹¹⁷ Holger Nehring, *Politics of Security: British and West German Protest Movements and the Early Cold War, 1945-1970* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p.197.

¹¹⁸ Jeff Nuttall, *Bomb Culture* (London: Granada Publishing, 1972), p.47.

extravaganzas' to reach the public in new and unique ways.¹¹⁹ The value of music for mobilising activists cannot be overstated in the historiography of nuclear protest.

Despite the waning interest in nuclear disarmament in the late 1960s and early 1970s, the musical tradition continued as if nothing had happened for anti-nuclear protesters in the 1980s. Hogg argues that music as a whole 'referenced nuclear war with increased regularity during the late Cold War period' as musicians from all backgrounds became more aware of and increasingly involved in the disarmament movement.¹²⁰ The first song in *The Anti-Nuclear Songbook* is 'The H-Bomb's Thunder' by John Brunner.¹²¹ Sung to the tune of 'Miner's Lifeguard', Campbell claimed it was 'the first great CND anthem' and immensely useful in 'generating a proud sense of unity and identity' for demonstrators.¹²² This remembrance of the early movement shows just how important heritage was to nuclear protesters, creating stronger links with those originally at Aldermaston for new activists. The ease of learning Brunner's song made it ideal for marches, and the significance of simplistic, uncomplicated songs is reflected throughout the book. Traditional English music was frequently used as the basis for these marching songs, with popular tunes like 'Oh, I Do Like to be Beside the Seaside' and 'Ten Green Bottles' becoming the nuclear focused 'Oh, I Do Love to Live Beside Reactors' and 'No Cruise Missiles' respectively.¹²³ The pamphlet also both riffed on popular culture with the *Grease* inspired 'Not What We Want' and at the same time criticised staunchly left-wing supporters of the bomb with the biting satirical ditty 'The Worker's Bomb', sung to the melody of 'The Red Flag'.¹²⁴ The book also highlights the Fall-Out Marching Band which formed in 1981 (Figure 9). The band is one of the few examples of marching outfits that were wholly dedicated to the anti-nuclear cause, reiterating the importance of actually singing anti-nuclear music over

¹¹⁹ Adrian Henri, 'It seemed right, and still does' in Minnion and Bolsover (eds.), *The CND Story*, p.113.

¹²⁰ Hogg, *British Nuclear Culture*, p.152.

¹²¹ *The Anti-Nuclear Songbook*, p.4.

¹²² Campbell, 'Music against the Bomb', p.116.

¹²³ *The Anti-Nuclear Songbook*, p.8 and p.14.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.* p.20 and p.24.



Figure 9: The Fall-out Marching Band. *The Anti-Nuclear Songbook* (Nottingham: The Russell Press, 1982).

merely reading it. The communal spirit of the songs used on marches became immeasurably important to keep demonstrators alert and unified, and the songs, once learnt, were not easily forgotten.

The use of music in the anti-nuclear movement existed beyond the purview of CND. Anti-nuclear sentiments pushed musical fanzines beyond the limitations of the simple discussion of bands and song reviews.¹²⁵ The second issue of *Do You Know Vanessa Redgrave?* establishes this ideology, stating that 'Music fanzines started out as a way of putting forward the views of music lovers...Now we still use the name...but use the idea to publish other arts'.¹²⁶ Underground zines regularly featured anti-nuclear musicians who lacked status in established popular culture but still voiced their beliefs to their, admittedly small, audiences. One of the most famous anarcho-punk bands, Crass, frequently repeated anti-nuclear messages in their lyrics. Crass sported the CND peace symbol but never explicitly supported CND. The clashing symbols of swastikas, crosses and the CND obscured

¹²⁵ Matthew Worley, 'Punk, Politics and British (fan)zines, 1976-84: "While the world was dying, did you wonder why?"', *History Workshop Journal*, Vol.79, No.1 (2015), p.100.

¹²⁶ *Do You Know Vanessa Redgrave?*, No.2, 1981, p.1.

any anti-nuclear meaning the band intended.¹²⁷ The peace symbol subsequently ended up as an extension of their public persona rather than an outward show of support for the organisation.

