

# **Performing Resistance**

**The Greenham Common Women's Peace Camp as  
Artwork**

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**The Royal College of Art**

## DECLARATION

This research project represents partial submission for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the Royal College of Art. I confirm that the work presented here is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

During the period of registered study in which this thesis was prepared the author has not been registered for any other academic award or qualification. The material included in this thesis has not been submitted wholly or in part for any academic award or qualification other than that for which it is now submitted.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Liz Murray', written in a cursive style.

Liz Murray

15 September 2021



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## ABSTRACT

Despite greater societal awareness of sexual inequalities, women are still more likely than men to experience workplace and salary inequity and sexual harassment, and to be victims of male violence. Given this fact, many of the primary goals of second-wave feminism remain largely unrealised. *Performing Resistance* speaks to feminist discourses and strategies of solidarity that have been overlooked or hidden. It talks back at a moment when museums are taming historical activism through inclusion in survey exhibitions (*Soul of a Nation*, Tate; *Still I Rise*, De La Warr). In reframing a creative protest as an artwork, this thesis seeks to extend and rethink the power of resistance by placing emphasis on its activating properties rather than on its ability to be archived in major public institutions. It asks: how does art practice best resist?

This practice-led research proposes an act of resistance for reconsideration within this context, one of feminist, all-female and queer protest. It nominates the Greenham Common Women's Peace Camp (GCWPC; 1981-2000) – its actions, bodies, archives, stories, site and materials – as an expansive and expanding artwork. The thesis does not claim authority or ownership over this singular protest, but instead uses *nomination* as a means to reconsider feminist practices and values, then and now. In so doing, it asks to what extent art practice can provide a method for engaging with feminist histories, stories and events and how might it allow a productive re-evaluation of gender equality. What gets dislodged when the relations between politics, life and art are blurred, and what are the effects of this displacement?

The retroactive proposition of Greenham as an artwork locates it not within participatory art practices (Bishop, 2012) or re-enactments, nor inside a virtual museum collated from archival materials (Pollock, 2007) or post-protest artworks (Kokoli, 2018). Rather, the method I propose of talking back to oneself is employed in order to better understand Greenham not as one event but as a means for seeing, thinking and doing – an 'intersectional' activist approach (Crenshaw, 2019). As a strategy it exposes the compound discrimination against women, queers and anti-

nuclear protesters in the past and suggests how dissent in the present can be constrained thereby reducing the capability for taking meaningful, transformative action. Nomination functions here as a mode of 'backchat' (Crenshaw), a resistant position that refutes and contests the contemporary prevailing hegemonies within art and politics that can diminish what the Greenham protest was and what it achieved.

My own experience of having been a Peace Camp participant is the basis for, and forms an important part of the proposition and analysis of, this research. I use my own archive of materials to generate new responses both in the studio and through writing. I argue the case for nomination of the protest as artwork through three trajectories: the artwork as Gift, as Archive and as Correspondence. In the latter, I employ writing letters to my past self in the present day as a method both of interrogating and of corresponding with memories and objects that trace the history of the protest. My hypothesis is that art can best function when it resists through testing limits, assumptions and boundaries, besides producing aesthetic experiences. Without resistance, art becomes nothing more than decoration, a tradeable commodity. Through *nomination-as-artwork*, the research reactivates an archive of bodies, voices, events and materials which, through reuse, generates new works and keeps the feminist legacy of the GCWPC potent.

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## Notes for the reader

There is a significant amount of 'talking-back' in this research project. There are conversations that take place backwards and forwards through time and between archival objects and practice. This is most apparent in Section 4 (*Correspondence: eight letters from present to past*), which does not appear in a compact chapter format but is interleaved throughout the thesis as letters sent back in time. The letters do appear in date order, however.

References and footnotes given in the thesis can be found in full in the bibliography. Where a specific reference has been made within another author's text, a page number is supplied in the footnote.

All the images included in the thesis are my own with the exception of two images from recent protests and the Press Association prints. These were given to me in 1983 by a friend who worked for the Press Association and had 'liberated' certain photographs from their offices. On seeking an image usage licence from Alamy (now merged with PA Images) for inclusion in the thesis, I was informed that the images are no longer in their database. Alamy have stated that, as owner of the physical prints, I hold the copyright.

The list of figures includes a sample of fifty items scanned from my personal archive of materials relating to the GCWPC between 1982 and 1985. These images can be found in the first appendix.



London 10/11/19

Dear Liz,

Well, this is weird. This is me – well, **you** – writing back in time, to you, my younger self. I imagine when you get this (if you get this), you will be somewhat freaked out, assuming there is some class of nutter stalking you. There isn't. I am what you will become.

I have thought long and hard of HOW I would write to you. It has been a determination of mine **not** to write a letter full of warnings, spoiler-alerts, directives and admonishments. Even writing this now, I am tempted to say, 'avoid X' or 'don't do Y' (certainly, 'don't sleep with Z'). What is coming is coming and it doesn't help to be advised of such things. Anyway, this is not why I am writing to you, to tell you what is ahead. I am wishing to communicate – and **how** that will become a 'two-way street' is not entirely clear to me just yet. Technology may have changed many things, but the means of speaking to my past self and to hear a response, in return, from that younger me remains a mystery.

What I wanted to ask – and I am asking myself.. you, Liz, aged twenty – is what sense you have of yourself within the things that you are involved. Specifically, at Greenham but also with your studies at Camberwell; at art school. I have memories of that time, of course, but these are often contingent; on how I want to remember events, myself.. my relations to things. Social, personal and political. Are you still wearing jodphurs or has your New Romantic phase abated? Forget I asked that. It seems a bit judgmental when I don't want to look back and sneer, rather to cheer you on (from ahead). You are doing good.

Anyway, back to my question: what matters most to you about being a part of the Greenham Common Women's Peace Camp? (womyn if you prefer). Is it the sense of doing something that is essential? How political does it feel for you right now?

~~Even today, I think back to the Thatcher 'regime' and it makes me furious; how one person 'represented' the right (sic) way to exist. Conservative, straight, privileged, white, British, nuclear family,~~

~~etc. And now, in my present/your future, it seems we are back there;~~  
~~being ruled and talked-down to by a group of wealthy, entitled,~~  
~~public school elite.~~ (I have to redact myself to my junior self.  
This, to keep you unencumbered of fears for a future, of a belief in  
your agency, in the power to change the world you live in, that all  
voices matter and must be heard).

How does it feel right now, being a student and a protester? I  
skipped a lot of time at college to be at the camp, so it must have  
felt VITAL, urgent. Being there, doing it, on your own yet also part  
of a collective mind; how is that for you? I need reminding of the  
sharpness of sensation, the tingle of transgression.

What I want is your overview, if that is possible. From here, I look  
back and what I *think* I remember of myself is someone struggling with  
becoming; being gay, being working-class, being a cuckoo within a  
middle-class educational institution, and having to camouflage myself  
in order to become that which I wanted to be. What was that? Hey, do  
you remember when I brought Lucinda Guinness home and mum nearly  
melted with embarrassment? Working class shame. (B.T.W. 'Lulu' is in  
posh handbags and accessories these days). Plus, there you have  
specific, anecdotal evidence that I am really you and not a crazee  
laydee. Do you think this is where the jodhpur wearing came from; a  
bid to fit with the landed-gentry via new dandyism? Seriously, after  
Punk and the whole anti-establishment, anarchy dress-sense waned  
Dandyism and New Romanticism seemed to represent a desire to blend  
with the ruling classes – a kind of Alt-Right fashion move. (Do you  
know what Alt-Right *means*, has it become a term yet?).

Anyway, yes. What I *think* I know of you-me, at twenty has got to be  
severely bent out of shape through more than three decades. I would  
like to know **how** you are, who you are. Particularly, what you want  
for yourself, what being part of an all-female, political, anti-  
nuclear, anti-patriarchal protest means to you now.

Please write back, if you can. I'd love to hear from ~~you~~ (me).

Xx Liz

[BLANK]



Figure 1. Press Association B&W photographic print dated 15 November 1983. On verso, 'Japan Remembered at Greenham: a woman carrying across (sic) which bears the words 'Hiroshima' and 'Nagasaki' is led away from Orange Gate at the Greenham Common cruise missile base, Berkshire today as more cruise equipment was transported by air'.

## Section 1: INTRODUCTION

Performance's only life is in the present. Performance cannot be saved, recorded, documented, or otherwise participate in the circulation of representations of representations: once it does so it becomes something other than performance. To the degree that performance attempts to enter the economy of reproduction it betrays and lessens the promise of its own ontology. Performance's being "[...]" becomes itself through disappearance.

– Peggy Phelan (*Unmarked: The Politics of Performance*, 1993)

This research contributes to the political theory of art through nominating a specific feminist protest as an artwork and attempts to understand what such a feminist protest artwork might be and do. Provoked by the contemporary paucity of sexual equality forty years after the largest female-led campaign since the women's suffrage movement, this research sets out to reanimate the performance of past political resistance through artmaking. The declaration of the Greenham Common Women's Peace Camp as artwork is a performative act; an illocutionary act of speech that in saying so does what it says. It becomes an artwork through being said to be one.<sup>1</sup>

I begin the introduction to this research project with a story. It is a way of telling how this research came about and why this and other stories need to be told. There is a good deal of 'I' in the writing, as it relies on autobiography, on being there and – as you will have read in the letter preceding this introduction – on a lot of talking-back to myself. As a practice-led research project, it also contains, refers to and places emphasis on artworks, both my own and those made by others. 'Performance' is understood as a fluid and shifting term that has a life, as Judith Butler proposes, in

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<sup>1</sup> Judith Butler draws on earlier work by J.L. Austin (1962) on speech acts and utterances. In *Excitable Speech: A Politics of the Performative* (1997), Butler writes: "The illocutionary speech act performs its deed *at the moment* of the utterance, and yet to the extent that the moment is ritualized, it is never merely a single moment. The "moment" in rituals is a condensed historicity: it exceeds itself in past and future directions, an effect of prior and future invocations that constitute and escape the instance of the utterance." (p. 3)

excess of a particular moment, whilst ‘resistance’ here takes the form of a singular, historical protest and artwork. My aspiration for this research is to contribute to discourse beyond arts boundaries, within broader material, political and ethical spheres. Primarily, though, this is a queer, feminist enquiry that sets out to understand how and why sexism remains such an obdurate problem. My rationale, research questions and methods will follow shortly, but, first, here is that story...

A few years ago, I had an opportunity to view footage that I had filmed in 1983 on an outdated video format. Figure 2 shows the Sony V60 videotape inside its box. I had guarded the tape over the intervening decades, knowing it contained a record of a mass anti-nuclear protest that took place outside the main gate at Greenham Common airbase near Newbury.<sup>2</sup> It was evidence of a critical event, even in its un-viewed state, or so I believed. When the digital file was returned to me, I found a scant 18 seconds of images from the base. The remaining 23 minutes contained scenes from a family gathering at Christmas made shortly after the protest. Viewing the footage, I experienced a vertiginous wave of nausea and disorientation as I struggled to understand what I was looking at. I was certain of what I would find there, but the view through this opening into the past had clouded over like a cataract-fogged eye. It was a betrayal, as if the tape itself had lied to me. And yet it was my memory of what I had attached to this object that was displaced; my long-anticipated return to an event from my past was not where I thought it was. Where had Greenham gone? What had happened to those queer, protesting bodies? I was looking at the wrong object.

Disappointment was soon replaced by curiosity as I watched my family as an anthropologist might study a lost tribe. Indeed, my family’s response to being filmed could be likened to that of people who had never seen a camera and were paranoid as to its powers. Closer to the truth – they were embarrassed. My parents were working-class, first-generation Irish immigrants who had never even seen a cinecamera, let alone had the means to own such a device. They were embarrassed by the movie camera and

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<sup>2</sup> Greenham Common airbase in Berkshire was used by the US Air Force 501st Tactical Missile Wing from 1982 until 1992 as a site for the storage and operation of ground-launched cruise missiles that carried nuclear warheads.





embarrassed by me – the first in the family to go to university, studying art, a subject that held no frame of reference for them.

After a few jumpy starts, the camera settles on a group of people sitting around a table drinking tea. One of these is my aunt, whose embarrassment at being filmed is palpable. There is a brief split second when she looks directly at the camera from behind her glasses. She gets up and the camera follows her to the pile of Christmas presents in the corner of the room. She rummages and returns to her seat with a Hayward Gallery carrier bag that she promptly puts over her head. The bag covers most of her face except her lower jaw, but repeatedly slips down and prevents her from drinking tea. Her hands reach up and claw a hole in the plastic to reveal her glasses. Her head is now replaced entirely by bag. As she turns to the camera and stares directly at the lens, the place where her mouth should be is replaced by upside-down lettering reading 'HAYWARD GALLERY'. The words appear as teeth that have been drawn back on to the face of a skull.

### **Blast from the Past (Rationale)**

The experience of being confounded by a piece of technology that I fully expected to reveal a narrative of protest and dissent was salutary. As Adrienne Rich writes on recalling her experiences of motherhood, 'every journey into the past is complicated by delusions, false memories, false naming of real events'.<sup>3</sup> My memory was of a well-documented, large-scale demonstration against nuclear weapons and many others that I had taken part in at Greenham Common in the 1980s.<sup>4</sup> When the object of my technological certainty did not deliver as expected, I felt a bit foolish and briefly embarrassed by my expectations. I then did what an artist is so inclined to do and started to work with what I had, making a short video work from the footage that

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<sup>3</sup> Rich, A. (1977). *Of Woman Born: Motherhood as Experience and Institution*. London: Random House, p. 15.

<sup>4</sup> In addition to media documentation of political actions at Greenham Common which are available in public archives, both digital and analogue, I have an extensive collection of material collected during the years 1982-1985. This personal archive includes news cuttings, magazines, flyers, chain letters, court fines, photographs, negatives, notes, sketches and the videotape mentioned above.





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Figure 3. Liz Murray, *Where Has Greenham Gone?* (2017). Still image from digital video, 3'48".

was shot at Christmas.<sup>5</sup> Figure 3 is a still from that video which I named *Where Has Greenham Gone?* (2017).

Editing this material gave rise to thinking about the politics of that decade and about my own aspirations for the future as a young, queer art student. The work of feminist writers such as Simone de Beauvoir, Emma Goldman, Valerie Solanas, Audre Lorde, Adrienne Rich, Andrea Dworkin, Marge Piercy and Mary Daly had inspired and supported my thinking through my teens and twenties. And whilst it was the norm to be verbally abused at Greenham or elsewhere for looking like a dyke, having access to feminist publications such as *Spare Rib* or *On Our Backs* lent a sense that progress was being made towards lesbian and gay rights.<sup>6</sup>

It struck me that despite some improvements in law concerning basic human rights – protection from discrimination along lines of race, sexual orientation, disability and age – I still face the same issues today of sexual inequality with male peers both in the workplace and in the world that I had experienced as a young gay woman forty years ago.<sup>7</sup> Regardless of equality legislation, hate crimes relating to sexual orientation and gender identity have increased year on year since 2015, according to UK government data for England, Scotland and Wales.<sup>8</sup> Gender is still the most common basis for hate crime attacks on women. It seems unbelievable to me

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<sup>5</sup> *Where Has Greenham Gone?* (2017). DV, 3'48".

<sup>6</sup> *Spare Rib* was an iconic second-wave feminist magazine coming out of the Women's Liberation Movement of the 1960s. It was co-founded by Rosie Boycott and Marsha Rowe and set out to challenge the stereotyping and exploitation of women. The UK magazine ran from 1972 to 1993. *On Our Backs* (1984 to 2006) was a US publication that offered 'Entertainment for the Adventurous Lesbian', being the first women-run lesbian erotic magazine. It strove to represent the full spectrum of lesbian desire and sexuality, including articles on BDSM, FTM and trans identities, fisting, orgasm and female ejaculation workshops. Editor Susie Bright's focus on sex-positive feminism put her and the magazine in firm opposition to anti-pornography feminists. The recently released film *Rebel Dykes* (2021) is an interesting survey of the 1980s lesbian BDSM club scene as well as radical activism; it has documentary footage from Greenham Common as well as the club scene and tries to address the conflict between these sites and the women involved.

<sup>7</sup> The 1980s witnessed much homophobic hysteria whipped up by a Conservative government espousing family values and the moral panic over AIDS/HIV; 1988 saw Section 28 of the Local Government Act forbidding the promotion of homosexuality, which was only revoked in England and Wales in 2003. For current legislation in the UK on discrimination, see: <<https://www.gov.uk/discrimination-your-rights>> [Accessed 17 August 2021].

<sup>8</sup> See <<https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/hate-crime-england-and-wales-2019-to-2020/hate-crime-england-and-wales-2019-to-2020>> [Accessed 3 September 2021].



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Figure 4. A woman being arrested at a Cruise missile protest on Greenham Common, November 15<sup>th</sup>, 1983. Press Association B&W photographic print dated 15 November 1983. On verso, 'Protest Curtailed: a woman protestor is carried away by police outside the Orange Gate at the Greenham Common cruise missile base in Berkshire today as more cruise equipment was transported by air'





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Figure 5. A woman being arrested at the Sarah Everard vigil on Clapham Common, 13 March 2021. A memorial on the common close to where Sarah Everard was last seen before her abduction, rape, and murder was the locus of a planned night vigil. This was cancelled by organisers as the Metropolitan Police outlawed the gathering under Covid-19 restrictions. Hundreds of protestors defied the ban and were subjected to police heavy-handedness including this young woman who attended as a legal observer. (Photograph courtesy of Christopher Bethell).

and yet in 2021 misogyny is still not classed as a crime.<sup>9</sup>

If the videotape in Figure 2 represented my youthful hopes for gender and sexual equality attached to a democratic society, watching it for the first time many years later broke something open. How was it possible that the progress made by Greenham women in the 1980s and the radical left-wing politics that began in the 1960s had failed to materialise in sexual equality? Is the massive failure in securing a more equitable position for women over the past forty years somehow linked to the emergence of neoliberal socioeconomic policies that have been ushered in during the same time period? And, speaking as an artist, what, I ask, can art do about it? What can my artwork do to perform acts of resistance?

Thinking back to my time at the GCWPC was to clearly see the gulf between the ambitions of a radical feminist project for a fairer, nonviolent society and what have become the lived circumstances for women during four decades of neoliberal socioeconomic policies. As writer and social activist bell hooks notes, if modern feminist thought asserts that all women are oppressed, it requires an understanding of the absence of choice as defining this oppression. Neoliberalism appears to offer an abundance of options but, arguably for women, those choices remain inadequate. Hooks writes:

Many women do not join organized resistance against sexism precisely because sexism has not meant an absolute lack of choices. They may know they are discriminated against on the basis of sex, but they do not equate with this oppression. Under capitalism, patriarchy is structured so that sexism restricts women's behaviour in some realms even as freedom from limitations is allowed in other spheres. The absence of extreme restrictions leads many women to ignore the areas in which they

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<sup>9</sup> UK charity The Fawcett Society has campaigned tirelessly for women's equality and women's rights over the past 150 years. For more information on their campaigns on equal pay, equal power and the damage caused by gender stereotypes, see: <<https://www.fawcettsociety.org.uk/>> [Accessed 30 July 2021]. For more on the campaign to make misogyny a hate crime, see: <[https://www.familylaw.co.uk/news\\_and\\_comment/misogyny-as-a-hate-crime-what-it-means-why-it-s-needed](https://www.familylaw.co.uk/news_and_comment/misogyny-as-a-hate-crime-what-it-means-why-it-s-needed)> [Accessed 2 August 2021].



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Figure 6. Signage inside perimeter fence at the main entrance (Yellow Gate) to Greenham Common airbase, Berkshire, October 1983. Ilford B&W print from archival negative, 30.5 x 24 cm. (© Liz Murray)

are exploited or discriminated against; it may even lead them to imagine that no women are oppressed.<sup>10</sup>

Neoliberal feminism takes a form in line with 'late modernity' of an 'individualised lifestyle discourse, with an emphasis on the need for resilience and a positive mental attitude to deal with forms of inequality'.<sup>11</sup> Essentially, this is a self-serving celebration of self-interest over social needs, a mindset that mirrors the socioeconomic ideology of neoliberalism. Within the context of 'austerity' and the production of a 'moral landscape', this form of feminism reinforces hierarchical divisions along lines of those who can succeed in 'getting on' and those 'bad subjects' who cannot. This in turn engenders distinctions between women along lines of class and race, creating distance and setting up a divisive and discriminatory anti-emancipatory narrative. For women self-identifying with a contemporary neoliberal feminism, there is perhaps no need either for feminism or for emancipation.

My argument here is not with setting up a definitive boundary for feminism or feminists nor with policing those parameters, as this can lead to destructive exclusions, but in maintaining that feminism is not 'dead' and can remain a potent weapon.<sup>12</sup> I maintain that a neoliberal version of feminism does undermine the goals of social justice, collective change and equality for all women. This is in stark contrast with the collective, non-hierarchical structure that existed within the GCWPC. There were no leaders, entrepreneurs or spokespersons as such, and decisions were always carried out in a mutually respectful way. What I do propose in this research is a reimagining of Greenham as a tool for younger feminists to engage with. As an artist, I employ the means available to my profession to heighten awareness of this critical, political, long-term demonstration, a connection through creativity. I am aware that many younger women may not have a grasp of how important the protest was within the context of feminism and British cultural history.

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<sup>10</sup> hooks, b. (1984). *Feminist Theory: From Margin to Center*. Boston, Massachusetts: South End Press, p.5.

<sup>11</sup> See Dabrowski, p. 90.

<sup>12</sup> See Crenshaw (1989), Butler (1994).





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Figure 7. Liz Murray, *Just Before Dawn, an Embarrassment* (2020). Jesmonite, paint, 49 x 35 x 22cm.



The GCWPC was a massive feminist thorn in the side of the British establishment; it sought social justice, demanded an end to nuclear proliferation and was the largest display of lesbian political activism in UK history. Greenham women had three main aims: to remove nuclear warheads from the military airbase, to return the common to a public space and to end patriarchy. In pursuit of these values, hundreds of women were arrested at the camp (see Figures 3 and 4) and served time in prison. The peace camp generated worldwide debate around nuclear proliferation and inspired other women-only peace camps to spring up around the globe.<sup>13</sup> The camp succeeded in seeing nuclear weapons being dismantled in 1991 and the site returned to common land in 1997. Dismantling the patriarchy remains an ongoing project.

This is the context for the research. My aim and objectives are to reframe a historic, gendered, long-term protest as an artwork as a strategy for effectively reclaiming and reactivating a key, queer, radical event of feminist politics. In the thesis, I address this through nomination, an action that implies hierarchy and authority. To assume the right to do so represents a (small) coup that emerges from the spirit of queer, anarchic actions at Greenham and in my continuing belief in art's autonomy. I discuss this method more fully in the methodology, *Talking-Back*, below. In my practice I demonstrate a process of 'talking-back' that forms a key method in this research. It is an iterative, refracted practice that forms a methodological contribution to knowledge.

Figure 7 shows an example of this; the response to the embarrassment felt by my aunt when she was in front of a camera forty years ago is remade by me as an object in the studio. The bag-like object looks back at me. 'You are too much like a bag,' I say to it, 'even when upturned.' I return to the other archival materials that I have kept relating to Greenham between 1982 and 1985, like the Sony tape and hundreds of newspaper cuttings. I find an account of a group of six Greenham women who broke into Holloway prison and climbed onto the roof to protest at the arrest of

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<sup>13</sup> La Ragnatela International Women's Peace Camp in Sicily was set up shortly after Greenham, next to the USAF base at Comiso, which was also a launch site for cruise missiles [JH: suggest 'base for cruise missiles' – the planning was (as far as I recall) to get the missiles out of the bunkers once war was imminent and drive them to camouflaged locations away from the base for launch]. Pine Gap Women's Peace Camp near Alice Springs in Australia was established in 1983 to protest the location of the American Joint Defense Space Research Facility at Pine Gap.



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Figure 8. Press Association B&W photographic print dated 15 November 1983. On verso, 'More Cruise Believed Landed: a US Starlifter aircraft, believed to be carrying cruise missiles, landed at Greenham Common airbase this afternoon. Troops ring the plane on the tarmac less than half a mile from the US Galaxy which landed earlier today.'

thirty-one women for breaking into the cruise missile base at Greenham Common. The reporter notes that the break-in happens 'just before dawn' and the squad of policemen that arrest the six women are 'embarrassed'. I write down a section of the reportage on the bag on which the Hayward Gallery logo appeared in the video. The bag-like object appears embarrassed by the 'tattooing' of text over what should be covering up a head. I place it on a plinth in the corner of the studio. It faces the wall.

## Research Questions

This research project by practice is structured around my experience of having witnessed second-wave feminism first-hand through the empowerment of protest as a young woman. I seek to understand why many of the primary intentions of that movement remain unrealised today. As a strategy for addressing this social, sexual and political lacuna, the project uses nomination to incite a reconsideration of feminist practices then and now. In nominating a historic, feminist protest as an artwork, it asks:

1. What the *capacities* of art are to enable a generative re-evaluation of gender equality and how this might enable productive forms of response.<sup>14</sup>
2. How this might be achieved in ways other than re-enactment, representation or remaking.<sup>15</sup>
3. If an artwork can supercharge a protest from the past to make it vital and visible to a new generation.

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<sup>14</sup> *On Resistance*, a day-long research event convened by Yve Lomax and Aura Satz at the RCA in 2017, featured the philosopher Howard Caygill, who spoke of resistance as being conditional on one's 'capacity to resist'. Caygill's 2013 publication of the same name expands this 'capacity' for resistance to force or domination through readings of Freud, Clausewitz, and James C. Scott's studies on anarchism in Poland and Malaysia. Caygill identifies the GCWPC as pioneering in its capacity to resist through the organisation of a weblike structure of civil society networks that included the women's movement, CND, religious organisations such as the Quakers and the labour movement – all before the availability of mobile phone communications. See *On Resistance: A Philosophy of Defiance*, p.114.

<sup>15</sup> *The Battle of Orgreave (An Injury to One Is an Injury to All)* (2001) by Jeremy Deller is a key work here, as it relates to a confrontation that took place between picketing miners and South Yorkshire Police in June 1984. The period of the miners' strike overlapped with the protest at Greenham Common and Margaret Thatcher's Conservative government.

4. Who has the authority to nominate politics-as-art-as-protest and what are the risks in doing so, specifically, 'defanging' politics by aestheticisation.
5. What is the status of my artwork (as author) if protest = art. Is it protesting? If so, where should the artwork make itself visible?

These might be rolled up into two key questions:

1. How might feminist history be kept active and relevant to a new generation?
2. How might a feminist activist use nomination as 'artivism' to affect social and cultural transformation and enable a critical re-evaluation of gender equality?<sup>16</sup>

## Key Literature

I have drawn on a wide variety of academic, artistic and activist sources to support the research. These can be broadly divided into the following categories with key figures referenced or having influence on the research, though this is not an exhaustive listing, more a simple mapping out of territories :

- **Feminism** (including the second-wave feminists mentioned earlier, plus Crenshaw, Ahmed, hooks, Rowbotham, Battista, Mies, Federici, Pollock)
- **Greenham** (Roseneil, Liddington, Pettitt, Blackwood, Coudry, Kokoli)
- **Queer Theory** (Berlant, Butler, Halberstam, Preciado, Sedgwick, Warner, Hester)
- **Neoliberalism** (Giroux, Graeber, Harvey, Jameson)
- **Commons** (Federici, Casco, Lütticken, Vishmidt,)
- **Art & Politics** (Sholette, Kester, Charnley, Beech, Rancière, Caygill)

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<sup>16</sup> A term used in a recent anthology of work and writings by feminist authors and artists edited by Katy Deepwell. Artivism and feminist art activism is understood as a binary where art approaches, engages with and transforms activism and vice versa. Deepwell writes in her introduction: 'The promise of art activism is that they can redefine how both art and politics can be understood by bringing together unexpected elements and new configurations, encouraging us to see the world and how it operates differently and presenting different models of art production and social organization.' p. 10.



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Figure 9. Unnamed woman inside a bender at Green Gate in October 1983. Ilford B&W print  
From archival negative, 30.5 x 24 cm. (© Liz Murray)

- **Politics of the Left** (Cusset, Mouffe, Foucault, Noys)
- **Archives** (Derrida, Eichhorn, Foucault)
- **Gift** (Malinowski, Mauss, Derrida, Hyde, Marion)

The research spans a forty-year period during which both neoliberalism and queer theory emerged. In *Cruel Optimism*, Lauren Berlant brings the positivist affect of neoliberalism to bear on subjectivity, especially in terms of feminist and LGBTQI aspirations for incorporation within normative practices (marriage, adoption, serving in the forces). The identitarian reorganisation that Berlant proposes, borrowing as it does from Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick's work on affect and attachment theory, has been useful for putting a queer lens on the social and political impact of neoliberalism and how this may in turn affect the feminist project.

I am indebted to Silvia Federici's writing on capitalism and feminist movements and particularly her work on the history, critique and politics of the commons from a feminist perspective. Much of the media focus in the 1980s around the GCWPC was on gender, anti-militarism and lesbian visibility, yet it had an important eco-feminist agenda that was often overlooked. It seems particularly prescient within current debate around climate change, crop management and loss of biodiversity.

Unpicking the legal issues for sexual inequality, the research has sought to address the injustice of this gap through a contemporary raising of consciousness concerning our feminist past. Veteran human rights lawyer Helena Kennedy, who wrote *Eve Was Framed* (1992), her seminal critique of the legal system and its failure to protect women, writes of her early unwillingness to be categorised as a women's rights lawyer and thus suffer discrimination by her peers:

I waited until the year after I was awarded a Queen's Counsel because by that time no one could dismiss me as being just a mad feminist, as they would have then because I was recognised, I'd done lots of big trials – terrorism, espionage, all manner of stuff – and I was by then deemed a serious lawyer and could, therefore, talk about the failures of law for women without it,



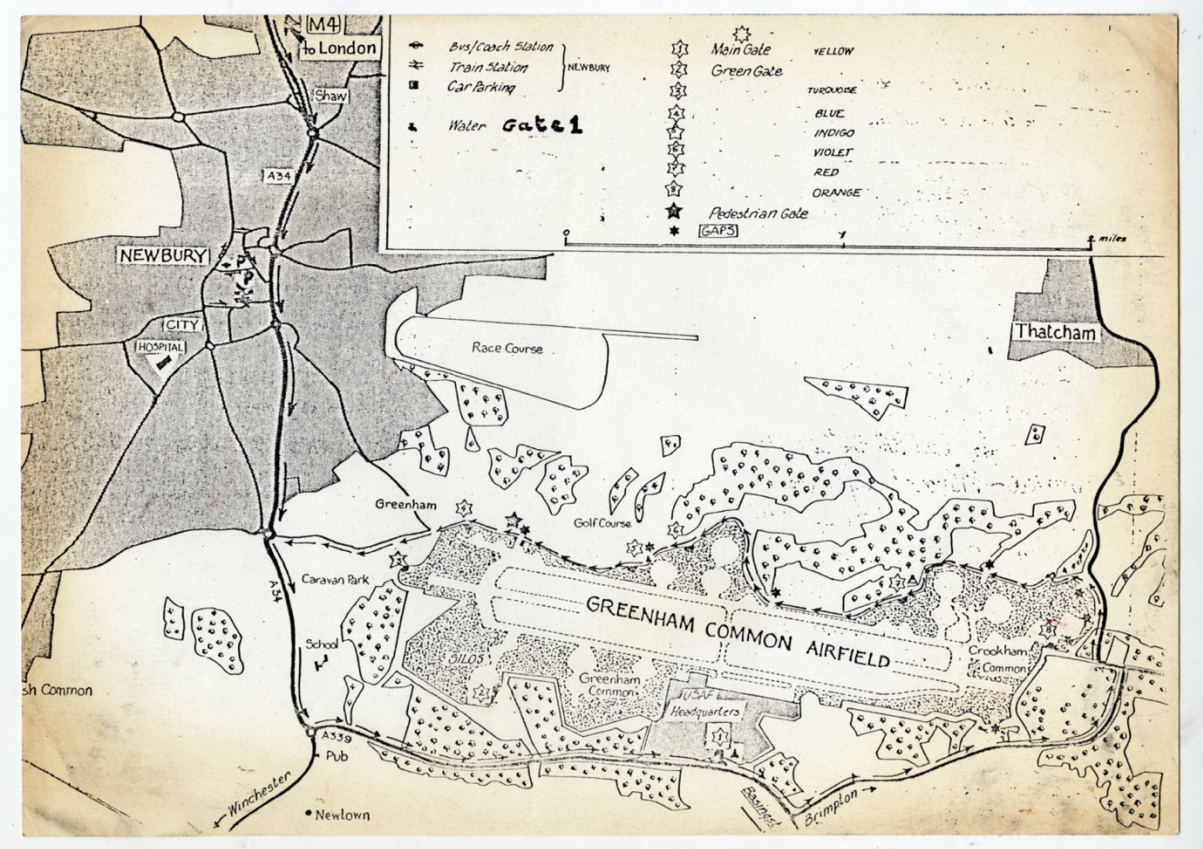


Figure 10. Photocopied map of Greenham Common airbase that was widely reproduced and circulated via GCWPC flyers and chain letters, circa 1982. (From author's GCWPC archive)

you know, being seen as a woman's issue, a fringe issue.<sup>17</sup>

Within the creative and philosophical fields, art historian and feminist scholar Griselda Pollock similarly points out:

The capacity of feminism to transform us and our world is as yet unrealized, even after almost two hundred years of effective social and political struggle, and half a century of intellectual work in both theory and creative activity.<sup>18</sup>

There has been significant work done recently on archiving the oral testimony of Greenham women by the Greenham Women Everywhere project. Jointly established by Rebecca Morden of Scary Little Girls and Kate Kerrow of The Heroine Collective, the project received Heritage Lottery funding in 2018 to interview nearly one hundred women.<sup>19</sup> Their work has been to create greater public access to 'a hugely important piece of feminist heritage'. Rebecca Morden has travelled the UK with a mobile Greenham Women Everywhere exhibition (see Figure 11), and has organised a fortieth anniversary march from Cardiff to Greenham that follows the route of the original Women For Life on Earth march in 1981.<sup>20</sup>

I am grateful to Dr Alexandra Kokoli for sharing her research with me on the GCWPC, on RAGE, on the 'craft-based DIY interventions' made and displayed on the fence and on the exhibitions of artworks inspired by the peace camp.<sup>21</sup> Kokoli

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<sup>17</sup> QC Helena Kennedy interviewed by Mandy Rhodes in *Holyrood* magazine, 2 March 2021. Available at <<https://www.holyrood.com/inside-politics/view,love-and-hate-helena-kennedy-on-the-fight-against-misogyny>> [Accessed 29 July 2021]. Kennedy's *Eve Was Framed* was first published in 1992.

<sup>18</sup> Pollock, G. 'Action, Activism, and Art and/as Thought: A Dialogue with the Artworking of Sonia Khurana and Sutapa Biswas and the Political Theory of Hannah Arendt', in *e-flux journal* 92 (June 2018). Available at <<https://www.e-flux.com/journal/92/204726/action-activism-and-art-and-as-thought-a-dialogue-with-the-artworking-of-sonia-khurana-and-sutapa-biswas-and-the-political-theory-of-hannah-arendt/>> [Accessed 26 July 2021].

<sup>19</sup> See: <<https://greenhamwomeneverywhere.co.uk/>> [Accessed 7 September 2021]

<sup>20</sup> For podcasts marking each stage of the anniversary march, see: <<https://open.spotify.com/show/4tQDT2VrMZHlgAsxKYdXoX>> [Accessed 7 September 2021].

<sup>21</sup> See: Kokoli, A. (2020). 'Dying to Live; Bad Endings and the Afterlives of Greenham Common', *Feminist Art Activisms and Artivisms*, 1<sup>st</sup> ed., ed. Katy Deepwell. Amsterdam: Valiz, p.142. Dr Kokoli reminded me of the local anti-protester group RAGE (Ratepayers Against Greenham Encampments), an organisation vehemently opposed to the GCWPC. Its leader, George Meyer, donated his papers to the Imperial War Museum. Some of his papers are also held in the Women's Library Collections at the LSE.



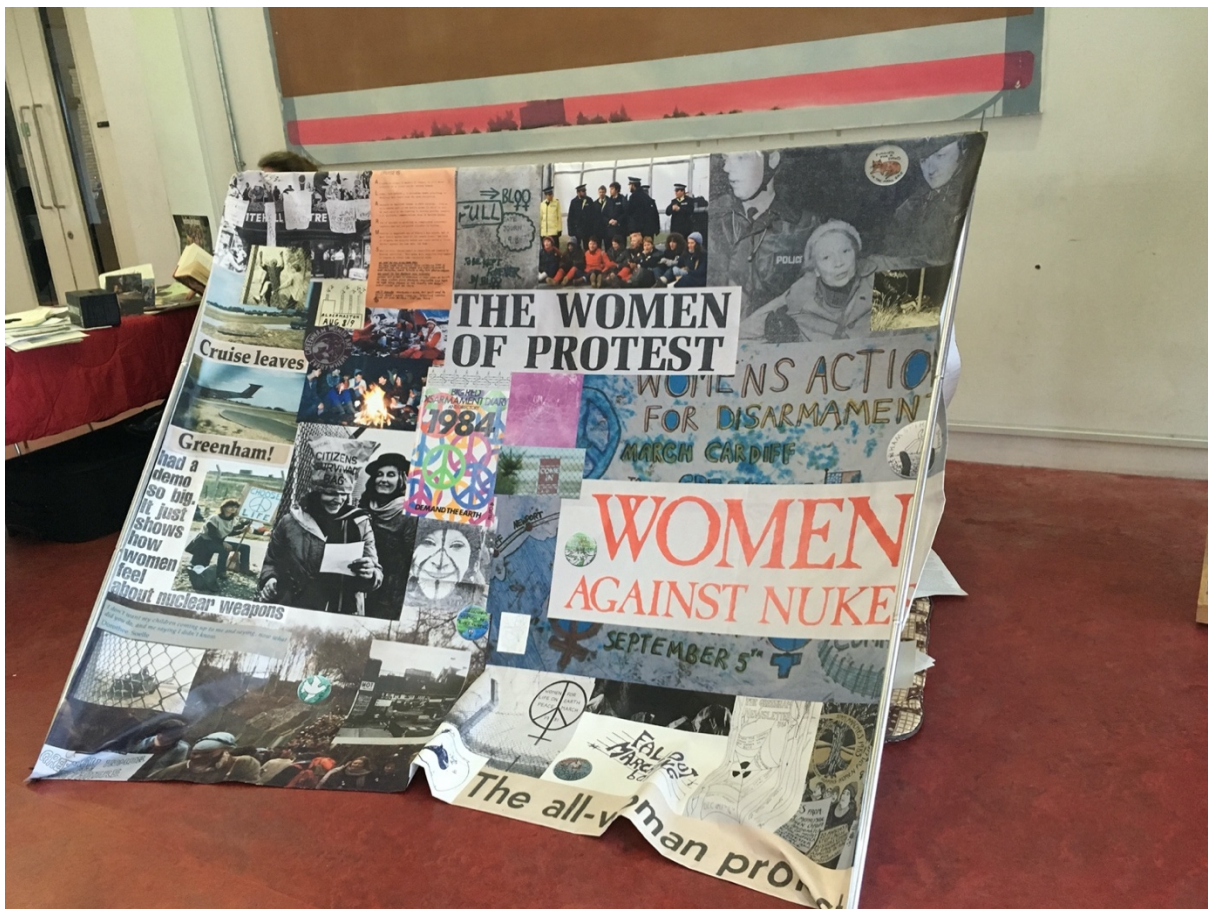


Figure 11. Pop-up exhibition of Greenham Women Everywhere project in lecture theatre foyer of Goldsmiths, University of London, 2019. The co-founder of the project, Rebecca Morden, can be seen invigilating. (© Liz Murray)

recognises Greenham as an increasingly important example of British feminist heritage that fits within Griselda Pollock's analysis of a virtual feminist museum when 'viewed through the lens of feminist intergenerational transmission'.<sup>22</sup>

Artists whose work has informed and fed this research are Manuela Zechner (*The Future Archive*, 2005-ongoing), Katie Patterson (*Future Library*, 2014-2014), Zanele Muholi (*Faces and Phases*, 2006-2014), Ellen Lesperance (*Woman II (She Stormed the Compound singing: 'Old and Strong, She goes On and On, On and On. You Can't Kill the Spirit, She is Like a Mountain'*, 2013), Jeremy Deller (*The Battle of Orgreave*, 2001), Minna Haukka and Kristin Luke (*The Mobile Feminist Library: In Words, In Action, In Connection*, 2021), amongst others. I will discuss several of these works in detail within the sections *Binder* and *Gift*.

