

METROPOLITAN POLICE

Special Report

SPECIAL BRANCH

S.D.S.

12th day of April 1980

SUBJECT

Reference to Papers

Anti-Nuclear Movement

1. The following information, which has been received from a reliable source, describes the development of the anti-nuclear movement in the United Kingdom. Emphasis is placed on the groups and leading personalities based in London.
2. "The considerable growth of the anti-nuclear movement during the last decade has led to a marked increase in media coverage and public debate, especially in the wake of the near disaster involving the Pressurised Water Reactor at Harrisburg. Nevertheless, the movement's complex organisational structure and political base has given rise to great problems in the presentation of a coherent public image.
3. An examination of the experience of other Western member states helps set the anti-nuclear movement in its proper perspective. West Germany, France and the USA, which have a vigorous policy of civilian nuclear expansion, have all experienced vast opposition both through political manoeuvring of environmental organisations and subsequent public disorder. In West Germany the parliamentary representation anticipated by the environmental political parties (known collectively as 'The Greens') at the next General Election could radically alter the balance of power.
4. A likely explanation of the comparatively slow growth of anti-nuclear interest in this country is the 'Atoms for Peace' slogan adopted by the anti-bomb campaigners of the Fifties and Sixties. This outlook, coupled with development of the first Magnox reactors and the government's acclaim of safe, clean and unlimited energy, nullified the attempts of those who wished to oppose the policy. Following the dissolution of the anti-bomb movement many members of the Committee of 100 and supporters of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) turned their attention to the growing movement against American involvement in Vietnam.
5. The evolution of environmental organisations such as Friends of the Earth (FOE) in the early Seventies, coupled with concern shown by the libertarian movement, aroused renewed interest in the anti-nuclear campaign. Although opposition was directed primarily against the civilian based industry, a series of French atom bomb tests in the Pacific also aroused some protest. With industrial strife and anti-facist activity as the main preoccupation of the Left, however, anti-nuclear protest again drew little attention.

TO

21 APR 1980

PA IN

M. 75 1004/10M (2) 1130-3

5. The foundations of the present movement were laid in the wake of a new phase of nuclear expansion, which featured the troublesome Advanced Gas-Cooled Reactors (AGR) and the development of Torness in Scotland as the first 'greenfield site' for several years. The phase constituted a focal point for activists who realised that protest at existing nuclear sites surrounded by fencing proved unattractive to the less committed. Several events in 1978 aptly illustrate this upsurge of interest.
7. Realising that several organisations were considering protest action against construction of the Torness nuclear power station, Friends of the Earth (FOE) decided to hold a march in London; this event, which attracted about ten thousand people, proved to be a useful recruiting ground for the first Torness occupation the following weekend.
8. The subsequent march and occupation of the undeveloped Torness site involved about three thousand demonstrators and it was decided to establish the Torness Alliance in order to co-ordinate action on a national basis. Further, following a request from Dutch anti-nuclear groups, a decision was also taken to form an alliance opposed to the Urenco Corporation, a Dutch, British and West German consortium involved in the enrichment of uranium in plants at Capenhurst, Cheshire and Almelo in the Netherlands. Later in the year, a demonstration took place at Capenhurst, organised by the Urenco Alliance, and at Heysham, Lancashire, organised by Half Life of Lancaster.
9. In the winter of 1978, when construction work began at Torness, several activists occupied the site for some weeks until November, when they were evicted by police; at a subsequent demonstration, several arrests were made but no charges resulted. During this period, the Torness Alliance held a series of meetings to plan what was to become the major event in anti-nuclear protest to date.
10. The Torness Gathering in May, 1979, which attracted about ten thousand people, featured a festival site with many displays of alternative energy sources, anti-nuclear propaganda and entertainment. On the Sunday, about three thousand activists camping nearby decided to embark upon a peaceful occupation of the site. During their occupation a contingent of about three hundred, including many anarchists, pulled down fences surrounding the inner compound where the equipment was stored. Although considerable damage was caused, the situation was eventually controlled by police guarding the area.
11. It is interesting to note that many organisers condemned this action, arguing that violent demonstrations would tend to

deter people from becoming involved in what should be, in essence, a mass movement engaged in peaceful protest.

12. An event organised by the Stop Urenco Alliance in July 1979 at Capenhurst attracted only moderate support and, although there was some direct action, no arrests were made. Larger marches in Scotland, organised by the Scottish Campaign to Resist the Atomic Menace (SCRAM) and allied groups, received substantial publicity.