However, McKay maintains that Crass was one of the first punk bands to establish 'a sustained and radical pacifist profile within the British punk scene' and this is intimately obvious in actual content of their 1978 album *The Feeding of the Five Thousand*.¹²⁸ The song 'They've got a Bomb' is a dark, derisive warning to armament supporters who argue that the government would never be 'that crazy' to launch a nuclear attack.¹²⁹ 'They've got a Bomb' was reviewed later in the Sunderland-based zine *Acts of Defiance* (AOD) after a Crass gig in 1982. The zine heavily focused on Crass's use of political imagery, stating that 'it's excellent the way Crass can combine music, statements and film to such a way that the point there [sic] trying to make smacks you right between the eyes'.¹³⁰ The mixed messages of Crass did not seem to bother ardent anti-nuclear punks and the bastardisation of the peace symbol speaks to the fact that CND was perceived as stuffy and ineffective. Underground activists ultimately wanted 'more action than talking'.¹³¹

Many other countercultural musicians followed Crass's example: Annie Anxiety, American singer and poet, spoke about her nuclear concerns in zines. In one interview, she questions the legitimacy of CND and how the organisation might have actually limited the process of disarmament. Anxiety agreed with their aims but wanted 'so much more', highlighting the caustic relationship anti-nuclear punks had with the hierarchical structure of CND. The Flux of Pink Indians derided the entire disarmament movement, claiming that 'wherever there is a movement, then businessmen [sic] move in and exploit it'.¹³² In a slightly sanctimonious plea, the band also argued that despite conflict in the movement, 'We must resist the efforts being made to divide us - and unite to fight for our

¹²⁷ Worley, 'Punk, Politics and British (fan)zines, 1976-84', p.95.

¹²⁸ George McKay, 'Subcultural Innovations in the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament', *Peace Review*, Vol.16, No.4 (2004), p.431.

¹²⁹ Crass, 'They've got a Bomb' (Crass Records, 1978).

¹³⁰ *Acts of Defiance*, No.3, 1982, p.15.

¹³¹ *Hate and War*, November 1982, No.2, p.6.

¹³² *Ibid.* No.6, 1983, p.28.

lives.¹³³ Both artists reiterated a pessimistic and cynical persona that underground and countercultural zines commonly possessed.

Zines regularly featured collages, cartoons, poetry and simple articles on disarmament to spread the message of the nuclear threat (Figure 10). *Nihilistic Vices* highlights the lasting impact of the Windscale disaster with its ominous 'Progress' collage and *FACK* includes discussions of CND marches, warning that apathy could ruin the movement and reciting the popular slogan 'Protest & survive'.¹³⁴ AOD discussed nuclear disarmament heavily in its brief circulation, with the majority of issues featuring opposition to nuclear weapons or nuclear power. This discussion ranged from reprinting works from anti-nuclear groups such as Women Oppose the Nuclear Threat (WONT) to passionate rants on the future of humanity and whether children would be able to 'escape the search of the reaper'.¹³⁵ Matthew Worley suggests that fanzines were intrinsically 'imbued with a subversive aesthetic', allowing them to exploit music for political purposes.¹³⁶ This provided the underground with a greater propensity for open dialogue than established media.

This open debate between zines allowed anti-nuclear punks to exercise broader cultural thought and understand the nuclear disarmament movement beyond the respectable dictum of CND. The second issue of *Hate and War* includes an interview with their own local Sunderland Youth CND (SYCND), which was primarily run by the creators of AOD. The SYCND discussed their use of zines as a form of communication being instrumental in their group, with membership increasing from 10 to around 70.¹³⁷ The links of music and the punk scene helped create stronger local movements, especially for northern activists who remained geographically removed from National CND's offices in London. The anarcho-punk mentality and desire for obvious direct action led the SYCND to organise benefit gigs in the area. These gigs would have been less successful if not for the

¹³³ Ibid. No.6, 1983, p.29.

¹³⁴ *Nihilistic Vices*, No.1, 1979, p.20 and *FACK*, No.5, 1980, p.13.

¹³⁵ *Acts of Defiance*, 1983, No.5, p.12 and *Acts of Defiance*, 1983, No.7, p.25.

¹³⁶ Worley, 'Punk, Politics and British (fan)zines, 1976-84', p.81.

¹³⁷ *Hate and War*, November 1982, No.2, p.6.