### **Talking-Back (two methods)**

The research uses two methods: autobiography and nomination. In the first method, my own experience of having been a peace camp participant is the basis for, and forms an important part of, the proposition and analysis of this research. In the second method, I nominate the peace camp as an artwork through writing.

Autobiography as a method sits within the realm of 'autotheory' as a mode of feminist scholarship that interweaves autobiography, subjectivity, philosophy and theory.<sup>23</sup> It is a feminist strategy that presses against the solidity of histories in order to poke through to and uncover alternative accounts, other 'herstories'.<sup>24</sup> These herstories are not 'official' histories; they resist the authorised account from the prevailing hegemony. I use my own archive of materials to generate new responses both in the studio and through writing. These responses include autobiographical stories, correspondences, archival material and the iterative refractive practice in my studio that sets up a dialogue between past and present. I use these to explore how

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<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p.143.

<sup>23</sup> See Fournier, L. (2021). *Autotheory as Feminist Practice in Art, Writing and Criticism*. Boston: MIT Press. Included within this 'autotheory' mode are Maggie Nelson's *Argonauts* and Beatriz Preciado's *Testo-Junkie*.

<sup>24</sup> Feminist critique of historiography, which reverses the perspective of 'his story' to 'her story' to present a woman's point of view. The term was first used by Robin Morgan in *Sisterhood Is Powerful: An Anthology of Writings from the Women's Liberation Movement*, New York: Vintage, 1970.

folding these elements into practice, history and politics can be shared as knowledge in a process of 'talking-back'. I use this phrase as it carries connotations of resistance and defiance, of speaking back to and at authority. It is a method for destabilising hierarchies as the position of who is talking to what changes.<sup>25</sup>

How this works in practice – in the studio – sees materials answering me back, behaving in ways I don't always control; my archive speaks back to misremembered events and informs the artwork; objects chatter; and I correspond with myself from present to past through the making of objects and the writing of letters. There is a reflexivity that occurs between me (artist), materials (documents, images, raw materials) and the art object (artwork) that is constantly shifting backwards and forwards. I work with materials that contain knowledge, resonance, associations, limits and language. This is an existential condition rather than a poetic one: clay develops plasticity when wet, brittleness when dry; newspaper articles have content imprinted upon a surface that yellows and becomes frail with age; an object unmoored from its normal function appears strange and unfamiliar.

Allowing this correspondence to take place relies on the artist letting go of expectations about what materials should do and what an artwork should look like. This openness between artist, materials and artwork is a position diametrically opposed to the displaced memory attached to the non-viewed videotape. One method is open to debate, the other closes it down. For this artmaking method to work, it relies on flexibility and a willingness to listen. Waiting for an artwork to reveal itself takes time. Sometimes this is simply about being patient, and the revelation often comes when I have been looking elsewhere and least expect it. At these moments, the work in the studio hits me with the force of treading on a garden rake and being

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<sup>25</sup> In 2019 the Department of Gender Studies at the LSE commemorated thirty years of intersectionality with a day-long series of interventions which concluded with a public lecture given by Professor Kimberlé Crenshaw, who first introduced the term. I was lucky to be part of the audience of *Thirty Years of Theorizing Justice: Intersectionality, Critical Race Theory, and Contemporary Challenges*, and I was particularly struck by a term that Crenshaw used to describe her upbringing and education: 'backchat', a term of cheeky or defiant reply to a figure of authority. Not everyone in the audience agreed with Crenshaw's views; see <<https://www.lse.ac.uk/gender/news/jan-2019/Anti-feminism-and-collective-response>> [Accessed 28 August 2021].



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Figure 12. Liz Murray, *The Studio Assistant* (2019). Found object, paint, 128 x 33 x 10 cm.

smacked in the face, an experience full of comedy and pain. Unexpected and valuable, these exchanges demonstrate that materials, documents and artwork find a means to make themselves heard. The long-awaited video footage was a rake-in-the-face moment that served as a reminder that the past, if not a foreign land, has moveable boundaries.

As a research project led by the activities inherent in art practice, there is a folding in and looping out between all the components and actions – of thinking, making, reading, writing. Storytelling is intrinsic to this project as a method of engaging with feminist histories, narratives, events and artwork. It is an intersectional, ‘backchatting’ methodology. I was a participant in the protests at Greenham, staying at the camp when bodies were needed for blockading gates, resisting bailiffs or committing acts of criminal damage to military property. Thus, my ‘being there’ is critical to this project’s method of corresponding with the past, revisiting archives and allowing artwork to ‘speak back’ and inform the content.

For clarification, there are two forms of artwork in this research: my own practice (some examples of which are seen in this thesis) and the protest-as-artwork that comes into being through this thesis. My artwork is not protest (in the sense of bodies or boots on the ground) but points to and speaks to the other artwork.

The second method – *nomination* – is central to the thesis in that it reframes a feminist protest as an artwork. I argue that doing this and claiming the authority to do so is a performance of resistance that activates art to expand the language of politics and questions how politics can assume the qualities of art. My ambition for this activation is not to lamely speak a poetics to power, as if that is all that art might do, but to enable a social change – a raising of consciousness – through exposing the sociopolitical structures that create and sustain discrimination against women. Ambitious though this might seem, I believe that art becomes critical when it reveals the structures and limits of hegemonic practices. In an essay on artistic activism, Chantal Mouffe argues for an agonistic approach that resists the status quo. She writes:



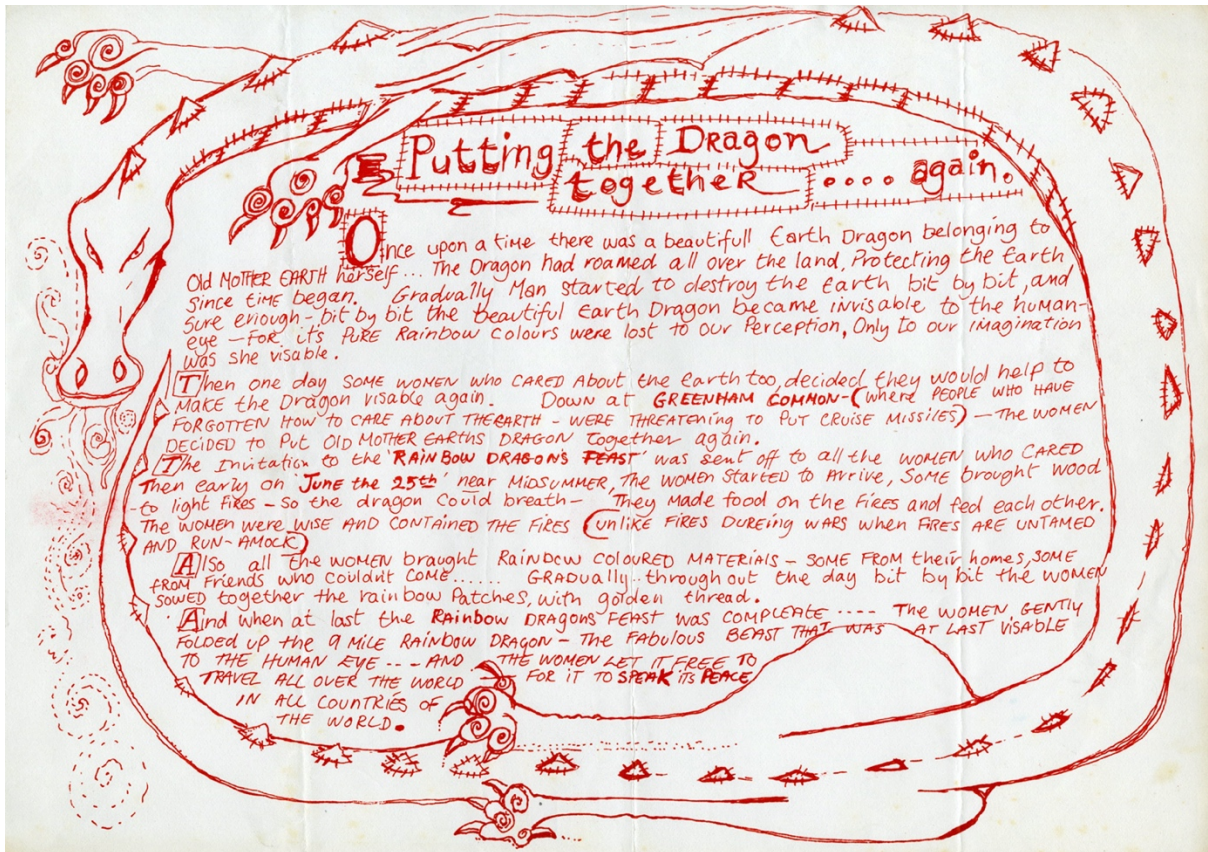


Figure 13. Flyer from the GCWPC commemorating the 'Rainbow Dragon's Feast' of 25 June 1983. (From author's GCWPC archive)

According to the agonistic approach, critical art is art that foments dissensus, that makes visible what the dominant consensus tends to obscure and obliterate. It is constituted by a manifold of artistic practices aiming at giving a voice to all those who are silenced within the framework of the existing hegemony.<sup>26</sup>

Mouffe concludes that ‘It would be a serious mistake to believe that artistic activism could, on its own, bring about the end of neoliberal hegemony.’ Bringing about social change that recognises power relations and gender violence and ends discrimination against women might not topple the neoliberal hegemony, but it would result in a fairer future for all women. In a move that is collective and feminist – in bell hooks’ terms of feminism as ‘the movement to end sexism, sexual exploitation, and sexual oppression’ – I will return to how the research addresses this ambition in the concluding chapter.<sup>27</sup>

Nomination is, therefore, an action that proposes, one that becomes ‘live’ through the writing process. It is a power relation: a nominee can only become the thing it is nominated for if the nominator puts it forward. For the nominator to put someone or something forward, the nominee must be capable of being nominated. Both nominator and nominee are in a shared field of knowledge, expertise and being. Within that ‘field’ there is a necessity or desire to bring to wider public attention the activities, knowledges and research generated from this sphere. It is a political action that raises awareness of what is being endorsed and where that endorsement is made from (the institution). The nominee gains opportunity (some power) from the endorsement, which is only fully realised (most power) once the nomination is agreed by a majority. At this point, the nominee becomes more powerful than the nominator. Repositioning the balance of power is a critical moment for nominee and nominator.

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<sup>26</sup> Mouffe, C. Artistic Activism and Agonistic Spaces. *Art and Research: A Journal of Ideas, Contexts, and Methods*, Vol. 1, No. 2, Summer 2007. Available at:

<[http://www.artandresearch.org.uk/v1n2/mouffe.html#\\_ftn3](http://www.artandresearch.org.uk/v1n2/mouffe.html#_ftn3)> [Accessed 4 March 2020].

<sup>27</sup> hooks, b. (2000). *Feminist Theory: From Margin to Centre*. London: Pluto Press, p. 33.



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Figure 14. Liz Murray, *Proposition #1 (Gay Bar)* (2019). Wood, paint, flashing LED lights, 190 x 50 x 30 cm.



This exchange begins with the nominator having more power or competency than the nominee, a requirement that is critical to enact nomination. The nominator has the authority to decide who or what becomes nominated. The nominator is authoritarian. At some point in the past, we might assume that the nominator was itself a nominee. The nominator knows that at some point in the future it will lose the position of power it holds in relation to the nominee. This is a potentially challenging condition for the status of the nominator, as it destroys its authority in the act of doing what it is named to do. After a period of scrutiny, the nominator becomes invisible.

The legitimacy of a nominator requires reciprocal recognition by other members of the institution or field of knowledge. For a nomination to have meaning, its claim (of authority) must be recognised. A nominator is, for the duration of its tenure, behaving like a sovereign. If sovereignty is conditional on a social contract, for example, the nominator is bound by those rules to work for the good of the institution. What if the nominator identifies with a non-sovereign community that acts, thinks and behaves autonomously, like nation states or artists?

Before addressing the question of autonomy, I want to clarify why I am using 'nomination' rather than 'proposition' or 'delegation'. Proposition is a suggestion, a bid for placement. Whereas nomination is an authoritarian position, proposition is a form of haggling. From it there dangles a *what if* question. *What if* we were to place a flashing sign that reads 'GAY BAR' inside an academic institution? Will that make it a venue for gay people? What happens to the students who aren't gay? Do they become gay by association? Does the institution benefit from appropriating the mantle of queerness and make hay with the gays? *What if* everything that the GCWPC was and is can be enfolded into an artwork? What then?

Figures 12, 14 and 15 show examples of my practice that demonstrate the use of appropriation, reification and nomination. Figure 15 was made after I met Professor Hiroshi Ishiguro at the Department of Systems Innovation at Osaka University in 2016.



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Figure 15. Liz Murray, *Still Life (Professor Ishiguro)* (2016). C-type photographic print, 29.7 x 19.8 cm.

Ishiguro is best known for his work on developing cognitive humanoid robots.<sup>28</sup> He has built a replica of himself – an android clone – which he uses to present lectures on intelligent robotics in his absence. Professor Ishiguro, who always dresses in Johnny Cash-like black, comes across as marginally more human-looking than his doppelgänger. Thinking of how Ishiguro had appointed an object as his ‘other’, on returning to my hotel room I appropriated this banana as the professor.

As this thesis makes an artwork of a protest through speaking it into being via nomination, it is helpful to site these sculptural works alongside the text for context. Their relationship to the writing is at a slant. They are real objects that exist in the world, whereas the thesis that proposes Greenham as an artwork is, for now at least, in text form. What both objects and theoretical objects share is a potential for further engagement, either as exhibition or publication.

To demonstrate how this haggling works, let us look at the work in Figure 13. An artwork calls into question the space in which it is situated, presenting the possibility of another space (political, imaginary, queer). As if to evade detection, it slips into the space bearing the same font used by the institution for signage. It negotiates and redirects, a signifier that resists the reification of the social relations that surrounds it. I would argue that *Proposition #1 (Gay Bar)* (2019), signing ‘GAY BAR’ as it does, changes the space of the academy (in this instance, the RCA); it stops the art college or university (the reified object) from being itself. The artwork performs a doubling of space by being present as a three-dimensional object and occupying the logic of the institution. It (the artwork) disappears while simultaneously taking over the place of the academy. In a sense, this is an example of an artwork performing a sit-in, a resistance against, or a deterritorialisation of, the institution.

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<sup>28</sup> Repliee Qiexpo is a humanoid robot that resembles a Japanese woman in her thirties. Ishiguro believes that people respond better to human-like robots. He writes in an interview with Tim Hornyak for *Scientific American* in 2006: ‘Appearance is very important to have better interpersonal relationships with a robot. Robots are information media, especially humanoid robots. Their main role in our future is to interact naturally with people.’ See: <<https://www.scientificamerican.com/article/android-science/>> [Accessed 10 September 2021].



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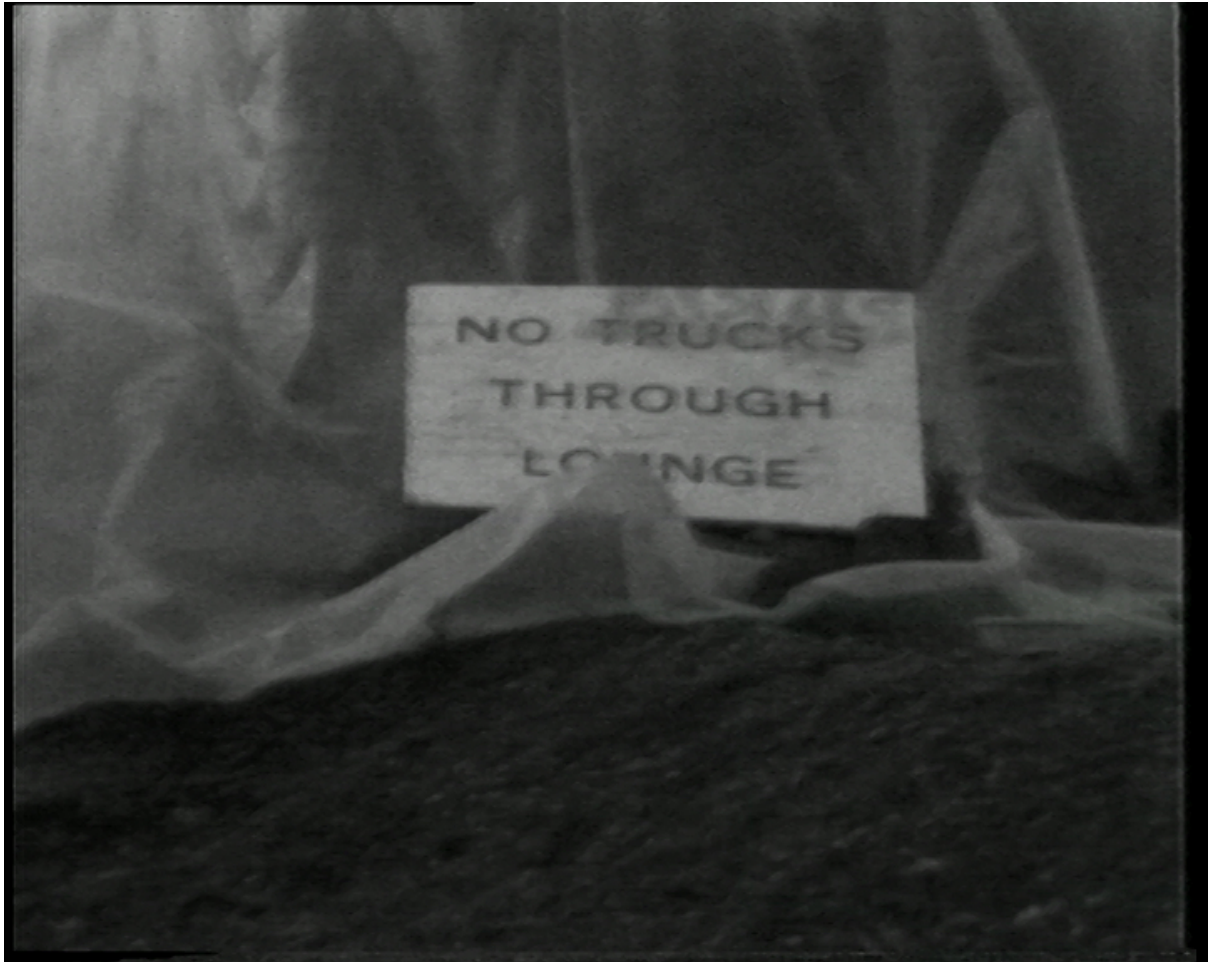
Figure 16. Ponies grazing on Greenham Common near the former site of the eastern runway, 26 July 2018. (© Liz Murray)

The artwork is neither an intervention nor a delegate. Delegation has connotations of conference centres and name-tagged, lanyard-wearing supplicants, as well as connotations of passing on duties to others, whether technological or parliamentary. There is a donation of power to an object that is conditional and retractable. Authority remains at a higher level than that of the delegate. I would argue that the power of a nominator is not donated but appointed, even though that power is eventually transferred to the nominee.

Proposing a *some-thing* or *some-one* has aspects of endorsement or support which, like delegation, lack the authority of nomination. The etymological root of 'authority' – *auctoritas* – means origination or promotion and it shares those origins with 'author' (*auctor*). In making a nominative action 'live' through the writing process, this thesis platforms the proposition and I myself author the writing. I will return to the question of authorship and with it the issue of ownership, permission and autonomy shortly.

To nominate is an action in the present that offers a change of state in the future. This is a promise to power and, at the instant of nomination, causes movement. Nomination is about a state of 'now' and an implied desire to move from that moment. It suggests a motion towards something, a becoming. Like a proposition, it implies future action for change of the status quo. Unlike appropriation – in the Duchampian sense of a taking a readymade object as artwork – this research is not using a found object. For Greenham is, in a way, an unfound object; one that is neither finished nor complete. I am reframing Greenham as an artwork as a strategy for effectively reclaiming and reactivating this key, queer, radical event of feminist politics for a future audience. Doing so raises questions about the scope of art – what it can and cannot test, what claims it can and can't make. By comparison, the once radical anti-art manifestos of the Dadaists and Marcel Duchamp's readymades seem tamed by their placement in the canon of art history, especially now through a post-colonial lens and within the auratic space of the museum or gallery. Socially and politically engaged practices can be framed as 'useful' in that they raise audience awareness by smuggling politics into the gallery or museum.





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Figure 17. Still from digitised Sony Helical Scan videotape shot at Yellow Gate, Greenham Common Women's Peace Camp, in 1983. The image shows a large sign next to a bender indicating 'NO TRUCKS THROUGH LOUNGE'.

In assuming agency – of appointing myself as an authority to nominate a protest – I share this strategy with Hayley Newman’s declaring herself ‘Self-appointed Artist in Residence of the City of London’, a role lasting for a day and chronicled in her book *Common*.<sup>29</sup> For Newman, the act of self-appointment freed her of any interference from the City’s financial institutions and gave her independence to report her ‘findings’. It is also a tactic that was widely used at Greenham, always with humour. A patch of muddy ground would be nominated ‘The Lounge’. A polytunnel on pallets would be named ‘The Ritz’. My self-appointment is not as an artist in residence; the ‘residency’ at the camp was plural, multiple, collective. In appointing myself as proposer, I speak with – not for – the thousands of women that took part in this long protest. Greenham did not have a single author, and I am mindful that in proposing this nomination I do so as a fragment of that collective political movement. In this spirit, it could be said that in writing this thesis I am writing with others. Indeed, all writing, it could be argued, is never the mental activity of a single author. To put these words and ideas together, I have relied on the input of many others.

I am aware that in this year marking the fortieth anniversary of the camp’s inception, many younger women may be unaware of its history or cultural importance. This project is dedicated to them.

## Section overview

The thesis is structured in three parts (*Binder*, *Gift* and *Correspondence*), with an appendix that includes a sample of fifty images of archival material that relate to, and extend from, the GCWPC.

The first section, *Binder*, gives a summary of how the peace camp was established and describes the political landscape at the time. It examines how protest is documented, archived, remembered and accessed. It is illustrated with examples from my own archive of material from the peace camp. As a visual resource, it

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<sup>29</sup> Responding to a demonstration by NHS staff to cuts in the health service, during which a City of London worker was overheard to comment that ‘they should be water-cannoned’, in 2011 Hayley Newman went undercover as a Self-appointed Artist in Residence of the City of London. See Hayley Newman, *Common* (Ventnor: Copy Press, 2013), pp. 9-11.

supports the aim of the research in reactivating a radical feminist politics for a new audience. Some of the images in this section have not been published before.

*Gift* draws together contemporary thinking on commons, collectives, gifts and givenness in relation to the protest and to artworks and their potentially shared attributes. It seems timely to look at the importance of the non-hierarchical, feminist structures that existed at Greenham in the light of debates around climate change, biodiversity loss and the ongoing inequalities that still exist. It includes another story – an account of a material gesture that is returned through time by an artwork

The enfolded relation between practice and its articulation is demonstrated in *Correspondence*, a series of letters written from the present by me to my younger self that appear throughout the thesis. They focus on stories and events in the past that inform critical aspects of the event-as-artwork. This method of writing back to an imagined younger self has parallels with the Future Archive project, established by artist Manuela Zechner in 2005. In Zechner's project, interviews are conducted which are set in a 'desirable' future some two or three decades from now and in which the participants imagine themselves looking back at the present day. The recordings of these encounters track the desires and imaginary futures of life on the planet. In the project blog, Zechner writes of her method as follows:

The interview method still has the power to liberate ideas, open perspectives and make tendencies explicit. But the tenor of the future is a dark and thin one, a fearful dim shimmer on the horizon. The future archive registers this shift in tenor. My interview style and questions reflect the flipping of neoliberalism from bubble times into dark ages, in Europe notably. The answers and practices of my interviewees too reflect the search for other horizons.<sup>30</sup>

My own correspondences through time query the fixity of memory and connect events within the main body of text. *Correspondence* travels between a past and present life and addresses the hooks and hitches that memory snags itself upon. And

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<sup>30</sup> See: <<https://thefuturearchiveblog.wordpress.com/about-2/>> [Accessed 9 September 2020].



whilst these letters are not yet answered, they are available to a hoped-for readership from a new generation of feminists.

London 28/11/19

Dear Liz,

Hi, it is me again. Not sure if you received my last letter from a couple of weeks ago. It is a bit problematic, to say the least, to know **how** you're getting my messages if you are even getting them at all. I will just persist for now; it is good to feel we're talking even if the traffic is flowing in only one direction. (That is going to be the name of a godawful boy band, just saying...).

I went to see a 'pop-up' exhibition last week. ('pop-up' is a thing now, not like a jack-in-the-box, more like mini-business ventures that appear overnight selling street-food, recycled fashion or even adverts that pop up as you type on your laptop – that last word will be confusing...more on this, later). So, this exhibition, which was all about Greenham Common Peace Wimmin, was held at Goldsmiths in New Cross. It was billed to be there for three days only which seemed a bit short to me. When I arrived, I could say why 'pop-up' was appropriate: it was tiny with the whole display fitting into a suitcase. There was a table set up beside the lecture theatre. It was covered in pamphlets, reading matter, postcards and badges. Beside this was a piece of fabric hung over a frame making a small tent. A patterned sleeping bag was spread out underneath, inviting repose. The outside of the tent was covered in photographic images of the protest, hand-made banners saying WOMEN AGAINST NUKE and WOMENS ACTION FOR DISARMAMENT, plus press-cuttings and flyers. It looked familiar, reproducing the language of handmade, hand-drawn photo-stated leaflets and badges from the 1980's. The tent was lame—far too clean, open to the elements—you wouldn't last a night in it. An invigilator explained that the project, 'Greenham Women Everywhere', was building an oral history archive of women who had been involved in the peace camp to raise public awareness about the feminist heritage of the camp. I was given a pair of headphones and hunkered down near the tent, listening to two women talking about a fence-cutting incident they had been part of. It was not that easy to listen to their voices, as the foyer thronged with students waiting for the next lecture. To be honest, not many of them seemed interested in the tent or the three other grey-haired women who had arrived whilst I was there. Either this feminist heritage was lost on

them or they had seen it all before. I wondered whether it was the **passivity** of the display or if it just felt like 'old history stuff'.

What do you think about this, about reviving a political protest and bringing it into the present? I realise this is confusing as we're talking about your **present**; your **now**, my **past**. I'm wondering how I/you would have responded had someone set up an exhibition like this at Art School. An exhibition, for example, on civil disobedience with Bertrand Russell's Committee of 100 and Non-Violent Direct Action from the 1960's? Would you have looked or just been put off by images of the establishment, of white men marching with banners? Is it about being represented, of feeling that you belong? That's what I remember most about Greenham, that sense of being with kin.

Oh well, here I am... popping-up into your letterbox and seeking answers to questions that will concern you in your future. Typing on my laptop, what's more, though I always write to you first by hand. This is largely how communication is done nowadays; through tapping your fingertips against a keyboard, or a screen, or a pane of glass. Amazeballs, eh?! No grubby mitts. That lovely Parker fountain pen you are going to soon receive will get plenty of use meantime. I still have it. And use it. Mostly for 'thank you' and condolence letters. Anyway, I'm sure this is off-putting for you, receiving a 'typed' letter which feels functional and possibly official. I have a belief that somehow this technology will eventually reach you and, in turn, help me resolve some problems with history, politics, memory, consciousness and queer belonging. That's another 'now' thing, **QUEER**. Not the *funny-peculiar* of then but a reclaiming of the pejorative, like dyke and fag. Maybe this is best left for another correspondence...

If/when you/I get this, could you drop me a few lines by return, saying whether you recognize you are changing history (obvs. not individually, though the butterfly wing effect...anything is possible).

Can't wait to hear back from you/me!

Xx Liz

[BLANK]

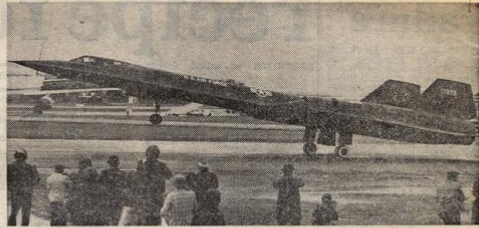


Slogan painters slip Greenham security

PEACE

WOMEN DAUB

SPY PLANE



TOP SECRET: Blackbird, the world's fastest plane.

WOMEN protestors penetrated the security screen at Greenham Common Cruise missile base today and scrawled slogans on a top-secret spy plane.

The peace women got past guards under the cover of darkness and reached the aircraft—known as the Blackbird—which was on the runway where it had been on general view during the weekend international air tattoo.

The American Blackbird is one of the world's most sophisticated high-altitude reconnaissance

Standard Reporters

planes and was heavily guarded during the show because it contains secret equipment.

The women got into the base at 2.30 am by cutting through the perimeter fence. They splashed white paint on the Blackbird's fuselage and daubed peace symbols and messages like No Nukes on a KC135 tanker plane standing beside it.

Then they were spotted and held by security men.

Seven women have been accused of causing criminal damage and bailed to appear at Newbury on August 18.

The Blackbird, official code name SR 71, was in a roped off area guarded day and night by at least four soldiers during the air show.

More than 200,000 spectators saw the plane from a distance of 10 yards.

The Blackbird, acclaimed by the United States Air Force as the world's fastest, once crossed the Atlantic from New York to London, a distance of 3490 miles, in 1 hour 54 minutes.

During the show it stood alongside another secret American plane, the TR11, successor to the U2 spy plane.

The Blackbird was moved to another pad on the far side of the airfield after the show.

During the show, Defence Minister Michael Heseltine and a number of other VIPs, including Prince Michael of Kent and Prince Faisal were given a close-up view of the Blackbird.

In a statement today a United States Air Force spokesman said: "The RAF is responsible for security on the base and we have no statement to make."

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'I didn't kill Caroline'

by John McLeod

A WEST GERMAN detective wants to question about the killing of five-year-old Caroline Hogg said today: "I was not the murderer."

"The police thought I possibly could have been, but I am not that man. I didn't know the girl," said Fritz Witte, 40, at his home in the village of Witzen, near Daxheim.

Edinburgh detectives are flying to West Germany to interview him.

"We are going for a witness statement," said a spokesman.

Mr Witte, a mature student, was on a Scottish motoring holiday and was in Forthwick, Edinburgh, on July 8 when Caroline disappeared.

ance" seen with Caroline at the fairground just before she disappeared.

Mr Witte, a bachelor, who was described today as "an eternal student" is believed to have been born in Rostok, Poland, and speaks fluent English.

He said: "I was told by the landlady of the place where I was staying about the girl going missing. I bought a newspaper in Edinburgh and I think it said something about it in that."

"I have no idea who was the murderer. I am not. I didn't know the girl."

Mr Witte admitted to a newspaper yesterday that he was in Edinburgh the very hour Caroline was snatched from the fair and admitted

Continued Page 2, Col 3



FRITZ WITTE

Figure 18. Newspaper cutting showing headline 'Peace Women Daub Spy Plane', The Standard, 25 July 1983. (From author's GCWPC archive)

## Section 2: BINDER, or an Embarrassment of Archives

This section looks at archives from a feminist and queer perspective. It includes a selection of materials that I have collected in connection with the GCWPC between 1982 and 1985, along with two relevant exhibitions that I review for their relationship to archives. I use an analysis of these exhibitions to consider how archives can bind themselves to the identities of their makers. This chapter also serves to explore how archives may be employed to keep feminist history active and relevant.

In my practice, I use the archive to provoke material responses to the knowledge it contains. I will introduce two such works (*Black Matters*, 2017, and *The Bohemians*, 2010-2012) and discuss them in relation to the two exhibitions under review.

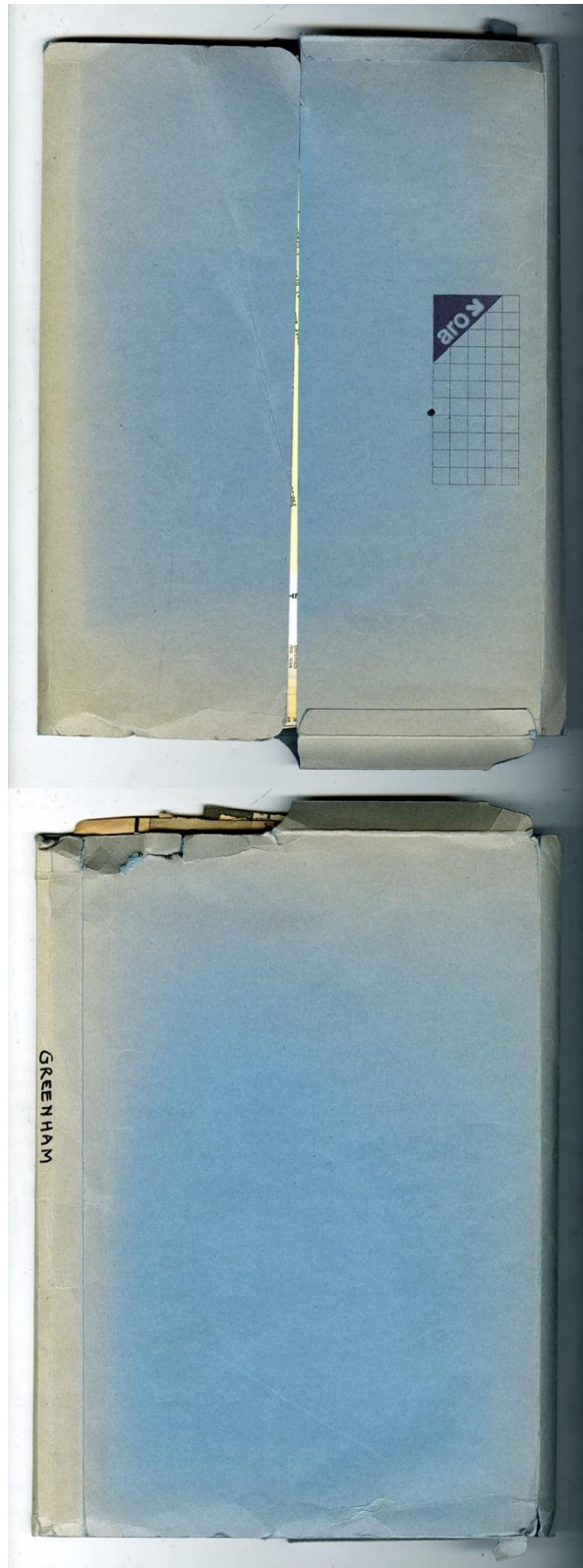
Focusing specifically on a women-only peace movement which produced and continues to generate disparate materials and records of lived experiences, the focus here is on how the GCWPC might best be represented in the sense of being kept 'alive' for new feminists to come.<sup>31</sup>

The first story in the *introduction* to this thesis proposes that embarrassment can feature in the forming of such an archive. As a former Greenham woman, I bring my own stories and memories from that time into this research. Some of these are embarrassing in that they register lapses in judgement, behaviour and taste. There are issues of fitting into normative society. Memory can slip, fail or be plain faulty. Yet stories and oral testimony can also provide a subjective colouring and empathetic understanding for past events that a newspaper cutting or a national archive may

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<sup>31</sup> The London School of Economics (LSE) holds the Women's Library Collection of materials that document the campaign for women's rights and equality. The collection dates from the late nineteenth century to the present day and includes archives from the GCWPC as well as the Women's Suffrage Petition of 1866. See: <<https://www.lse.ac.uk/library/collection-highlights/The-Womens-Library>> [Accessed 4 April 2021]. As cited in the introduction, the Greenham Women Everywhere project has interviewed and made accessible testimonies from nearly one hundred former Greenham women since 2018.





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Figure 19. Two cardboard folders containing the author's archive of GCWPC materials, 1982-1985.

not.<sup>32</sup> Memories, then, are archivable too.<sup>33</sup>

I begin with a description of how my collection of Greenham ‘stuff’ accumulated, followed by a brief background on the peace camp in *Herstory* and the change in socioeconomic conditions since the peace camp’s establishment in *History*.

## **Bindings**

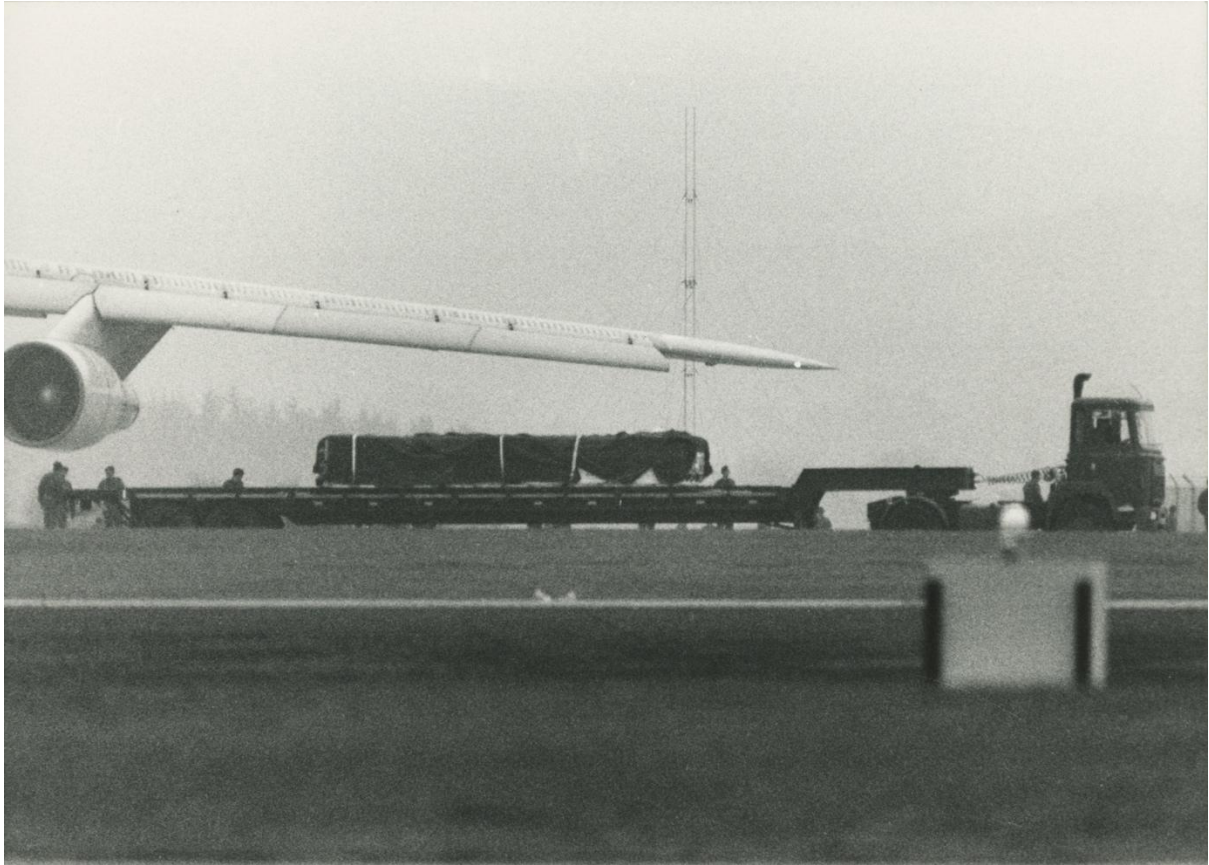
In a filing cabinet inside my studio there are two dog-eared document folders. The blue-grey card binders have faded to yellowy green at the top where the sun has bleached them as they rested on various bookcases and shelves. Both still bulge with newspaper cuttings, images from colour magazines, flyers, song sheets and photocopied newsletters. Along with the folders is an Ilford black-and-white print box, a series of small colour images, some Press Association photographs, a glassine sheet holding strips of negatives, a contact sheet, a sketchbook started in 1983 and a Sony high-density videotape for helical scan videotape recorders. Together they comprise my GCWPC archive. Not that I ever call it that. They are just documents which I have been unwilling to part with. They have moved with me over the past thirty-seven years, through attic-room squats, short-life housing co-ops, into the homes of others and my own. Many cherished items of mine have been lost or thrown out over the decades, but these stubborn relics remain. Since I have carried this personal archive with me for so long, I am now curious as to why. It has remained largely unsorted, unshared and unseen by anyone else. There are many more comprehensive, publicly available and accessible archives relating to the GCWPC, so why keep this one, unless it matters in ways I have yet to acknowledge. What binds it to me? To explain how these materials have resisted the bin bag requires a recap of how they began to be assembled. And, in reviewing this personal history, it reveals a younger self in transit.