13. The anti-nuclear movement today continues to be based on the libertarian principles of its founders and is mainly composed of loose-knit autonomous groups, which operate on a local basis. The national groups, which include Friends of the Earth (FOE), the Anti-Nuclear Campaign (ANC), Greenpeace Limited and Students Against Nuclear Energy (SANE), are mainly centred on London but recognise the autonomy of local branches. Others, such as the Ecology Party and, more recently, the Liberal Party, have adopted opposition to nuclear power as a part of their political platform.

14. The largest national group is Friends of the Earth (FOE), which is administered from offices at 9 Poland Street, W1. The group's policy is to oppose the concept of nuclear power in general, rather than existing nuclear plant in particular. A group conscious of its image, it rejects the idea of official involvement in illegal activity such as a site-occupation. Nevertheless, it must be said that its membership makes up a large proportion of the movement and several branches were represented at Torness and Capenhurst.

15. The group is chiefly engaged in the production of literature concerning the preservation of the environment, the lobbying of MP's and participation in public enquiries and debate on the media. An example of the latter was a recent television discussion chaired by Robin DAY where Czech CONROY, chairman of FOE, and Walter PATTERSON, a scientist, debated various aspects of nuclear power with a government minister and the chairman of the United Kingdom Atomic Energy Authority.

16. The Anti-Nuclear Campaign (ANC) is the brainchild of Arthur SCARGILL, leader of the Yorkshire National Union of Mineworkers and a member of Energy 2000, and also of Energy 2000, Friends of the Earth and the Socialist Environmental Resources Association (SERA). The group's recent launching was covered by the media and attracted over five hundred people, many of whom are very active in the movement. The prime intentions of the group are to encourage affiliation of existing anti-nuclear groups with the parent group, initiate new branches and stimulate interest within the trade union movement. Recently the group has been criticised for its

lack of democracy and is believed to be labouring under financial and organisational difficulties.

17. Organised from a central office, occupied by the Undercurrents magazine at 27 Clerkenwell Close, WC1, the ANC is directed by a Steering Committee which includes representatives from the Conservation Society (CONSOC) and the Ecology Party. Also on the committee are [Privacy] of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and [Privacy] of Students Against Nuclear Energy (SANE). It is expected that a new committee will be elected and permanent staff appointed at the next conference in May or June, 1980. Although [Privacy] a prominent figure in the Torness and Stop Urenco Alliances, is currently directing the ANC office, he has come under attack from some members of SCRAM and the North East Alliance because of his apparent disregard of committee decisions.

18. Greenpeace Limited, which has experienced some internal dissension, is believed to have split from the parent organisation in Vancouver. The 'Rainbow Warrior', the converted trawler at the centre of many recent confrontations with sealers and ships carrying nuclear waste, and mainstay of the group's publicity ventures, has become a major financial strain and may be replaced in the near future by a smaller and more economic vessel. The group's influence in the anti-nuclear field as a whole is considerably reduced and members are rarely present at any alliance or ANC meetings.

19. The soft wing of the movement is composed of major environmental groups such as the Conservation Society (CONSOC) and Safe Energy Petitioners, together with the Liberal Party. These groups adopt a similar political line to that of FOE, but are reluctant to become involved in street action.

20. The membership of Students Against Nuclear Energy (SANE) has increased substantially during the last year. Many adherents appear to be members of the SWP. [Privacy] the national organiser, has emerged as a major influence in the London Region Anti-Nuclear Alliance (LRANA), especially on behalf of the ANC. There now exist several university based SANE groups, some of which are believed to be planning direct action at Torness in June, 1980.

21. The existence of the Scottish Campaign to Resist the Atomic Menace (SCRAM) as the most active anti-nuclear organisation operating within the United Kingdom is due to two factors: the emergence of Torness as the focal point for the national movement, and the development of waste dumping and uranium mining in the Orkneys as a major issue for opposition in Scotland.

22. Established in Edinburgh in 1975, SCRAM includes many former and present FOE members and has branches in several major Scottish towns. The cumulative effect of the numerous demonstrations around Torness has been to place considerable strain on the group's resources and members now find that they are expected to provide back-up facilities. Two major demonstrations in Edinburgh have been organised by SCRAM on the issues of Torness, uranium mining and waste dumping, and a major march in Glasgow for May 1980, is to be planned with the co-operation of the Glasgow Energy Group. It is envisaged that the Torness demonstration will be a smaller event than that of 1979, although the experience of SCRAM members will be required to assist in the organisation.