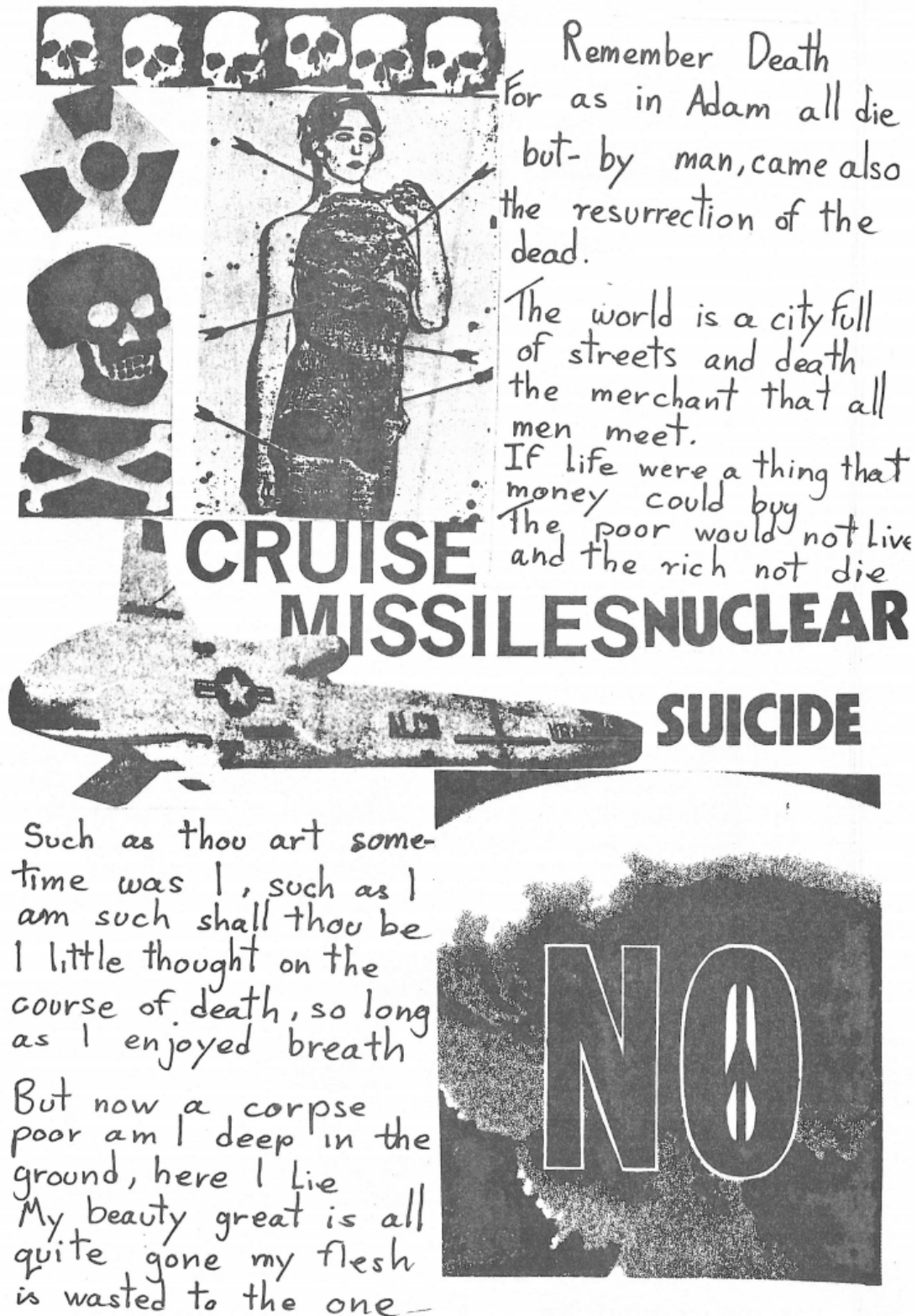


Figure 10: *Do You Know Vanessa Redgrave?*, No.2, 1981, available at <http://diy-zine.com/feeds/do-you-know-vanessa-redgrave-2-1981>, accessed 26 March 2018.

community the zines developed. However, most zines ultimately adopted a 'misanthropic tone' towards social and political issues.¹³⁸ Despite their use of direct action, AOD lamented that the

prospect of nuclear disarmament was 'very unlikely [sic]' and that any prospective governments could not be trusted with nuclear power.¹³⁹