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<sup>32</sup> For comparison, check out the National Archives online catalogue for materials relating to Greenham Common: <<https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/>> [Accessed 8 September 2021].

<sup>33</sup> For an interesting discussion in September 2020 around objective materials and subjective testimonies between the archivists at the LSE and Greenham Women Everywhere founders Rebecca Mordern and Kate Kerrow, see: <[https://richmedia.lse.ac.uk/library/20200922\\_canWeArchiveMemories.mp4](https://richmedia.lse.ac.uk/library/20200922_canWeArchiveMemories.mp4)> [Accessed 1 June 2021].





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Figure 20. Press Association B&W photographic print dated 15 November 1983. On verso, 'Tarpaulin-Covered Cases Transported at Greenham: a US Galaxy transporter aircraft landed today at Greenham Common airbase bringing screams and tears from women peace protestors who ran to the end of the runway to watch it land. The plane then unloaded a cargo the same size and shape as the cruise missiles on the Starlifter yesterday and the tarpaulin-covered cases were taken by low loader to the bomb-proof silos.'

In 1982, as a second-year undergraduate art student, I became active in an anti-nuclear movement against the siting of American cruise missiles in the UK. My first visit to the Greenham Common USAF base was for a mass protest. Thousands of women took part in nonviolent demonstrations against the siting of nuclear cruise missiles. It was an extraordinary event to be part of – there was a wild, positive energy and a shared sense of purpose, care and community. I decided to stay on for the weekend despite not having a sleeping bag or appropriate clothing. I was both liberated by and hooked to the politics and potency of all-women gatherings. How I managed to stay on despite the cold and damp conditions will appear as a story in *Gift*.

At weekends, I shuttled between London and Newbury, joining the permanent camp women to swell numbers for protests or ‘actions’. Back in London, I would receive regular newsletters from a network of activists spanning CND, the Green Party, Women for Life on Earth, the Ecology Party, Greenham Women Against Cruise and regional GCWPC support groups. These leaflets were kept by me both as a reminder of upcoming actions and, when copied and pinned up on college notice boards, as an urgent means to gather support and bodies on the front line. In my student bedsit, I pored over *Guardian* articles on cruise missiles and the peace camp. Cutting sections of press and filing newsletters from the camp seemed a way to make sense of the disjuncture between the experience of protesting and its reporting in the media, and of being split between the roles of student and activist. The collection grew fatter until a time was reached when no more was added. The papers stayed in their folders; the covers paled as they lay on dusty shelves along with the casing of the videocassette. Over all these intervening years, the dormant material has been carried, waiting tick-like for the moment to fasten itself to a living body for reinvigoration and restitution.

I better understand now how important it was for me then to keep a record of my activism at that time. The folders kept my identity together in one place as a gay woman peace protester. My bindings were to the radical feminist women and ideologies that the peace camp at Greenham encompassed. Outside of those cardboard covers, I was different things to different people. At art school, I was one of very few ‘out’ lesbians, and whilst many of my colleagues at art school supported my



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Figure 21. Press Association B&W photographic print dated 15 November 1983. On verso, 'Cruise Watch by Military: More cruise missile equipment is unloaded under guard at the Greenham Common missile base in Berkshire today.'

anti-nuclear cause, it felt a less inclusive community than the peace camp and the women living there.<sup>34</sup> My schoolfriends, with some of whom I had tested out communal living in kibbutzim and cooperatives, were supportive of my politics but were busy getting on with starting families. My own family knew of my involvement at Greenham but were appalled by the prospect of my being arrested and by my being attracted to other women. For me, it was embarrassing to be a child of immigrants who had thoroughly bought into the Thatcherite self-made small-business-person model. Worse, they voted Conservative.

Whereas families archive their communality, genetic similarities and connections through photograph albums, my composition of a network of shared affiliations took place in those cardboard folders. Looking back through these increasingly brittle, fragile materials today is to trace my own involvement at specific demonstrations and to see the fracture lines and disagreements that any political organisation can encounter. Women living at the camp often took exception to decisions made by the London office of Greenham Women Against Cruise or other local groups that supported that camp. Some women from the original Women for Life on Earth march disagreed with the increasing number of lesbian-separatists making their home at the camp.<sup>35</sup> If I finally sorted my Greenham family archive collection into date order, it would perhaps resemble Leanne Shapton's *Important Artifacts and Personal Property from the Collection of Lenore Doolan and Harold Morris, Including Books, Street Fashion, and Jewelry*, which charts the life of a relationship through a catalogue of artefacts.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> Camberwell School of Arts and Crafts, where I studied BA (Hons.) Painting, organised a college-wide whip-round to pay my court fines in 1984.

<sup>35</sup> Ann Pettitt describes her feelings about the changing nature of women protesters at Greenham in her 2006 book *Walking to Greenham: How the Peace-Camp Began and the Cold War Ended*. Dinas Powys: Honno. See also: <[https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/greenham\\_4013jsp/](https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/greenham_4013jsp/)> [Accessed 8 September 2021].

<sup>36</sup> Shapton, L. (2009). *Important Artifacts and Personal Property from the Collection of Lenore Doolan and Harold Morris, Including Books, Street Fashion, and Jewelry*. London: Bloomsbury.



# STATE OF EMERGENCY FEBRUARY 29th 1984



Imagine a state of emergency: a melt-down at a nuclear reactor; an accident involving fuel; a NATO exercise; a war alert.

All the Essential Service Routes, roads you usually use with confidence, are closed to the public. You can't get home. You are separated from family and friends. If ill, you can't get to a hospital. All domestic telephone lines have been disconnected by British Telecom.

Meanwhile, local government officials, emergency planners, heads of state and royalty are led discreetly to their bunkers which are guarded by the armed forces – safe they imagine from any peril.

Does this seem far-fetched? It isn't.

These plans exist. Every day, our roads are used for the transport of highly dangerous nuclear fuel, waste and weapons. If the US and British governments have their way, cruise missiles, ready to attack, will be driven on our roads.

Would you be able to tell whether it was an exercise or the beginning of a nuclear war?

Government war plans are not designed to keep us safe. Each cruise missile makes us more of a target, not less. We are all being forced to participate in planning for a nuclear war. Our taxes pay for it. Our local councils are under pressure to take part in civil defence planning, even though fire and ambulance workers know that they cannot help you in the event of a nuclear war.

We are being numbed into accepting a greater and greater risk of nuclear destruction.

Many people think there is nothing we can do to stop a nuclear war, so why bother to talk about it?

It is this very feeling of powerlessness which is causing us to slide into nuclear war.

**BUT WE ARE NOT HELPLESS –  
IT IS REALLY IMPORTANT THAT WE  
KEEP TALKING ABOUT IT** and continue to pressurise the US and British governments by speaking out.

On February 29th, Greenham Women Against Cruise are proposing that cruise missiles are dismantled and returned to the USA. We hope you will join us in imaginative actions organised locally.

For further information, ring regional contacts.  
Donations to: GWAC, 5 Leonard Street, London EC2.

**CRUISE THREATENS PEACE AND BREAKS THE LAW**

The court case against President Reagan continues.

**GREENHAM  
WOMEN  
AGAINST  
CRUISE**

South West 06267 78232  
Brighton 0273 556 744  
Southampton  
0703 554434  
London 01-639 8561  
Wales 0222 45361/566548  
Scotland 041 423 1485  
Birmingham 021 449 6703  
Sheffield 0742 589375  
Nottingham 0802 473145  
Leeds 0532 868489  
Lancaster 0524 751361  
Newcastle 0532 653224  
Bristol 0272 876731  
Oxford 0865 722883  
Gloucester 0242 515640  
East Anglia 0603 667823

Printed by Spider Web (TU), 14-16 Sumner Way, London N1 (01 279 9141)

Figure 22. Double-sided flyer from Greenham Women Against Cruise 'State of Emergency' following the arrival of cruise missiles. (From author's GCWPC archive)

Elephant and Castle 09/01/20

Dear Liz,

It's me again! Sorry that it has been so long since I last wrote to you. I was rather hoping I might have had a response from you/me by now. A sign, even. Like an object falling over without anyone touching it, or finding a meaningful object left on the desk in my studio. (Can we do that somehow?). I know this is not logical, having an **expectation** that these letters will act as a bridge between the 'now' and the 'then' of me. It's a crazy way of keeping in touch yet I hope that we find a way to communicate. And that you can cope with your future periodically opening into your present.

Speaking of expectations, there was something I wanted to ask you; to clarify a moment of recording the present (your present, that is, not mine in the future). Do you recall (and possibly this event has not yet taken place), when you borrowed a video camera from that rich girl in Sculpture? (I can't recall her name, but she owned a house around the corner from college and was a royal pain in the ass). Well, if this has happened, you may remember filming at Greenham Common in autumn 1982 at the camp outside the main gates. My memory of doing this was over a weekend, perhaps around a planned action or eviction. The camera was cumbersome with a separate helical-scan tape recorder carried over the shoulder with a strap. No mic. Video cameras, with the exception of television press, were relatively rare at the camp. A woman who saw me filming said that the Americans were using a device for jamming video cameras, to stop camp women from recording demonstrations and how heavy-handed the police response was to these actions. To be honest I thought she was a bit paranoid, although there was a lot of psychic vibes and witchy-whatever going down with women at most gates. I carried on filming regardless.

Are you there yet? Can you playback what you have recorded, see what it looks like? And have you returned the camera to Lady Sculpture? Did she make a fuss about it being late? The problem with not having a camera of one's own is the inability to review what you've shot. I have kept that damn helical-scan tape with me for thirty-three years, moving in and out of numerous squats, short-life housing co-ops and council flats, before finally transferring it onto a format I could



view it on. Think about it: thirty-three years of expectations and assumption. Why, you might be thinking, did I not get on with it sooner? Good question. ~~(Lack of money firstly and, subsequently, rapid technological development in digital cameras and silicon chips making old magnetic tapes redundant).~~ That tape became a mysterious witness to my previous life as a peace protester.

I finally found someone who could digitize it in 2015 and got my first opportunity to view the footage in February the following year. It begins with a view of Camberwell taken from a bus, followed by scant twenty seconds of the camp at main gate featuring a large polythene bender and a sign saying NO TRUCKS THROUGH LOUNGE. Witty, given the bulldozers trundling past. The bulk of the twenty two minutes and fifty seconds is of Christmas at home with the fam. Which is not uninteresting but certainly not what I had been expecting after all these years (you're getting a *Prisoner* t-shirt and a jumper, by the way). The moving image and small section of sound that remained intact were both surprising and disappointing. Surprising for my memory lapse and disappointing in its banality. My expectations heaped upon this object were of once-familiar faces, of women singing, and lying down in the mud. Sure, the tape does witness us in time and in space, too, just not as much of the *specific place* as I had imagined. Does that make it a *quasi-object*? Is it a hybrid thing, being both a 'man-made' object (probably by low-paid, female hands), and a piece of technology, plus bearing the weight of my relationship to the presumed material contained within it? Even now, when I have seen the contents, it retains *potential*.

So, what's the purpose of this letter? Perhaps to check in with my younger self that I didn't just abandon the filming project. And, if I had, what were the circumstances that lead to this. Can I recall - are you - being jammed by unseen forces or did I just worry that the camera was too valuable, a liability amongst bender evictions and bailiffs?

Anyway, stay safe and make sure you get that camera back on time.

Xx Liz

## Herstory

The GCWPC was established in September 1981 at the entrance gate to the USAF base at Greenham Common in Berkshire when a group of forty or so women peace campaigners marched 110 miles from Cardiff to Newbury under the banner Women for Life on Earth. The women from southwest Wales were protesting at the decision of the British government, led by Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, to allow US ground-launched cruise missiles armed with nuclear warheads to be located there. The context of this decision was the increasingly hostile relationship between the West, led by Ronald Reagan in Washington, and the Soviet Union, a confrontation that led to a proliferation of nuclear warheads on both sides.<sup>37</sup> In the UK there was considerable anxiety about the threat of nuclear war, and the placement of US missiles added to this unease. The UK government's response to civilian anxiety was to produce a series of booklets, TV ads and pamphlets between 1974 and 1980. The Protect and Survive campaign told the public how to make their homes and their families as safe as possible in the event of a nuclear attack.<sup>38</sup>

The march took ten days, and by the time the women had arrived at the airbase in Berkshire there was no media presence to record the event. Just prior to their arrival, several of the women had discussed the tactic of chaining themselves to the fence so that their demands for news coverage, including a televised debate with the Secretary of State for Defence, would be met. Early on the morning of 5 September, in a gesture referencing the protest tactics of the suffragettes, four women symbolically chained themselves to the perimeter fence. Ann Pettitt, one of the original instigators of the march, recalled:

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<sup>37</sup> This was in spite of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) established in March 1970 between 190 states that were subdivided into categories of nuclear weapons states (NWS) and non-nuclear weapons states (NNWS). In 1987 the USA and the Soviet Union did begin talks in earnest to reduce the number of nuclear warheads held by each side (Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty; INF). This eventually led to the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START) of 1991. For more on the timeline of the arms race, see: <<https://www.armscontrol.org/factsheets/Timeline-of-the-Treaty-on-the-Non-Proliferation-of-Nuclear-Weapons-NPT>> [Accessed 14 September 2021].

<sup>38</sup> For an example of the public information films produced, see: <[https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/films/1964to1979/filmpage\\_warnings.htm](https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/films/1964to1979/filmpage_warnings.htm)> [Accessed 9 September 2021].





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Figure 23. Still from digitised Sony Helical Scan videotape shot at Yellow Gate in 1983 showing a large bender to the side of the roadway leading into the airbase. This is now the site of the GCWPC memorial.

The idea was to grab the headlines, but it was completely ignored. When we got there some women chained themselves to the gates but that was ignored as well. We had to sort of stick around and that turned into the peace camp that carried on for years.<sup>39</sup>

When the requested meeting failed to materialise, the women simply set up camp and stayed. The following day local supporters arrived with provisions, firewood and camping equipment. The camp was born.<sup>40</sup>

Word of the women's anti-nuclear protest spread, which, pre-internet and social media, was largely achieved via chain letter and word of mouth. In the course of the next few years, the initial encampment expanded to nine camps, one at each of the access gates around the perimeter fence. These were named after the colours of the rainbow and were critical observation points for monitoring and responding to activity within the base. An early decision was made to keep the protest women-only and to liaise only with women representatives of the authorities or media. This unusual precedent made it a focal point for the British women's movement during the 1980s.

Gendering the peace camp was ideologically and practically important, both as a model of a non-hierarchical, non-patriarchal societal structure and in the initial belief that police violence towards a women-only protest would be lessened. It would be interesting to speculate on how a peace camp set up along these gender lines in the present might appear given contemporary redefinitions of what the category of 'woman' means. I will return to this point in the conclusion and suggest some directions that further research might take.

The Greenham women were protesting against state violence that would harm generations to come. Ideologically, they refused to employ the same methods or tools as the military and chose to use nonviolent direct action (NVDA). Bodies became barriers as women would lie down and go limp. Many press images from protests at

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<sup>39</sup> See: <<https://www.thenational.wales/news/19527572.greenham-common-peace-march-40th-anniversary/>> [Accessed 9 September 2021].

<sup>40</sup> For more detail on the background to the Women for Life on Earth march, see Pettitt (2006).

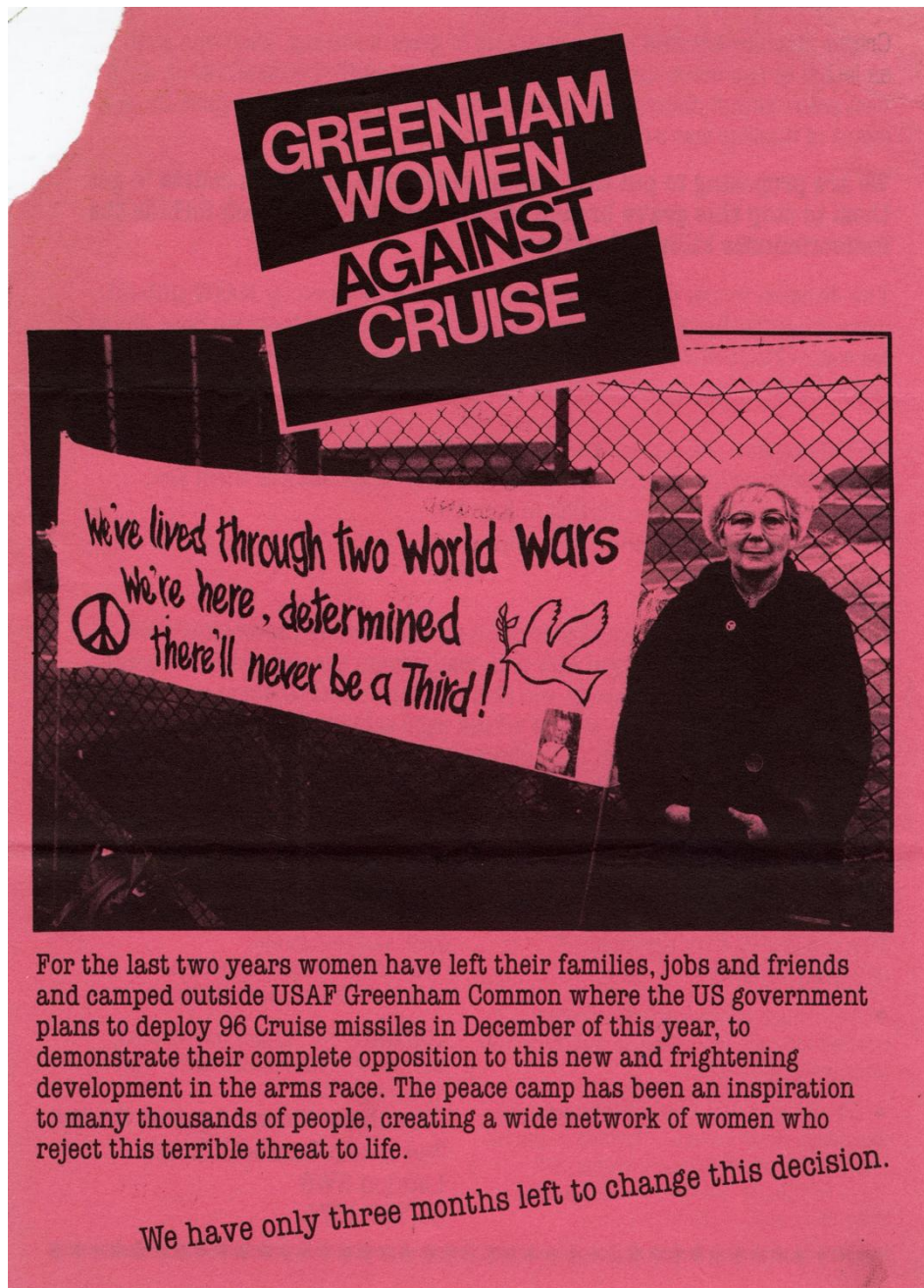


Figure 24. Double-sided flyer from the London office of Greenham Women Against Cruise (Nd). (From author's GCWPC archive)

the camp show a sea of female bodies with pairs of policemen attempting to remove the deadweight figures. NVDA as a tactic of resistance was realised in many ways, but was primarily used as a technique for slowing, stopping or interfering with the day-to-day running of the airbase and, later, the construction of silos designed to store nuclear warheads.

Greenham women were from socially diverse backgrounds, classes, ages, ethnicities and sexualities, as well as religious and political beliefs. This spectrum of diversity was critical in demonstrating a broad feminist opposition to nuclear weapons. However, whilst the immediate focus was on the deployment of cruise missiles, the camps were also an embodiment of resistance to all forms of domination, including militarism, environmental destruction, species extinction, patriarchy, familial structures and gender stereotypes. Women living together outdoors – in tents, under polythene sheets or survival blankets, and outside of domestic family arrangements – was transgressive, an existential challenge to the patriarchal order of British society at large. Greenham was a place of protest and a non-normative queer space that gathered lesbians and those who rejected conventional stereotypes of womanhood.

For the British government, the camp was initially useful in demonstrating to the world's media that the UK was a democracy that permitted peaceful protest. Whilst doing this, however, the government was simultaneously finding ways to undermine the credibility of the women involved. Alongside accusations of uncleanness, another tactic employed by both the government and the media to discredit the women and distance them from 'normal' society was a focus on their cohabitation in a women-only space. In a bid to 'strip away the aura of martyrdom', accusations of deviance – including lesbianism, communism, promiscuity, breast-feeding in public, madness and hysteria – were frequently made in the mainstream media and elsewhere. Because they were threatening the heteronormative social order, the Greenham women were often subjected to hostile attacks, both verbal and physical, from squaddies, local residents and vigilantes.



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Figure 25. Sequence of five colour photographs showing a section of the perimeter fence being torn down by peace women, circa late 1983. The bolt-cutters used were known by the code 'black cardigans' to avoid detection by the security forces, which were reportedly tapping the support women's telephones. (Image 1 of 5)





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Figure 26. (Image 2 of 5)



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Figure 27. (Image 3 of 5)





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Figure 28. (Image 4 of 5)



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Figure 29. (Image 5 of 5)

In the six years between the setting up of the camps and the signing of the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) treaty by the American and Soviet leaders, which led to the removal of the cruise missiles from the UK, Greenham was a site of many protests and demonstrations. One of the largest took place in December 1983, when over 50,000 women linked hands around the nine-mile perimeter fence. This and many other, smaller, actions were performative, anarchic and often quite silly – an ‘Easter bunnies’ invasion of the base, dancing on the missile silos and outbreaks of singing at the appearance of any paternalistic authority figure. All these were techniques of critiquing and mocking the military. These refusals to accept the order of things extended to actions in local magistrate’s courts and the House of Commons. Whether large or small, the demonstrations possessed the qualities of an ‘event’, in the sense of a tear or rupture in the social fabric. Events at Greenham were a declaration that another world was possible.

The Greenham women transgressed both the geographic and ideological boundaries of gender and propriety. In their relocation of ‘home’ to a piece of open, often muddy, common ground, the women visibly challenged establishment values of order. The power and the politics, both literally and metaphorically, were on the other side of the fence. By presenting the image of women in their everyday existence at the camp – women living together in public, carrying out the usual tasks of eating, defecating, menstruating, raising children, in the open – the normative relationship between place and order was ruptured.

## **History**

The establishment of the women’s peace camp and the adoption of neoliberalist thinking (as seen in the pro-market policies of Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan) roughly coincided. One was built on a non-hierarchical structure that rejected leadership and encouraged collectivity, whilst the other encouraged competition, deregulation and the dismantling of the welfare state. In his book *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*, David Harvey defines neoliberalism as:



Dear Women,  
 Hello..... This is very short notice BUT it feels important that something should happen at the base + at Newbury District Council building on the 7th Feb - when Heseltine visits! He'll be thinking that with the help of local council, police etc. that together they can defuse + eventually remove the threat that all of us women present to the death machine + money machine that they are creating and are afraid to let go of. They seem powerless to change..... but..... we are becoming + the power from within + the confidence we are re-discovering... will stop them and their sickness.

On Feb. 7th we can show them again that we are not just a "little problem" to be dealt with + we are not going to allow U.S. Cruise Missiles to come to Greenham and increase the terrible danger that the planet is in.

So - can you come to the base or to the Council House on the 7th.....? (perhaps you can come at the wk/end + camp to be ready?) This letter is being sent to the 1,500 ♀ at the 13th Action + others. You'll have ideas of your own - we could do another complete blockade of the base (it's a Monday - good day to stop/slow down complete blockade) ♀ who want to could get into groups + go into the base..... plant seeds - leave things in there... weave webs sing dance - all sorts of things could happen.

LANDERS ARE USEFUL!!!!

WOMEN'S ENERGY

Come as self sufficient as you can - Please ask interested ♀ who can't come to keep phoning Newbury District Council - their M.P. - the Houses of Parliament - or anywhere they can think of. If you don't want to take part in direct action please come because the support roles are vital.....

Lots of love from ♀ Peace Camp.

Dec 12th at Greenham Common.  
 We conjured Willing Women here  
 And Willingly they came  
 So many sisters brought the power  
 So many sisters sang the spirit  
 So many sisters filled an ocean  
 of Love and Life.  
 Women wore the circle  
 Women linked for strength  
 Women planted Life in Earth  
 Our bodies triumphed  
 On this day  
 We turned the evil  
 Now our task  
 To drive it out.  
 Mary.....

February Dates.....  
 Feb 9th - any of wanting to take part in direct action in London when George Bush (U.S. Vice President) visits on nuclear P.R. tour... send S.M.E. bus soon a poss. to Deborah Laws - Feb 13th - party at the ♀ Peace Camp - to plan actions for 15th 16th court days. 1 Crowland Terrace - London N1.  
 Feb 15th 16th - 44 ♀ appearing at Newbury Mag. Court - sit o action on 1st Jan - + actions at base. at the "Blue Gate" !!! \*!! \*!! - putting up a tent Feb 21-22 - 3 ♀ spent a wk/end in Newbury Mag. Court - (the law's getting more ridiculous!) obstruction of highway charges for blocking work - (smaller blockades like this can take place any time if you want to come in a group with legal observer - camp provides legal back up.

Figure 30. Handwritten and photocopied chain letter from the GCWPC to raise awareness of the visit to Newbury District Council Offices by the then Secretary of State for Defence, Michael Heseltine. The letter asked for women supporters to dress up as snakes, which they duly did; around a hundred 'snakes' broke into the airbase on 7 February 1983.

A theory of political economic practices proposing that human well-being can best be advanced by the maximization of entrepreneurial freedoms within an institutional framework characterized by private property rights, individual liberty, unencumbered markets, and free trade.<sup>41</sup>

In these conditions, the role of the state is to protect these assumed rights. During the 1980s, Thatcher's government did much to wreck the rights of workers, sell off state-owned industries to private interests and to shape society in the image of the self-made entrepreneur. The GCWPC was antithetical to these values. It existed in a climate where accusations of communism, lesbianism and anarchism at the camp were rife, spread by the media and also by cabinet ministers.<sup>42</sup>

The all-pervasive political and economic effects of neoliberalism during the past four decades have shaped not only the structure and order of society, but our sense of self and history. The language and ideology of deregulated markets and finance capitalism exhorts us to 'be business-like', to compete and continuously adapt. This makes anything that runs counter to the neoliberal economic model untenable and erodes any sense of political agency. As Henry Giroux observes:

The vocabulary of neoliberalism posits a false notion of freedom, which it wraps in the mantle of individualism and choice, and in doing so reduces all problems to private issues, suggesting that whatever problems bear down on people, the only way to understand them is through the restrictive lens of individual responsibility, character and self-resilience. In this instance, the discourse of character and personal responsibility becomes a smoke screen to prevent people from connecting private troubles with larger social and systemic considerations.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> Harvey, D. (2007). Neoliberalism as Creative Destruction. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 610, pp. 22-44. Available at: <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/25097888>> [Accessed 2 June 2021].

<sup>42</sup> Released in 2013 by the National Archives, documents and memos between Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and her cabinet minister Ian Gow (Lord Beloff) in December 1982 show a determined campaign to discredit the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) and the GCWPC. Available at: <<https://www.margaretthatcher.org/document/122590>> [Accessed 22 March 2019].

<sup>43</sup> 'Henry Giroux on the Rise of Neoliberalism' (2015). *Humanity & Society*, 39(4), pp. 449-455. Available at: <<https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/0160597615604985>> [Accessed 31 May 2021].

If competition is the only organising principle for human activity, it follows that 'better' versions of history – ones that fit with a hegemonic narrative – will rise to the top. A neoliberal society privileges the memories of the powerful. If we understand archives not as sites of preservation or safeguarding but as temporally relational, links to the present become plain. As Michel Foucault noted, 'In our time, history is that which transforms *documents* into *monuments*.'<sup>44</sup> In understanding archiving as a historiographic technology, this statement supports Derrida's claim that 'archivisation produces as much as it records the event'.<sup>45</sup> The archive, then, represents the present moment through whatever and whoever is in power. What this means within a patriarchal neoliberal society is that the 'weakest', often women, are systematically excluded from archival holdings. An example of this is seen in the decline of feminist cultural production towards the end of the 1980s; many of the flyers and posters advertising actions at Greenham were produced by collectives of women-owned publishing houses with an explicitly anti-economic rationale.<sup>46</sup>

Being selective, archives, like memory, can only represent fragments of what has happened in the past. It is interesting to note the recent turn in undoing inaccessible bodies of knowledge, such as the work of the Casco Art Institute in the Netherlands and the resurgent interest in commons.<sup>47</sup> This research explores this development more closely in the final chapter, *Gift*.

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<sup>44</sup> Foucault, M. (1972). *The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language*. New York: Pantheon, p.7.

Available at: <[https://monoskop.org/images/9/90/Foucault\\_Michel\\_Archaeology\\_of\\_Knowledge.pdf](https://monoskop.org/images/9/90/Foucault_Michel_Archaeology_of_Knowledge.pdf)> [Accessed 2 June 2021].

<sup>45</sup> Derrida, J. (1996). *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression*, trans. Eric Prenowitz. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, p. 17.

<sup>46</sup> Several different organisations supported the women's peace camp and funded the printing of flyers (CND, Spider Web, Rye Express, See Red). Many of the handwritten chain letters used to communicate details of actions were printed on photostat machines (a precursor to photocopy technology).

<sup>47</sup> Casco offers an open learning study space: '*Unlearning Centre* is a forthcoming year-long program that will exist for anyone who is interested in a process of study-into-action about the interplay between art and the commons. Key questions include: How can we build the cultural institutions we want? How can arts and culture allow us to imagine and enact the commons? This program will emphasize unlearning, as well as embodied and artistic knowledge, using Casco and its ecosystem as the whole context where "unlearning" takes place. The program aims to equip participants with the ability to find and create positions in the broader cultural and social field beyond traditional educational and cultural institutions.' See Casco's website for more details: <<https://casco.art/en/study/>> [Accessed 18 June 2021].



IT IS all over bar the cruising. Or so they tell us. For months commentators have been celebrating the death of the British peace movement.

True, the news of their death has not yet reached all of the dead. It has not yet reached North Wales, the Midlands or the North of England where I have visited well-attended meetings in the past three weeks. But there has been a death of a sort. And I wish the commentators and the news managers — and especially I wish Sir Robin Day and Mr Brian Walden — the quiet sleep of Macbeth. For, urged on by the Iron Lady, they had a large part in that deed done in the media's dark. They managed to turn around (at least for a while) the terms of the nation's debate.

They coined some part of our people into supposing that this country has only two alternatives, something called "defence" (from which all else follows on) or else some total and instant "unilateral" stoppage, without the least reciprocation from the other side — as if a British Peckinpase (with "CND" on its collar) were to capitulate before a Soviet Doberman, lie on its back and wave its paw in the air.

May we now leave aside this consensual fun, and give some attention, not to the peace movement, but to the war movement? This is going great guns. Britain is not, I think, on the verge of engaging in some sensational measure of one-sided disarmament. On the contrary.

We and our Nato partners are at this moment engaged in an astonishing series of one-sided upwards measures of arms deployment and procurement.

By a "war movement" I do not mean that one can identify persons who are plotting to have a nuclear war the day after tomorrow. I mean that the preparations for this war, material and mental, are being vigorously advanced. The second Cold War (which has been going on for four years) is becoming warmer every week, and is now hotting up into what could be the preliminaries of World War III.

This has been evident in the aftermath of the shoot-down of KAL 007. The Russians had shot down a civil airliner and so instantly President Reagan tried to shoot down the United States peace movement. Within days he forced through a shattered Congress budgetary appropriations for the MX missile and for binary nerve-gas facilities.

The logic of all this escapes me so far from that incident astounding us, it was precisely the kind of thing that the peace movement has been warning about for years. It was exactly the kind of "accident" out of which nuclear war could arise. We now have two immense and complex military systems, both maintained in



Photomontage by Peter Kennard

The deadly farce that puts the

has less and less rational strategic function. Nuclear missiles are now symbolic counters of political "posture" or "blackmail." Both SS-9s and Euromissiles are superfluous to any sane armory. Yet cruise and Pershing II missiles have got to come because they are symbols of US hegemony, and their acceptance by the client states is demanded as proof of Nato's "unity." They must be put down in noxious nests in England, Sicily and Germany in order to hold together the old decaying structures of life-threatening power which have endured since 1947.

The Nato lites fear that a whole Cold War way of managing the world, and of controlling their own publics and clients, may be slipping away into some dangerous and unstable unknown. The most important thing of all has become for them to defeat their own domestic opposition. In this sense, the MX is pointed, symbolically, not at the Soviet Union, but at the American Peace movement: the cruise missiles will be pointed at CND.

Nuclear weapons are not designed for the continuation of politics by other means: they are, already, the suppression of international politics and the substitution in its place of the symbolism of extermination. And the symbolism of state terror increasingly acquires the further function of cowering domestic opposition. Like a curving ram's horn, the Cold War is now growing inwards into the warriors' own brains.

That, then, is the Cold War's law of reciprocity. It is, as I am sure that Mr O'Brien will now see, not the same thing as identity nor as symmetry, although when it comes to ideology, there are some mirror-images around. (By the way, Conor, where will you be on October 22?)

We have entered upon a most threatening time and some people at some place in the world must, very soon, say "stop," or we will hand on to the future a world of interperpetrating terror beyond all control.

What is at issue, at this moment, is not unilateral disarmament but a halt to one-sided upwards arming. And the political dispute in this nation is not between "multilateralists" and "unilateralists" but between disarmers and unilateral armers. Of course the disarmers disagree with each other on some matters of tactics. But these disagreements are as nothing compared with their common opposition to the war movement and the one-sided armers.

There has been a direct falsification of these critical issues at sensitive places in the nation's communication thoroughfares, and an intention to caricature an argument which touches upon our national survival as a theologian of the Labour Party.

Figure 31. Newspaper cutting showing an editorial from the *Guardian* with photomontage by Peter Kennard. Kennard was briefly a member of Artists Support Peace, which was reportedly begun by Gustave Metzger, and the author was briefly a part of it (Nd). (From author's GCWPC archive)



Archivists are, like curators, active agents in shaping our collective and historical memories – how we remember cultural legacies. No record is neutral or impartial, just as the archivist is never entirely objective. This is especially so when the archive contains testimony that is remembered (subjective) rather than factual. The appraisal, description and interface of items that are passed to archivists involve making decisions on what is ‘worth’ remembering. Whilst there are international principles relating to archiving – establishing provenance, original order, keeping collections intact – the process of appraisal is a position of power. As Margaret Hedstrom has observed, ‘appraisal can be both an exercise of power by archivists in shaping social memory and an act of resistance by archivists against other powers that wish to shape social memory for their own purposes.’<sup>48</sup>

My argument in this section is that archives are inherently political and can absorb events and materials, especially contentious histories, without critique. Increasingly problematic for me is the display of materials that are associated with civil rights and protest movements within cultural institutions that rely increasingly on funding from corporations with chequered ethical histories.<sup>49</sup> To provide context to the work or collection of objects on show can be logistically difficult; to include everything that connects the time, circumstance and location that formed these objects is impossible. And yet it is the work of a curatorial team, representing the institution that hosts the archive, to do this in some part. This is now a major and ongoing discussion in archiving circles, especially with regard to decolonisation. Archivist and scholar Lae’l Hughes-Watkins writes:

When archivists and their institutions acknowledge the marginalization or absence of the oppressed they must respond through establishing a reparative

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<sup>48</sup> Hedstrom, M. (2002). Archives, Memory, and Interfaces with the Past. *Archival Science* 2, pp. 21–43. See <<https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1020800828257>> [Accessed 3 June 2021].

<sup>49</sup> For example, BP at the Tate and Shell at the National Gallery. *Frieze*, the magazine responsible for launching the art fair consortium, published a questionnaire in 2005 in which it asked, ‘How has art changed?’. Artist Andrea Fraser responded with a withering critique of the ‘total corporatization and marketization of the artistic field’ resulting in loss of autonomy of art and gallery programming increasingly dictated by ticket sales. Fraser writes: ‘We are living through an historical tragedy: the extinguishing of the field of art as a site of resistance to the logic, values and power of the market.’ *Frieze*, 2005. ‘How has art changed?’ Part two [online] available at: <<https://www.frieze.com/article/how-has-art-changed-part-two/>> [Accessed 31 May 2021].



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Figure 32. Still from digitised Sony Helical Scan videotape shot at Yellow Gate in 1983 showing a bulldozer turning off the main road into the airbase.

archive that engenders inclusivity. Reparative archival work does not pretend to ignore the imperialist, racist, homophobic, sexist, ableist, and other discriminatory traditions of mainstream archives, but instead acknowledges these failures and engages in conscious actions toward a wholeness that may seem to be an exercise in futility but in actuality is an ethical imperative for all within traditional archival spaces.<sup>50</sup>

An archive is never one definitive thing, and how it can be read is entirely contextual; *who* the reader is; *where* it is being viewed; and *what* other materials surround it. An archive is intersectional.<sup>51</sup> I will return to this when reviewing the two exhibitions shortly.

Without a robust sociopolitical context, these institutional exhibitions of archival materials risk historical and cultural appropriation. The benefits far outweigh the risks for both the institution that hosts the exposition and the corporation that sponsors it. One is viewed as culturally and politically ‘woke’, while the other camouflages its negative public image through ‘artwashing’ or more recent attempts to demonstrate eco-credentials via ‘greenwashing’. When used in regeneration programmes for run-down areas of towns and cities such as London and the south coast, the artwash gentrification agenda is clearly for profit and personal gain. But for non-departmental public bodies and charities that are sponsored by and accountable to government, their motives for presenting archival material that is resistantly anti-establishment are less clear.

Visibility (and invisibility) seems a key point here, as does the question of what gets parked inside a collection. For all the well-documented mass political actions that make the headlines, there is a plethora of smaller personal and political acts that are not seen. These are the increments of resistance that build a movement. One could argue that some personal actions are just that – personal. However, to use a phrase

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<sup>50</sup> (2018) Moving Toward a Reparative Archive: A Roadmap for a Holistic Approach to Disrupting Homogenous Histories in Academic Repositories and Creating Inclusive Spaces for Marginalized Voices. *Journal of Contemporary Archival Studies*, Vol. 5 , Article 6, p. 3.

<sup>51</sup>In her rigorous study of black and anti-colonial methodologies, Katherine McKittrick positions black storytelling and stories as strategies for collaboration and invention. See: *Dear Science and Other Stories*. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2021.

borrowed from the Women's Liberation Movement, the personal is political.<sup>52</sup> The interviews of Greenham women collated through the Greenham Women Everywhere project and made accessible via their website are an act of political resistance that redresses the iniquities of unheard stories and feminist testimony.

The aim of this research is to contribute to that testimony, opening up further discourse, for a re-politicisation and re-narrativisation of queer and feminist histories. In so doing, it calls out the patriarchy's systematic packaging up of recalcitrant, radical feminism into a heteronormative account of power and history.