23. The Torness Alliance was established in 1978 both to remove the organisational burden from local groups and to allow all participants to send representatives to assist in decision making. However, the absence of a formal voting and delegate structure gave rise to considerable problems over such contentious issues as damage to property and attempts to govern by consensus proved both time consuming and unsatisfactory. Although the Alliance has agreed to hold another occupation of the Torness site in May 1980, few details have yet been agreed.

24. The following are the most active and influential figures in the Torness Alliance:

Albert BEALE

Peace News and Greenpeace,
London

York Safe Energy Group

Anti-Nuclear Campaign

ANC; LRANA; formerly Peace
News

Dunbar Torness Alliance Group

Radiation Health Information
Service; ANC

SCRAM

SCRAM

ANC; Energy 2000

Privacy

25. The Stop Urano Alliance continues to meet and organise demonstrations, although the relative obscurity of the issues continues to pose problems for the organisers in stimulating interest within the movement as a whole. Initiators of the Alliance were of the Colonialism and Indigenous Minorities Research Association (CIMRA), and members of Greenpeace London, who acted in

Privacy

response to a request from Dutch groups who organised the enormous demonstrations at Almelo and The Hague. It is interesting to note that an employee of Urenco at the Almelo plant was **Privacy** who is alleged to have provided Pakistan with knowledge of the uranium enrichment process vital to the manufacture of nuclear weapons.

26. The Nuclear Information Network (NIN) continues to provide meetings and mailings for all members who wish to have improved communication with other groups in the movement. As an information exchange, NIN presents meetings as a forum for discussion and debate rather than a vehicle for making decisions or formulating policy. Organisers of NIN keep in touch with anti-nuclear events in many countries and maintain liaison with the World Information Service on Energy (WISE) in Amsterdam.

27. A demonstration in 1978 against the building of an AGR in Heysham, Lancashire was organised by the North West Alliance. The most active Group in this area is Half Life of Lancaster, which is organised on similar lines to those of FCE, and recently members of an organisation calling themselves 'Invisible Radiators' recently broke into the Heysham 'B' site and damaged machinery.

28. With the support of the 'Rainbow Warrior', the Severnside Alliance recently staged an effective protest action at Avonmouth docks against the loading of the vessel 'Pacific Fisher' with nuclear waste materials to be dumped at sea. The Severn Estuary is recognised as one of the busiest in Europe, with three Magnox sites already in existence and a fourth proposed to accommodate an AGR at Portskewett. Local action generally has been quite intense, with the result that the CEGB has withdrawn its planning application for the Portskewett site.

29. Members of one of the most active groups in the Alliance, Bristol Anti-Nukes, were responsible for an imaginative action at Tormess recently, when they built a tower from scaffolding, chained it to the main gates and removed the lower boards to prevent police reaching those sitting at the top. Following their eventual removal by police, nine participants were charged and await trial.

30. The South East Alliance, which is now referred to as the South Eastern Branch of the ANC, is based in Brighton. In conjunction with some London groups, in particular the South London Anti-Nuclear Affinity Group (SLANAG), the Alliance is planning a demonstration against the transportation of nuclear waste from the Dungeness power station to Windscale. Although scheduled for May 1980, it is likely that the closure of the Dungeness 'A' site for repair and maintenance and a ten year delay in completion of the AGR on the 'B' site may frustrate this plan.

.../...

31. Following applications by the CECB for development of four separate nuclear power sites in Cornwall, the formation of a new Alliance in the county is expected to give effect to the considerable protest which is anticipated.

32. The North East Anti-Nuclear Alliance is still active and campaigning against the proposed site for an AGR or PWR at Druridge Bay. As at Dungeness, development of the Hartlepool AGR is well behind schedule and it is thought that no action is planned at the site for the time being.

33. The London Region Anti-Nuclear Alliance (LRANA), continues to meet at three weekly intervals in the London School of Economics. The meetings are normally attended by about 30 persons, who represent one or more of the seventy groups on the mailing list (including twenty-nine FOE branches). A recent event organised by LRANA to protest against the transportation of nuclear waste through London by rail attracted about 1,350 people. The absence of nuclear installations in London may cause the transportation issue to be projected as the focal point of carefully orchestrated campaigning in the future.

34. The all-embracing nature of LRANA, which brings together liberals with anarchists; environmentalists with Trotskyists, inevitably gives rise to a degree of confusion and disruption. This was illustrated recently at a demonstration in North-West London against the transport of nuclear waste, when Hackney Anti-Nuclear Group, supported by several anarchists, organised a separate march following disagreement over the emphasis to be adopted at the 'official' demonstration.

35. Members of the ANC, led by [Privacy] are exerting constant, if subtle, pressure to draw most elements of LRANA into its ranks. Although unlikely at present, it must be said that LRANA's lack of party structure or constitution renders it vulnerable to entryists, particularly from the SWP.