Even though CND had limited appeal for anti-nuclear punks, the organisation understood the necessity in appealing to the masses. This naturally progressed into CND involvement with Glastonbury Festival, particularly as CND have always utilised nature and the countryside in their protest.¹⁴⁰ CND first became involved in the music festival in 1981, when Glastonbury Fayre changed its name to the Glastonbury CND Festival.¹⁴¹ Michael Eavis sought out CND after getting involved with his own local branch, and stated that Bruce Kent, CND's general secretary, was 'very keen' on the idea and that all 'the CND supporters loved it'.¹⁴² CND's involvement benefitted both groups. National CND was a much more organised forum for Glastonbury to work through, and they planned marketing and ticket sales for the festival.¹⁴³ The influx of volunteers, garnered through CND's mailing list, allowed the festival to expand to an official attendance of around 60,000 by the end of the decade.¹⁴⁴ Countless artists, such as Van Morrison, Fela Kuti, Aswad, the Sound and Joan Baez, helped support the anti-nuclear message at the festival.¹⁴⁵

The gamut of popular artists should have allowed CND, in theory, to reach new activists easily as headline acts reflected popular trends.¹⁴⁶ However, McKay contends that there was an 'identifiable trajectory of resistance or at least ambivalence within CND to some of the social and cultural innovations it was associated with' and this is clearly apparent with Glastonbury.¹⁴⁷ The CND had an uncomfortable and contentious relationship with Glastonbury organisers despite the obvious benefits they gained through its fundraising. Regardless, it was still one of their 'single most

¹³⁹ *Acts of Defiance*, 1983, No.5, p.21.

¹⁴⁰ McKay, 'Subcultural Innovations in the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament', p.431.

¹⁴¹ George McKay, *Glastonbury: A Very English Fair* (London: Orion Books, 2000), p.102.

¹⁴² Michael Eavis in Crispin Aubrey and John Shearlaw (eds.), *Glastonbury: An Oral History of the Music, Mud and Magic* (London: Ebury Press, 2004), p.58.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.* p.102.

¹⁴⁴ McKay, *Glastonbury*, p.109.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.* pp.103-105.

¹⁴⁶ McKay, 'Subcultural Innovations in the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament', p.433.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.* p.436.

important sources of money'.¹⁴⁸ Subsequently, CND continued to send volunteers to help fundraise for the Regions and Affairs Committee (RAC). Glastonbury garnered an increasingly bad reputation over the decade. Eavis was prosecuted frequently, and the heady growth of the festival meant it was incredibly difficult to regulate.¹⁴⁹ The blatant sale of drugs was a major issue. In 1989, an estimated 300 people were arrested, primarily due to minor drug offences.¹⁵⁰ CND highlighted their main issues with the festival in their national council papers. The high amount of drug dealers, organised crime and violence, combined with the low and 'almost invisible CND profile', caused CND members to be reluctant to participate in the hectic and disorderly festival.¹⁵¹ John Sauven, a CND activist, stated that the low profile meant that 'nobody knew CND was doing this'.¹⁵² Despite being heavily involved in the production of the festival and even having a place atop the Pyramid stage, few were actually aware of its involvement.

This did not prevent opposition to CND presence at the festival. A plane flying an anti-CND symbol flew over the festival in 1982, right as Bruce Kent took to the platform. In order to combat the loud aircraft, Michael Eavis asked a few celebratory fireworks to be sent towards it.¹⁵³ The plane swiftly ceased to bother the festival. Opposition was not limited to rogue aviators, and some festival organisers also found issue with the anti-nuclear message. Tony Andrews stated that Glastonbury 'wasn't ever about the politics, it was the people', and complained that CND peace marches 'looked like the Ku Klux Klan'.¹⁵⁴ CND continually attempted to have a deeper impact on the festival, but this did not work out in practice.¹⁵⁵ The uneasy partnership came to an eventual end in 1990, when the festival was renamed the 'Glastonbury Festival of Contemporary Performing Arts' and more focus was given to other organisations and charities.¹⁵⁶ While CND had a tumultuous relationship with

¹⁴⁸ National CND Council papers, January-April, 1986, MSS.417/124.

¹⁴⁹ McKay, *Glastonbury*, p.34.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid. p.104.

¹⁵¹ National CND Council papers, January-April, 1988, MSS.417/128.

¹⁵² John Sauven in Aubrey and Shearlaw (eds.), *Glastonbury*, p.95.