### **Queering Public Space**

The experiences, stories and portraits of black LGBTQIA (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer, Intersex, Asexual) lives in South Africa are represented in the work of photographer and visual activist Zanele Muholi. Their recent exhibition at Tate Modern (5 November 2020 to 31 May 2021) presents photographic portraiture, video testimonies and stories that document the queer and trans communities in South Africa and the discrimination and violence that has been enacted against them. It's a show that is both sobering in its portrayal of the aftermath of hate crimes against queer and trans people and affecting for the resilience and pride in the portraits of this same community that Muholi is part of.

Figure 33 shows an image of the *Faces and Phases* project that Muholi has worked on between 2006 and 2014. It is a series of large-scale black and white portraits of black lesbians from South Africa. These are the *Faces*, and how they appear represents the *Phases* of their transition from one stage of sexuality or gender expression to another. The display is arresting because of its scale and the number of faces that look back at their audience. It has the quality of a wall in an Italian graveyard – images of past lives lined up in serried ranks, one on top of the other. There are a few gaps that, on first encounter, indicate another portrait to come.

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<sup>52</sup> The phrase first appeared in a 1979 essay of the same name by feminist writer Carol Hanisch. There, she focuses on the unequal power relations between sexes and female oppression as directly linked to patriarchy. She argues that many personal experiences, particularly those of women, can be traced back to these societal power relations. Available at: <<http://www.carolhanisch.org/CHwritings/PIP.html>> [Accessed 31 May 2021].



Figure 33. Image taken in Gallery 6 of the Zanele Muholi exhibition at Tate Modern, London (5 November 2020 to 7 March 2021), showing *Faces and Phases* (2006-2014). On display are a sample of the more than five hundred portraits Zanele has photographed of black lesbians and transgender and gender non-conforming individuals.

However, none of the women are smiling much and there is panache and posturing that defies normative family portraiture. The portraits are engaging because of their direct gaze, which challenges the viewer to hold their stare and conveys a sense that the subjects have addressed their identity through style or clothing – hats, ties, suits, hair. This series is in stark contrast to the earlier galleries that show the scars resulting from homophobic attacks on the same community.

They are easy to like, being stylish large-scale photographic images. It is not until you cross over the gallery, where a video tells the story of eight members of the LGBTQI community, that you appreciate how many of the subjects in *Faces and Phases* are no longer alive. Many have been murdered because of their sexuality.

These are in fact the gaps in the grid of images. Keeping the identity of these queer women alive through portraiture seemed to be in essence what an archive should do. Not all spoke their stories in videos, but there was a lattice of connections from the women who did speak that placed these faces within a queer network. In watching the video testimonies of eight of the LGBTQI participants in Muholi's *Faces and Phases* project was to understand the discrimination, difficulty, danger and defiance that defines life as a member of the black queer community in South Africa. My own experience, and that of other lesbians I know and care about, is to have been subjected to various assaults, physical and verbal.

I chose to write about this exhibition because of Muholi's desire to archive black queer resistance. In the exhibition catalogue, Muholi writes: 'My mission is to re-write a Black queer and trans visual history of South Africa for the world to know of our resistance and existence at the height of hate crimes in South Africa and beyond.'<sup>53</sup> This exhibition contributes to that mission and does something else besides. In walking around the galleries hung with their work, I became acutely aware both of who was present with me in the gallery and of the demographic of the visitors. I found myself unreasonably resentful towards anyone white, straight or middle class – those well-dressed couples who knew well how they fitted into society, into culture. Just like Tate itself, a cultural brand that claims that its '*mission is to increase the public's enjoyment*

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<sup>53</sup> Tate Modern, 2021. Exhibition flyer to accompany *Zanele Muholi*.





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Figure 34. Liz Murray, *Black Matters* (2017). Jute, dye, chains, mirror ball motor, 500 x 60 x 60 cm.

and understanding of British art from the sixteenth century to the present day and of international modern and contemporary art' despite its dodgy forebears.<sup>54</sup>

I have been trying to work out my response, as it seems illogical. Some of it taps into working-class insecurity (ours was a family that never visited art galleries, not once) and a suspicion that, for some, gallery-going is a form of entertainment, more highbrow than Alton Towers, but less taxing than opera. In hindsight, I think I felt embarrassed for being white, and my response was partly to do with a sense of complicity, which was exposed by seeing the exhibition.<sup>55</sup> This seems strange, as I could entirely identify with Muholi as another queer artist and visual activist. As a white person, I felt compromised when looking at these black queer bodies. I am interested by this discomfort, by feeling awkward, culpable almost. It is an aspect that has not been archived, though I noted that Muholi invites participation with visitors to the galleries through an online questionnaire. There were various responses drawn or written on a wall on the way out of the exhibition, mostly complimentary of the work. It seemed a good start, something that could develop into a longer conversation around context, subjectivity and responsibility. The elephant in the room seemed to be Tate itself, with its founder's wealth accumulated through the sugar industry, which was built on the foundation of slavery.

Figure 34 shows a work I made in 2017 called *Black Matters*. It started as an investigation into the effect of intersectional factors – such as gender, race and sexuality – on immigrants to the UK and how factors such as skin colour impact on a queer person's likelihood of being discriminated against. It is a four-metre-long hair braid made from dyed jute and plaited using the craft technique of macramé. The braid is attached to a motor that very slowly rotates. When the braid is dipped in liquid such as ink or water, it produces a drawing. I have tried to interpret the drawings much as an augur might, to see if it can generate an answer to the initial questions posed.

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<sup>54</sup> Tate, 2020. *Governance*. Available at: < <https://www.tate.org.uk/about-us/governance> > [Accessed 1 June 2021].

<sup>55</sup> I should say for the record that throughout the 1980s I took part in many anti-apartheid rallies, refused to have anything to do with Lloyds Bank or any company associated with South Africa and protested the injustice and misery that apartheid brought about.



Figure 35. Main gallery of the De La Warr Pavilion, Bexhill-on-Sea, during the exhibition *Still I Rise: Feminisms, Gender, Resistance, Act 2*. In the foreground is a work by radical feminist stitch craft artist Ellen Lesperance. Titled *Woman II (She Stormed the Compound Singing: 'Old and Strong, She goes On and On, On and On. You Can't Kill the Spirit, She is Like a Mountain'* (2013), the sweater was inspired by clothing worn by women at Greenham.

*Still I Rise: Feminisms, Gender, Resistance, Act 2* was shown at the De La Warr Pavilion in Bexhill-on-Sea in 2019. The exhibition examined resistance movements and alternative ways of living from a gendered perspective.<sup>56</sup> Historical forms of resistance informed by feminist and queer perspectives were surveyed in contemporary and historic artworks, chronicles and documentations of civil rights marches and uprisings. The exhibition included work by known artists as well as displaying material that might be considered to fall outside the category of ‘art’. There were pamphlets, fanzines and flyers, as well as manifestos, architectural plans, clothing and archival material from historical protests. The curators’ intersectional approach in gathering a disparate collection of material chimed with the exhibition’s title, borrowing as it did from Maya Angelou’s 1978 poem.<sup>57</sup> The show acknowledged and made manifest the overlapping and interdependent forces of patriarchy, power and discrimination. Not everything was powerful, in the sense of Muholi’s exhibition. What affected me was the quantity of ephemera from the period during which I was at Greenham and how it joined up activism in other fields (squatting, punk, anarchism, et cetera).

This show displayed material that tied activism to popular culture and alternative forms of living starting in the nineteenth century and going through to contemporary practices. The curators set out to bring together networks of interlocking ideas and approaches rather than follow a chronological timeline. It gave a broad sweep, in a smallish space, of forty years of differing types of activism. This, for me, was the problem – it was a collective voice that was heard loudest like a chant (like “Maggie, Maggie, Maggie, Out, Out, Out!”) and in that cacophony individual voices are indistinct.

### **Archives and Embarrassment**

I will end this section with another work that was made from photographic archives when I was on an artist residency in Prague.<sup>58</sup> *The Bohemians* (2010-12) is a

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<sup>56</sup> The exhibition, a collaboration between the De La Warr Pavilion and Nottingham Contemporary, was curated by Irene Aristizábal, Rosie Cooper and Cédric Fauq. It ran from 9 February through to 27 May 2019.

<sup>57</sup> Maya Angelou, ‘Still I Rise’, from *And Still I Rise: A Book of Poems* (New York: Random House, 1978).

<sup>58</sup> I was hosted by the Futura Centre for Contemporary Art in Prague for three months in 2010.





Figure 36. Liz Murray, *The Bohemians* (2010-12). C-type photographic print, 60 x 42 cm.



series of photographic collages made from mass-produced imagery printed between 1968 and 1989, found in second-hand bookshops and flea markets in the Czech Republic. The original plates were taken from coffee-table picture books that featured images of Czechoslovakia as it was under Soviet governance. Knowing of the difficult conditions that the Czechs had endured following the suppression of the Prague Spring, I was interested in the wholesale portrayal of a country as communist ideological idyll with modern factories, historic monuments, beautiful countryside and healthy people. Arguably, the picture books represented a 'false-archive' in that it was a wishful construction. In reflecting and returning it for national consumption (the books were intended for a domestic readership), it was a form of propaganda. The collages are constructed by cutting and reversing circular sections of the original plate, revealing the image from the other side of the page. The title 'Bohemians' alludes both to the people of the former kingdom of Bohemia, located in what is now the Czech Republic, and its later reference to those practicing a socially unconventional or artistic lifestyle.

Embarrassment is often unexpected, awkward and exposing. It can be experienced through being witnessed, being revealed in the act of doing something socially unacceptable or frowned upon. These awkward moments can be felt through being a minority, the self-awareness of never fitting in well to society, of never dressing or behaving correctly, and of consequent embarrassment for trying. The Greenham women were a minority that successfully caused embarrassment to a government that attempted to diminish their feminist credibility.

From time to time, I take out the folders containing my selected Greenham material and look at the images or re-read newsletters. There's a lot of material there that was never designed for long-term handling. The newspaper cuttings are often thin, fragile strips of text, from news columns clipped far from the front page. Each time they are brought out they suffer a little; a small tear or another set of creases are added to those marks already there. There are also full pages of broadsheet, many from the *Guardian* and others from publications further to the political right. My attention is often drawn to the articles and advertising that sit around the text that I

have dated. These bring a context to the clippings of my archive, and I note how little has changed between then and now.

I am interested in why I find much of the material produced by camp women embarrassing. I am embarrassed by my embarrassment. It is not that the stories and song sheets are not an accurate documentation of what was distributed. They are documents written – usually by hand and copied – from women who wished to draw parallels between their resistant behaviour and witches, dreaming dragons and spiders' webs, using magic and storytelling as an antidote to militarism and patriarchy. They are very far from the academic writing produced around and about the GCWPC since that time. I am careful to remember and be respectful that this material belonged to a broad sisterhood that included me.



Figure 37. The author reading the *Guardian* inside a bender at Green Gate camp, October 1983. Ilford B&W print from archival negative, 30.5 x 24 cm. (© Liz Murray).

Elephant and Castle 10/01/20

Dear Liz,

('Whoa!' you are probably thinking, two letters in as many days...).

Forgive me for writing again but I just had to check something with you. Do you have a pair of white trainers in the airing cupboard? They have thick soles, Velcro straps across the top and should be in, or on, a shoe box. To be honest, they are not the sort of thing you would ever buy (or wear, even). You're more into leather - boots, brogues, D.M.s - not forgetting that amazing pair made from hairy cow hide I found in a charity shop on the Kings Road. (Whatever happened to them? You'd be ~~burnt at the stake by vegans for wearing these nowadays~~). So, those trainers are not your style nor why should they be as they are **NOT YOURS**. They were loaned to you by a group of women from Telford (who were almost all named 'Sue'), when your own shoes (of cheap leather), fell apart in the mud and wet at Greenham. Sweet of them, giving up a pair of new trainers to a complete stranger. There is true, sisterly solidarity for you. I remember being slightly embarrassed at the time, partly through shyness and not knowing how to accept **gifts**, and because my holey socks were on full display. Did they give them to me because I was staying on that night, after the demonstration? I think they must have taken pity on me because it was **SO** cold. The coldest I can ever remember being at that time, trying but failing to sleep in a poly-tunnel with a dozen other women.

Anyway, the embarrassment with those white shoes extended beyond the moment of donation. One of the Sue's gave you/me her address for their return as she 'wanted them back'. I cannot remember what I did with that slip of paper. I imagine I would have put it in the shoe box. (At least, that is what I would do *now*; noting things down, making lists, being systematic, punctual). What I do remember is that I **never** returned those shoes. I kept them in the cupboard for at least a year until finally I had to throw them out when moving to a new apartment. And it has **bothered** me for such a long time, much as it did every time I opened the cupboard and saw them sitting on that box ready to be posted.

Can you go into the kitchen and take a look? Are you feeling the confusion and shame of having Sue's shoes in your possession? I think what made it worse was my not giving her my contact details. Nowadays, we'd be swapping mobile numbers and WhatsApping each other ('Hey Liz, where are those trainers of mine I lent you? C'mon, bitch, I need them for the Ova gig at *Rackets* next Saturday..'). Not that Sue would have called another sister a 'bitch'. But, yes, we all have portable telephones in the future; devices that keep us constantly in touch not just with friends but the world at large. I often think what sort of difference it would have made at Greenham if we'd had that technology to hand. Worse for us, probably. Never mind conspiracy theories about the CIA jamming our cameras, we would have had phone signals blocked en-masse at demonstrations. (Btw, you will have your 'phone tapped at your next-but-one address). We managed with chain-mail, word-of-mouth, and daft code words. I still can't hear 'Black Cardigan' without thinking 'Bolt Cutters'.

But to return to Sue's Shoes; borrowing some 'thing' comes with a sense of responsibility; a duty to return that object in some way, and not always in its original form. A method that can resuscitate, or reform, materials, history, politics, and trainers. A cross between Duchamp and Buddhism if you like.

This gift and my failure to return it has driven me to return the white objects now. Albeit in a different mode through writing. I doubt that Sue will be reading any of this. This is for you, after all. However, if you can find the time to locate her address and post those trainers back to her it would make you feel better. Trust me, the burden will lift.

Xx Liz





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Figure 38. Press Association B&W photographic print dated 15 November 1983. On verso, 'Guard for Cruise Unloading: More cruise missile equipment is unloaded under guard at the Greenham Common missile base in Berkshire today.'

## SECTION 2: GIFT

### **Wrapped up: Winter 1982**

Figure 39 is a still from the tape discussed in the previous chapter. The image is dark and the resolution poor. On first viewing it is confusing. I remember this space well and can therefore describe to you what we are looking at. It shows a corner of a sitting room. There are curtains open and in the light between them there is an object that resembles a stool around which objects on the patterned floor are wrapped. Judging by the designs printed on the paper, these are Christmas gifts. Lying on top of each other are robins, triangular pine trees and snowflakes all at the same scale as each other. In the top left of the image is a hand that is caught in a gesture. The flesh is outstretched, and the fingers are open from the palm as if about to give or take. On the floor below is a carrier bag from the Hayward Gallery, a bag that will inspire an artwork some forty years later. If we played the footage either side of this moment we would see an artificial Christmas tree, a cassette tape recorder and more wrapped gifts, several of which would carry stickers placed there by me that demanded 'No Trident No Cruise No Nuclear Weapons'. Were we to view the tape from the beginning, we would see a muddy encampment beside a main road and the entrance to the Greenham Common USAF base. The image is made complex through pausing on a scene that does not acknowledge what is elsewhere on the tape. Like a game of pass the parcel, it holds something hidden, a densely obscured gift that can only be revealed collectively and in stages. We are looking at a still moment at a specific time in 1982 when I was a participant in the women's protest at Greenham and returning home to my biological family for Christmas. I moved between these two communities, one with which I identified ideologically and another that represented a conservative fixity of values and beliefs. This image shows a snapshot of a closed community linked by genetics coming together to share gifts between themselves. Most of those shared gifts no longer exist today or are buried deep in landfills. Outside the frame of this image is an open community that sang and held hands around a nine-mile perimeter

fence in defence of all life on earth. The commentary describes a still that is a 'proto' poor image that pulls focus on the method, materials and context of this research project. I will argue in this chapter that the community around a common were involved in an act of collective gifting across time and then look at the implications of this for art, activism and protest.

This chapter of the research looks at previous research on the central context of gifting (through the work of Bronislaw Malinowski and Marcel Mauss), and acknowledges a wider understanding of gifting in relation to talents, open source, commons, cultural gifting and protest. Lewis Hyde's work on creativity and gift is examined through his proposal that 'where there is no gift there is no art', and whether artworks can offer an experience that is beyond being bought and sold.<sup>59</sup> The section closes with contemporary resonances of gifting through care and resilience, concluding with returning a gift through practice and writing.

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<sup>59</sup> Hyde, L. (2002). *The Gift: How the Creative Spirit Transforms the World*. Edinburgh: Canongate, 2006, p.xiv



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Figure 39. Still from Sony Helical Scan videotape footage shot in December 1982 and transferred to digital format in 2016, 22'51". (© Liz Murray)

## Unwrapping the Gift

The image described is from a personal archive of materials that flow from the GCWPC in the years between 1982 and 1985. It is a still from a video that was shot in December 1982 and holds activism and family together on a reel of magnetic tape. It is an image that has not been ‘uploaded, downloaded, shared’ or re-edited; this is its first appearance since being released from a redundant media format.<sup>60</sup>

Roland Barthes described the cinematic still as offering us the ‘inside of a fragment’ of which the still image reveals a second text that is neither extracted from nor overlays the narrative sense of the moving image.<sup>61</sup> In arresting the diegetic flow the video, the still image is defined by what comes before and after it. Embedded within the image and my description of it are references to a specific time, to publicity for protest events and to artworks that have since been made in response to this and other materials within my archive. From this footage a moving image work (*Where Has Greenham Gone?* 2016) and a sculptural installation (*Sooz Shooz*, 2021) have been generated demonstrating a circularity or exchange of information through media and time, and in memory and practice that is a key methodology within this research.<sup>62</sup>

In the introduction, this method is referred to as ‘talking-back’ or ‘backchatting’. Discourse of this sort can be made between pixels, developing

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<sup>60</sup> Much of the footage from this source is ‘poor’ in that it is grainy and suffers from frequent interference banding. It struck me that much of the footage of artist videos from the 1960s onwards, including documentation of performances or happenings, suffers from the same kind of fuzziness. The lack of sharpness makes it appear less rich, less impressive. Compare this with the 35mm and 70mm film stock used for ‘flagship’ cinematic productions and it is a whole other world of clarity and colour (*Spartacus*, 1960, directed by Stanley Kubrick, is a good example of ultra-high definition that can be achieved by blowing up the 35mm Super 70 Technorama format to 70mm). Nowadays, access to relatively high-end imaging through smartphone cameras allows anyone with such a device to produce images of cinematic quality. Hito Steyerl speaks of the seductive mimesis of the brilliant rich image in cinema adapted increasingly to consumer formats. See: Steyerl, H. (2009). In Defense of the Poor Image. *e-flux Journal*, #10. Available at: <<https://www.e-flux.com/journal/10/61362/in-defense-of-the-poor-image/>> [Accessed 6 July 2021]. There seems to be a parallel in the documentation of artist performance video from the 1960s to the 1990s to act as witness or evidence of an action, as with the poor Helical Scan image above. Like home movies (either 8mm or early VHS formats), they fall into a lower hierarchy of image-making yet questionably one that is a more resistant category of recording cultural and social history.

<sup>61</sup> *The Third Meaning* in Roland Barthes, *Image Music Text*, trans. Stephen Heath. London: Fontana Press, 1977, p. 67.

<sup>62</sup> For more on the materiality of communication see: Kittler, F. (1999). *Gramophone, Film, Typewriter*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.



chemicals, newspaper reportage, song lyrics or the roughness of fabric worn next to the skin remembered through looking at a photograph. It employs movement as much as language, a sort of rotational-dialectical-discourse network.<sup>63</sup> To backchat is to question the authority and veracity of the primary subject, which, in the context of family, may be understood as the paterfamilias. Extending this approach to each item from an archive and including the secondary, sensate, and sensuous responses to those elements requires a robust resistance to accepting the received wisdom and knowledges that coagulate around these materials. It is an exhausting yet rewarding working method that shuttles between common knowledge and intuitive response.

The image used at the start of this section is an example of a palimpsest, overwritten by my memory of the events and politics either side of this frozen frame. It can best be understood as a conversation between the past and present and – as demonstrated in the series of letters that intersperse this thesis – with the future. Manuela Zechner's *Future Archive* (2005-ongoing) works in a similar way, although the encounters she sets up are based in a 'desirable' future twenty to thirty years ahead, an imaginary position from which the participants talk-back about the present as if it were the past.<sup>64</sup>

Within the body of text that you are currently reading the 'correspondences' between the recent present and past of forty years ago appear almost without warning. They are intended to jolt you, my reader, letting your eyes and thoughts leap from the flow of textual, narrative sense to flip time and space in a moment of rotational-dialectical-discourse between this writing and your own subjectivities.

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<sup>63</sup> See: Kittler, F. (1990). *Discourse Networks, 1800/1900*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

<sup>64</sup> Zechner writes: 'For some of us, the future is a malady, a predicament we can't shake off in these times – of insecurity, short term life and work horizons, constant speculation, precarity. This malady plagues our imagination, often restricting it to planning and pragmatism. The future archive was born in 2005, when the future was cool. Now the planet is hot and there is a powerful sense of no future. Today this project is perhaps more diagnostic and clinical than inspiring and performative.' See: <<https://thefuturearchiveblog.wordpress.com/about-2/>> [Accessed 11 September 2021].



SANTA LUCIA ©EGIM srl Milano. Printed in Italy

Kensington 21.01.20

Dear Liz,

(How did I manage this, you wonder? To get a lovely p.c. into your letterbox despite the difficulties of the Royal Mail not delivering in to the past...?)

Here is a wonderful image of St. Lucy. Depending on how you approach her – whether you open the envelope (for she must be protected from the grimy hands of time and postie), one way or another, or move your body or head slightly – her eyes (her eyes!) appear where they were (should be), or where they are displayed, trophy-like, upon a serving platter. There is some parallel here to our (my) method of writing to you (me); a moment that can only ever be in the present and yet, is reaching out to the past. An attempt at integrity, of being true. Not God-like truth, I might add, though perhaps a revelation through a shift of position. Sorry out of space. More soon. XX L

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Figure 40. Two views of a lenticular postcard, one showing an image of Saint Lucy holding a plate; when the plate is tilted, her eyes appear on it. The remains of Saint Lucy of Syracuse (or Santa Lucia as she is known in her native Italy) are on display in the church of Santa Geremia in Venice. There are various accounts of her martyrdom and how her eyes were removed. The version I prefer is that Lucy had consecrated her virginity to God and, despite her celibacy, attracted many suitors, one of whom was obsessed with her beautiful eyes. Lucy gouged out her eyes to deter his amorous advances and remain virginal. She is the patron saint of the blind, of glaziers and of authors.

## Reciprocity

Talking-back is reflexively demonstrated in the studio between sources in the archive and memory as well as through the physical materials that are used in making an artwork. One informs the other. This process is mirrored to a degree in the formation of the text. Looking at archival materials that have been forgotten or misremembered can inspire a refocusing on those objects or conditions that were hitherto considered unimportant. In the previous chapter, this invoked a reconsideration of how embarrassment can be wrapped up in personal archives and how that might be expressed in an artwork. What follows has been prompted by the still image revealing a connection between protesting women peace campers and works of art through the Western tradition of gift-giving at Christmas.

The potentially shared relationship between artwork and protest as forms of gift is explored in this section. What might be the common attributes between a long-term women-only protest on an English common and a work of art? The answer to this is complicated, as is the notion of 'gift' itself; not all gifts are welcome. There can be an indebtedness attached to receiving (children are taught to say 'thank you' whether they like their presents or not), and giving often perpetuates a patriarchal system of hierarchy and being beholden. There are presents with 'strings attached', faux gifts, bungs, sham 'donations' carrying the payback expectation of favours to be returned and an art market that 'offers' viewers the gift of a cultural experience. The truism that it is easier to give than to receive is fuelled on feeling better through one-upmanship.

What is significant between the giftedness shared by Greenham and an artwork is sincerity through non-intention, or inadvertent authenticity. By this, I mean that aside from the original motivations of both entities – to oppose militarism, ecological disaster at Greenham and offering a locus for imaginary speculation, reflection, provocation within an artwork – at their outset neither could premeditate their future status as becoming gift. It might be the wish of an individual artist or collective for their work to pass on to society an understanding of their concerns or worldview, but

AS THE EASTER DEMONSTRATIONS COME AND GO, RESIDENTS GIVE THEIR VIEWS ON THE SHATTERING OF THEIR RURAL CALM

### Nuclear alert by the Pope

THE POPE used his traditional Easter message yesterday to warn of the danger of nuclear war.

His message, which was broadcast in 11 languages, was the most solemn since the Pope's first message in 1959. He said that the world was in a state of "grave danger" and that the only way to avoid nuclear war was through dialogue and understanding.

He called for a "new spirit of brotherhood" and for a "new era of peace and justice." He said that the Church was committed to the promotion of peace and to the defence of the rights of the poor and the oppressed.

### Daffodils and a coffin

An anti-nuclear demonstration at Greenham Common, Wiltshire, has been a quiet affair. The protesters, who are mostly women, have been protesting against the presence of the US nuclear missile bases at the site.

The protesters have been successful in their efforts to prevent the construction of a new missile base. They have also managed to prevent the construction of a new missile base.

The protesters have been successful in their efforts to prevent the construction of a new missile base. They have also managed to prevent the construction of a new missile base.

### Scuffles at a Crotaph

A heated GND demonstration at Greenham Common yesterday resulted in scuffles between protesters and police.

The protesters, who are mostly women, were protesting against the presence of the US nuclear missile bases at the site. They were demanding the removal of the bases and the closure of the site.

The police, who were present to maintain order, used force to clear the protesters from the site. This resulted in several scuffles and injuries.

# The women of protest who made peace a dirty word

**Diana Hutchinson**  
spent Easter at a cottage on Greenham Common. This is her account of events

THIS Easter I got away from it all to a cottage in the country. Wild daffodils were bursting into bloom under the apple trees. Margarine chilled each other across the lawn. Bluebell flowers grew up to the front door.

Protesters at Greenham Common, Wiltshire, were protesting against the presence of the US nuclear missile bases at the site. They were demanding the removal of the bases and the closure of the site.

At the cottage, I was in good luck. The weather was perfect. The children were happy. The dogs were well behaved. The cats were content. The chickens were healthy. The sheep were fat. The cows were milked. The pigs were happy. The horses were well cared for. The garden was well tended. The house was clean. The furniture was comfortable. The food was delicious. The drink was refreshing. The atmosphere was peaceful. The surroundings were beautiful. The view was stunning. The air was fresh. The water was pure. The soil was fertile. The plants were thriving. The animals were healthy. The people were happy. The world was at peace.

Ruined hopes  
After three years of the protest, the anti-nuclear movement has been largely ignored. The protesters have been successful in their efforts to prevent the construction of a new missile base. They have also managed to prevent the construction of a new missile base.

Unsettling  
The protesters at Greenham Common are facing a new challenge. The US government has announced that it will be withdrawing its nuclear missiles from the site. This is a major victory for the protesters. However, it is also a source of concern. The protesters are worried that the withdrawal of the missiles will lead to the closure of the site. They are also worried that the withdrawal of the missiles will lead to the removal of the protesters from the site.



Daughter of a German protester pushes a broken pram amid debris of the peace camp

PHOTO BY MALCOLM CLARKE

Uninvited guests  
A group of protesters at Greenham Common are facing a new challenge. The US government has announced that it will be withdrawing its nuclear missiles from the site. This is a major victory for the protesters. However, it is also a source of concern. The protesters are worried that the withdrawal of the missiles will lead to the closure of the site. They are also worried that the withdrawal of the missiles will lead to the removal of the protesters from the site.

### In cold cash, the price of uproar

WHEN THE GND protesters closed in on the gates of the Common, the price of their protest was high. The protesters were demanding the removal of the US nuclear missile bases at the site. They were also demanding the closure of the site.

The protesters were successful in their efforts to prevent the construction of a new missile base. They have also managed to prevent the construction of a new missile base.

### Patrols around the clock

The GND protesters are facing a new challenge. The US government has announced that it will be withdrawing its nuclear missiles from the site. This is a major victory for the protesters. However, it is also a source of concern. The protesters are worried that the withdrawal of the missiles will lead to the closure of the site. They are also worried that the withdrawal of the missiles will lead to the removal of the protesters from the site.

### Pressure grows on firms

The GND protesters are facing a new challenge. The US government has announced that it will be withdrawing its nuclear missiles from the site. This is a major victory for the protesters. However, it is also a source of concern. The protesters are worried that the withdrawal of the missiles will lead to the closure of the site. They are also worried that the withdrawal of the missiles will lead to the removal of the protesters from the site.



Sentry duty for the Hoffmann

Figure 41. Newspaper cutting from personal archive: Diana Hutchinson article on the Easter demonstrations at Greenham Common, published in the Daily Mail on 4 April 1983. (© Liz Murray)



it cannot be built in or guaranteed. At Greenham, the peace camp women were impelled to take direct action against the risk of nuclear war through acts of individual and collective conscience. They were protesting for all life on earth, present and future, rather than thinking of their actions rolled up into the artwork-nomination that I propose here. It is also true that during the years 1982 to 1985, when the protest at Greenham was busiest and attracting the most media attention, not all political classes or members of the UK public agreed that it was good thing, and certainly not a gift. Looking through the media accounts of the peace camp, some of which are attached in the appendices, it is clear that what some viewed as a neo-suffragette pro-peace movement was seen by others as a bunch of dirty women occupying public land.<sup>65</sup>

Bringing together these distinct forms of human expression – art and protest – under the heading ‘gift’ requires lateral thinking and a generosity of understanding as to what gifting means. To reiterate: I specifically address the GCWPC rather than all forms of protest. Not all protest is art and not all art is protest.

## **Commons**

That the peace camp was established around an area of common land is important to the notion of reciprocal altruism. The history of common land or commons stretches back to the medieval feudal system whereby the Crown granted land to a peer or lord of the manor who in turn would grant rights to tenants. These included the right to pasture livestock, to collect firewood or to cut turf for fuel. Persons holding these rights to common land were known as commoners. Much common grazing land since medieval times has been lost to clearances and enclosures made by landowners, yet today village greens and some commons, such as Clapham Common and Wimbledon Common, remain available for public use.<sup>66</sup>

Before the building of the RAF airfield and runway in 1939, Greenham Common was a piece of common land that had been used for centuries. The British government

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<sup>65</sup> See Diana Hutchinson’s report for the *Daily Mail* (4 April 1983) of the Easter demonstrations at Greenham Common (Figure 40).

<sup>66</sup> See UK Government rules on using common land and village greens: <<https://www.gov.uk/common-land-village-greens>> [Accessed 11 August 2021].





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Figure 42. Photograph taken by the author in October 1983 inside a bender at Green Gate. The peace woman shown (Delma Hughes), along with all the peace campers at the gate, were preparing for a visit by bailiffs the following day. (© Liz Murray)

loaned the land that the airbase was on to the USAF in 1981 in preparation for the arrival of cruise missiles. However, the land that surrounded the perimeter fence was still common land, owned by Newbury District Council, and it was here that the various micro-camps that comprised the GCWPC were set up. The Department of Transport owned the roadways leading into the airbase. Despite attempts by local MP Michael McNair-Wilson and Newbury District Council to evict the women (for using tents on common land), the peace campers remained in place by sleeping directly on the adjacent ground with survival blankets and benders.<sup>67</sup> In a House of Commons Sitting of 25 July 1983, McNair-Wilson described the main gate camp thus:

On either side of the access road to the main entrance to the base there are large mounds of gravel and soil in which a few weeds and scrub plants manage to survive and on which the so-called peace camp now resides. The eating or communal area is on the common land administered by Newbury district and the sleeping quarters —20 to 25 unsightly bivouacs covered with polythene sheeting—on part of the 66,698 sq. m. of land that the Department of Transport acquired between June 1951 and October 1952. Despite the ministerial hope that the site would not be re-occupied by vehicles, there is a van converted into a caravan on the Department of Transport site.<sup>68</sup>

For the Greenham women, living out in the open on land previously used for pasture focused the attention of the protest along eco-feminist lines and also constituted a rejection of women's political enclosure historically through patriarchy. It is interesting to note the resurgence of attention around commons, communing and communisation.<sup>69</sup> Commons in this sense broadly describes the natural and cultural

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<sup>67</sup> Benders are shelters made from tree branches that are bent, tied, stuck into the ground and covered with plastic sheeting. When the police banned the use of tents at Greenham, women made and slept in benders.

<sup>68</sup> For full commentary of McNair-Wilson's address to the Commons, see: <https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/commons/1983/jul/25/greenham-common> [Accessed 19 August 2021].

<sup>69</sup> Climate change and impending ecological collapse have driven recent thinking and action on how better to share a planet whose resources are limited. Historian Peter Linebaugh first uses the term 'commoning' in his 2008 book *The Magna Carta Manifesto* as a means of portraying an activity rather than just a material resource. The relentless drive since the 1980s for privatisation and neoliberal individualism has made commoning a more appealing social and political alternative. To act in common is to draw upon a network of relationships with the understanding that some things belong to all and an expectation to care for those things and for one another. This, in essence, was a point that Greenham women constantly sought to make around the interconnectedness of all life on earth and the threat posed by nuclear weapons. There is a vast and burgeoning quantity of research and work being

resources held in common by a community as well as open-source software and mutual aid networks. Of particular note is the Casco Art Institute based in the Netherlands, an experimental platform for Art and Commons. On their website they state:

Art is an imaginative way of doing and being, which connects, heals, opens, and moves people into the new social visions. Art is in fact inherent to the commons, as they are shared resources to keep the culture of community alive. In turn, the commons may well sustain art. With art and the commons we can draw a worldview beyond the divides of private and public, to shape together a new paradigm of living together as “we” desire – be it decolonial, post-capitalist, matriarchal, solidarity economies – we name it!<sup>70</sup>

In *Re-Enchanting the World*, Silvia Federici posits that ‘in language and politics’ the commons of today are the ‘expression of an alternative world’.<sup>71</sup> This spirit might best be understood as a way of looking at the world that makes visible the interconnectedness between humans and other living things and what these connections may produce. Donna Haraway calls this a relation of making ‘oddkin’ or seeking new generative family relations across species.<sup>72</sup> Is this oddkin relation a case of pan-species reciprocal altruism (or beneficial favour-trading) as seen in chimpanzees or a post-human turn? Thinking in cross-species, non-human-centred terms is a means for a ‘restorative reciprocity’ which botanist Robin Wall Kimmerer argues for as a way of understanding the world as a gift.<sup>73</sup> Kimmerer and Haraway

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done on commons globally – enough for another thesis – so I will restrict myself to mentioning those that are of most relevance to this project, namely those associated with commons, art, aesthetics and protest. Foundational to these studies are the writings of Silvia Federici, as well as the commons projects established by the Casco Art Institute.

<sup>70</sup> For more information on Casco’s projects, see: <<https://casco.art/en/about/>> [Accessed 11 September 2021].

<sup>71</sup> Federici, S. (2018). *Re-Enchanting the World: Feminism and the Politics of the Commons*. Oakland, California: Kairos/PM Press, p.1.

<sup>72</sup> Haraway, D. (2016). *Staying with the Trouble: Making Kin in the Chthulucene*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.

<sup>73</sup> See James Yeh’s interview with Kimmerer from 23 May 2020 in the *Guardian* : <<https://www.theguardian.com/books/2020/may/23/robin-wall-kimmerer-people-cant-understand-the-world-as-a-gift-unless-someone-shows-them-how>> [Accessed 13 August 2021].

share a certain ecological-reciprocal-caring approach to human and non-human relations.

Over this forty-year period, the art world and the art market have expanded dramatically, moving art from the margins to the centre with all ‘the losses and gains this entails’.<sup>74</sup> Can an artwork that is a protest exist outside of market exchange or can it be bought and sold if packaged up as ‘Art’?

Art, despite the losses and gains inflicted on its autonomy, may still hold an emancipatory political potential.<sup>75</sup> This chapter will argue that the nomination of the GCWPC as an artwork unbrackets the territory of ‘protest’ into an expanding, relational form and returns the gift of this past demonstration into the present. The rationale for this claim is that the circulation of these gifts, existing as invisible property outside of market exchange, are like an ecological cycle and thus important in establishing a cultural feedback loop. In pointing to ecology as a system that relies on steady-state cycles beneath the appearance of a constantly changing natural world, it draws a timely parallel between the current climate emergency caused by human activity and the breaking of reciprocity seen in neoliberal capitalism.

Context is never neutral, whether past or present. In her essay *Venus in Two Acts*, Saidiya Hartman interrogates the limits of archival materials on trans-Atlantic slavery.<sup>76</sup> The absence of any voice from enslaved women is a consequence of what Hartman calls the ‘violence of the archive’. Gaps and voids in these accounts are sometimes destroyed, often never recorded. As such, they represent a lacuna in our collective human history. Hartman redresses this loss through a method of critical fabulation, using historical archive, critical theory and fictional narrative to make productive sense of these untold stories.

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<sup>74</sup> Iwona Blazwick, art critic and director of London’s Whitechapel Gallery, responds to the question ‘How Has Art Changed?’ put to thirty-three artists, collectors, curators and educationalists by *Frieze* magazine in October 2005. Available at: <<https://www.frieze.com/article/how-has-art-changed>> [Accessed 6 June 2021].

<sup>75</sup> Terry Eagleton has noted the link to autonomy (as a self-determining, self-regulating mode) with bourgeois ideologies yet also how the ‘self-determining nature of human powers and capacities may allow for more radical behaviours. Eagleton, T. (1990). *The Ideology of the Aesthetic*. London: Blackwell, p. 9.

<sup>76</sup> Hartman, S. *Venus in Two Acts*. *Small Axe* 1 June 2008, 12 (2): pp. 1–14. DOI: <<https://doi.org/10.1215/-12-2-1>>



Figure 44. Colour photograph showing a papier-mâché frog on top of a car at Yellow Gate, 1983. (© Liz Murray)



Queerness, too, has a problematic relationship with being archived. Cuban queer theorist José Esteban Muñoz writes in *Cruising Utopia* that ‘queerness has an especially vexed relationship to evidence [...] When the historian of queer experience attempts to document a queer past, there is often a gatekeeper, representing a straight present.’<sup>77</sup> This unspoken, undocumented tranche of queer events and past lives risks being overlooked or lost. The gaps and holes that appear in these his/herstories make it difficult to find a context for oneself, for ways of being. To see oneself is to see the background that supports the image. Context is never neutral and experiencing past evidence of protest can be productive in the present –

In part, then, this enquiry is about the politics of visibility and invisibility for both art and protest.<sup>78</sup> Through examining their commonality as gift, it supports this research’s claim that the GCWPC can be considered an artwork. Its purpose is to demonstrate that the work done by the peace camp women at Greenham Common – its legacy – must necessarily continue to circulate in the present and for the future.

As this research is practice-led, it will present an example of the circularity of gift exchange through the description of an event in the past which involved being given and the returning motion of that gesture in the present through the creation of an artwork. It is my contention that in nominating Greenham-as-Artwork the protest is not *owned* by me – as author or proprietor – but is an action that enables it to circulate as a gift. It returns. This is not a case of ‘the gift that keeps on giving’ – it is, rather, a gesture that keeps the ‘gift’ in motion. It allows the peace camp to be continually reappraised in relation to the present. In this it shares a contingency with politics on the conditions in which it finds itself. Artworks too are understood as objects that move through time and context. Keeping the gift of Greenham ‘live’ and in motion is to deny any sense of summation, appropriation or closure.

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<sup>77</sup>Muñoz, J. (2009). Gesture, Ephemera, and Queer Feeling: Approaching Kevin Aviance. *Cruising Utopia: The Then and There of Queer Futurity*, pp. 65-82.

<sup>78</sup> Gregory Sholette’s writing on *creative dark matter* (referring to the mass of invisible cultural producers that remain largely unrecognised by the high art world of blue-chip galleries and collectors) has been useful for drawing comparisons with the invisibility of certain acts of resistance and political expediency. See: Sholette, G. (2011). *Dark Matter: Art and Politics in the Age of Enterprise Culture*. London: Pluto Press.