36. The South London Anti-Nuclear Affinity Group (SLANAG) was founded specifically to coincide with the Stop Urenco demonstration at Capenhurst in 1978. The group is now active in all areas of the anti-nuclear scene and enjoyed a prominent role at the Torness Gathering in 1979, where members of the group compiled a handbook to cover the event. A founding member was [Privacy] and other leading personalities include

[Privacy] and [Privacy]

37. The West London Anti-Nuclear Group was inaugurated about the same time as SLANAG but has suffered internal rifts over policy. The group, mainly active in the Notting Hill area, where members hand out leaflets and run a bookstall, took a major part in organising the LRANA demonstration against the transport of nuclear waste. Leading members include [Privacy] and [Privacy]

38. The respectable image promoted by the North London Anti-Nuclear Group is mainly due to [Privacy] a dominant personality within the group. Since its establishment about a year ago, members have become involved in educational work such as leafletting and running a bookstall at Camden Lock, and two or three members are active within LRANA. Leading figures include [Privacy] and [Privacy] of the International Marxist Group (IMG).

39. The Hackney Anti-Nuclear Group (HANG), organised by [Privacy] has assumed an active role in the borough's opposition to the transport of nuclear waste. [Privacy] an anarchist from West Germany, is totally involved in the anti-nuclear struggle, although much time is spent running his bookshop 'Sunpower' in Finsbury Park.

40. The recently formed Waltham Forest Anti Nuclear Group has a strong SWP influence on the steering committee and has yet to become involved within LRANA.

41. Other anti-nuclear groups are active at the Polytechnic of Central London, the North London Polytechnic and the London School of Economics. However, with the exception of SANE, these groups tend to confine their activity within the student community.

42. Of the long established anti-nuclear organisations, the London Greenpeace Group is one of the best known, providing the accommodation address for both Stop Urenco Alliance and LRANA. Although the membership fluctuates, as newer recruits tend to become involved with their local groups, leading members remain to perpetuate the group's active image. Of these, Albert BEALE, Martin LOWE, [Privacy] and [Privacy] remain well informed through their activities in other groups and magazines such as Peace News and Undercurrents, and are often sought out for information. The group has opposed the formation of the ANC, regarding it as an attempt by opportunists like [Privacy] and [Privacy] to 'recuperate' a genuinely libertarian anarchist movement into the established, authoritarian left.

43. Membership of the Ecology and Anarchism Collective is totally anarchist and closed except by invitation and general acceptance. This group, formed as an affinity group for the 1979 Torness Gathering, presents a potential problem in that its members are committed to struggle and prepared to take direct action to achieve their objectives. Although currently subject to changes in membership, the group is expected to assume an active role in the forthcoming occupation at Torness. The leading members are Dave MORRIS, [Privacy] and [Privacy]

44. The Women Against Nukes Group, also known as the Feminists Against Nukes Group (FANG), continues to provide women with the opportunity to show themselves more equal than their weaker, male, and therefore inherently sexist, comrades. The main contact is [redacted] Privacy

45. The Socialist and Environmental Resources Association (SERA) and the British Society for Social Responsibility in Science (BSSRS) continue to be involved in the anti-nuclear movement and have directed their attention to the area of health and radiation hazards in the nuclear industry. Until recently SERA provided the office accommodation for the ANC.

46. London branches of Friends of the Earth (FOE) tend to remain in the background, although the organisation has twenty-nine groups affiliated to LRANA. The main exception [redacted] Privacy from Baringey FOE and Greenpeace London has taken upon himself much of the burden of organisation, and is also treasurer of LRANA.

47. Several other groups, such as the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) and Peace Pledge Union (PPU), are in contact with LRANA only in respect of their own particular matters. Increased interest in government plans to renew the British independent nuclear deterrent and establishment of Cruise Missile bases in the UK has led to meetings in London recently to explore the possibility of protest action. In the event of such action being taken, it is likely that the anti-nuclear movement would be approached for support.

48. The considerable growth in activity described above has become a major cause for concern within the nuclear industry, whose various constituent authorities have merged to form a common front entitled the Nuclear Power Information Group. The group's purpose is to promote the interests of the industry and counter opposition. To that end, its members are prepared to incur considerable expense in such ventures as an advertising campaign in the national newspapers, exhibitions designed to explain the benefits of nuclear power, and participation of its senior personnel in public and media debate.