¹⁵³ Eavis in Aubrey and Shearlaw (eds.), *Glastonbury*, p.70.

¹⁵⁴ Tony Andrews in Aubrey and Shearlaw (eds.), *Glastonbury*, p.64.

¹⁵⁵ National CND Council papers, January-April, 1988, MSS.417/128.

¹⁵⁶ McKay, *Glastonbury*, p.108.

Glastonbury, they ultimately garnered extensive funding and some publicity throughout the 1980s.¹⁵⁷

As with film, the pervasive nuclear fears of the decade permeated British pop music. Musicians attempted to interact with the bomb, whether it was for commercial gain or the perceived need to spread a political message. Artists actively grew aware of their own nuclear context, and were subsequently quick to endorse anti-nuclear culture. The 1982 benefit album *Life in the European Theatre* featured artists like the Jam, XTC and the Stranglers.¹⁵⁸ The Stranglers' contribution to the record, 'Nuclear Device' was a typical example of nuclear-tinged popular music. The song lacks any clear solution or call to arms to stave off the atomic bomb. Instead, popular music from this time merely reiterated the frustrations and fears the public had with the bomb, highlighting 'that the existence of nuclear threat was both absurd and morally outrageous'.¹⁵⁹ However, some musicians enthusiastically supported the anti-nuclear cause. George Harrison endorsed CND's 'Nuclear Freeze' campaign in 1986 and Jimmy Somerville of the Communards donated his fees from his performance at Glastonbury to CND.¹⁶⁰ Liverpool band The Beat stated that 'everything we write has an ominous cloud of nuclear threat hanging over it' in an issue of CND's *Sanity*.¹⁶¹ It is clear that even if artists did not support nuclear disarmament they were ultimately tainted by the bomb.

William Knoblauch asserts that British artists 'created a unique brand of antinuclear pop' by highlighting the different contexts British and American artists grew in.¹⁶² While British pop was certainly different from its more positive American counterpart, Knoblauch ignores the clear

¹⁵⁷ Ibid. p.190.

¹⁵⁸ Dorian Lynskey, *33 Revolutions per Minute: A History of Protest Songs*, (London: Faber & Faber, 2010), p.457.

¹⁵⁹ Hogg, *British Nuclear Culture*, p.154.

¹⁶⁰ Thomas Crimble in Aubrey and Shearlaw (eds.), *Glastonbury*, p.106; Hogg, *British Nuclear Culture*, p.153.

¹⁶¹ Hogg, 'Cultures of Nuclear Resistance in 1980s Liverpool', p.596.

¹⁶² William M. Knoblauch, "'Will you sing about the missiles?'" British Antinuclear Protest Music of the 1980s' in Eckart Conze et al. (eds.) *Nuclear Threats, Nuclear Fear and the Cold War of the 1980s* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), p.103.

influence of Western European music on British artists. In 1982, West German singer Nicole won Eurovision in the UK with her song 'A Little Peace'. The easy, non-confrontational tune briefly touches Cold War tensions but lacks any clear statements on nuclear policy, with Nicole herself refuting the idea that her music was political.¹⁶³ Unlike Nicole, Nena's iconic '99 Luftballons' clearly intended to criticise the bomb. The English translation was even more obviously anti-war, reiterating the vulnerability of homes and cities. However, Baur argues the song 'represented the commercial climax' of the formerly underground New German Wave movement and was ultimately popular because it was catchy and well produced, rather than its political message.¹⁶⁴ Despite their muddled messages, these songs clearly went on to influence the way British artists crafted their own music.¹⁶⁵ This influence can be most obviously be seen in 'Two Tribes' by Frankie Goes to Hollywood. Riffing on the *Protect and Survive* videos while also creating a catchy pop single, the song became the UK's fourth biggest-selling single of the 1980s.¹⁶⁶ While not exactly a 'work of art' as Lynskey suggests, the song certainly pervaded the collective cultural memory of the 1980s.¹⁶⁷ Rather unfairly, DeGroot disparages 'Two Tribes' as 'a rather pathetic attempt at a sophisticated message'.¹⁶⁸ As Lynskey proposes, most popular nuclear music 'never claimed to be sophisticated'.¹⁶⁹ Artists merely understood and conveyed the zeitgeist of nuclear fears for audiences who were eager for more content.