This chapter includes a brief survey of the literature on gift and givenness. This is followed by a consideration of value, exchange, commodity and the politics of visibility/invisibility under neoliberalism. It will look at feminist cultural legacies and at how creativity can be applied to political protest. It begins with a story about being given a gift at Greenham which enabled a protester to remain at the site. It concludes with how that gift is being returned to the donor via an artwork.

### **Sue from Telford**

I was given a pair of trainers in 1982. Made of white leather, they were not properly 'trainers' as intended for use in sports or actual training but for leisure wear. Tiny holes perforated the toecap, and the soles were made of crepe-like rubber. The shoes were given to me by one of several thousand women who had gathered around the perimeter fence at the Greenham Common USAF base on a wintry day in December that year. We were protesting the imminent arrival of cruise missiles. We sang, we keened, we danced hand in hand. My own shoes had fallen apart, the sole of one having parted company with its upper. My feet were wet and cold, yet I was resolved to stay overnight for the next day's blockade of the base. It was a weekend, there were no shoe shops for miles, and I had no means, or the time, to go home for another pair. To leave seemed like giving up. Buzzing with the collective energy of an all-female mass demonstration, I was determined to stay.

My memory of how I came to receive the replacement footwear is now hazy, though I do recall the gift came from a group of lesbians who had travelled down to Newbury from Telford. There were women from every part of the UK, spilling out of coaches, erecting banners and joining up to make sections of the holding-hands human chain that 'embraced the base'. The women from Telford were directly next to our small band from art school. They could see my plight and, after a brief discussion, one of them went back to the coach, returning with the white trainers. Her name was Sue. I felt overwhelmed. Their gesture of giving was memorable as it represented in that moment the attitude of the protest. Nonviolent, good-humoured, generous. Between women that were otherwise strangers the unspoken bond that formed in resistance to a shared foe was like discovering an entirely new and supportive family. My sisters now numbered in thousands.



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Figure 44. Photograph taken during the 'Embrace the Base' mass demonstration at Greenham Common airbase on 12 December 1982. 18 x 11 cm. (© Liz Murray)

For keeping out the damp at a muddy protest, the new shoes were hopelessly inadequate. The perforations let in water, and the crepe soles kept it there. They were too white, too porous, too inappropriate. After a cold sleepless night in which they stayed firmly on my feet I felt a little self-conscious about their paleness, yet I was aware that they were a physical manifestation of the peace camp spirit. The shoes were entirely necessary to my being able to remain at the protest, to take part in the action. It was a gift that allowed me to stay where the donor was unable to stay, to put her boots on the ground. Action at the camp meant doing something with your body. Often this was lying down or making a noise, actions that obstructed or called attention to themselves. The sneakers were also doing this; they were noisy, sneakily demanding to be looked at, and queering the pitch amongst other, sensible footwear – the ubiquitous Doctor Martens, hiking boots and wellies of the other protesters.

At the time, I didn't question why one of the women had such a pair of shoes as *spares*. I was simply grateful to be given something to wear that was dry. Why did she have them? They seemed the sort of shoes you would wear for going out, perhaps to a women-only bar – dancing shoes. Had the group of friends planned a night out afterwards to celebrate the experience of mass sisterly solidarity? In the sense that they were 'good shoes', they were clearly special to their owner, and when she offered them to me it was with the hope that they would be returned. There was an expectation (but not a heavy one) that I would return them to my comrade, a dyke-sister united in protest.

I kept the shoes for some time thereafter. I carefully cleaned them when I got back to London, even applying a coat of trainer white to restore their brilliance. They stayed in a cupboard inside a shoebox I found for them, as if they were an injured bird or mouse. There was a return address, but I didn't send them back. I held on to them for a year, feeling a mild sense of shame whenever I saw them. I can remember the guilt but not the reason why the shoes never went back to Telford. In fact, I have no clear recollection of where the shoes ended up, though most likely in a bin bag when I moved out of my bedsit. More interesting is why that sense of embarrassment has



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Figure 45. Liz Murray, maquette for *Sooz Shooz* (2021). Jesmonite, wood, acrylic, rubber, paint.



Deptford 02/02/20

Hello younger Liz,

It is me, the old version here (or is that the *new* version, the you-to-come?). Sorry about the pinky paper...

I hope you got my postcard of Saint Lucy. It's a beauty, no? I have kept it for years in my collection of favourite cards, never thinking I would ever want to actually write on it. Under the circumstances, it felt right to send it to you, my dear young self. One day you will go to Venice and see her, laid out in a glass casket (somewhat weirdly positioned beneath an altar). Not that there is ever so much of her left, as Lucy has somewhat shrunk over time (or were people just smaller in those days?). Her remains are dressed in a long frock and a silver mask covers up where her face would have been. Presumably that has to do with her lack of eyeballs, though perhaps there was other damage inflicted upon her face that was too terrible to show. I think there's also a dismembered head of a monk somewhere else in that church. Catholic relics are endlessly, theatrically, macabre.

Looking at relics – body parts or significant objects from the past – I'm always struck by the sense that they were once 'contemporary', they had a life. Objects and bodies with both currency and functionality in the 'then'. I mean things with a symbolic or ritual purpose and that usually draws us back to ourselves, us homo sapiens. Not like the poor stuffed trio of owls I saw in the Horniman on Friday; three glass-eyed dead birds, arranged in an ivy-clad diorama looking out at me with curiosity. Except they weren't looking at me. They were thoroughly dead. I was the curious one, trying to understand the mindset of a Victorian collector, killing and stuffing the life out of so many birds and creatures. Lucy was stuffed for her exceptionalism as a faithful, god-loving virgin and that's an image of devotion the church wished to preserve. I don't envy her, trapped in the vast diorama of consecrated saints.

Am I rambling? It's because I've been thinking about time-travelling objects. Not so much texts, which always have the mark of their time of writing impressed within them, but THINGS. Material objects that

wind up in the present day, bearing upon them the marks of history on their surface and understanding. Like prehistoric insects caught in amber. You have a few with you right now that will travel on to meet me in the future. ~~I hope I'm not freaking you out, but people (us), just die, and other stuff (objects, furniture, land), keeps going and moving through time to be misinterpreted anew.~~

Have you read any Nabokov yet? I know you are up to stuff. You've probably heard of 'Lolita' – pretty sure you read this a few years ago – but there's this slim book he wrote called '*Transparent Things*'. It's great – well, in parts it's great. The bit I like is when the narrator goes off into a trance over an object, a pencil. As he looks at it, he falls into its history seeing past the prosaic, sinking down through the layers of its material history. *Person* imagines the grinding and extruding of graphite, forming thin spindles for the core, then slipping further into the pine blocks felled and sawn to hold it. Dropping yet deeper he imagines the tree within the forest and the forest held within earthly material...you get the idea.

On the subject of digging into history, you will be entertained to hear that there has been some recent archaeological exploration done at Greenham. Not of the prehistoric variety, but an unearthing of artefacts and materials relating to the peace camp. An old shoe (not Sue's), and the site of a fire pit were revealed. Perhaps next time you are at Green Gate you could bury something for me. A Sisyphean task to relocate such an object in the overgrowth of history.

But you have left me something. (I) you scrupulously kept newspaper cuttings of all actions, demonstrations, and political reportage as well as every photo-stated chain letter, newsletter, songbooks, photographs and magistrate's fines related to Greenham. I have them all. Why these things and not others? I imagine because it mattered to you as much then as it does to me now.

Bye for now.

Xx Liz

never moved on, like the shoes themselves. That never got thrown out; it has clung to me as an indelible stain even after many years. Shame is resistant.

Objects are easier to dispose of than embarrassment. Perhaps because objects cannot be embarrassed, they do not experience themselves as tokens or gifts. People bear the burden of responsibility to keep gifts in motion. In the case of the white shoes, these are finally being returned in the form of an artwork that I hope may one day be seen by Sue.

### **Circles: Gift, Rotation, Community**

The thinking around gift and givenness can be traced from Seneca through Thomas Aquinas and Nietzsche, although much recent thought in phenomenology and economics comes out of the work of anthropologists Bronislaw Malinowski and Marcel Mauss. Malinowski's ethnographic studies of the Kula Ring trading system in the Trobriand Islands established the circular nature of ceremonial giving between the Massim peoples.<sup>79</sup> The Kula gifts comprise arm coverings and necklaces made of shell that move in a continuous circle around a wide ring of islands in the Western Pacific's Massim Archipelago. The social value of these ceremonial gifts far exceeds their practical or decorative use. Being given either a red shell necklace (worn by women) or a white arm-shell (worn by men) bestows honour on the household receiving the gifts. After a period of no more than a year or two, the gifts are passed on; the necklaces are moved to neighbours on adjacent islands in a clockwise direction, the arm-shells moving on in an anti-clockwise rotation.<sup>80</sup> Each article travels around a closed circuit

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<sup>79</sup> See: Bronislaw Malinowski, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*, 1922. [www document] Available at: <<https://wolnelektury.pl/media/book/pdf/argonauts-of-the-western-pacific.pdf>> [Accessed 23 June 2021].

<sup>80</sup> 'On every island and in every village, a more or less limited number of men take part in the Kula, that is to say, receive the goods, hold them for a short time, and then pass them on. Therefore, every man who is in the Kula periodically, though not regularly, receives one or several of the *mwali* (arm-shells), or a *soulava* (necklace of red shell discs), and then has to hand it on to one of his partners, from whom he receives the opposite commodity in exchange. Thus, no man ever keeps any of the articles for any length of time in his possession. One transaction does not finish the Kula relationship, the rule being 'once in the Kula, always in the Kula' and a partnership between the two men is a permanent and lifelong affair. Again, any given *mwali* or *soulava* may be found travelling and changing hands, and there is no question of it ever settling down, so that the principle 'once in the Kula, always in the Kula' applies also to the valuables themselves.' (Malinowski, p.52)





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Figure 46. Delma Hughes carrying water from a standpipe to the Green Gate camp, October 1983. Ilford B&W print from archival negative, 30.5 x 24 cm. (© Liz Murray).

in one direction and is met with articles from the other class and constantly exchanged.

Malinowski observed this circular trading of gifts as falling outside the usual economic sphere. Barter was used for market exchange of useful, indispensable or necessary items such as food, clothing, cooking pots and weapons. The main aim of the Kula Ring is to exchange items with no practical use. It does not matter if the gift that is exchanged is of a less fine quality than the one received. The giving, receiving and motion of the articles is key. There is an economic exchange in the transactions, but these take the form not of bartered goods but of honour-credit and mutual respect. The cycle is bound by laws, myth and magic. Malinowski understood what appeared to be a simple hand-to-hand transaction of useless items as a means to maintain inter-tribal relationships on a massive scale.

Figure 47 overlays a map of the Massim Archipelago that indicates the Kula Ring movement of gifts with a photocopied map of Greenham Common from 1983. The Greenham map was widely copied and distributed between women visiting the peace camp to orientate themselves. The GCWPC was spread around the entire perimeter, though the main gate at the entrance to the airbase was busiest and received the most media attention. Each of the nine gates are represented by stars and named after the colours of the rainbow. The original map of the Kula Ring comes from Malinowski's *Argonauts*.

I was struck by the parallels between the different communities at the gates at Greenham and the Trobriand Island tribes. Each gate had its own tribe who established their camp through a loose set of affiliations or sensibilities. Regardless of what those affiliations might be (lesbian separatism, eco-feminism, Quakerism, punk), there was no organisational structure that might be comparable to other formats of political or social movement. It was a non-hierarchical and horizontal network. Former Greenham woman and sociologist Sacha Roseneil describes the organisation of life and action at Greenham as a postmodern structure. She writes:

If the archetypal structure of modern political organizations is bureaucracy, Greenham's segmentary, polycephalous and reticulate



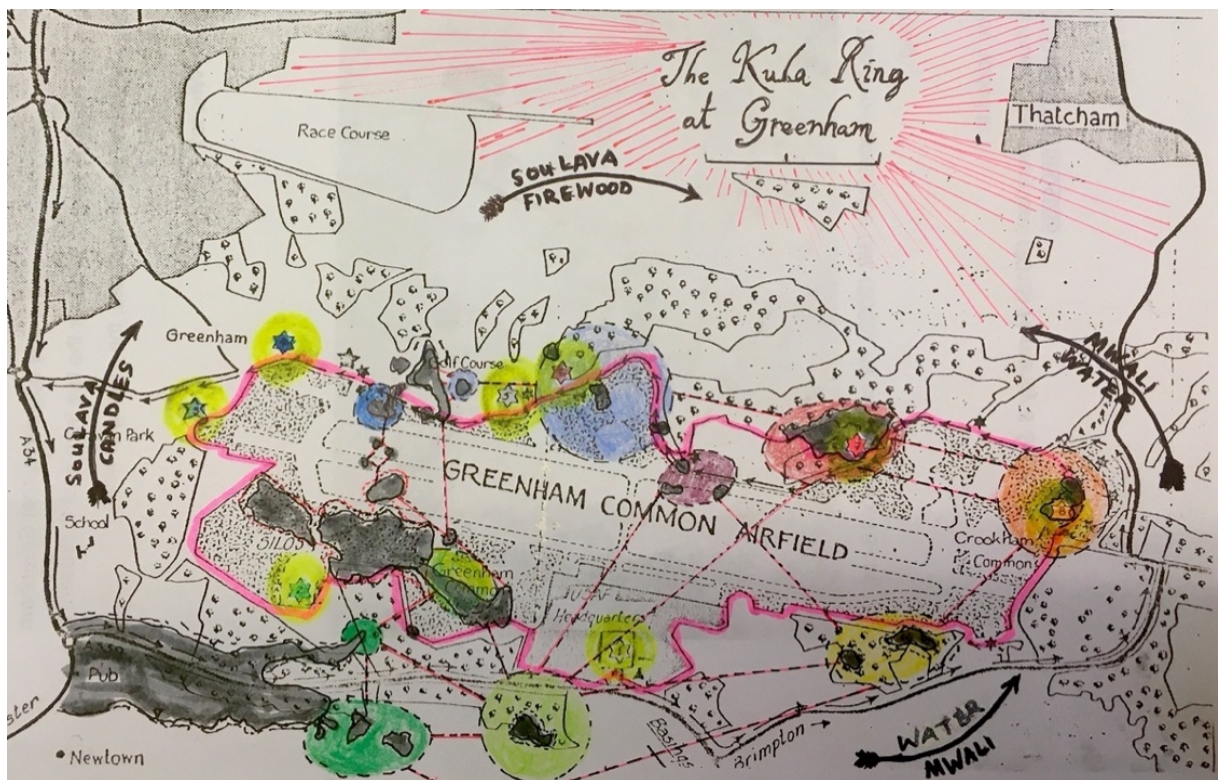


Figure 47. Liz Murray, *The Kula Ring at Greenham* (2021). Ink and marker pen drawing on photocopy, 20 x 13 cm. Shows the Trobriand Islands (in grey ink) overlaying the peace camp gates at Greenham.

structure is characteristically postmodern. Those involved frequently depicted the Greenham network as a spider's web: a non-hierarchical, intricate pattern of individuals and groups, joined together by almost invisible yet strong connecting threads.<sup>81</sup>

Along the lines of this 'spider's web', much like the canoe journeys taken by the islanders to transport gifts, the shared resources of the entire series of gate camps were distributed as needed. Water could be drawn from the standpipe by main gate (Yellow) and carried to adjoining gates. Similarly, when someone dropped off a donation of firewood, food, clothing or candles, these would be distributed as required. These gifts, as such, did not follow the strict principle of directional travel as in the Kula Ring, though the satellite nature of the islands and the nine camps is striking. Beyond the immediate ring of the gate camps lay a wider network of individuals, women's groups, peace groups, religious groups and trade unions that supported the peace camp through various means. In addition to food, clothing, shelter, time and money, the peace camp received a steady stream of letters, postcards and telegrams from supporters worldwide.

In *Essai Sur le Don*, Marcel Mauss, like Malinowski, sought to understand how the exchange of objects between groups of people is used to build relationships.<sup>82</sup> Mauss too used the Kula Ring and also the Pacific Northwest tradition of potlatch to examine the obligation that gift exchange places on giver and recipient, and to highlight the importance of reciprocity. Drawing on these anthropological and sociological studies, his conclusion was that the foundation of human society relied upon collective exchange practices rather than upon serving individual needs. Mauss wrote the essay shortly after the First World War, and his underlying motivation for finding the bindings in human societies may have come from witnessing the political

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<sup>81</sup> Roseneil, S. (1999). Postmodern Feminist Politics: The Art of the (Im)Possible?. *The European Journal of Women's Studies*, Vol. 6. London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi: SAGE, pp. 161-182. Available at: <[https://www.researchgate.net/publication/249753048\\_Postmodern\\_Feminist\\_PoliticsThe\\_Art\\_of\\_the\\_ImPossible/link/592087e30f7e9b99793fc9c8/download](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/249753048_Postmodern_Feminist_PoliticsThe_Art_of_the_ImPossible/link/592087e30f7e9b99793fc9c8/download)> [Accessed 19 June 2020].

<sup>82</sup> The original essay in French was translated into English in 1954 by Ian Cunnison and again in 1990 by W. D. Halls, the English title being *An Essay on the Gift: The Form and Reason of Exchange in Archaic Societies*.



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Figure 48. Unnamed woman and Delma Hughes inside a bender at Green Gate camp, October 1983. Ilford B&W print from archival negative, 30.5 x 24 cm. (© Liz Murray).

and social fracturing of continents, communities and nations. As a guide for how giving can promote better ways of living together in societies, the legacy of *Essai Sur le Don* has been taken up by philosophers and political activists such as Jacques Derrida (*Given Time*, 1994), Jean-Luc Marion (*Being Given*, 2002), and David Graeber (*Debt: The First 5,000 Years*, 2011).

Returning to the Christmas gifts seen in Figure 39, these are items that are usually exchanged between two people or entities. The donor gives, and the recipient receives, often with gratitude. The recipient returns the action of gifting to the original donor. This movement of giving back and forth between two parties is an action of reciprocity.<sup>83</sup> The to and fro nature of this giving is a linear one. It is a simple form of gift exchange that shuttles between two people. The gift is always, in a sense, in view. So, too, is the gratitude. When the exchange becomes circular, as in the Kula Ring, there are a minimum of three persons involved and usually many more. When the gift passes to the partner on the left or right of the donor, it temporarily disappears from sight. At some point in the future, the gift is returned, but for the time that the gift is in motion the gratitude attached to the exchange is, like the visibility of the gift, blind.

In his comprehensive examination of the gift economy and creativity, Lewis Hyde describes how this disappearance of the gift object relies on trust in a wider community and an identification with the same:

When the gift moves in a circle its motion is beyond the control of the personal ego, and so each bearer must be part of the group and each donation is an act of social faith.<sup>84</sup>

In *The Gift: How the Creative Spirit Transforms the World*, Hyde's premise is that an artwork has an innate ability to transfer an experience to an audience and that it is freely given and received as a gift. It suggests that artworks are precious cultural gifts that embody shared aspects of human experience and transcend commodity.

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<sup>83</sup> From the Latin root *reciprocare*, to move backwards (*re*) and forwards (*pro*).

<sup>84</sup> Hyde, L. (2006). *The Gift: How the Creative Spirit Transforms the World*. Edinburgh: Canongate, p. 16





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Fig.49. Green gate encampment in 1983. (©Liz Murray).



They are the equivalent of the arm rings and bracelets of the Trobriand Islanders and the responsibility of the community. Art, Hyde suggests, can move the heart, revive the soul, delight the senses and offer courage for living. He states that ‘when we are touched by a work of art something comes to us which has nothing to do with the price’. The redemptive experience that art offers, according to Hyde, can be linked to the altruism of the Kula Ring gift exchanges. It is easy to be cynical about the art world within which artworks form an essential part both as monetised commodities and as objects around which the art world circulates. And yet it is possible to stand aside from the market and be surprised and profoundly moved by the humanity of a painting made over four hundred years ago. *The Gift* begins from an understanding of that experience – that a work of art can be a gift – and yet can exist within two economies, those of the market (commodity) and gift (exchange). Of these, only the gift economy is essential, as a work of art can endure outside the market, but ‘where there is no gift there is no art’.<sup>85</sup>

### **Squares: Institutions, endowments, and activism.**

Culturally important items are often stored and displayed in square-like formats; in boxes, vitrines, in designated rooms, in corporate buildings, in state buildings, in private dwellings and in public spaces. Artefacts that are considered culturally invaluable, like the Rosetta Stone, are kept in flagship national museums, often within a cordoned-off vitrine or casket.<sup>86</sup> Objects such as these may (contentiously) not originate from the country in which they are housed (indeed, they may have been looted from another culture) and yet provide a link to a shared history of language, religious belief or interpretation. As culturally important artefacts, they

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<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xiv

<sup>86</sup> The Rosetta Stone is housed near the entrance to the British Museum in London. A grey block of granodiorite, it bears a dense series of carved inscriptions on its faces. At a little over a metre in height, this weighty fragment has been credited as a key for deciphering ancient Egyptian hieroglyphs and has become a paradigm of language translation. Intended as an official decree marking a donation to temple priests by King Ptolemy V Epiphanes (204-181 BC), the message-bearing stone was one of many copies. The dense arrangement of carved texts is written in three forms, each a copy of the message. The language of the decree appears first as hieroglyphs, followed by Demotic (or the common language of the people) and finally Ancient Greek (the language of the Egyptian administration under the Ptolemaic rulers). What makes the Rosetta Stone so important is the appearance of three identical messages in three languages, enabling its use as a means of deciphering Egyptian hieroglyphs, a language that resisted interpretation from the end of the Ptolemaic era until 1824

are considered beyond monetisation. They are 'banked' within the square box or white cube of the institution. Keeping a collection of cultural and historically disparate artefacts together within the same container does not make for linear connections, yet the container could be thought of as a 'bag of stars'.<sup>87</sup>

The GCWPC endowment is complex and expansive, yet for the purpose of clarity it can be understood as a demonstration of women's agency, of drawing global attention to the risk to life posed by nuclear weapons, of raising awareness of ecological destruction on a planetary scale and of being a means of questioning hegemonic economies of aggression, militarism, and violence. It also stands as a paradigmatic example of queer resistance to patriarchy. Greenham made possible a collective, social movement of women to 'step outside the ongoing practices and discourses through which patriarchy is continuously reconstituted'.<sup>88</sup> All of these are highly relevant to counter the present conditions of neoliberalism, which have become more apparent in the years since the peace camp was established. This is witnessed in a widening of social inequalities and, as Henry Giroux posits, a 'celebration of self-interests over social needs' and 'profit-making as the essence of democracy coupled with the utterly reductionist notion that consumption is the only applicable form of citizenship'.<sup>89</sup> To speak of Greenham as a gift is to pass on all its parts, material and immaterial, to an/other(s).

### **Triangles: Gifted, gays, visibility.**

At the top of a triangle of cultural importance and value, the artefacts' internment inside state institutions such as national museums and galleries is a display of the nation's cultural wealth. The state largely supports the upkeep and maintenance of these pyramidal structures. It does so in recognition that in addition to boosting the status of the nation through its cultural wealth, these artefacts make

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<sup>87</sup> This is a reference to Ursula K. Le Guin's 'carrier bag theory of fiction'. Le Guin understands novel writing as providing a container for gathering words, ideas, stories and meanings held in powerful relation to one another. Her short essay led me to think of the museum as a kind of cultural carrier bag. See: Le Guin, U. K. (2019). *The Carrier Bag Theory of Fiction*, London: Ignota, p. 37

<sup>88</sup> Roseneil, S. (1995). *Disarming Patriarchy: Feminism and Political Action at Greenham*. Buckingham: Open University Press, p. 2.

<sup>89</sup> Henry Giroux interviewed by Michael Nevradakis (2015). 'Henry Giroux on the Rise of Neoliberalism', in *Humanity & Society*, 39(4), pp. 449–455. DOI: 10.1177/0160597615604985.



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Figure 50. Former site of Green Gate camp and access point to the Ground-launched cruise missile Alert and Maintenance Area (GAMA) silos, 21 August 2021.

up a cultural ‘treasure chest’ that is held in trust for future generations. Many items held by public collections are often given to the nation by wealthy private individuals (usually set against tax liabilities) in the certainty that the invaluable object, painting or document will be archived and displayed in the best conditions possible.

Artworks are easier to comprehend as ‘gifts’ than they are as a political demonstration, especially as making art is often associated with talent. A child can be ‘gifted’ when it shows a preternatural ability for music, art, mathematics or chess, for example. These innate aptitudes or talents are viewed as exceptional. Talent, etymologically, comes from *talenta*, the Latin for a weight or sum of money. A talent like art can be a gift and monetarily valuable. It is a common public perception that artworks have a market value, like a commodity. This view is reinforced when auction sales hit record levels for works of art, especially for the work of deceased artists, of which there is a scarcity of supply.<sup>90</sup> For some living artists whose work is bought and sold at the top end of the art market, this perception makes them celebrities. It is a condition of exceptionality that obscures the vast pyramid of creative ‘dark matter’ – the lesser-known artists, amateurs, makeshift and ‘failed’ artists whose creative and imaginative energies prop up an art system that excludes them from view.<sup>91</sup> Artist and critic Gregory Sholette, whose borrowing of the astrophysical term as a metaphor for the invisible mass of cultural workers, writes:

Collectively, the amateur and the failed artist represent a vast flat field upon which a privileged few stand out in relief... what if we turned this figure and ground relation inside out by imagining an artworld unable to exclude the practices and practitioners it secretly depends upon? What then would become of its value structure and distribution of power? The answer is not to imagine the emergence of a more comprehensive social art history in which the usual art subjects are better contextualised. Nor is it to take part in some rarefied tour of this dark-matter world in which the mysterious missing cultural mass is acknowledged, ruminated over, and then re-shelved or archived as a collection of oddities. Instead, when the excluded are made visible, when they demand

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<sup>90</sup> Leonardo da Vinci’s *Salvator Mundi* sold for \$450 million in 2016, a new record for an Old Master painting. <<https://www.artnews.com/list/art-news/artists/most-expensive-old-masters-works-1234581432/francesco-guardi-venice-a-view-of-the-rialto-bridge-looking-north/>>

<sup>91</sup> See: Sholette, G. (2010). *Dark Matter: Art and Politics in the Age of Enterprise Culture*. London: Pluto Press.

visibility, it is always ultimately a matter of politics and a rethinking of history.<sup>92</sup>

A younger generation (for whom Greenham is just a word to be Googled) might point to the shared benefits that technology has brought, such as the World Wide Web as a free knowledge resource. Undoubtedly, Tim Berners-Lee's gift to the world of a free resource for public good has been transformative.<sup>93</sup> However, the freedom to access much online content comes with a monetisation of the users' information, their browsing history and their data. What appears to be a free sharing of information is often tied invisibly to commerce. This could be understood as type of reciprocity in which a gift is returned; a user *gives* their attention via looking and the web browser or website *gets* back user data that can be used to market goods to that user based on their browsing history. It is a simple form of gift exchange between two entities. The contention here is that the GCWPC cannot function reciprocally but shares the potential that an artwork holds to be a *gift in circulation*.

The materials that record and archive the GCWPC are considerable. Yet to prevent this and other radical histories of protest from being flattened, there is a requirement to review what becomes normative or ends up in the archive; to prevent the control of history by the very hegemony that the Greenham women opposed. To move, to reform, to queer the line from past to present is to guard against the concretising of certain histories, the making of walls. This research proposes the reframing of Greenham as a means to reclaim, re-evaluate and take forward a critical moment in feminist politics. It is primarily for a younger generation for whom Greenham is dark matter.

One of the key arguments in this research is that any dominant ideology based on self-interest and individualism (such as neoliberalism) crushes resistance to its values through imprisonment within specific historical boundaries. These can be archives, documentaries, museum displays or other repositories – like graveyards.

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<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3.

<sup>93</sup> British computer scientist Tim Berners-Lee developed html (which became the basis for the World Wide Web) whilst working at CERN in 1989. See: <<http://info.cern.ch/Proposal.html>> [Accessed 17 June 2021].





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Figure 51. The GAMA silos in the south-west corner of Greenham Common airbase were listed as scheduled monuments on 3 March 2003. They are currently privately owned and used for location shoots. Image taken: 21 August 2021.

Protest in this context becomes sited and understood in relation to archival materials. It is locked into the past. This research offers a means to rethink the scale, temporality, framing and afterlife of the GCWPC.

Greenham was many things – a site, an event, a performance, a manifesto, a series of happenings – and novel in its form of protest. It disrupted the status quo. Arguably, it was avant-garde, being at the forefront of effecting change in politics and in feminist and queer consciousness. Its transgressive form appeared through an existing form of spatial biopolitical ordering. To frame it as an ever-expanding artwork is both to recognise that genuine political or artistic activities always involve forms of innovation that tear bodies from their assigned places and to understand this exchange as a gift.

There is a prevalent cynicism within and about the art world that art can neuter and absorb anything, including critique of itself, even cancelling out dissent through commodification. This is adamantly not a neoliberal gesture for absorbing radical politics through art. Maurice Blanchot's contention that placing activist materials, events and outcomes into a book form is a 'refined form of oppression'. Blanchot writes:

everything that disturbs, calls, threatens, and finally questions without expecting an answer, without resting in certainty, never will we enclose it in a book, which, even when open, tends toward closure, a refined form of oppression...No more books, never again a book, so long as we maintain our relation with the upheaval of the rupture.<sup>94</sup>

Although Blanchot posits the book form as a prison that cannot adequately contain the enormity of rupture, it can equally be applied to thinking about the materiality of protest. The GCWPC transgressed both the geographic and ideological boundaries of gender and propriety through the relocation of 'home' into the open; a piece of common ground that witnessed the women visibly challenging the

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<sup>94</sup> 'Tracts, Bulletins, Posters', *Comité*, October 1968, in Blanchot, M. (2010), *Political Writings: 1953-1993*, trans. Zakir Paul. New York: Fordham University Press, p. 95

establishment's values of order and normality. The patriarchal power and politics were literally and metaphorically on the other side of the fence.

### **Returning the sneakers: *Sooz Shooz* (2021)**

An oversized shoe made from plaster and polystyrene is being constructed in my studio. Its scale and the flap of plaster that lies across the top give it a comedic quality, as if it belongs to the foot of a clown unable to manage the laces. It is too big to fit any human foot and, besides, there's no void to accommodate flesh; the shoe is full of gypsum. It is platforming itself, rising up on a series of shaped blocks that mimic its footprint. As blocks are added (like growth rings in a tree), the sneakers rise up. The height of the work is important, for it is not destined to be placed on the ground, unlike Eleanor Antin's *100 Boots Looking for a Job*. It hovers in an imagined space of storage, like the memory of its ghost. Solitary, for now, it emphasises a loss – where is its necessary other, its twin? Being a singleton renders the shoe useless. This condition is doubled by its being an artwork and not a shoe. It is an unwearable reminder of a moment in a radical protest.

Without an image of the gifted trainers, or indeed any tangible trace of them other than what resides in memory, their reproduction as a sculptural form has presented difficulties. There is so much subjectivity to get through. Were there a photograph of the original footwear, it would supplant other senses; of touch, of smell, of temperature, of feeling beholden. The image would lock down a *certainty* of the object. To haul up, bit by bit, from the dormant regions of the brain every fragment relating to and surrounding an object in time – there is the challenge to knowledge. The process of making them is informed by clumsy gestures to understand what a shoe is, what a gift means.

The attempt to remake a gift from the past is also an enquiry, and arguably a political one. In returning to that moment of giving, the fixity of a historic protest is destabilised in a small, resistant gesture. The trainer-as-artwork is not a re-enactment; it does not seek to re-imagine or replay protest. It is awkward, in the same way that its non-return was problematic. The ethical prerogative to give back something that doesn't belong to you is strong, hence the mild embarrassment. Did the retention make me an imperfect protester? Can I now return the embarrassment rather than the

shoes? Or might it be the case that keeping the shoes, not giving them back, kept the protest alive? Had I done the comradely thing and posted them, would that have severed a tie, killed the spirit?<sup>95</sup> Can that be what an artwork does – keep something locked within its core, so that it will last forever?

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<sup>95</sup> *You Can't Kill the Spirit* was a popular song at Greenham and regularly sung at mass gatherings and protests around the airbase perimeter. It features in the *Greenham Common Women's Peace Song Book*. It became a slogan for many of the flyers and handouts generated around the camp, publicising upcoming events and blockades.

Deptford 26/02/20

Hello me,

It feels like ages since I last wrote you. A few weeks across the tundra of thirty seven years. How are you doing? That's a real question, demanding an answer, btw. Not like Andy Warhol's whispered reply to the same stock enquiry 'okay but I have diarrhea'. That made me laugh.

I found a studio notebook from January 1982 to November 1983 which makes me wonder what was going on for you/me then. You sound very low. A bit lost. Confused about your art studies with occasional moments of brightness when something falls into better relationship with ~~your sensibility~~ you. There's plenty of gnomic phrases like 'ART IS THE ONLY THING WHICH CANNOT CRITICIZE ITSELF' and 'TO BE SILENT IS TO CONSENT'. Phew. What were you like?

That first pearl dropped into your notebook on Tuesday January 11, 1983 when Jean Fisher gave a seminar on 'New Art'. I had totally forgotten that she was there. In fact, my memory is that the critical-historical-studies input at Camberwell was pretty lame, more historical than critical. Clearly, looking at your notes, I've got it wrong. Still, you did write your thesis on Rosa Bonheur, painter of animals. I am reading your handwriting, on pages just after the sketches you made from *La Ragnatela* Women's Peace Camp in Comiso, of the *Horse Fair* of 1852. Notes to self about the composition, rhythm, the importance of the white areas, chiaroscuro, and finally a sentence about how a man in the gallery is pissing you off. I guess you were writing about Rosa Bonheur (rather than contemporary women artists like Helen Chadwick or Tina Keane), because she was a lesbian and a painter. And that's what you ~~were~~ are.

I'm wondering where and when the 'queerness' of **YOU** appears in your work. Okay, I know you have been reading Radcliffe Hall and Virginia Woolf and all that upper-class literary hiding-in-the-closetry. But how are you expressing yourself and your experience of being GAY? Is this all taking place at Greenham or Sicily through a lived experience of defiance and protest against patriarchy/militarism/homophobia? Where does the art come in? Here's



my question (and normally I wouldn't be quite so forthright, but I am talking to myself, after all): WHERE IS YOUR QUEER IDENTITY MANIFESTING (womanifesting?) ITSELF? Yes, you most certainly look like a dyke, no mistake, and you currently have a female lover (if this letter reaches you early, she's on her way), you are spending plenty of time living amongst other women who identify as radical feminists, separatists, dykes, butches, femmes, et cetera, not to mention taking part in marches, blockades and sit-ins. Why doesn't all this radicality not appear in your work? Is it that the politics of Greenham is expressed in a practice of *being-with* the problem? (*Staying with the Trouble*, now that's a book you will look forward to reading). Is Art just not an effective enough tool for representing your struggles with hegemony?

I'm not going to hold my breath for an immediate response from you. Yet, if these guesses of mine are correct (that you sense art belongs to an elite milieu which you are not part of, that politics is about putting your body on the line), it is worth saying for the record (this is becoming a queer newsletter!), that you won't always feel ~~this~~ that way. Honestly, I believe politics can be folded into practice and vice-versa. Indeed, it feels more than ever like a necessity.

Anyway, I wanted to say that despite the naïve desperation and aesthetic black holes that crop up in your notebook, there is some considerable erotic heat in your drawings. I was rifling through ~~my~~ our plan chest this afternoon and came across a selection of post-coital nudes. Good for you, I thought. It's been such a long time since I've looked at them, I forgot how **present** they feel...if that makes sense. Missing from your notebook are any accounts of your politics—these are obliquely documented in the stack of cuttings and newsletters you've been accruing—but looking at the drawings now I see that there is a personal-political voice emerging. Except it is not heard but seen. Lines are drawn, positions stated.

In Solidarity,

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[BLANK]



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Figure 52. University College Union (UCU) picket line outside the main entrance to the Royal College of Art (RCA) Battersea campus in 2021. Union members and workers at the RCA have been striking over poor pay and working conditions since February 2020. (Photograph courtesy of Myro Wulff)





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Figure 53. Liz Murray *backchat bender* (2021). Pre-viva exhibition of protest images from the author's Greenham Common archive at the Dyson Gallery, RCA Battersea campus, 15 - 28 November 2021. Photographic frieze, 1,288 x 250 cm.



Figure 54. Liz Murray *backchat bender* (2021). In support of the UCU strike and to prevent Visitors crossing the picket line to enter the gallery, the photographic frieze is displayed on the inside of the Dyson gallery windows. The main entrance to the RCA Battersea campus is to the left of the Dyson windows facing onto Hester Road.





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Figure 55. Liz Murray *backchat bender* (2021). RCA Dyson gallery windows with photographic frieze, facing onto Hester Road.



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Figure 56. Liz Murray *backchat bender* (2021). RCA Dyson gallery windows at corner of Hester Road and Battersea Bridge Road.





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Figure 57. Liz Murray *backchat bender* (2021). RCA Dyson gallery windows facing onto Battersea Bridge Road.



Figure 58. Liz Murray *backchat bender* (2021). RCA Dyson gallery windows with photographic frieze on Battersea Bridge Road.

## Section 4: CONCLUSION

### Summary of key arguments

This research responds to the apparent failure of second-wave feminism to significantly address sexism, equality for all women and misogyny in all its forms. It was carried out through an autoethnographic method that used my own experience of being part of a feminist protest that rejected militarism, speciesism, capitalism and patriarchy. As a strategy for addressing the social, sexual and political lacuna that still exists today the project functions as a form of nomination for the GCWPC to become an artwork. The purpose of reframing it as such is to generate a new audience and a fresh perspective on how protest can be utilised productively.

As a communication tool, art has the capacity to offer a platform for rethinking experiences across time and space, to change perceptions and opinions. It can provide more than a series of aesthetic encounters; it can be a vehicle for social change. Thus, I make the case for art practice as providing an emollient to embed radical feminist protest within cultural memory. This action could be viewed as a libertarian form of mimicking the political and economic structures of neoliberalism, using deregulation, elimination of controls and free-market economic policies. However, one of the key arguments for doing so is that this way of considering the GCWPC allows for an unbracketing of the capacities of 'protest' into an expanding relational form. In short, it supercharges the performance of resistance in order to understand its transformative and productive modes.

For me, what is at the root of this research is care, not cash. Care is argued for here as a means of guardianship for a shared feminist legacy that is open and available to all. This is not intended either as an economic proposition or as a commodification of radical politics. To position this feminist protest as art is to undo any potential for it to be bought and sold. The work is not owned as such or even authored in the conventional sense, nor is it appropriated; it is collective cultural property. Nominating the GCWPC as an artwork is to transform it into a feminist commons, being not a thing but a set of social relations.



## Research questions answered

Artworks and artefacts of the past contribute to society's cultural and collective memory in a way that historical fact alone cannot; they provide a way to understand how it *felt* to exist in a particular place at a particular time. My framing of the GCWPC as an artwork appears within the thesis and through artworks that I generated as the result of talking-back to history and to the present. The tone of this conversation is intentionally direct and personal, as I want the contents to be accessible to a broad audience. By presenting a first-hand account of the GCWPC, it offers a means of access to a section of British feminist history that has not been fully heard. To clarify, there are many written and oral accounts of Greenham women's experiences, and this is another – one that contributes a new form of engagement with the histories and events of the time.

Publishing the thesis and my practice in the public sphere enables differing forms of productive response from readers and the audience of the work. For the former, there is the potential for a reader to do more research by looking at other texts, research papers, testimonies, archives and public records concerning the GCWPC. For the latter, exhibiting artworks adds an original register of communication for the audience. Both reader and viewer are 'users' of this research in that they are activating an exchange and generating their own responses, opinions and questions around events of the GCWPC. Clearly, by expanding the protest at Greenham into other formats and modes of display and communication allows a greater reach with enhanced possibilities for response.