49. The present government is committed to an expansionist programme in which, from 1982, a new power station will be provided every year for a decade. It is thought likely that this programme, together with the adoption of the American PWR technology and the necessity of developing several 'green-field' sites, will cause a fresh outbreak of public concern which could provide the catalyst for escalation of the anti-nuclear movement into a mass movement. In the meantime, the immediate future expansion of the movement is likely to be

affected by one or more of the following factors:

- a. The outcome of the Torness occupation in May 1980.
- b. The future development of the ANC.
- c. Infiltration of the movement by the SWP and IMG.
- d. The involvement of the trade unions.

50. The Torness occupation in May 1980 will undoubtedly demonstrate the current capability of movement's direct action wing in that, although the event is only likely to attract an attendance of between five and six hundred demonstrators, most of these will have militant intentions and include a large complement of anarchists.

51. The ANC is concerned to establish its identity as the central core of the movement, initiating and publicising action whilst at the same time respecting the autonomy of member groups. At present this concern remains unfulfilled and the group is suffering considerable internal dissension.

52. The leadership of the SWP and IMG is clearly aware of the anti-nuclear movement and individual members have made several moves to establish a presence within the ANC and local groups. Although it is conceivable that these organisations could play a leading role within the movement, their executive committees may prefer to await developments and hope to influence events from a minority position as part of their overall strategy for social revolution.

53. The involvement of the trade union movement has mainly come from Arthur SCARGILL through Energy 2000, a National Union of Mineworkers front. SCARGILL, whose connection with the anti-nuclear movement has developed over several years, has a vested interest in the involvement of other trade unionists in the struggle. Nevertheless there is little evidence to indicate that, apart from some grass roots activity, any of the union executives are interested.

54. In conclusion, it will be seen that this loose-knit, libertarian anti-nuclear movement is composed of people from most political spheres as well as a significant lobby of environmentalists. In spite of attempts by the revolutionary left to shape this combination of interests into a coherent whole, the movement is growing in its own right. If it is able to establish a clear identity and create in the public mind the

idea that nuclear power is inherently unsafe and poses a threat to future generations, there can be little doubt that the movement will become a cogent threat to public order."

55. References of persons and organisations mentioned in this report are contained in the attached appendix.

Barry Moss

stcl
CHIEF SUPERINTENDENT

APPENDIX

Persons:

Albert BEALE

RF 402/73/42

Privacy

Martin LOWE

RF 405/78/73

Privacy

Dave MORRIS

RF 402/75/747

Privacy

Arthur SCARGILL

RF 407/60/3144

Privacy

Organisations:

Anti-Nuclear Campaign	400/79/184
Alliance of North-West London Anti-Nuclear Groups	No trace
Bristol Anti-Nukes	Mentions
British Society for Social Responsibility in Science (BSSRS)	400/69/64
Colonialism & Indigenous Minorities Research Association (CIMRA)	400/79/90
Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND)	400/74/191
Conservation Society (CONSOC)	Mentions
Dunbar Torness Alliance Group	Mentions
Ecology Party	400/79/31
Ecology and Anarchism Collective	400/79/68
Energy 2000	400/77/237
Feminist Against Nukes Group (FANG)	Mentions
Friends of the Earth	400/79/170
Glasgow Energy Group	Mentions
Greenpeace(London)	400/79/38
Hackney Anti-Nuclear Campaign	400/80/14
Half Life (Lancaster)	Mentions
Invisible Radiators	No trace
International Marxist Group (IMG)	400/80/27
London Region Anti-Nuclear Alliance (LRANA)	400/79/174
National Union of Mineworkers (Yorkshire)	400/79/156
North-East Anti-Nuclear Alliance	No trace
North London Anti-Nuclear Group	Mentions
Nuclear Information Network (NIN)	400/78/46
Peace News	347/73/20

Peace Pledge Union (PPU)	400/69/216
Radiation Health Information Service	Mentions
Stop Urenco Alliance	400/78/146
Scottish Campaign to Resist the Atomic Menace (SCRAM)	400/78/75
Students Against Nuclear Energy (SERA)	Mentions
Socialist Environmental Resources Association SERA	400/77/1
Socialist Workers Party (SWP)	400/80/23
Severnside Alliance	Mentions
South Eastern Branch Anti-Nuclear Campaign	No trace
South London Anti-Nuclear Affinity Group (SLANAG)	Mentions
Sunpower Bookshop	Mentions
Torness Alliance	400/78/213
Torness Gathering	Mentions
Undercurrents	Mentions
Waltham Forest Anti-Nuclear Group	Mentions
West London Anti-Nuclear Group	Mentions
World Information Service on Energy (WISE)	Mentions