Ultimately, it is clear that nuclear music of this decade did little to sway the population towards the cause of nuclear disarmament. DeGroot argues that 'the medium [of music] obscures the message'.¹⁷⁰ Despite the wishes of artists their productions were at best catchy songs that merely strengthened nuclear fears and only served to mobilise activists, not the masses. Explicitly

¹⁶³ Baur, 'Nuclear Domsday Scenario in Film, Literature and Music', p.332.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid. p.333.

¹⁶⁵ Hogg, *British Nuclear Culture*, p.153.

¹⁶⁶ Lynskey, *33 Revolutions per Minute*, p.454.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid. p.460.

¹⁶⁸ DeGroot, *The Bomb*, p.318.

¹⁶⁹ Lynskey, *33 Revolutions per Minute*, p.464.

¹⁷⁰ DeGroot, *The Bomb*, p.318.

anti-nuclear musicians often preached to the converted. It is obvious that for many artists, the nuclear threat was merely an interesting gimmick rather than a cause that needed serious support. In many cases nuclear music was not produced to change hearts and minds, but merely to profit from the commercialisation of a popular national phenomenon. As Hogg states, artists of the era (across all spectrums of music) instead reinforced what listeners already largely believed: 'the absurdity of civil defence' and nuclear policies in the face of the global atomic threat.¹⁷¹

¹⁷¹ Hogg, *British Nuclear Culture*, p.154.

Conclusion

The spread of anti-nuclear culture and protest has waned considerably sixty years on from the first CND march to Aldermaston. North Korea's sixth nuclear test in 2017, the renewal of Trident, and Hawaii's false nuclear scare show that nuclear fears still have a place in modern society.¹⁷² However, anti-nuclear movements no longer receive the same attention they did in the 1980s. *Guardian* journalist Owen Jones laments that the anti-nuclear cause is 'barely on the nation's political radar', but the nuclear fears of the past have not been ignored.¹⁷³ Instead, they have become gradually accepted by the public. The damaging impact of the nuclear state, which anti-nuclear culture so readily tried to explain, has instead made the bomb an acceptable fear. Anti-nuclear culture and disarmament movements from 1979 onwards have had little impact on the political machinations of nuclear deterrence.

However, the nuclear culture that inundated the 1980s was truly infectious in its time. While limited in its impact on political institutions, it managed to spawn an intensely creative, unique and often impudent collection of unofficial commentaries on the nuclear state. Despite the commanding breadth of nuclear culture, anti-nuclear movements remained unable to interact tangibly with the discourse of nuclear armament or create great policy change. DeGroot argues that 'when fear abated, so too did the movement', and this is obvious in British nuclear culture.¹⁷⁴ As the Cold War came to a close, the general population lost their fixation on the bomb. Consequently, the anti-nuclear movement became fractured, losing its dedicated support.

¹⁷² Alex Wellerstein, 'The Hawaii alert was an accident. The dread it inspired wasn't.', *The Washington Post*, 16 January 2018, available at https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/posteverything/wp/2018/01/16/the-hawaii-alert-was-an-accident-the-dread-it-inspired-wasnt/?noredirect=on&utm_term=.07f9865e9a8e, accessed 12 April 2018.

¹⁷³ Owen Jones, 'We've stopped talking about nuclear disarmament. Labour cannot let that happen', *The Guardian*, 29 March 2018, available at <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2018/mar/29/nuclear-weapons-jeremy-corbyn-apocalypse>, accessed 12 April 2018.

¹⁷⁴ DeGroot, *The Bomb*, p.323.

The nuclear disarmament movement had a profound impact on British culture and methods of protest despite its limited political influence. The innovative and madcap protests of the Greenham women, the damning and deeply chilling impact of *Threads* and other programmes, and even the irreverent yet genuinely heartfelt anti-nuclear zine culture all spawned because of their vitriolic reaction to the nuclear state. The cultures they created suffused rejection of the bomb into everyday life, increasing public awareness of nuclear weapons and the actions of the government. Ian Welsh reasons that the 'most important achievement of the combined anti-nuclear movement had been to place nuclear power...where it could be become subject to forms of "normal" politics'.¹⁷⁵ The repeated messages created by anti-nuclear culture may not have stopped the bomb, but they would never let its existence be hidden from the public again.

¹⁷⁵ Ian Welsh, *Mobilising Modernity: The Nuclear Moment* (Oxfordshire: Routledge, 2000), p.180.

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