The research acknowledges the manifold ways in which artists have engaged with past social and political actions. Jeremy Deller's *The Battle of Orgreave* (2001) is an example of a site-specific performance which re-enacts one of the many violent clashes between police and picketing miners during the 1984-85 miners' strike. Deller's recording of those people involved in the events considered culturally or historically important is laudable and gives a platform for the narratives of those in more marginalised positions in society. However, the realism of Deller's re-enactment can raise questions of historical authenticity for viewers of the artwork and of how past

protests can be transmitted and understood in the present.<sup>96</sup> In adding another strand to the autobiographical accounts of the GCWPC, this research makes that collection larger and through ‘talking-back’ makes visible the reciprocal nature of transmitting authentic accounts of past protest. This is further bolstered by my own artworks, which are generated through conversations with archival material that provide a more abstract response to events and their recording. What I mean by this is that re-enactment can author its own false history, whereas in choosing a more multifaceted method a more expansive response can be generated.

Following on from this point, positing the GCWPC as an artwork is to give it a second life beyond historical archives. It is in this sense that I consider nomination as a means to ‘supercharge’ the vitality of a uniquely important feminist protest.

At no point in this research do I claim any ownership of the GCWPC. I acknowledge the GCWPC as a feminist commons and as a tool for changing the perception of women as common property of the patriarchy. With this intention, I perceive a small measure of aestheticization will not compromise the benefits of reframing feminist dissent.

In answer to this project’s primary research question – ‘*To what extent can art provide a method for engaging with feminist histories, stories and events?*’ – this thesis has made three interlocking arguments through three distinct sections. The first of these are discourses around the archive in which the ‘housing’, control and politics of these records are examined. Secondly, in the section on gift and givenness, I argue that art can offer society a chance to reflect collectively on the imaginary figures it depends upon for its very consistency and self-understanding. In the third section, a series of correspondences runs through the body of the text, functioning as portals where temporalities are exchanged, creating out-takes for the reader to occupy separately from the components of the thesis and artworks.

Writing and making new artworks about a past political protest in the present (rather than from the 1980s) allows for a critical dismantling of second-wave feminism, through a reconsideration of first-hand experiences and a review of the

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<sup>96</sup> For a fuller interpretation on this point, see: Correia, A. (2006). Interpreting Jeremy Deller's *The Battle of Orgreave*. *Visual Culture in Britain* 7, pp. 93-112.

transversal factors that have impacted on the gender-equality movement over time. If we understand feminism to be a project without a deadline, then the ambitions that the feminist movement defined in the 1960s remain an unfinished project.

The final research question – *How might a feminist activist use nomination as 'artivism' to affect social and cultural transformation and enable a critical re-evaluation of gender equality?* – may appear ambitious in scope, yet I argue that even a single user of the research (or the audience for an artwork) provides the ground upon which a fairer, more equal society for women might emerge. Putting forward the GCWPC as an artwork forty years after it was started is both a means to open debate around art and protest and a way of drawing attention to the impact of this landmark women-only event. Such a move can be described as feminist art activism. It does so to challenge the binary thinking that often runs with knowledge production and the concretising of radical, queer protest.

### **Critical reflections on Greenham as an artwork**

In the sense that this trusteeship of protest-as-artwork is passed on, freely given and shared, the research contends that both artwork and protest are gifts to society. The unique contribution this project makes to scholarship on givenness is the circulation of protest as a consciousness-raising device. While this sounds quite literally pedagogic ('Look at what you can learn from an earlier generation of feminists!'), it is not my intention here. This passing on of an expanding collection of materials presented as artwork is meant as an emancipatory tool box. As an artwork, it does not tell an audience how to think but *why* and *how* it is important to think politically about the world.

In this project, research is present in practice as well as in writing, using a process of talking to materials, to memory, to documents. The rationale for this method is establishing a search (a 're-search') with concomitant testing of knowledge, imagination and tone. Making artwork is an ongoing pursuit for something that is ever out of view and yet feels close. It is a refractive, intuitive, iterative, imaginative, back-chatting enterprise.

A future proposition could be made for the potential nomination of the nominated GCWPC as Artwork for the Turner Prize. As any 'exhibition' of the protest

would necessitate a materialisation of artwork to satisfy the demands of an aesthetic experience, it is exciting to imagine how many iterations might become possible.

### **Summary of results of art practice**

My artworks deal with aspects and applications of nomination as a method used in this research. It firms up facets of the nomination of the GCWPC as manifest in this thesis. Taking and borrowing in this sense is more of a ‘Murray’ appropriation rather than a ‘Duchampian’ one, as it uses moving images, photographs and text as progenitors for sculptural objects. These objects function more abstractly and intuitively, working around the Greenham archive in a shifting re-performance of resistance.

Nominating Greenham as an artwork is a means to untether it from historical interpretation and to bring it into the present day, allowing for reinterpretation, expansion and contextualisation within the current political conditions. I have argued within the previous chapters for lifting this radical feminist protest out of history-as-concrete as a necessary condition of empowering an imaginative, multimodal, enfolded response.

My research uses art strategically, acknowledging the potential it holds ‘for society to reflect collectively on the imaginary figures it depends upon for its very consistency [and] self-understanding.’<sup>97</sup> It activates this capacity through imagination, autonomy and its faculty for refracting order or sense. In making this protest an artwork, it offers the potential for rethinking how we understand the limits of protest and the ongoing work of feminist activists and scholars. The examples of art practices (Manuela Zechner, Katie Patterson, Zanele Muholi and my own) throughout the chapters demonstrate how artworks can directly engage with past, present and future social and political imaginaries.

In attempting to lay bare the causes of gender discrimination, it has been important to take apart not simply ‘the patriarchy’ (which is undoubtedly cast as the primary villain in this regard) but to identify the other factors that surround this central problem. Technology, neoliberalism, methods and politics of archiving history

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<sup>97</sup> Holmes, 2004: p. 549.

and planetary-scale environmental damage have effectively smoke-screened the egregious social disparity between men and women as well as the ‘cruel optimism’ of the political subject under neoliberalism.<sup>98</sup> To look back and examine the changes in social, economic and political conditions that were in place in 1981 is to find the embedding of neoliberal post-Fordist practices so entrenched that today these appear as the normative horizon of human exchange. The research aims were to uncover some of the factors that have maintained a dominant patriarchal status quo. These may be found in the margins surrounding the media articles that covered accounts of the Greenham protest (see Appendix 1).

### **Significance of findings**

My method of engaging with the GCWPC is a contribution to knowledge. When writing to myself in the series of letters that make up *Correspondence*, I was talking backwards but also forwards, to find out the links that I had unconsciously broken or not remembered well. I connected with the actions and intentions of my young self – an act of identification. However, through writing, I became acutely aware of becoming my own grandmother, as it were. Thinking across this lived span of time, I came to the realisation that my remaining time, as for many of the younger members of the Greenham Common family, is a limited resource. Most of the oldest peace camp women have died. Again, there is a sense of urgency in this research to ensure that all that can be opened up, spoken of, sung about and written of this event should be made continually ‘live’.

What began as a method to work out what I was thinking forty years ago became a device for connecting with a public. For clarity, I am referring to ‘public’ here in the sense that social theorist Michael Warner outlines in *Publics and Counterpublics* as ‘the kind of public that comes into being only in relation to texts and their circulation.’<sup>99</sup> Specifically, this public would belong to a demographic similar to that of the younger woman with whom I had sought to set up this conversation. In

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<sup>98</sup> See Berlant, L. (2011). *Cruel Optimism*. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2011.

<sup>99</sup> Warner, M. (2002). Publics and Counterpublics. *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 88(4), pp. 413-425



effect, it was only after they had been written that I became aware of their value as a means of engaging a younger proto-feminist audience in an original way.

One of the criticisms that may be levelled at academic research and PhD theses in particular is that they are rarely read beyond the academy. My aim for this research is that it should have publics both inside and outside of the institution. To address how feminist history might be kept active and relevant to a new generation, it is essential that this form of knowledge should have multimodal and imaginative means of connecting with its audience.

Before embarking on this research, I understood a contemporary artwork to be, as Joseph Margolis has argued, a culturally emergent phenomenon, like speech and the human actions that make up human history.<sup>100</sup> The meaning of an artwork is not solely determined by the artwork but emerges from the encounter between itself and a viewer or user. There is a conversation. To recognise a thing as an artwork is to adopt a responsive, activated approach to it.<sup>101</sup> The artwork – whether framed as an event, as an object or as a material or immaterial thing – is made in expectation of a response.

My iterative, refracted art practice is another contribution to knowledge. My own artwork, which is made and authored by me, does function independently of this thesis. It operates as a culturally emergent phenomenon in which interplay can take place between an audience and itself. Yet when placed within this research (thesis as nomination), it charges the viewer with making imaginative connective relationships through objects, time space and political ideology.

In making prominent the sprawl of a historic feminist protest through its nomination as art, I was aware of the extractive powers that art has and the responsibility that comes with making this action. I would firmly contest that this is not a mining of a radical political event for art's sake (or 'defanging') but an inventive tactic that sits within the activist strategies that Greenham women employed against the siting of cruise missiles.

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<sup>100</sup> Margolis, J. (1979). A Strategy for a Philosophy of Art. *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, 37(4), pp. 445-454. doi:10.2307/430688

<sup>101</sup> See: Bakhtin, M. (1981). 'Discourse in the novel', in Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*. ed. M. Holquist.

Of course, there is a clear difference between nonviolent direct action that puts bodies in front of bulldozers and an art practice that proposes an idea for an artwork. However, to put forward this expansive, rhizomatic structure as a contemporary artwork is done with the intention that it will 'lie down in the road'. It is an artwork that amplifies a conversation about a radical feminist past and how it might inform understanding of the present and of our shared futures. As a structure it shares many of the conceptual parameters of installation art. The reader/viewer/user is pulled into relation with the media and materials that support the nomination.

### **Limitations of study**

This research acknowledges the work of queer theorists in opening out debate on gender construction, transgender identity, embodiment and sexual politics through engagement with other theoretical schools such as feminism, post-colonialism, Marxism and psychoanalysis.<sup>102</sup> Queer theory is a relatively young theoretical field that developed in the 1990s and continues to the present day, though its roots can be traced back to Michel Foucault and his writings on the social construction of sexuality.<sup>103</sup> Queer theory was a nascent mode of critical thinking in the early 1980s, yet it was not a term applied to the peace camp when it was established. It is only since then and in more recent scholarship that the non-normative, nonviolent, sexually disruptive methods of the peace camp women have been described as queer.

As discussed in the introduction, the behaviour of the women transgressed what was defined as socially, politically and biologically normative at that time. The response of the right-wing sections of the media to these contraventions was to pillory the women as deviants, dykes, lesbians, witches, dirty, social scroungers and just plain ugly. In this text, I have used the term 'queer' in describing practices and methods at the camp for its contemporary relevance, but it is important to note that the pejorative terms of 'dykes' and 'lezzers' (especially preceded by 'dirty') were in common use in the 1980s.

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<sup>102</sup> Early queer theorists such as Judith Butler, Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, Lauren Berlant, Michael Warner, Juan Muñoz.

<sup>103</sup> Foucault, M. (1978). *The History of Sexuality, Vol. 1*.

The author understands the contentious nature of some contemporary discourses around transgender theory and the rifts and schisms that biological determinism, radical feminism and lesbian separatism have revealed. Undoubtedly, the gendering of protest at Greenham was fundamental to its identity and ethos. However, it is beyond the scope of this research to locate contemporary trans activism in the past.

Reproducing my archive of GCWPC materials in full has also been beyond the capacity of this thesis – there are almost five hundred items – and it would be a publishing project for the near future alongside the artworks that have come out of this research. A sample of fifty images has been included in Appendix 1.

Outside the scope of this research, too, has been a consideration of the lesser-known ‘sister’ peace camp at Comiso, in Sicily. The women’s peace camp, La Ragnatela, organised a buyout of the land beside the USAF base in 1984, with women subscribing £2.50 each for a metre square of the land. I was briefly resident at La Ragnatela and was one of hundreds of women who collectively owned the ground that the camp was sited on. My intention is to return to Comiso and discover what has become of the land and whether a commons can be established there for future exhibition and dissemination of the legacy of both La Ragnatela and the GCWPC.

Deptford 26/06/20

Dear Liz,

I am sitting in my studio, sweltering. At one end, there is a large paned wall through which the sun (and now flies), are streaming through. I am pondering lock-down,\* being 'in place' and resources.

You and I once lived fairly close to here, though I don't remember visiting Deptford back then. It was a foreign country, like the past. Which is why I am writing to you now. There was that time we were given a commission by a television company to paint graffiti on a wall by Tower Bridge to demonstrate how local politics had changed in Bermondsey. It was just beneath an old wharf once lived in by Derek Jarman. Not that I knew that at the time, nor did I know that much about Peter Tatchell or the loss of Labour's seat to the Liberals. I remember it took us ages to find our way back to Camberwell. Funny thinking back on that; Bermondsey is now my 'hood and so thoroughly changed from then. At least Labour have finally got their seat back.

I had a similarly strange experience of being lost when I went back to Greenham Common two summers ago. The base has become a business park and the common returned to open land. I bet you find that hard to believe in 1983. There are even ponies grazing on the runway, not that you would know there was once tarmac here. As far as you can see there are wildflowers and flints, butterflies and dog-walkers. It took me a long time to get my bearings, aided only by a hand-drawn map from one of the first cruise blockades. Like today, it was scorching hot and zig-zagging west from Crookham across the common I realised how vast it was. Strange artefacts of former use still loom out of the ground: water hydrants, concrete blocks, earthworks. Hardest of all was finding the site of the main gate camp. I finally found it, beside an incongruous glass and steel car showroom down a small lane. A layby with a sign indicating that this is where to park for visitors to the Greenham Common Women's Peace Camp garden. Sceptical but curious, I went in and found a public sculpture where the campfire used to be. It

is a bit naff as these things can be, but it helped me relocate myself in time and space. Where once was mud there is now a gravel pathway. A seating area had been fashioned beyond the metal 'flames. In the centre is a spiral stone sculpture in the same vein as many of the serpent and spider web imagery that appeared at the camp. It was looking a bit tatty and overgrown the day I visited. I imagine that it is a site for women to return to, a place of pilgrimage.

~~\*A global crisis is occurring. Not the long-feared nuclear fallout from a failure of human judgement but the 'fall-out' from a similarly invisible, yet 'natural' agent, a virus. Its reach is greater than radioactivity under globalization and it remains to be seen what the half-life of Coronaviruses might be. (CROSS OUT)~~

22/06/21

Hi,

Sorry, I don't know why I stopped writing. It has been a strange year. Anyway, I began this letter thinking to ask you about what things are like at Green gate. I unearthed a set of B&W negatives that were taken there on 'our' brand new Olympus OM10 SLR (have you bought it yet?). I'd forgotten all about them. There we all are, in a bender together; Delma, me and another woman whose name I can't remember. To be honest, I can barely remember her face let alone anything about her. Were we bender-sitting for her? I do remember the next morning when the bailiffs pulled us out and trashed our stuff, the bastards.

I do know why I am writing you now. What we were/are doing there mattered at Greenham. Taking a stand against patriarchy, militarism, homophobia, capitalism, and environmental degradation matters as much today as with you back there, thirty-seven years ago. Sad but true. What is fuelling my sadness and rage today and why I need to write is that exactly a week ago, a car bomb was exploded outside a school in Kabul. It was followed by two more explosions as the students ran out, killing 85 of them, mostly girls. Why? Because there is a visible



culture of misogyny widespread in Afghanistan; the bombers just don't want girls to be educated.

And it is not just in Afghanistan. Misogyny is part and parcel of all patriarchal societies worldwide which subordinates women to positions of lesser power and decision making. Even now. Here I am writing back to you from 2021 and there is, as yet no law against hating women. There are punishable 'hate crimes' for a person demonstrating hostility to another on the grounds of race, disability, religion, sexual orientation, or transgender identities. For women, nothing.

Look at the institution you are studying at. Who's at the top? See any women up there? Nope. The pale, male, and stale hold on to power, even today. But not forever. I believe that it will be different. That's why owning Greenham, our history, our activism, our queerness and re-telling our story is our means of resistance. Hang-in there, womyn!

I am going to sign off now before I bore you with my future-past-present rantings. What I want you to know is that I have not given up on fighting for sexual equality in all things. Feminism is a project without a deadline, it is about how to live.

In solidarity and strength,

Liz

[BLANK]

# **APPENDICES**

## **1. Sample from a Personal Archive (50 images)**





Women peace protesters in fancy costume storming the defences of Greenham Common air base yesterday and (right) protesters linking hands near the Aldermaston atomic research station as part of a human "chain" along the 14-mile route between the base and the top secret Royal Ordnance factory at Burghfield. Lower right: Meanwhile in Neu-Ulm, West Germany, a police dog helped detain one anti-nuclear demonstrator during the blockade of the local United States military base.

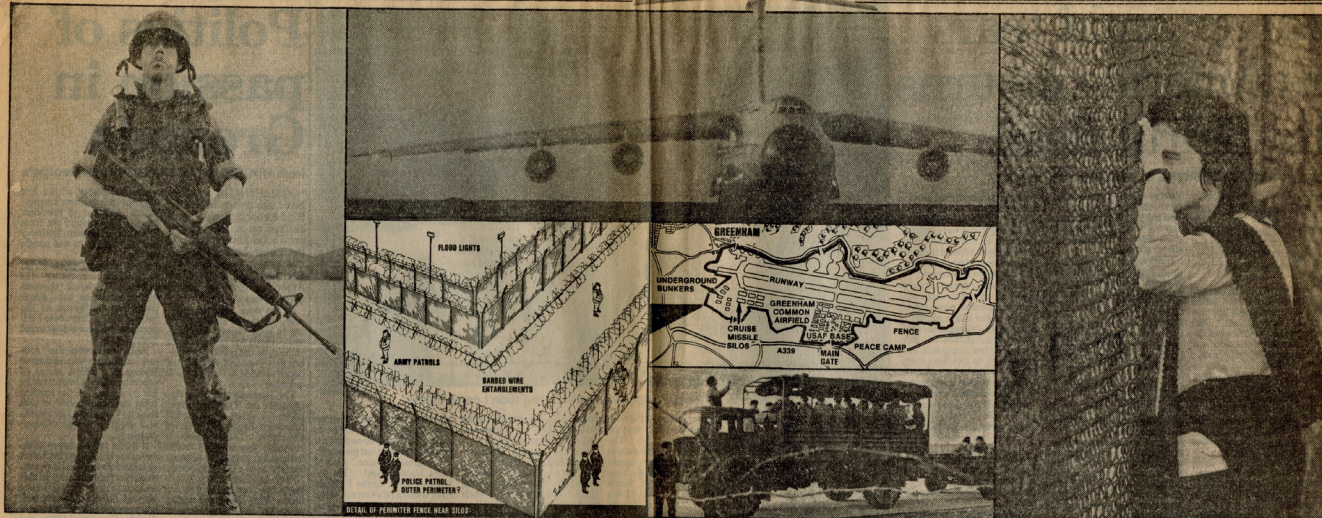


Figure 59.

The Daily Telegraph, 2 April 1983: coverage of the Easter Bunny invasion at Greenham Common airbase by women peace protesters and of the 14-mile 'human-chain' protest between Aldermaston and Burghfield.



CRUISE



Tense days at the base: A US military 'security policeman' (left) with M-16 rifle. They will be moved in to form the inner-core defence. The brooding shape of a C-5 Galaxy air transporter takes off, as a woman watches. And on the back of a lorry, bandsmen of the Gloucesters play a diverting theme from Thunderbirds.

# GREENHAM: COUNTDOWN AT THE WIRE

*You say this land is out of bounds  
Our lives and our futures out of our  
hands;  
This land is not your land to put  
boundaries around.  
We'll grow and get stronger, our  
voices resound.*

WITH these words, a little knot of women were serenading a platoon of soldiers guarding the end of the runway on the other side of the wire at Greenham Common.

A few moments later, a truck pulled up on the inside, bearing the band of the 1st Gloucesters. They were already playing a sprightly arrangement of the theme from Thunderbirds.

For a moment, the women thought they had elicited an informal human reaction from the poker-faced military men, in defiance of their training, and

'I feel conned,' said another woman as the truck sped off, still playing military marches. 'First I thought it was a good spontaneous response; then I realised they were serenading death.'

The incident graphically illustrates the immense divide between reality inside the wire and the world just a few feet away on the outside. For the women at Greenham the wire is something permeable through which they can address the soldiers within, and assert their right to attempt to influence what happens inside the base.

For the soldiers and police it is simply a line to be held.

That line became a potentially lethal one last week, when Defence Secretary Michael Heseltine told the House of

Commons during an interview for ITN so he could pronounce on it. There proved to be no time during the interview and Heseltine commented afterwards on the fact that it had been left out. Next day the House of Commons debate provided him with the opportunity to speak out and dramatically raise the temperature. He duly seized it.

Psychological warfare has much to do with his decision. The Government is determined to show that there is to be no weakening in its resolve over the deployment of cruise missiles, and its message is intended as much for Moscow as the Greenham protesters. If cruise is to play its deterrent role, the argument runs, then NATO must be seen to be as resolute in resisting the peace movement as it would presum-

**Peace women at Greenham Common were warned by Defence Secretary Michael Heseltine last week that they could be shot if they penetrated to the heart of the base. As the cruise missile launchers begin to arrive at Greenham, IAN MATHER and HUGO DAVENPORT report on the rising tensions on both sides of the wire.**

core where the missiles and warheads will be stored. The Americans are accustomed to protecting hundreds of nuclear weapons and storage sites in Europe and elsewhere, and to guarding other such sensitive places as command headquar-

ters where specific authorities

chers (TELEs), and two Launch Control Centres (LCCs). One garage will house the Quick Reaction Alert flight, which must be ready to leave the base at short notice, and which has sleeping accommodation for the duty crew.

The garages, built by Tarmac, have been ready since June. They can withstand conventional bomb attack, and the doors at each end are five metres thick and open downwards. Next to the garages are the underground bunkers where the nuclear warheads will be stored.

So far it seems as if most, if not all of the TELEs for the first 16 missiles have arrived on board the Galaxy aircraft. The first flight arrived last Tuesday, and despite the leaking of a

missiles and equipment over a three-week period.

Once the missiles are here the Americans will practice what they call 'generation' — the gathering of a complete convoy of 22 vehicles with their missiles (but not warheads), together with all those who travel with it on an exercise. These comprise a flight commander, four launch officers, 19 maintenance personnel, 44 security men (two-thirds British and one-third American) and a doctor. Shortly after that, the Americans will declare 'Initial Operational Capability'.

How the women intend to cope with this climactic date is still uncertain. They consider it foolish to be rushed into panic by the accelerating timetable of

the day after 30,000 women ringed the base and went on to blockade it the following day. Action is likely to spread to other US installations, dividing the authorities' forces. And while there are so many soldiers at Greenham the women intend to redouble their efforts to communicate with them. They say these efforts sometimes bear fruit: last week, a group of soldiers at one of the gates gave them a CND symbol in poker work.

If the missiles are deployed, further blockades to prevent the launchers leaving the base to practise dispersal round the country are certain. The common factor stressed by all the women is that their actions will continue to cleave firmly to the

Figure 60.

The Observer, 6 November 1983: coverage of the warning to Greenham Common peace women given by Defence Secretary Michael Heseltine that they could be shot if they penetrated the airbase.



**Police anger  
as demos  
take men  
off bomb  
watch duty**



NO ENTRY: anti-nuclear demonstrators block the highway at the junction of Mile End and Whitechapel roads. Picture: DAVID HOFFMAN

# CND 'HOLDING HANDS WITH IRA'

by Bob Graham

**POLICE** angrily criticised spontaneous CND demonstrators in London today for "holding hands with the IRA bombers."

Two anti-Cruise demos were held—at Trafalgar Square and in the Mile End Road in East London—to protest against the redeployment of nuclear missiles from Greenham Common.

## Culpable

But more than 200 police officers who had been called into central London to boost the watch for terrorist bombers were immediately reassigned to handle the surprise demonstrations.

A police inspector at Trafalgar Square said: "These people are not helping their cause at a time like this. They are taking away the effectiveness of drafting in extra resources to combat the bombers."

"We are here watching these people demonstrate rather than doing the job we should be. If another bomb goes off in Central London these people can be held culpable. They are simply holding hands with the bombers."

The CND said the protest had been organised at two hours' notice and John Clark, chairman of Bromley CND, said: "It's not a matter of the police being angry with us. It's more important that we should be angry that Cruise missiles are being redeployed around the English countryside and threatening the lives

of us all." The organisers did not give police details of their plans. The heavy presence of nearly 150 officers at Trafalgar Square prevented the CND marching along Whitehall. As they gathered for the three-hour protest they were warned they could be arrested

because they did not have permission to hold the demonstration. At Mile End, 15 people who halted traffic were arrested. Twelve women and three men lay down in the west-bound carriageway and blocked the road for nearly 25 minutes.

## Did you see the car?

by John Stevens

**RESPONSE** to the public appeal for information about the IRA bomb car parked outside Harrods has disappointed Yard chiefs. So far, one policeman has told anti-terrorist branch detectives that he can remember seeing the car parked outside the store early on

Saturday afternoon, before the explosion that killed five and injured 91.

But up to early today not a single member of the public responded to the Yard appeal. This has disappointed senior Yard officers because they regard tracing the movements of the car as a crucial factor in their hunt for the bomb gang.

The area round the store

was packed with Christmas shoppers and hundreds of people must have brushed against the car while its one-hour timer was ticking away.

And the bomb car must have attracted attention because it was driven the wrong way down a short section of Hans Crescent, a one-way street, to get to its final parking place.

Detectives hope the situation will improve after calls

that came in during the night have been collated and assessed.

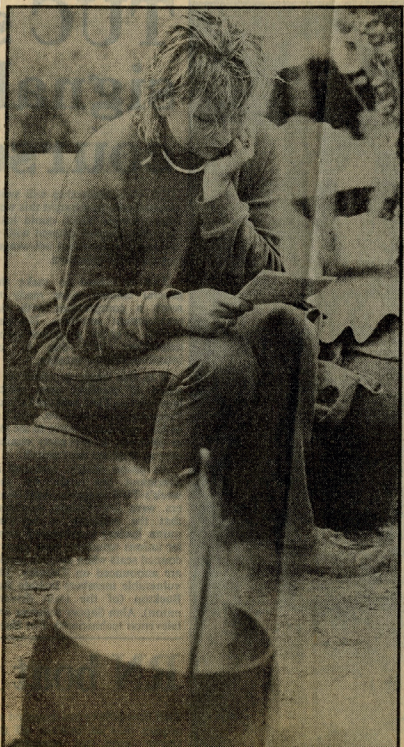
They believe the Harrods gang used a second car to reserve a parking space so they could be sure of having somewhere to leave their lethal load.

The Austin's registration number was KFP 252 K. It was sold in London about a month ago.

Figure 61.

The Standard, 20 December 1983: Front page claim by police that CND protests in London were diverting resources away from the police force monitoring the I.R.A.





Open-air mail: Greenham camper reads one of the letters of support that have come from all over the world



## Steadfast in face of Cruise

by Joan Smith

TWO years ago tomorrow a small group of women, men and children ended a 10-day march from Wales to a large air base near Newbury, Berkshire. Their arrival, and their demand for a televised debate on the government's decision to site 96 American cruise missiles at the base, went unremarked. Frustrated, they decided to stay on and the Greenham Common peace camp, soon to become a women-only protest, was born.

Last Tuesday, four women from the camp were arrested, charged with causing criminal damage, and bailed. That incident, too, went largely unremarked. The fact that it attracted little notice is both a measure of the camp's success and an indicator of the increasing difficulties faced by the women in trying to sustain their campaign.

When it all started two years ago, the spectacle of women cutting the perimeter fence of a high-security military establishment, dancing on missile silos, daubing slogans on expensive planes, and going to prison for their pains would have been well nigh unthinkable. Yet the peace camp has inspired scores of women to take this sort of action for the first time in their lives - to the point where defence lawyers estimate that Greenham protesters are passing through the courts at a rate of something like 10 a week.

It is also true, however, that the very frequency with which the

tactics are being used, combined with an increasing canniness on the part of the authorities in responding to actions at Greenham, has meant that the novelty is beginning to wear off.

The response of the authorities to the challenge of the women reveals a slow and painful process of learning by trial and error how to deal with a novel and often quixotic form of protest. Helen John, one of the original members of the camp, said last week: "I haven't seen the government make a single intelligent move."

There is evidence, however, that the authorities have learned a lot. Last November, three months after they had occupied a sentry box at the base, protesters from the camp chose to go to prison for two weeks rather than be bound over to keep the peace. They faced their sentences with a visible spirit of dedication and solidarity which inspired not only a wave of sympathy but a mass turn-out of 30,000 women at the successful attempt to encircle the base the following month.

It slowly became clear that imprisoning articulate people like peace campaigners was, if anything, enhancing their cause. A phase followed, say defence lawyers, in which there appeared to be a marked reluctance to arrest women who invaded the base.

Recently another tactic has

come into play. Minor charges, which do not carry a prison sentence and do not qualify the defendant to receive legal aid, have led to the women facing fines. When they are picked up a second time on further minor charges, they are sent to prison one by one for non-payment of fines. These individual jailings attract little publicity and, the lawyers believe, are designed to deny the women the sense of solidarity which has sustained them through mass jailings.

But the most startling example of adroitness on the part of the authorities following the incident in July when women daubed paint on two US planes at the base, including the highly-sophisticated SR71 Blackbird surveillance aircraft. The Blackbird is covered in many coats of an expensive type of paint designed to prevent its detection by enemy radar. When seven women were charged with criminal damage, their lawyers were told that the cost of repairs to the plane would amount to a staggering £250,000 - an offence serious enough, if proved, to warrant long prison sentences.

It was with enormous surprise, therefore, that the defendants and their lawyers learned at Newbury magistrates court last month that the charges were being dropped. The event was accompanied by statements from the USAF and the British Ministry of Defence that damage had been, in fact, minimal. The women remain unconvinced.

They regard the authorities' reaction to them as a yardstick of their success in making cruise missiles an issue. They view press attacks on the camp, some of them vitriolic, as a further compliment to the effectiveness of their campaign. At the same time, descriptions of Greenham protesters as "burly lesbians" or social misfits in search of a cause have hurt.

Press reports have also highlighted the squalor of the camp, although that particular aspect is far from being of the women's own making. The early campers had the use of caravans and proper tents. But attempts by Newbury council to make life uncomfortable for the protesters, including a series of evictions, has turned Greenham Common, ironically, into what might be a film set for a feature on life after the bomb.

On Friday, life at the camp next

to the main gate - there are three more camps at other gates along the nine-mile perimeter fence - was going on much as usual. Margaret Johnson, a cheerful 55-year-old Quaker from Somerset, ate blackberries while sheltering from the howling wind and intermittent rain. She said that although she had been at the camp since Easter, "I haven't been to prison yet." The campaign draws its support from such a wide base that it is possible on any day to find any of the stereotypes a reporter might come looking for.

As usual, letters and postcards were arriving from all over the world with messages of support. As usual, several women had come up from London just for the day to help around the camp. As usual, friendly local people had delivered firewood and provisions.

It cannot be denied that the general election has had an effect on the camp. Gwyn Kirk, co-author of a book on Greenham published this week, agrees that it may have put some women off the protest since the arrival of the missiles now looks inevitable. But she says that for others, the result has crystallised their fears and led them into more dedicated action. The week-long blockade of the base in July, widely reported to have produced a disappointing turn out, attracted protesters who were more than ever determined to risk taking direct action, she says.

Helen John believes the women are helping to change how people in Britain think; helping, in fact, to build a society where the possession of weapons like cruise becomes unthinkable. "I'm happier with the Tories in power than if Labour had got in with their fudged policies," she says. "I'm sure the Tories will help to defeat themselves."

The peace camp has always worked on an ad hoc basis, without obvious leaders. Thus it is difficult to predict its future course. Already, women who lived with the camp are travelling the country setting up support groups and holding meetings.

The question hanging over the camp today as the women get ready for tomorrow's private celebration of the first two years is whether the spirit of Greenham can survive more icy winters, the growing opposition of local people, the calculated response of the authorities, and Press hostility. The women have no doubt that it will.

Research by Carol Baker

Figure 62.

The Sunday Times, 4 September 1983: reportage on the second anniversary of the arrival of the Women for Life on Earth march from Cardiff to Greenham Common, which established the women-only peace camp.



# Nukes are a feminist issue



JEREMY NICHOLL

On March 21, nearly 10,000 people attended a festival outside Greenham Common air base in Berkshire, where American cruise missiles are due to be deployed in 1983. The festival was organised by a group of women who have been camped outside the main gate since September, following a 125-mile march from Cardiff.

Back then, little attention was paid to their activities, which is one reason why they decided to dig in for the winter and continue expressing their active opposition to the missiles. Their tenacity has paid off and Greenham has become a focal point for Britain's regenerated peace movement. A further result has been the increased visibility of women in the movement.

As dusk fell on the festival day, women began a 24-hour blockade of all entrances to the base, but next morning found that an opening had been cut in the perimeter fence to allow vehicles in and out. The women gathered in front of it, sitting or lying on the ground, and during the course of the day 34 were arrested and charged with obstructing the highway. They were later released unconditionally pending hearings on April 14 and 21. It now seems likely that a January eviction order on the camp will be enforced by the local council. The women are convinced they have become too much of an embarrassment to be ignored.

'This experience of non-violent direct action has shown us we're not powerless,' says Sarah Green, who gave up her job in a psychiatric rehabilitation unit in Sheffield to stay at Greenham. 'The

police, for instance, just couldn't ignore our emotions or the reason we were there. Initially they had total control of that gap in the fence, but after we started wailing "this is not a game" and "think for yourselves", the atmosphere changed. By the end, it got really exciting, 50 of us singing "women, women, women, we're only just starting". I heard one of the policemen say into his radio "we need reinforcements — we can't lift these women again!"'

Less than a year ago, many of these women wouldn't have dreamt of upping stakes, leaving jobs or families, and going to live in a tent or caravan in the middle of nowhere, let alone lying down in front of a military vehicle and getting arrested. The nuclear weapons issue may in the future be regarded as the straw that broke the back of women's political quiescence: in the US, women have begun to show distinctly different voting patterns to men, and the women's movement is devoting increased attention to the peace issue. The ramifications are potentially enormous — the idea, for instance, that by their passive (let alone active) support, women make war possible.

'I am a woman who took part in World War II,' a German woman told me at a women's peace conference in Amsterdam last year, 'and I know of what I speak: if 13 million German women hadn't co-operated, our war effort would not have been possible. Maybe we didn't know it at the time, but we were accomplices.'

The Amsterdam conference was organised by the Women's League for Peace and Freedom, which dates back to 1919 and shows that such activity by women is not entirely new. What is new are the sheer numbers and the range of backgrounds and perspectives among women entering the peace movement. In the past it was individuals who made an impact, like 'peace fury' Berthe Von Suttner, who in 1905 became the first woman to win the Nobel Peace Prize, or Clara Zetkin, or Rosa Luxemburg. In 1958, Dora Russell took a Women's Caravan for Peace across Europe, West to East. Yet organisations such as WLPF have had difficulty in attracting younger members. 'We've had some marvellous women working for us,' says Margot Miller of the British section. 'The only problem is, they are often so formidable that they don't draw in less experienced women, who simply feel daunted by it all.'

The atmosphere at the Amsterdam conference was charged with the frustration of those who felt that there were too many long speeches and not enough dialogue. At times it resembled the United Nations at their posturing worst. 'Let's face it, there was no real way to participate,' comments Lesley Merryfinch of the Campaign Against the Arms Trade. 'We were simply being controlled. For example, I didn't go all that way to hear a representative from the Soviet Women's Committee telling me that the sun shines out of Brezhnev's arse.' Another feminist, the Italian historian Joyce Lussu, while calling for women's study centres across world for research into the causes of militarism and war, openly challenged the unquestioning Soviet delegates: 'I should like to hear from our Soviet sisters,' she said, 'what they think about the masculinist nature of their own military.'

Feminists haven't been over-eager to commit their energies to the peace issue. The alienation of many women from the 'heroic' radicalism of the 1960s led them to concentrate on the struggle for

women's rights and against sexism, leaving the peace issue to women who seldom shared their analysis of society's ills. Recently, though, American feminism has begun to embrace issues like ecology, racism and peace. The several thousand women who surrounded the Pentagon in November 1980 and 1981 were making connections between all these things and patriarchal society. Their tactics were similar to those of the Greenham Common women — mourn-



TIME OUT 5

+NEWS+

Figure 63.

Time Out magazine (Nd, possibly late 1982): Nukes are a Feminist Issue.



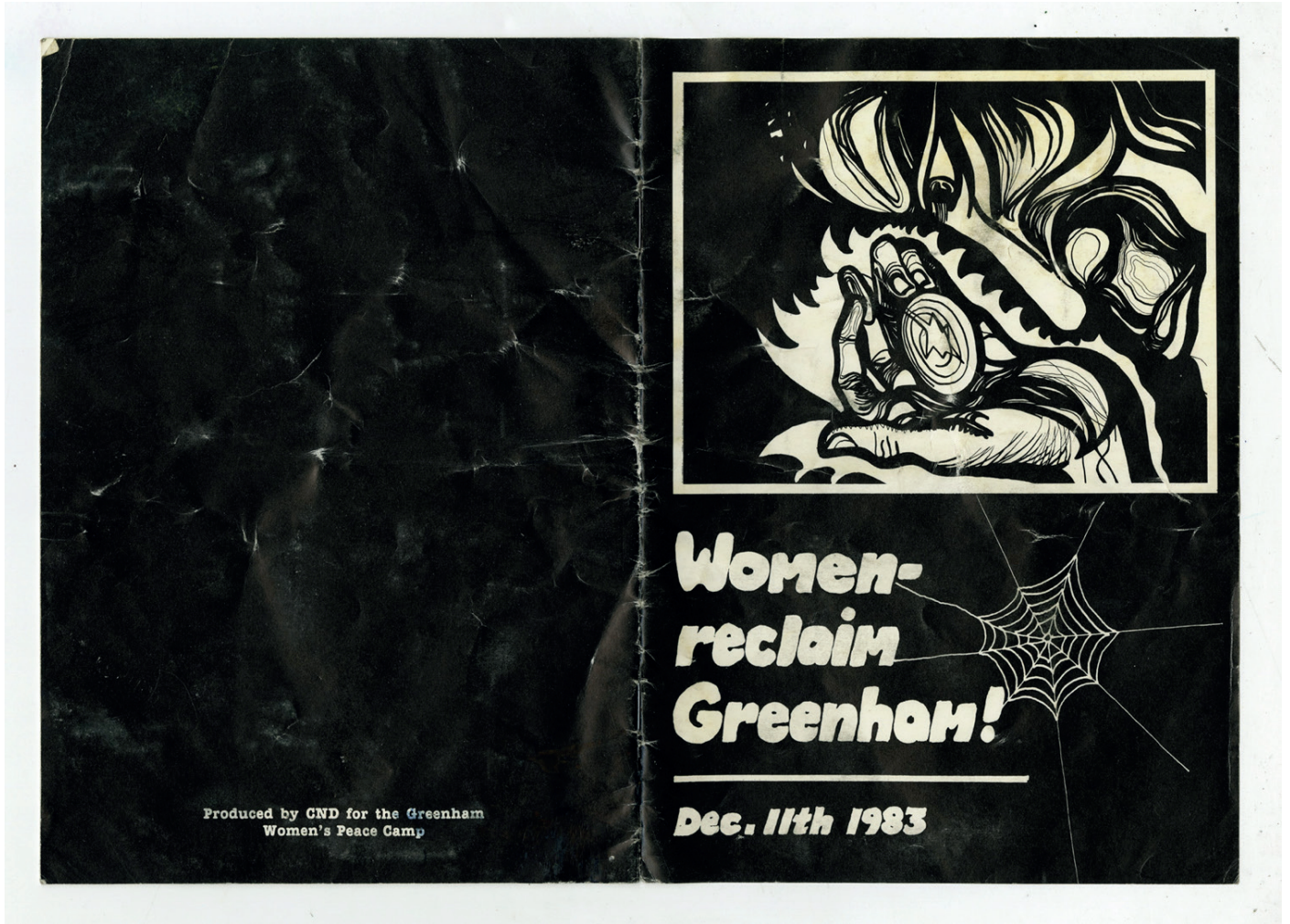


Figure 64.

*Women Reclaim Greenham*, 11 December 1983: front cover of booklet produced by CND for the GCWPC for distribution to the 50,000 women protesters who encircled the airbase on 11-12 December 1983.

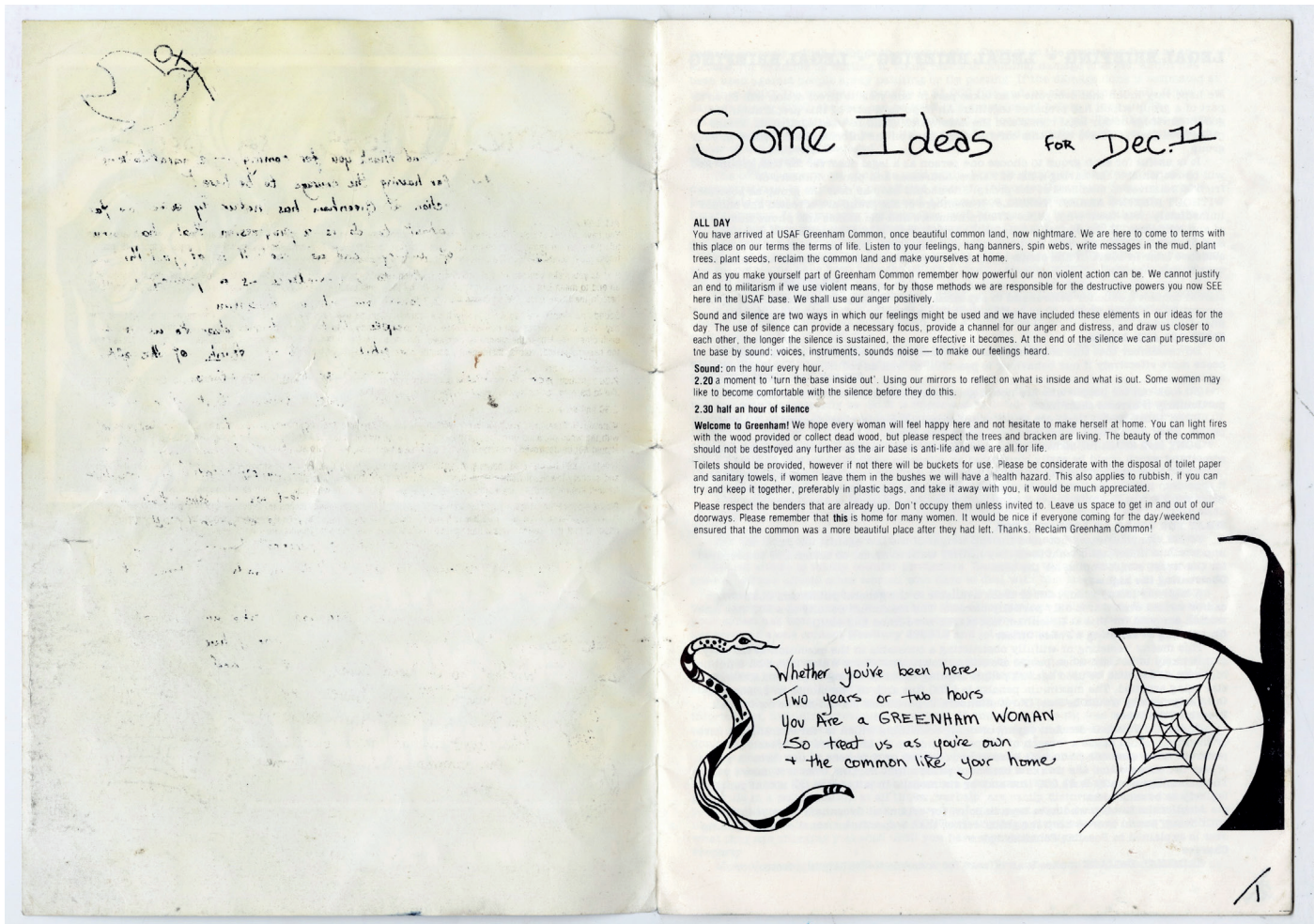


Figure 65.

Women Reclaim Greenham, 11 December 1983: first page of booklet produced by CND for the GCWPC for distribution to the 50,000 women protesters who encircled the airbase on 11-12 December 1983.



## LEGAL BRIEFING • LEGAL BRIEFING • LEGAL BRIEFING

We hope very much that everyone who takes part in non-violent direct action will do so as part of a group which has prepared together. An important part of this preparation is a good knowledge of our legal rights and the laws which could be used against us. Please make sure that you have read this carefully and pass on the information to others in your group.

It is useful for each group to choose one person as a legal observer for that group. She will be responsible for having a list of names, addresses and phone numbers of friends/relatives of members of the group. She should keep as near the group as possible **WITHOUT RISKING ARREST HERSELF**. If members of the group are arrested she should immediately note down who, police officers numbers and the names and phone numbers of any witnesses. If she can, it is helpful if she can write a brief statement of what she saw happening, together with the time, date and signature. This can be useful when giving evidence later in court. If she seems likely to be arrested herself she should try to hand over to someone else.

In large actions lawyers may be available on site. On small actions the legal observer should contact a solicitor **beforehand** to say what might be happening, then follow up by contacting after any arrests. It is useful if women taking the action have this solicitors phone number.

### SOME DOS AND DONTs

**DO** remember that this is a non-violent demonstration: we convey our message of peace more effectively if our behaviour is peaceful, as well as reducing the risk of violence against us.

**DO** look out for people who are not in groups and invite them to join yours, particularly if arrests seem likely.

**DONT** think that if there are hundreds of women the police can't arrest just a few people. **They** decide who, when and how many they arrest.

**DONT** risk arrest for something irrelevant, like untaxed vehicles, carrying dope or something which could be easily considered an offensive weapon like a breadknife.

**DONT** interfere with someone else's arrest: this can lead to many needless arrests and it is seldom possible to prevent the original arrest. If you see an arrest, make a note of what you have seen and give your name and number or address to the persons legal observer.

### WHAT YOU COULD BE ARRESTED FOR

So far, the police have not used the full weight of the law against us. But it is important to understand what laws they **MIGHT** want to arrest us under and be prepared for the worst whilst hoping for the best.

#### Obstructing the highway

A highway is any road, path or track available to the general public and obstruction can be caused even if it is only partially blocked. The maximum penalty is a £50 fine (the women arrested for this at Greenham last March were fined £25 each).

#### Obstructing or resisting a Police Officer

This means 'resisting or wilfully obstructing a constable in the execution of his duty' and is likely to be used when people are sitting down somewhere which is not on a public highway. It can also be used against people arguing about or trying to prevent someone else being arrested. The maximum penalty is £200 fine and/or one month in prison but the likely penalty would be less. (First offenders in particular should not be sent to jail).

#### Breach of the Peace

Under the Public Order Act, saying or doing something which is 'threatening, abusive or insulting' could cause a 'breach of the peace' and can be an offence. A 'breach of the peace' is when someone (it doesn't have to be you) uses or threatens to use force. A police officer can arrest if he/she thinks a breach of peace might happen, even if it hasn't yet. The maximum penalty is £1,000 fine and/or six months in jail. Again the actual penalty is likely to be much less.

Most of the women who have been in court for actions at Greenham have been faced with being 'bound over to keep the peace' rather than a specific criminal charge. Binding over is explained in Possible Penalties below.

#### Charges

**CRIMINAL DAMAGE** makes it an offence for someone to deliberately destroy or

damage property which belongs to someone else. Damage to the perimeter fence at an airbase, for example by cutting it, could result in criminal damage charges, and it has been used against people spray painting or fly posting. If the damage done is estimated at less than £200, the maximum penalty is £1,000 fine and/or six months in jail. If the damage is over £200, the case can be tried in a crown court before a jury and the maximum penalty can be an unlimited fine and/or ten years in jail. The likeliest penalty in both cases though, would be a much smaller fine and an order for compensation to the owner of the property damaged.

#### The Official Secrets Act

The official secrets act could be used against people demonstrating (or organising demonstrations) in or near 'a prohibited place' in this case, Greenham Common airbase, Burghfield Royal Ordnance Factory and Aldermaston Atomic Weapons Research Establishment. It seems very unlikely that such charges will be used against us at the moment, but they were used against members of the Committee of 100 for organising walk-on (rather than blockade) demonstrations in 1961 and 1963, so everyone should be aware of this as a possibility. So far, the women who have entered Greenham Common on several occasions have been brought before a magistrate and ordered to be bound over.

#### OTHER LEGAL PROBLEMS

There are several legal problems to putting up tents at Greenham. There are byelaws which prohibit the erection of tents or lighting of fires. You cannot be arrested for breaking a byelaw but have to be served with a summons to go to a magistrates court. The maximum penalty is a £50 fine.

At Greenham the new byelaws mean that officers of the council have the right to remove illegal structures with 'due warning'.

#### DEALING WITH THE POLICE

You may be warned by the police that you are about to be arrested if you don't move, but you won't necessarily be. So it is important to decide before you act whether you are prepared for arrest. It helps to talk through your feelings about arrest with your group or friends beforehand; if you have doubts, it may be better to find support work to do. Such support work is vital to the success of the action — doing it does **NOT** mean that you are less committed than anyone else.

Keep as calm as possible — singing, holding hands and so on will help. This may also minimise the risk of police violence, though it will not necessarily rule it out.

Many women chose to be totally non-cooperative from the moment of arrest by silence or going limp — others may decide to co-operate and communicate, the decision is up to you.

Try **not** to be hostile to individual police officers, many are sympathetic. We regard verbal abuse as violence and it is likely to result in increased hostility from the officer concerned and so is totally counter-productive. Remember, that the way you personally treat an officer affects other women who have to deal with him later.

Most of those arrested at Greenham are likely to be taken to Newbury police station but if there are mass arrests it is possible that other stations will be used. Provided that your arrest has been noted by a legal observer lawyers will find out where you are. If you are arrested alone contact **Newbury 298512** and let someone know where you are.

#### Being charged

When you arrive at the police station, you may be held in a 'charge room' for some time before your arresting officer takes you to be charged. Life moves slowly in a police station, so again don't worry.

You will be asked for your name, address, date of birth and possibly other personal information, including previous convictions. If you want to be set free on bail before the court hearing you would be well advised to give at least your name and address but you don't have to if you don't want to.

The charge will be read to you, you will be formally cautioned (the 'anything you say will be taken down and may be used in evidence' line) and you will be asked if you have anything to say. **DO NOT** say anything unless you have a very good reason to. This is a good rule in a police station at all times: 'verbals' are easily distorted to mean something you didn't intend. You could make a very brief statement about your political or if you are ill or injured ask to see a doctor, but **DONT** say anything about whether or not you did what they are charging you with until you have seen your lawyer.

#### Property

Most of your property will be taken from you. You can ask to keep essentials such as

Figure 66.  
Women Reclaim Greenham, 11 December 1983; pages 2 and 3 of booklet produced by CND for the GCWPC for distribution to the 50,000 women protesters who encircled the airbase on 11-12 December 1983.



handkerchiefs, glasses or contact lenses, sanitary protection, any special medicines, paper and something to write with. (If they are being kind you may be allowed cigarettes, though not matches; if unkind, they may remove such things as scarves and shoelaces!) All your property should then be listed down and you will be asked to sign for it. Make sure that everything is written down, that nothing has been added and if it is correct sign your name immediately below the last item. If it is not correct refuse to sign.

#### Telephone call

You should ask to make a telephone call to inform someone of your arrest. If you think your arrest was not seen by a legal observer, ring Newbury 298512 to let us know or your own solicitor if you have one, or a friend or relative.

#### Fingerprints and photographs

It is not legal to have your fingerprints or photograph taken without an order from a magistrate and we advise you to refuse. However, it is important for you to get bail before the first court hearing, we should warn you that you may not get bail if you do refuse.

#### Bail

Getting bail (being set free till the court hearing) nearly always depends on having a 'verifiable address'. It is important therefore, that there should be someone at the address you give or a neighbour who will confirm that you live there. Police sometimes refuse to allow 'squats' as verifiable addresses. At Greenham you may want to give the Peace Camp as your address, in solidarity with the women there, but this may not be accepted as a verifiable address.

Bail may be given on your own 'surety' which means you sign an undertaking to be in court for your case or be fined. You don't have to produce money on the spot only if you default.

You may be asked to find someone else to be your surety for bail. Such a person should know you, should have no criminal convictions and be able to produce evidence of having enough money for the surety (such as having a steady income, owning a house etc). They don't have to produce the cash, again unless you default. We suggest that legal observers should prepare 'surety lists' for their groups.

If bail is agreed, you will be asked to come back to the local Magistrates Court for the case, which may be the next working day or a day some time away. If you don't get bail, you will be held (usually in the police station but sometimes in jail) till the court hearing. Bail is nearly always granted by the courts for the more common offences.

#### IN COURT

The lawyers may already have seen you in the police station; they will certainly be in court to help you. You will have the charge read out and be asked how you plead. It is important to talk to the lawyers and other defendants before making up your mind. A 'not guilty' plea can always be changed later to a 'guilty' plea, but if you plead guilty the trial will go ahead straightaway without your having a chance to say very much.

If you plead not guilty, the case will be 'remanded'; that is, another day will be fixed for the hearing. You should now ask the magistrate for bail (even if you already had bail from the police) and for legal aid. The lawyers will be there to back you up.

The date for the next hearing may be some time in the future and there may be several days of hearings (sometimes spaced out over weeks). This is one thing to bear in mind when deciding to risk arrest, particularly if you live a long distance away or might lose your job.

#### Possible penalties — Fines

So far the penalties people have faced have been fines or binding over orders. If you are convicted the magistrates should be told what your financial situation is (for example, whether you are unemployed) before they decide a fine, you can also ask for time to pay.

#### Binding over

A binding over order is something which the magistrates can impose as a punishment either for a specific charge or even if you have not been charged with anything. The order is made for you to 'keep the peace' (which means effectively not getting arrested again!) for a specific time, such as a year; if you break it you can be fined a specified sum of money (say, £100). You may refuse to sign a binding over order but you are likely then to be sent to jail. Women from Greenham have gone to prison for 14 days in this way.

#### JAIL?

It is very unlikely that anyone being found guilty for the first time would be sent to jail unless the charge is a serious one (such as, under the Official Secrets Act). So far, women from Greenham who have gone to jail have done so after refusing to accept a

binding order or to pay a fine. So even if you are found guilty, whether or not you go to jail is likely to be your choice. Don't feel you have to go to jail in order to take part in any actions.

Understanding the law and coping with the police and the courts can seem very daunting. What is important is to support each other by sharing information, experiences and feelings. We are all in this together.

**WHEN WE STAND TOGETHER WE ARE STRONG!!!**

\* \* \*

1pm - 5pm - Sounds/music on the hour every hour

\* \* \*

2:20pm - 2:30pm - Hold up mirrors and turn the base inside out

\* \* \*

2:30pm - 3:00pm - Vigil

\* \* \*

4pm - 5pm - Candlelit vigil

\* \* \*

Figure 67.

Women Reclaim Greenham, 11 December 1983: pages 4 and 5 of booklet produced by CND for the GCWPC for distribution to the 50,000 women protesters who encircled the airbase on 11-12 December 1983.



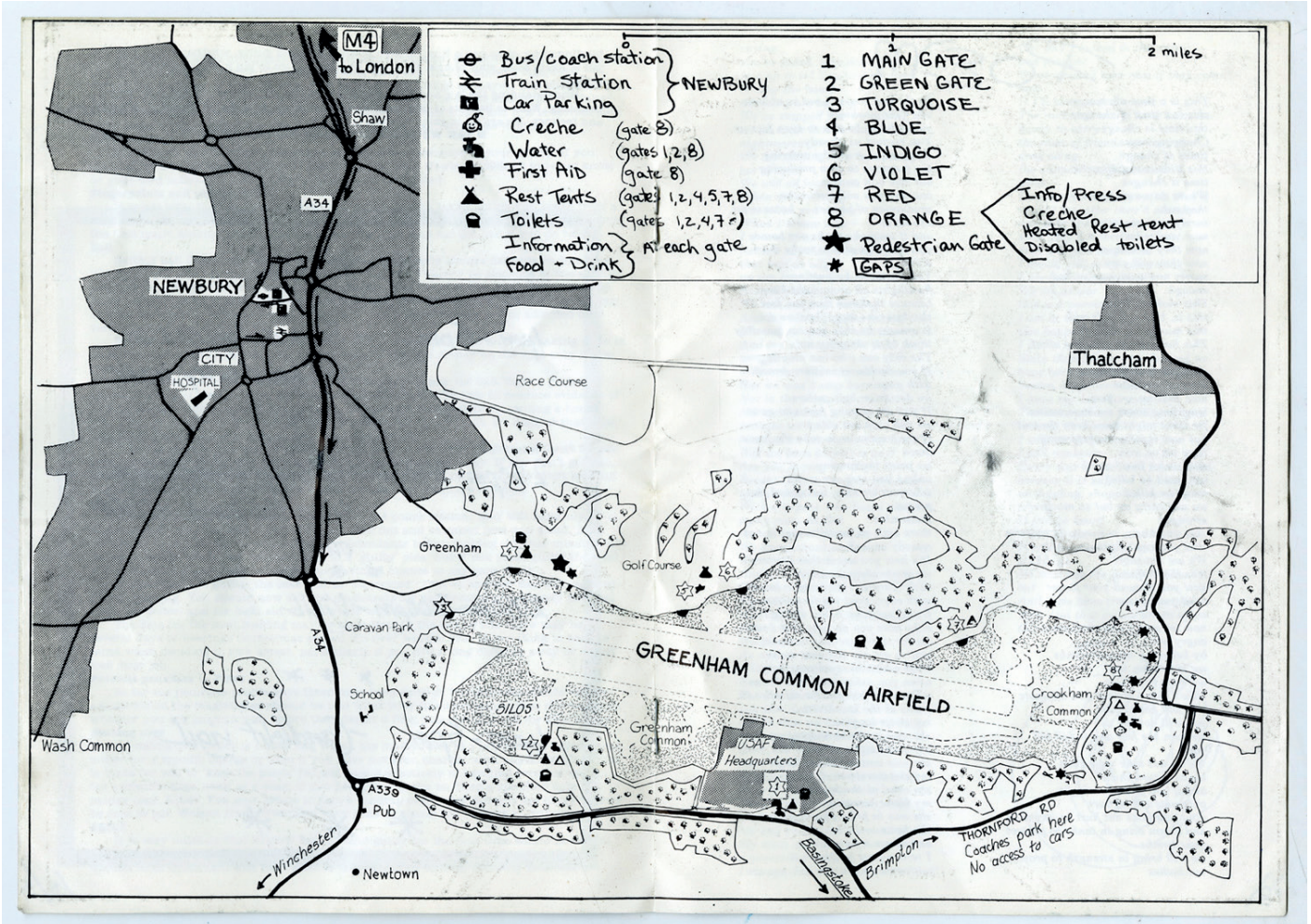


Figure 68.

Women Reclaim Greenham, 11 December 1983: airbase map centrefold included in booklet for the GCWPC for distribution to the 50,000 women protesters who encircled the airbase on 11-12 December 1983.



# POEM

This is a time of changes  
this is a time of changes  
this time is change.  
Changing times  
times of change  
this time it reclaims the  
time it changes  
Where do we go from here,  
they ask  
surely now you stop  
now you've lost  
now they've arrived  
now they will stay  
surely now even you've had  
enough  
This makes change  
this is, this can, this will  
this must.  
This has already changed all of  
us  
changed everything  
now we are clear  
now that we are here  
long, long times we have waited  
for what might have been the end  
but now it is in the beginning.  
Now we've won  
now we've faced death  
can can't be killed  
won't be killed  
we will carry on but so much  
stronger  
now you know, even you in uniform  
that you can't fight us  
We are unusable  
it is in all of us  
now you showed your power  
used your power  
on us on her  
now we aren't scared of you  
angry one  
by believing in your bombs  
we have seen fear  
we have lived fear  
Now I don't believe you anymore  
you will not kill me  
you will not kill us  
we turn the fear and it will kill  
you  
We do not take your guns  
we only turn them  
and if you pull the trigger  
only you will be hurt  
your fear does not hurt us anymore  
and if you bring in tanks to protect  
your bombs  
we will bring in strength to protect  
our bodies

In the end you will not be able to  
use your machines  
you will not be able to even face us  
You respect us already  
You pay us credit by ordering  
the factories to stop producing  
our size bolt cutters  
one day you will forbid the  
production of phones — because we  
use them  
and if we make tanks our homes  
you won't be able to make them  
either  
You flatter us by putting  
floodlights all around the base  
because it shows that you fear  
the darkness more than we do.  
It amazes us that you can possibly  
think of us stopping now  
The only one who can stop is you  
If you decide on soldiers armed  
with guns  
we decide on bolt cutters  
If you are waiting for us to go in  
we will stay out side  
If you expect us to take the fence  
down  
we paint the runway  
unless you stop, we won't  
wherever we stay, we spread the  
poison  
Remember  
there ain't no position that is not  
remedy as well.  
It's how you use it that matters  
we are healing ourselves  
with every cut the tension breaks  
with every post the fear seizes  
flying, melting, being strong  
How dare you assume that I will  
die for the cause just because  
you've got the cameras ready  
what amazement on your face  
when you asked me where I was  
when they brought the missiles in  
I was at the laundrette  
my sister laughs  
she was in the swimming pool  
my sister sighs  
she was tending the children  
my sister weeps  
she cried at the fence  
my sister screams  
she was in prison for crying at  
the fence  
and where were you?  
I refuse your judgement!  
with every word you ask you are

saying  
you've failed, why don't you  
face up to it? You've been used  
to stop the bombs  
now they are coming  
We've stopped fear by raising it  
we all came here because of our  
nightmares  
We are staying here because of  
our dreams  
We will all leave here  
When we are ready  
Not when you decide  
When I dream now  
I dream of us being on fire  
but it's not the flashing light  
that sets us alight  
we are burning from within  
Born in flames  
We can not stop burning  
And my sister juggles herself free  
when they open the side door  
And my sister gets the food for  
tonight  
When they shut the side door  
But we won't stop burning  
Not in the shopping centre  
Not on the bus  
because we know  
because we are scarred for life.  
Will we burn ourselves out?  
Are you hoping for that?  
Because if you are you will have  
to wait forever.  
With everyone who burns she gets  
many more on fire.  
As we receive our scars  
We know about our pain  
We care for ourselves  
And if we meet another woman  
We know about her scars  
We will not forget her  
As much as we'd never forget  
ourselves  
We are one  
As one we face you  
Will face anything  
Even death  
But you fear us more than  
you fear death  
and in that we have won already  
Now is the time of changes  
there will never be a time  
more right than now.  
Stop learning from old mistakes  
Now is the time for risks  
They say history repeats itself  
that can't be true  
Me and you weren't around then.  
My mom says there's never been  
a generation without a war  
I thought I'd better prepare myself

One day I looked in the mirror  
and thought  
What would I take now if they came  
now  
If I'd have to run now?  
The rucksack would have been too  
heavy to carry  
the rows of friends too long to  
drag along  
the animals too frightened to  
come.  
I suddenly knew that after they'd  
caught me, after they'd searched  
me, after they'd beaten me,  
after they'd locked me away,  
after I'd been forgotten,  
I would still carry everything  
I needed within myself.  
We are at war  
this is a warzone  
I am at war  
this happens now  
I put my toothbrush down  
Since then I have been hunted,  
have been searched, have been  
beaten, have been locked away.  
I have not been forgotten.  
There are always friends with me  
in body or in spirit  
I will not forget nothing  
I will remember  
Every scar is pain and joy at once  
because it is suffered by all of  
us juggling, shopping, nursing or  
crying  
It will be heard  
it will be seen  
It will keep on burning from  
within us  
No man has the power to blow it  
out  
And if we blow it out ourselves,  
Who said that we are afraid of  
the darkness?

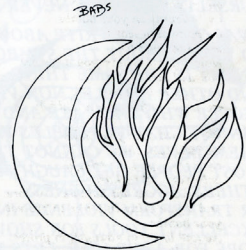


Figure 69.

Women Reclaim Greenham, 11 December 1983: pages 8 and 9 of booklet produced by CND for the GCWPC for distribution to the 50,000 women protesters who encircled the airbase on 11-12 December 1983.



## MIRARI MIRARI

WELL ONCE AGAIN I'VE BEEN ASKED TO WRITE ABOUT NON-VIOLENCE — THIS TIME FOR DEC 11th AT GREENHAM COMMON AND THE WOMENS ACTION HERE, I'VE ALSO BEEN THINKING ABOUT THE SYMBOL OF THE MIRROR — THE RESULTS OF WHICH I'M VERY EXCITED ABOUT. 'MIRARI' IS A GREEK WORD THAT MEANS 'TO WONDER' THERE ARE THREE WORDS THAT COME FROM 'MIRARI' — 'MIRROR' — WHICH IS A REFLECTIVE SURFACE — WHICH REFLECTS HEAT, SOUND AND LIGHT /IMAGES. 'MIRAGE', AN OPTICAL ILLUSION. 'MIRACLE' — AN ACT/HAPPENING, THAT CHANGES MATERIAL — REALITY.

WHAT DO MIRRORS DO? THEY REFLECT. BEFORE YOU LOOK INTO YOUR MIRROR — KNOW WHO YOU ARE ('KNOW THYSELF') AND LOVE YOURSELF — BECAUSE MIRRORS REFLECT REALITY AS IT APPEARS (UNLESS THE MIRROR IS NOT A TRUE ONE). IF YOU REFLECT OTHERS IN YOUR MIRROR:— TREES, BIRDS, GRASS, SOLDIERS, POLICE, WOMEN — WHAT IS IT THAT YOU REFLECT? REFLECT THEM — REFLECT ON THE PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE. THINK OF YOUR MIRROR AS A TOOL; WHAT IS IT THAT YOU WANT TO SEE? WOULD YOU LIKE TO SEE THE BASE? REFLECT THESE THINGS INSIDE FROM OUTSIDE. BE CREATIVE — WHAT ARE THE EXPRESSIONS YOU WOULD LIKE ON PEOPLES FACES — HAPPINESS? EMOTION? REFLECT IT BACK TO THEM — IF THEY ARE UNHAPPY (THE ONES YOU SHOW THEIR REFLECTIONS TO) THEY WILL LAUGH OR CRY, CHANGING YOUR REFLECTION OF THEMSELVES INTO WHAT THEY WANT TO SEE . . . TRY IT ON A POLICEMAN! — DO THEY TRULY SEE THEMSELVES, DO SOLDIERS WHO CARRY GUNS KNOW THEMSELVES, LOVE WHAT THEY ARE, CHANGE MUST COME FROM INSIDE AND OUT. IF WE CANNOT FIND IT INSIDE OURSELVES WE WILL NEVER FIND IT OUTSIDE OURSELVES.

I WAS GOING TO WRITE ABOUT NON-VIOLENCE AND STARTED TO THINK ABOUT THE SYMBOLISM OF THE MIRROR — AND I FIND IT IS THE SAME THING:— ABOUT OUR NON VIOLENCE AND OTHER PEOPLES NON VIOLENCE. HOW CAN WE SHOW PEOPLE WHO THEY ARE AND WHAT THEY ARE DOING? WE CANNOT CHANGE PEOPLES VALUES — THEY HAVE TO DO IT THEMSELVES. WE CANNOT TAKE ON THAT RESPONSIBILITY. (MOST PEOPLE GET CAUGHT UP IN CONFLICT BY MIRRORING OTHERS. AGGRESSIVENESS — ITS NOT THE WAY TO CHANGE OR TRANSFORM VIOLENCE INTO PEACE. MIRRORS ARE EXCELLENT TOOLS FOR SHOWING PEOPLE THEMSELVES. LETS HOPE FOR A MIRACLE. LETS MAKE ONE HAPPEN!

I have spent almost half my life rearing my four children. I have tried to tell them about love, about tolerance about caring for others and the precious world we live in. To me, now, the most loving thing I can do for them, for the people of the world, for the animals plants and trees is to live on Greenham Common. Confronting my fears and the fears of millions of people throughout the world.

Why women? Few and far between are the men who share my instinctive terror about what is going on. Men tell me to "pull myself together", to approach the issue more rationally. Men tell me I will not "get anywhere" with weeping and raging about the state of the world. So it goes on, but, you see, I feel I **am** getting somewhere. Together, with women, at Greenham, I grow in strength, confidence and understanding every day.

I can only say to men that when you have experienced the horror and outrage of what is happening to our world, you will not come grumbling to the women at Greenham, but you will join the small, but growing number of your brothers, who love and support us, who leave us free to do things in our way and in doing so liberate themselves.

Liz.



Figure 70.

Women Reclaim Greenham, 11 December 1983: pages 10 and 11 of booklet produced by CND for the GCWPC for distribution to the 50,000 women protesters who encircled the airbase on 11-12 December 1983.

## SINGING FOR OUR LIVES

### Building Bridges

BUILDING BRIDGES BETWEEN OUR DIVISIONS  
I REACH OUT FOR YOU – WILL YOU REACH OUT FOR ME?  
WITH ALL OF OUR VOICES AND ALL OF OUR VISIONS  
SISTERS WE CAN MAKE SUCH A SWEET HARMONY.

### Out of Bounds

YOU SAY THAT THE EARTH IS OUT OF BOUNDS  
OUR FUTURE, OUR LIVES, ARE OUT OF OUR HANDS  
THE EARTH IS NOT YOURS TO PUT BOUNDARIES AROUND  
WE'LL GROW AND GET STRONGER, OUR VOICES RESOUND.

### Chant Down Greenham

35 WOMEN CAMPING FOR PEACE  
SO THERE'LL BE NO MORE WARS  
WE DON'T LIKE YOUR LAWS, WE DON'T WANT YOUR CAUSE,  
WE WON'T FIGHT YOUR WARS – CHANT DOWN GREENHAM.  
35,000 WOMEN FOR PEACE, ENCIRCLING THE BASE SO THERE'LL BE NO  
NO MORE WAR  
WE DON'T LIKE YOUR CRUISE – WE HAVE LIFE TO LOSE,  
IT'S NOT TOO LATE TO CHOOSE – CHANT DOWN GREENHAM.

### Witches Song

WHO ARE THE WITCHES! WHERE DO THEY COME FROM?  
MAYBE YOUR GREAT, GREAT GRANDMOTHER WAS ONE  
WITCHES ARE WILD, WISE WOMEN THEY SAY  
THERE'S A LOT OF WITCH IN EVERY WOMIN TO DAY

### Cutting Song

WIMMIN CUT THE FENCE AT GREENHAM, GREENHAM, GREENHAM  
WIMMIN CUT THE FENCE AT GREENHAM  
AND THE FENCE CAME TUMBLING DOWN  
WOMIN CUTTING THE FENCE FOR FREEDOM, FREEDOM, FREEDOM  
WIMMIN CUT THE FENCE FOR FREEDOM, AND THE FENCE CAME  
TUMBLING DOWN

WHEN ARE YOU GOING TO LEAVE US ALONE  
TRIDENT MISSILES PERSHING AND CRUISE  
YOU HAVE NO RIGHT TO SILENCE OUR VOICES  
WE DEMAND THE RIGHT TO REFUSE.

WHAT MAKES YOU THINK YOU CAN THREATEN OUR LIVES  
RAPE, OPPRESSION, MURDER, YOUR CRIMES  
YOU TORE DOWN THE TREES FOR THE SAKE OF DESTRUCTION  
THIS WAS ONCE A COMMON OF MINE

WHEN WILL YOU LISTEN TO ORDINARY PEOPLE  
BAILIFFS, MAGISTRATES AND POLICE  
YOU ALWAYS LISTEN TO THE MAN IN HIS UNIFORM  
WE JUST WANT TO BE EQUAL IN PEACE.

### Singing For Our Lives

WE ARE GENTLE ANGRY WIMMIN  
AND WE ARE SINGING, SINGING FOR OUR LIVES,  
WE ARE GENTLE ANGRY WOMMIN WHO ARE SINGING, SINGING  
FOR OUR LIVES  
WE ARE MANY COLOURED WIMMIN ...  
WE ARE MOVING CHANGING WIMMIN ...

Printed by Morning Litho Printers Ltd. (TU)

Figure 71.

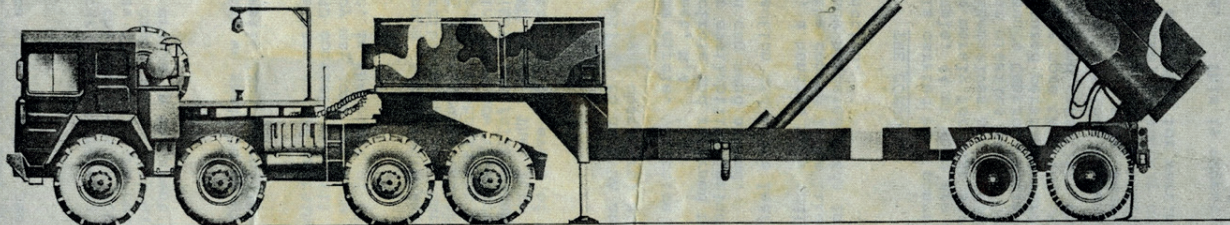
*Women Reclaim Greenham*, 11 December 1983: page 12 of booklet produced by CND for the GCWPC for distribution to the 50,000 women protesters who encircled the airbase on 11-12 December 1983.





# How we stop the Cruise launcher

Here the TEL is shown parked in the firing mode with the quad missile box elevated. The LCC seen below contains all systems needed for a two-man crew to target and fire.



The basic GLCM combat unit comprises 16 missiles loaded on four TELs (transporter/erector/launchers) and two LCCs (launch control centres) for command and control.

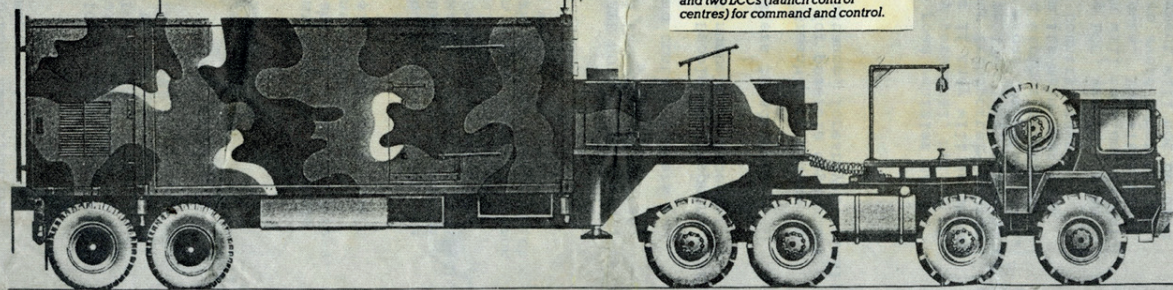


Figure 73.

Diagram showing the cruise missile launcher for identification as part of 'Cruisewatch', distributed via chain letter.



JULY 4-8 BLOCAGE - INFORMATION PACK

Hello!

Here are some suggestions that you may find useful, and a lot of information about nonviolent direct action.

Possibly the first thing you would like to consider is to send on the chain letter to as many women as possible in your area. Personal contact like this is very much the best way of making the blocage a success and slowing down - trying to stop - cruise.

There are other ways of publicising the blocage which you may already have set in motion. You may want to talk to people at local women's groups and centres, at peace, community and other groups, about the blocage, and perhaps they would like to put up a leaflet or poster of your or our design about it (we should be printing posters soon). Then there is a possible letter to the local paper, or, if it is sympathetic, perhaps they would like to do a piece on the blocage and what local women (i.e. you) are doing to prepare for it. Beware of unsympathetic or neutral papers - they have little qualms about misquoting. Local radios might give you an interview (tone of voice counts almost as much as content, and enthusiasm is infective). Or you might arrange a meeting with a local or outside speaker who has had experience of NVDA. You will need to book a room, speaker and publicity at once for a meeting as time is short.

In any general publicity you might want to stress the fact that a week's blocage should really slow down preparation for cruise and draw attention once again to British hostility to the American missile. You might want to emphasise that it starts on July 4, American Independence day, to show how hypocritical it is of America to celebrate her independence while she has military bases here against the will of the majority of our citizens. You might justify women's only actions in terms of the fact that the Greenham Women's Peace Camp has been remarkably effective, and in terms of the repression of women in most other sectors of the country and ask objectors whether they went to the mixed blocage at Upper Heyford.....

In any publicity, try to offer a time and place for NVDA training. This can be done by anyone who has had NVDA experience, and we enclose many notes about it. We can offer training at the blocage to people who haven't yet managed to get any, but obviously the more that can be done in advance, the easier it is for everyone, and local affinity groups have a lot of advantages over scattered ones.

Your local CND should know about the blocage by now - perhaps you might speak to them about it. Even if one or two people are vehemently hostile to women's only actions, some women may well be interested and might get in touch if you left a contact address, or they may be going as a group anyway,

Other things you might start considering are whether local women would like some kind of creche facilities in your area, and how you are going to go about transport. A local men's support group might help with creches.

Please get in touch with your area coordinator or London contact woman if there is anything we can help with. (We may be able to supply copies of *The Greenham Factor* for you to sell to raise funds.

Figure 74.

*July 4-8 Blockade Information Pack*: first page of typed and photocopied booklet for distribution as chain letter to women protesters in advance of the four-day blockade of the airbase in 1983, including advice on NVDA and legal briefing.



## NON-VIOLENT DIRECT ACTION - LEGAL BRIEFING

This blockade of Greenham Common USAF base is intended to be non-violent. Nevertheless, the most peaceful demonstration can result in arrests and it is important that everyone is prepared for this possibility.

We very much hope that everyone who takes part in this non-violent direct action will do so as part of a group which has trained together (although if people have not managed to get to training before, we can do it when you arrive.) An important part of this training is a good knowledge of our legal rights and the laws which could be used against us. Please make sure that you have read this carefully and pass on the information to others in your group.

### HOW WE ARE ORGANISING

We are asking each group to choose one person as legal observer for that group. She will be responsible for having a list of the names, addresses and phone numbers of friends/relatives of members of her group. She should keep as near the group as possible without risking arrest herself. If members of the group are arrested she should immediately note down who, police officers' numbers and the names and phone numbers of any witnesses. She should then give the nearest walkie-talkie operator the names of those arrested so that lawyers can be contacted. If she can, it is helpful if she can write a brief statement of what she saw happening, together with the time, date and signature. This can be useful when giving evidence later in court. If she seems likely to be arrested herself, she should try to hand over to someone else.

Lawyers will be on hand to deal directly with the police on behalf of anyone arrested, on the basis of the information they get from legal observers. If by any chance you are arrested without anyone being able to act as legal observer for you, then you can ring: This is for emergencies only - the line may be very busy. Write the number somewhere safe, like your arm (your property will be taken away at the police station).

### SOME DO'S AND DON'TS

Do remember that this is a non-violent demonstration; we convey our message of peace more effectively if our behaviour is peaceful, as well as reducing the risk of violence against us.

Do remember we are trying to obstruct the operation of an airbase - not the ordinary people who happen to live nearby.

Do look out for people who are not in groups and invite them to join yours, particularly if arrests seem possible.

Don't think that because there are hundreds or thousands of us the police can't arrest just a few people. They decide who, when and how many they arrest.

Don't risk arrest for something irrelevant like untaxed vehicles, carrying dope or something which could easily be considered an offensive weapon like a breadknife.

Don't interfere with someone else's arrest: this can lead to many, needless arrests and it is seldom possible to prevent the original arrest. If you see an arrest, make a note of what you have seen (see previous section) and give your name and address/phone number to the person's legal observer or, later, to the lawyers.

Figure 75.

July 4-8 Blockade Information Pack: second page of typed and photocopied booklet for distribution as chain letter to women protesters in advance of the four-day blockade of the airbase in 1983, including advice on NVDA and legal briefing.



Please prepare for the action well in advance; the more time that can be given to preparation the better. For absolutely last minute preparations you probably want to concentrate on the most practical problems, including the legal briefing.

INTRODUCTIONS

Share names, relevant experiences, fear and anxieties. e.g. Name Game: use one positive word to describe yourself, starting with your initial plus your name: I'm beautiful Bertha, the next person introduces herself, I'm super Sue and this is beautiful Bertha, and so on to the last person who, of course, has to remember all the names. Or e.g. Paired Listening: take five minutes each to share what's important about yourself with one other person. Then each person precis that and introduces her partner to the whole group.

CLARIFY THE ACTION

Make sure you understand the practical implications of the action. Go through legal briefing, look at the maps and details of the sites.

BEFORE ACTION

Think through all the other implications of what you are doing. Why are you doing this action? Is it appropriate to the point you want to make? What do you hope to gain for yourself, for the movement? How will it affect other work you are doing? How do you feel about it?

Share your feelings. This will help you ensure that the positives outweigh the negatives and help you sort out what roles you want to take. You can also use your thoughts for press releases to local papers about what you are doing.

ACTION

How will you do the action? Weave wool, link arms, sing? Will you talk to the police and public or be silent?

We will probably blockade in shifts. How will you keep warm? What about food?

How will you deal with disagreements/arguments/upsets within the group? How will you make decisions quickly?

How will you deal with confrontation? Non-violence on your part does not mean people will treat you non-violently. How do you feel about being kicked or shouted at?

How will you support/peacekeep for each other? How will you deal with anger directed at you or coming from you?

How will you deal with arrest? How far will you take non-cooperation? How will you occupy yourself in a police cell?

Who will talk to reporters? How will you avoid giving them something they can distort and use against you?

Talking through all these questions, and there will be more, sharing ideas and experiences will help. Best of all, ROLE PLAY some of these situations and see what emerges and what you can learn from it. You need to establish a consensus over some fundamentals before the action. Do you all define non-violence in the same way? How do you feel about shouting or singing? It's hard to suggest silence mid-action when some people have decided they want to sing.

Figure 76.

July 4-8 Blockade Information Pack: third page of typed and photocopied booklet for distribution as chain letter to women protesters in advance of the four-day blockade of the airbase in 1983, including advice on NVDA and legal briefing.



SOME POINTS

Pairing within a group is one form of peacekeeping. Each person can look after their partner, knowing in advance the situation they find really upsetting and being able to support them. Earrings, long hair, pigtails, etc. can cause problems when going limp on arrest for you may get dragged along by them.

GETTING ARRESTED (See LEGAL BRIEFING)

If someone in the group has been arrested, share that experience. What are your feelings now about the possibility of being arrested? What about your job? Will there be someone to look after your children?

If anyone decides they are not in a position to risk arrest, that should be respected by all. Don't forget the importance of the support roles.

AFTER THE ACTION

How will you follow-up/support those arrested? The rest of the group? Where/how will you get together? There's nothing worse than drifting away depressed and anticlimatic after it's all over! Sort something out, including a follow up meeting at home.

EVALUATION

Go round again. Share feelings now. Sort out roles in the group; people should be clear by now what they want to do. Iron out final worries.

Song? Game? A positive finish.

SOME DO'S AND DON'TS

Do remember that this is a non-violent demonstration; we convey our message of peace more effectively if our behaviour is peaceful, as well as reducing the risk of violence against us.

Do remember we are trying to obstruct the operation of an airbase - not the ordinary people who happen to live nearby.

Do look out for people who are not in groups and invite them to join yours, particularly if arrests seem possible.

Don't think that because there are hundreds or thousands of us the police can't arrest just a few people. They decide who, when and how many they arrest.

Don't risk arrest for something irrelevant like untaxed vehicles, carrying dope or something which could easily be considered an offensive weapon like a breadknife.

Don't interfere with someone else's arrest; this can lead to noisy, needless arrests and it is seldom possible to prevent the original arrest. If you see an arrest, make a note of what you have seen (see previous section) and give your name and address/phone number to the person's legal observer or, later, to the lawyers.

Figure 77.

July 4-8 Blockade Information Pack: fourth page of typed and photocopied booklet for distribution as chain letter to women protesters in advance of the four-day blockade of the airbase in 1983, including advice on NVDA and legal briefing.



WHAT YOU COULD BE ARRESTED FOR

It is important to understand what laws the police might want to arrest us under and be prepared for the worst while hoping for the best. The charges are likely to be those which get tried in a Magistrate's Court, without a jury.

Obstructing the highway. A highway is any road, path or tract available to the general public and an obstruction can be caused even if it is only partially blocked. The maximum penalty is a £50 fine (some women arrested for this at Greenham last March were fined £25 each).

Obstructing or resisting a police officer. This means 'resisting or wilfully obstructing a constable in the execution of his duty' and is likely to be used when people are sitting down somewhere which is not a public highway. It can also be used against people arguing about or trying to prevent someone else being arrested. The maximum penalty is a £200 fine and/or one month in prison but the likely penalty would be less. (First offenders in particular should not be sent to jail.)

Threatening behaviour. Under the Public Order Act, saying or doing something which is 'threatening, abusive or insulting' which could cause a 'breach of the peace' is when someone (it doesn't have to be you) uses or threatens to use force. A police officer can arrest if s/he thinks a breach of the peace might happen, even if it hasn't yet. The maximum penalty is a £1,000 fine and/or six months in jail. Again, the actual penalty is likely to be much less.

Breach of the peace. Most of the women who have been in court for actions at Greenham have been faced with being 'bound over to keep the peace' rather than a specific criminal charge. Binding over is explained in Possible Penalties below.

LESS LIKELY CHARGES

Criminal Damage makes it an offence for someone to deliberately destroy or damage property which belongs to someone else; e.g. cutting the perimeter fence, spray painting, etc. If the damage done is estimated at less than £200, the maximum penalty is a £1,000 fine and/or six months in jail. If the damage is over £200, the case can be tried in a crown court before a jury and the maximum penalty can be an unlimited fine and an order for compensation to the owner of the property damaged.

The Official Secrets Act could be used against people demonstrating (or organising demonstrations) in or near 'a prohibited place' - in this case Greenham Common airbase. It seems very unlikely that such charges will be used against us at the moment, but they were used against members of the Committee of 100 for organising walk-on (rather than blockade) demonstrations in 1961 and 1963 so everyone should be aware of this as possible.

OTHER LEGAL PROBLEMS

Camping

Newbury District Council recently obtained a possession order against the Greenham Common Womens Peace Camp and an injunction against 21 named women. They have not yet carried out the eviction from their land under the new possession order and the Peace Camp itself has moved to Ministry of Transport land. We think it unlikely that any such eviction will be carried out during

Figure 78.

July 4-8 Blockade Information Pack: fifth page of typed and photocopied booklet for distribution as chain letter to women protesters in advance of the four-day blockade of the airbase in 1983, including advice on NVDA and legal briefing.



the blockade and we believe that women camping near the Orange Gate at Crookham Common are unlikely to be hassled. The injunction only applies to the women named in it. Camping on private land is not a criminal or arrestable offence.

Children and young people

'Juveniles' are treated a bit differently from adults; between 10 and 14 years they are called 'children' and between 14 and 17 years 'young persons'. They are entitled to have their parents present if interviewed by the police and should demand either this or to have a lawyer present. Juveniles can appear in an adult court but are more likely to be referred to their local Juvenile Bureau unless the charge is very serious. If its their first offence (and probably if they say they are sorry) they are likely just to get a telling off there. If tried with adults in an adult court they can get the same sorts of sentences as an adult (fines, binding over, conditional or absolute discharge) but cannot be sent to jail even if they refuse to sign a binding order.

Women from other countries

There is an extra briefing sheet for women from other countries.

BEING CHARGED

When you arrive at the police station you may be held in the 'charge room' for some time before your arresting officer takes you to be charged. Life moves slowly in a police station, so again don't worry.

You will be asked for your name, address, date of birth and possibly other personal information, including previous convictions. If you want to be set free on bail before the court hearing you would be well advised to give your name and address at least, but you don't have to if you don't want to.

The charge will be read to you, you will be formally cautioned (the 'anything you say will be taken down and may be used in evidence' line) and you will be asked if you have anything to say. *Do not* say anything unless you have very good reason to. This is a good rule in a police station at all times: 'verbals' are easily distorted to mean something you didn't intend. You could make a very brief statement about your political motives or if you are ill or injured ask to see a doctor. *But don't say anything about whether or not you did what they are charging you with until you have seen your lawyer.*

Property

Most of your property will be taken from you. You can ask to keep essentials such as handkerchief, glasses or contact lenses, sanitary protection, any special medicines, paper and something to write with. All your property should then be listed down and you will be asked to sign for it. Make sure everything is written down, that nothing has been added and if it is correct sign your name immediately below the last item. If it is not correct refuse to sign.

Telephone call

Ask to make a telephone call. If you think your arrest was not seen by a legal observer, ask for the emergency legal number. Otherwise a lawyer will be acting for you already. You may therefore want to phone a friend or relative.

Fingerprints and photograph

The police have no authority to fingerprint you without an order from a magistrate, which they are unlikely to get. Refuse until you see a solicitor. If they are refusing you or anyone bail who does not give fingerprints, you will have to decide what to do.

Figure 79.

July 4-8 Blockade Information Pack: sixth page of typed and photocopied booklet for distribution as chain letter to women protesters in advance of the four-day blockade of the airbase in 1983, including advice on NVDA and legal briefing.



NVDA Legal briefing...5.

break it you can be fined a specified sum of money (say, £100). You may refuse to sign a binding over order, but you are likely then to be sent to jail. Women from Greenham have gone to prison for fourteen days in this way.

Jail?

It is very unlikely that anyone being found guilty for the first time would be sent to jail unless the charge is a serious one (such as under the Official Secrets Act). So far, women from Greenham who have gone to jail have done so after refusing either to accept a binding over order or to pay a fine. So even if you are found guilty, whether or not to go to jail is likely to be your choice. Don't feel you have to go to jail in order to take part in the blockade.

ON RELEASE

When you are released you may need to return to your own area quickly. It is important that proper organisation is made early on for your defence, so please ensure that:

- your name and address is with a solicitor
- you write down exactly what happened when you were arrested a.s.a.p. and names of witnesses
- you fill out a legal aid form and return to your solicitor.

Understanding the law and coping with police and the courts can seem very daunting. If we support each other by sharing our information, experiences and feelings we can all gain the confidence to deal with this aspect of our struggle for nuclear disarmament. When we stand together we are strong.

FINALLY : Before they arrest anyone the police should give them a caution ie. say they are going to arrest them. If you don't want to be arrested; when you are cautioned just stop what ever you are doing.

Figure 8o.

July 4-8 Blockade Information Pack: seventh page of typed and photocopied booklet for distribution as chain letter to women protesters in advance of the four-day blockade of the airbase in 1983, including advice on NVDA and legal briefing.



(29 Oct cases)

22<sup>nd</sup> Dec 1983

(50)

Dear Sisters —

For last minute co-ordination before the trials (M.O.D. or Thames Valley) arising from the wire-cutting at Halloween, there will be a meeting (again!) in London. Changes have been happening since our last communication — i.e.

- 1) it seems the M.O.D. ♀ will not be being taken to Crown Court, after all;
- 2) only those few ♀ who elected Crown Court originally (on possession charges) will be going to Crown Court.

Most ♀ in Magg. Court will have different kinds of defence. Some will be legally represented, some not. It would be helpful to get together & share ideas. As before, a farespot will be organised & it's helpful if one ♀ comes on behalf of a group.

TIME: 2-5 PM  
PLACE: GREENHAM OFFICE, 79 PETHERTON RD, BUNGTON NS  
NEAREST TUBE: HIGHBURY (KINGTON.)  
DATE: 22<sup>nd</sup> JANUARY 1984 (SUNDAY)  
CONTACT: 226-6980.

Figure 81.

Handwritten and photocopied chain letter dated 22 December 1983 from London support branch (Islington), calling for meeting regarding 29 October (Halloween) mass fence-cutting event and court cases arising from this.



JULY 4TH - 8TH : INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S BLOCKADE  
AT GREENHAM COMMON

"ARMS ARE FOR LINKING!"

Dear Women,

17th May 1983

On July 4th - 8th there will be an International Women's Blockade at Greenham Common. In the spirit of the women camping at the base since September 1981 and the 30,000 or more women who joined them on December 12th and 13th last year in a massive statement against the siting of Cruise Missiles, we are calling on women from all over Britain, Europe and the World to come to Greenham to blockade and disrupt the preparations for these weapons of fear and destruction. Cruise Missiles in Britain (and indeed elsewhere) are a dangerous escalation of the arms race and increase the probability of a nuclear war in Europe.

A weeks blockade will involve thousands of women so we have suggested it be divided into different regional areas for different days running from July 4th to the 8th as follows: Monday 4th - International and Scotland. Tuesday 5th - Cymru(Wales) Ireland and South West England. Wednesday 6th - London. Thursday 7th - South East England. Friday 8th - North England and the Midlands. We are hoping that women from each region will commit themselves to covering the blockade for 24 hours. Over and above that we hope that many women will come whenever they can, especially for Monday - the first day, and also for as long as they can. No doubt the weekend will be celebratory!

SUGGESTIONS FOR YOUR REGION'S DAY - TO MAKE IT MORE MEANINGFUL AND FUN

\*Adopt a theme that links the arms race with cuts in health and education services; the third world; the effects that nuclear power and weapons are having on our health already; British Independence from American Military Bases - July 4th is American Independence Day.

\*Light candles and hold vigils during the day and night for the victims of Nagasaki and Hiroshima; indigenous peoples who have lost their land rights through Uranium mining and weapons testing; women in prisons; Karen Silkwood, who was murdered while investigating the dangers of nuclear power, etc.

\*Celebrate your day in a life-giving joyful way wear bright colours, make or bring banners; decorate the fence to contrast the destruction of life on the other side of the fence, etc.

\*Bring musical instruments, songs, street theatre, balloons, kites, flowers to plant, ribbons and wool and anything else you can think of.

LOCAL ORGANISING

The Central co-ordinators for the blockade are based in London, with regional co-ordinators in most parts of the country. Some regional co-ordinators are still needed please contact London Greenham Office.

Figure 82.

July 4-8th International Women's Blockade (Arms are for Linking): first page of typed and photocopied flyer dated 17 May 1983 for distribution as chain letter to women protesters in advance of the four-day blockade of the airbase in 1983.



REGIONAL CONTACTS:

International -

Scotland - Women's Action for Peace - c/o The Women's Centre, 61A Broughton Street Edinburgh  
Cymru (Wales) -

Ireland - Maggie Malone, 3 Ardenlee Avenue, Belfast 6. Tel:(0232) 56392

S.W. England -

London - London Greenham Office, 5 Leonard Street, London EC2 Tel 01 251 3133

S.E. England - Brighton Women's Peace Place, 7 Florence Road, Brighton (0273)553466

N. England -

Midlands -

We ask that all women come as self sufficient as possible. Here are a few ideas that spring to mind:-

NON VIOLENT DIRECT ACTION: Due to limited time, we ask that women prepare themselves in NVDA training as much as possible beforehand in local groups. For advice contact your regional co-ordinator.

PLEASE BRING: Protective clothing(long sleeves/trousers for blockading). Warm night clothes, rain gear, toilet paper and rubbish bags, pens and paper for legal observing, food, a tent if possible, sleeping bag/blankets, polythene sheeting, firewood and water carriers. Plus whatever is needed for your regional day (see above).

RESPECT FOR THE COMMON: Please respect and care for the land. Bring rubbish bags and use them. There will be rubbish points to take them to. Please don't cut live trees bring wood if you can. Please contain your fires (hazardous places are signposted).

TRANSPORT: To Britain - International flights to London's Heathrow and Gatwick Airports. Also, coach and train services from the Continent. Newbury Berkshire. National Bus Co.(01 730 0202). By car, take M4 to A34 To the base - Bus 302 leaves once an hour from Newbury Bus Station at 20 minutes to the hour. (From the base - bus leaves at 20 minutes past the hour) By car, take the A34 to the A339. Women travelling together is supportive and more fun. Think about car sharing, or hiring a coach or mini-bus/van/caravan. Bicycles (or horses?) are useful for transport between gates or in the case of blockaded roads.

WE'LL PROVIDE: General information and maps of the base. Marquees for registration and limited Non Violent Direct Action Training. Health workers and medical support. Walkie-talkies. Legal back up and support and toilet facilities.

WE NEED: Lots of HELP NOW (Contact your Regional Co-ordinator) AND DURING THE BLOCKADE Cars or vans at every gate. Bicycles at every gate (especially if the roads are blocked) Horses(!) and women at each gate who are experienced with horses in case the police use horses again. FUNDS: Please send donations to: London Greenham Office, 5 Leonard Street, London EC2. (Make cheques payable to Greenham - July 4th)

WHAT MEN CAN DO TO SUPPORT. Men can support us by respecting that this is an all women's blockade and by supporting the concept of women organising autonomously. We ask that men look after children, leaving mothers free to come and blockade. Publicise this action in their local areas and work places. Put pressure on their unions, employers and local councillors to take a stand against nuclear weapons. Financial assistance; either individually, through fund raising, or donation matching through work. Contact Men's Support Group for advice. Men's support is vitally needed at mixed peace camps all over the country.

If every woman copies this letter and sends it to 10 friends and they each send it to 10 others etc. we SHALL be thousands. This is the main way we are publicising this action. We look forward to seeing you there. With love and peace, from London Greenham Women.

\*\*\*\*\*WE NEED 3,000 WOMEN PER DAY, PLEASE TELL EVERY WOMAN YOU KNOW\*\*\*\*\*

Figure 83.

July 4-8th International Women's Blockade (Arms are for Linking): first page of typed and photocopied flyer dated 17 May 1983 for distribution as chain letter to women protesters in advance of the four-day blockade of the airbase in 1983.



Dear Sisters —

As much an important part of the action of cutting the fence on 29<sup>th</sup> October is the legal consequences — and for this reason it is crucial that all women who are facing charges are recognised as being part of something whole and do not stand in isolation. The political point of the action cannot then be marginalised by being seen as something random and arbitrary. We can all gain strength from one another if we are not alone.

We would like it to be possible for all of us to be heard together and not in dribs and drabs through the courts. Therefore —

- (1) There is to be a meeting for all arrested women on TUESDAY 15<sup>th</sup> NOVEMBER, 2.00 p.m. — 6.00 p.m., at the FRIENDS' MEETING HOUSE, Newbury. Barristers and lawyers will be present. Please try to come, or at least one woman from a local group of arrested women, to discuss our acting collectively.
- (2) For any woman whose court hearing falls before this date — it is possible to ask for an adjournment of your case. You don't have to enter any plea at this stage at your hearing if you tell them you are taking legal advice — then the court will grant an adjournment. As a group, we will then be able to try to organise a date together!
- (3) If you can't make it to this meeting in Newbury, there will be a letter following it with any information which will be sent to you. Any enquiries can come to either Jane Marshall, (01)-720-7002; or Dymphna McElhinney, (01)-737-0737.

Figure 84.

Handwritten and photocopied A4 chain letter on red paper (Nd) from local support group (Newbury), calling for meeting in the Friends' Meeting House on 15 November 1983, regarding 29 October fence-cutting at Greenham.



## Greenham women face the bailiffs

By Paul Keel

TWO Reading men with experience in house evictions have been hired by Newbury District Council in the authority's latest attempt to remove camps set up by women protesters on Greenham Common.

The two men, who will cost Newbury ratepayers £250 a week, were described by the authority yesterday as "responsible and fully conversant with the limitations under which they must operate." They have been engaged to enforce new bylaws preventing camping on common land adjoining the airbase at Greenham, in Berkshire.

Mr Brian Thetford, the council's chief executive, said

their duties would be to clear the six or so "satellite camps" which had sprung up on the common recently in addition to the original peace camp at the main entrance to the base, where Britain's first flight of cruise missiles is deployed.

"They will go along and point out to the ladies in question that they are trespassing on common land and breaching bylaws. They will be asked politely to remove their tents, structures and vehicles, and be given a period of time in which to comply with the request.

"If they refuse to comply with the request these things will be removed by the men, although they will not touch the women themselves or

their personal belongings," he said.

He said that although the two men, who have been initially contracted for three months, had not been given any set hours in which to carry out their duties, he doubted whether they would seek to visit the camps at night. "They have not been told not to go in at nights, although they might go in early in the morning," he thought.

He went on: "If they feel they cannot handle the situation themselves and that it is going to involve any sort of physical contact with the women, they have the right to call in the police to prevent any breach of the peace taking place."

The two hired bailiffs have already put in an appearance at Greenham Common, a spokeswoman for the camps said yesterday. The first occasion was on Wednesday, when they asked the women of a month-old camp on the common to remove their tents and "benders," the polythene sheet structures used for shelters.

They returned yesterday but were "much more relaxed and laid-back," according to the spokeswoman.

The original and largest encampment, which is outside the main entrance to the airbase, will not be affected by the contractors' eviction exercise.

Paul Brown adds: Women using wire-cutters and paint

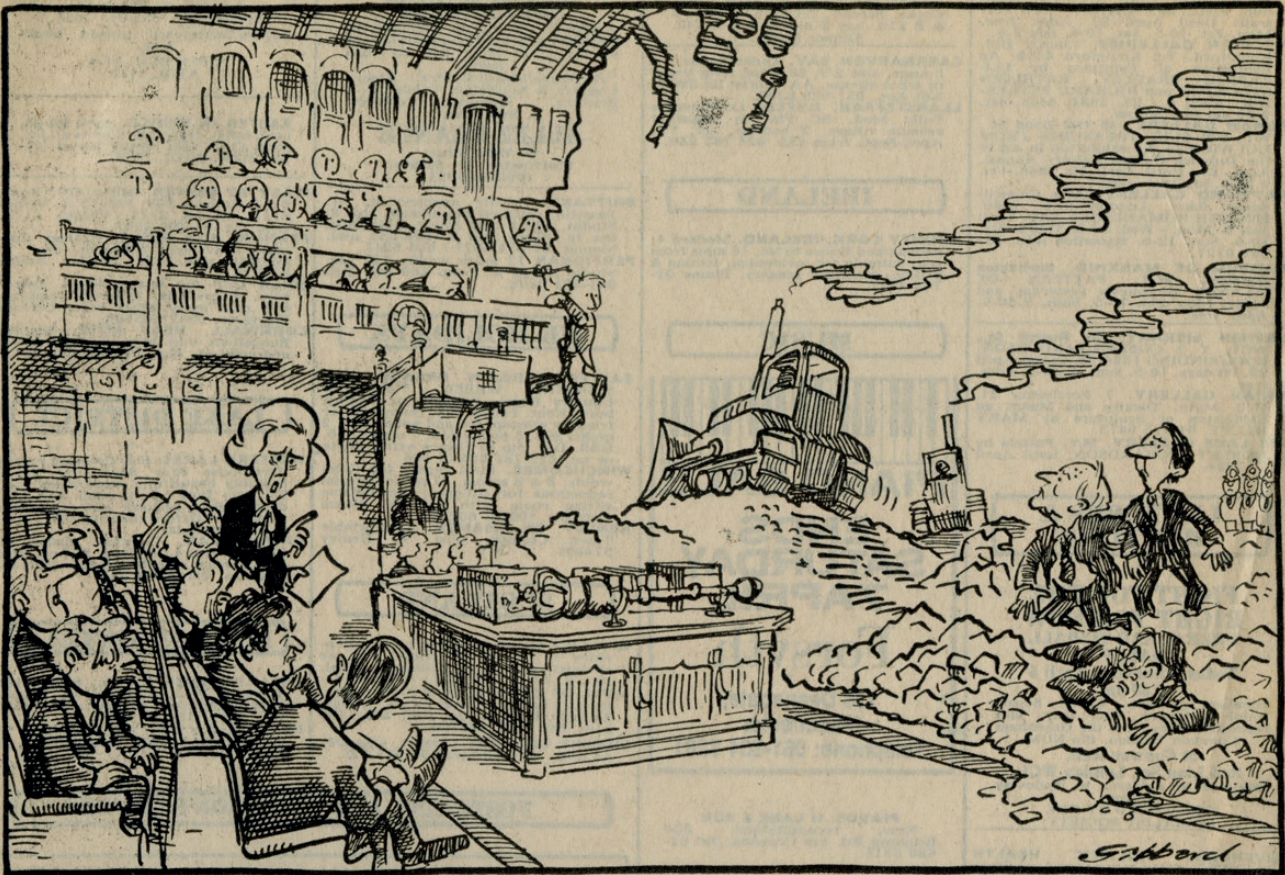
attacked the US munitions depot at RAF Welford, Berkshire, last night and ripped down 30 yards of fencing and the gates. The raiders then entered the base, which was unguarded, and daubed slogans on the warehouses and other buildings.

The women, who refused to disclose their identities, said the attack was a protest against Washington "increasing use of force." "We are protesting generally about the military intervention of the Americans in Grenada and elsewhere in Central America." They would not say whether they had come from Greenham Common camp, which is 10 miles from Welford.

Figure 85.

*The Guardian*, 13 January 1984: reporting the appointment by Newbury District Council of two bailiffs hired to enforce local bylaws preventing Greenham Common peace women from camping on common land adjoining the airbase at Greenham in Berkshire.





'No, I'm absolutely certain that Her Majesty's opposition were given fair warning of the Greenham Common to Downing Street road-widening scheme !

## Peace women remain after evictions

Continued from page one smoothly and had achieved its objective.

Women campers said unanimously that they would be staying on at Greenham, and that the evictions only drew further attention to the protest against cruise missiles at the base.

The general secretary of CND, Msgr Bruce Kent said: "This is not the end of the Greenham protest. It's simply another chapter in the courageous witness conducted by

these women. I'm sure they will continue to have a witness at the main gate."

Paul Brown adds: Rate-payers in Berkshire and Buckinghamshire face penalties of £1.1 million as a result of the Home Office's "clarification" of the amount of the bill it would pay for the extra policing of Greenham Common.

Mr Douglas Hurd, in a complex explanation of the Home Office contribution to police costs, revealed that the

Government subsidy would be £750,000 less than the councils expected. This means the three councils which contribute towards the costs of the Thames Valley police — Berkshire, Buckinghamshire and Oxfordshire — will each have to find an extra £250,000.

Berkshire and Buckinghamshire are now over their spending limits because of the Government rate capping scheme and will attract extra penalties

Buckinghamshire, which had believed it would get £500,000 towards the cost of extra policing, now finds it will only get £250,000 and will be "fined" £500,000 by the Department of the Environment.

The Conservative-controlled council chairman, Mr Roger Parker-Jervis described it as a ridiculous situation and added: "This is yet another example of the inability of central government to get its act together."

Figure 86.

*The Guardian* (Nd): reporting on Greenham Common peace women remaining at the camp despite evictions, with cartoon above.





"Peace" women from Greenham Common demonstrating outside the High Court yesterday.

## Peace women kick up court fuss

**T**HE Greenham Common peace women lived to fight another day when a move to evict 59 of them from the common was adjourned in the High Court in London yesterday.

After an hour-long private hearing the women's solicitor claimed that the sheer number of protestors involved in the courts proceedings had forced the adjournment. The women said they would go back to the common to continue their protest against the siting of cruise missiles at the American air base.

About 25 of the women against whom NEWBURY DISTRICT COUNCIL sought possession orders were taken to court from prison, where they are serving sentences for refusing to be bound over to keep the peace.

According to their solicitor,

Miss JANE HICKMAN, after the hearing, Mr Justice CROOM-JOHNSON had proposed to hear the case against the prison women first, but changed his mind and ordered an adjournment until March 9 in the face of objections from others.

"They all stood up and made a fuss. They felt it would be fairer if they were all dealt with together," said Miss Hickman.

As the proceedings got under way there were moves to add a further 100 names to those facing eviction proceedings. Extra affidavits were prepared in which more women admitted they were involved.

One of the women's leaders, Mrs HELEN JOHN, said later: "The courts are going to have to cope with thousands of us who do not want cruise missiles on Greenham Common or anywhere else." And Miss Hickman estimated that 210 defendants could be involved next time.

Many of the defendants

linked hands and sang in Court 13 at the start of the hearing. Their supporters crowded the narrow corridors, singing, dancing and playing pipe music.

Women prison warders reinforced a strong police presence and women ushers who normally work in the court were replaced by men.

Apart from a possession order against the 59 named women, the Council is also seeking orders restraining 19 women from setting foot on the common and from inciting others to trespass.

Figure 87.

Newspaper cutting (Nd): reporting on Greenham Common peace women outside the High Court in London after court proceedings to evict the women campers from Greenham were adjourned.



# Women cut down cruise's fence

by John Coates and Barbara Jones

LARGE sections of the perimeter fence at the Greenham Common American airbase in Berkshire, where Cruise missiles are due to be sited, were demolished yesterday by the women peace protesters.

More than 1,000 women launched a series of raids on the nine miles of 10ft high fencing and by the evening they had managed to bring it down in 10 separate points.

Last night Thames Valley police said that 102 women had been arrested and charged with criminal damage and going equipped to cause damage.

Inspector Andrew Beaumont, of Newbury police, said more than 130 sets of bolt-and-wire cutters had been confiscated by his officers. The women were released on bail and some will appear in court on Monday.

Last night Defence Ministry staff were working frantically to repair the embarrassing damage. Estimates of the scale of the damage varied. An MoD spokesman said that about 1,000 yards of fence had been destroyed but Barbara Harford, who took part in the raids, said several miles of fencing had been damaged.

The women hailed the raids as proof of inadequate security at the base. The cruise missiles could arrive this week.

But the MoD seemed unconcerned. "Our security is adequate. There was damage to the fence and it is being repaired", said a spokesman.

The gathering had been planned, with coachloads of women arriving from all over the country, ostensibly to celebrate Hallowe'en on Monday.



*Greenham aftermath: bolt cutters in hand, protester in arms*

The MoD said last night that it had heard rumours of a possible attack on the base but the troops and police guarding the fence seemed to react remarkably slowly as the women, working in teams of two and using bolt cutters, attacked the fence.

The women made it clear beforehand that they were not going to invade the base. They

said: "We are taking up tools to cut down this fence of fear and destruction and to replace it instead with a thread of hope and trust."

The raids lasted just over an hour. The teams of women had laid low in surrounding woods and emerged simultaneously to mount their raids.

They climbed on each others shoulders, piggy-back style, to

cut the fence. Security men inside the base, who were separated by coils of barbed wire, watched but were helpless

"We are feeling very euphoric," Barbara Harford said. "I must say we are astonished how easy it was. Their intelligence cannot be very good. It must worry them that women can destroy their fence so easily."

Figure 88.

Newspaper cutting (Nd): reporting on large sections of the perimeter fence being 'demolished' by women peace protestors at Greenham Common, prior to the arrival of cruise missiles.



# Cruise base an IRA risk, warns Tory MP

By Penny Chorlton  
**FEARS** that terrorist groups like the IRA could follow the example of women peace protesters by breaking into Greenham Common cruise missile airbase are to be raised in the Commons by the Tory MP for Newbury, Mr Michael McNair-Wilson.

Mr McNair-Wilson, whose constituency includes the base, said yesterday that he would be raising the matter after the House reassembled on January 16.

The three women who broke into the control tower on Tuesday and spent three hours there undetected face charges of causing criminal damage.

Mr McNair-Wilson said: "I remain concerned at the ease with which the women appear to be able to get into Greenham."

Mr John Stanley, Minister of State for the Armed Forces has told Mr McNair-Wilson that Greenham Common is the most heavily protected of all the defence establishments in the UK. In a letter sent before the control tower entry, he said:

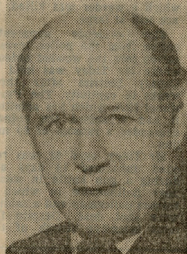
"You can be assured that we entirely share the concern of your constituents and yourself about security at Greenham. I would hope that the importance that we attach to the security is well evidenced by the fact that the resources we have devoted are hugely greater than those used in peacetime to protect any other defence establishment in the UK."

He added: "We are continuing to give detailed consideration to how security there can be further improved in the most cost-effective way."

The women who broke into the control tower and leafed through classified documents before giving themselves up are to hold a press conference today.

The women claim that they unfurled a banner which they hung from a window of the control tower, which is about three-quarters of a mile from the cruise missiles. They also claim that they switched lights on and off to draw attention to themselves but none of the security staff noticed anything amiss.

The control tower is normally guarded and patrolled by US Air Force personnel when flights are expected, but is locked when not in use.



Michael McNair-Wilson  
 —security doubts

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Figure 89.

Newspaper cutting (Nd): reporting on Tory MP for Newbury Michael McNair-Wilson's claim that the Greenham Common airbase in Berkshire was an IRA security risk.

1974 and 1979.

## Depressed doctor killed himself

THE husband of the Greenham Common peace camp founder, Dr Ann Delahunty, stabbed himself to death, an inquest heard yesterday.

Dr Robert Williams, aged 36, a GP, of Abertillery, Gwent, plunged a large kitchen knife into his heart four times, the inquest at Abergavenny was told. His wife, who shared a practice with him, found him lying face down in a pool of blood in the kitchen of their home six days before Christmas. She said he had been depressed for some time.

18-1-84

Figure 90.

Newspaper cutting dated 18 January 1984: reporting on the suicide of a GP married to one of the founders of the GCWPC.



# Greenham women flood court for eviction case

By Paul Brown

Peace camp women swamped the High court in London yesterday when Newbury Council tried to evict them from Greenham Common and sought injunctions to prevent the women protesting against cruise missiles at the site.

Thirty-two women were brought from prison to appear at the court on the personal orders of the Home Secretary, Mr William Whitelaw. Another 200 women involved in the action were forced to wait outside.

Faced with an unprecedented number of defendants, Mr Justice Croom-Johnson adjourned the case until March 9, leaving the High Court administration with serious problems.

Newbury Council had already issued 59 summonses against named defendants seeking possession of land at Greenham Common. By lunchtime yesterday another 90 women had presented affidavits asking to be joined to the action and at least another 100 more are expected to join.

In a second action, 21 women, 19 of whom recently registered on the Newbury electoral roll, were named in injunction proceedings.

The injunction would make each woman leave Newbury Common Land, never allow her

to return, and prevent her "conspiring with others to trespass on Newbury land or conspire to incite others to trespass."

According to Ms Jane Hickman, the solicitor for the 21 women, this would prevent them giving speeches about cruise missiles which might induce people to go to Greenham Common to protest.

Since two of the women, Helen John and Rebecca Johnson, are standing in the general election against leading politicians it could seriously damage their campaigns.

The women have twice been refused legal aid to fight the injunction. The first time the Law Society said they had not sufficient case to justify legal aid.

When a counsel's opinion was obtained saying that they did have a case, the Law Society replied by saying that the women could defend themselves.

Ms Hickman said: "The Government says the cruise missiles are being installed to preserve our freedom of speech, yet the Law Society refused to grant legal aid to preserve the freedom of speech of the Greenham women."

The Law Society said it could not comment on the refusal to grant legal aid. An

appeal against the legal aid decision is being heard tomorrow.

Police were used to segregate the women from prison from their supporters outside and the judge would not allow them in court together. The hearing in chambers was adjourned three times while officials tried to cope with the defendants.

The 36 women imprisoned last Wednesday for refusing to be bound over to keep the peace are due to be released on March 1. One woman, Carol Harwood, has been treated for head injuries in Holloway prison hospital wing after being transported in a riot truck.

The Home Office said it could not comment on the treatment of prisoners but it was up to the police or prison officers how the peace women were treated.

Although yesterday's case was inconclusive, the women regarded it as a victory. They have avoided any new attempt to evict them until March 9 and by flooding the court with new defendants they have created serious administrative problems.

The lack of legal aid means that each defendant has the right to conduct her own case and listen to everyone else's defence. None of the 50 or so High Court rooms is able to accommodate 300 defendants.

Figure 91.

Newspaper cutting (Nd): reporting on numbers of Greenham peace women 'flooding' the High Court in London as Newbury District Council attempted to evict the women from common land beside the airbase and sought injunctions to prevent further protests.



# Marine hit Greenham women 21-1-84

By a Correspondent

A Royal Marine was yesterday given a six-month conditional discharge after admitting assaulting two peace women at Greenham Common air base, Berkshire.

Andrew Bish, aged 22, struck the women after they had laughed at his Union Jack running shorts while he was jogging round the cruise missile base.

Bish admitted assaulting Maria Lundstrom and Patricia Fenton outside the base in July last year. Newbury magistrates ordered him to pay £45 costs

Mr John Benton, prosecuting, said: "These shorts caused some hilarity among women camped outside."

Mr Benton said that Mr Bish went to see what they were laughing at and started arguing with the women. He then kicked Patricia Fenton's dog when it started barking at him and struck Ms Fenton and later Ms Lundstrom, who tried to intervene.

Mr Benton said: "Fenton crumpled into a ball and he continued hitting her."

Mr Bish, now stationed at Taunton, admitted that he had become angry when the women laughed.

"I don't see anything funny about wearing Union Jack shorts," he told the court.

He had immediately realised his folly and informed the Ministry of Defence.

Lieutenant Callum Murray, Mr Bish's superior officer told the court that the marine had an excellent record.

The magistrate, Mr Bernard Galbraith told Bish: "We have taken into account your very good service record. But as a trained soldier you should not be provoked."

Figure 92.

Newspaper cutting dated 21 January 1984: reporting on a Royal Marine (Andrew Bish) who was given a six-month conditional discharge by Newbury Magistrates following his assault on two peace women who had laughed at his Union Jack running shorts.





BREAKING CAMP: women try to salvage some possessions during their eviction

Picture by Paula Allen

## Peace women remain after evictions

By Martin Wainwright  
**THE NUMBER** of women at Greenham Common increased yesterday, in spite of the eviction of all six peace camps around the perimeter of the cruise missile base.

There were 31 arrests but no charges, and by dusk the women were back on all the sites except the main gate, which was fenced off for work to start on improvements to the base entrance.

Some women reinforced by supporters, moved to a site on the other side of the main Newbury to Basingstoke Road and set up a second camp close to the main gate in the surrounding woods.

The eviction began at about 7 a.m. when 400 police surrounded home-made shelters at the main gate where about 30 women were camping.

The women danced a hokey-cokey round the bailiffs, who were acting for Berkshire county council, and set fire to several of their own shelters in protest against the eviction. Contractors arrived within an hour and put up 300 yards of wooden fencing round the remains of the camp.

"It's very good of them to bring us firewood at this

time of crisis," said one woman.

*Common assault, page 17; Leader comment, page 12; Greens 'coup', page 6*

When bulldozers moved in to start clearing the ground there were still three mugs, a cardboard box of vegetables, and a 1977 Mandy annual by the remains of the camp fire. The bailiffs scrupulously removed daffodils and a woollen rainbow which

had been woven into the perimeter fence.

The arrests came later in the morning and were mostly for alleged obstruction as women wandered round the main gate looking for a new place to continue their camp which has been there since September 1981. They set up the two new sites within an hour and were joined by a steady stream of supporters who had learned of the eviction.

The main gates could only be reached on foot all morning after the closure of several miles of the A339 from Newbury to Basingstoke by police. The BBC Today programme gave the first clue to the eviction by reporting the closure as due to an accident.

The second eviction took place at 2.30 pm at Blue Gate, which has been used by the two cruise missile

convoys which have left the base. It was followed by evictions at the other four camps. The women returned to all of them within a couple of hours after loading their equipment into cars and vans.

Several women accused the police of helping the bailiffs. At Indigo Gate an officer was advising the men to fetch a second lorry to clear away a mobile shelter into which the women had loaded some of their goods. The shelter was eventually hauled on its set of trolley wheels to sanctuary by the wicket gate of St Mary's Parish Church, Greenham.

Chief Inspector David Hodges of Thames Valley Police said that the forces' role at evictions was only to prevent any breach of the peace. He said that the operation had gone fairly

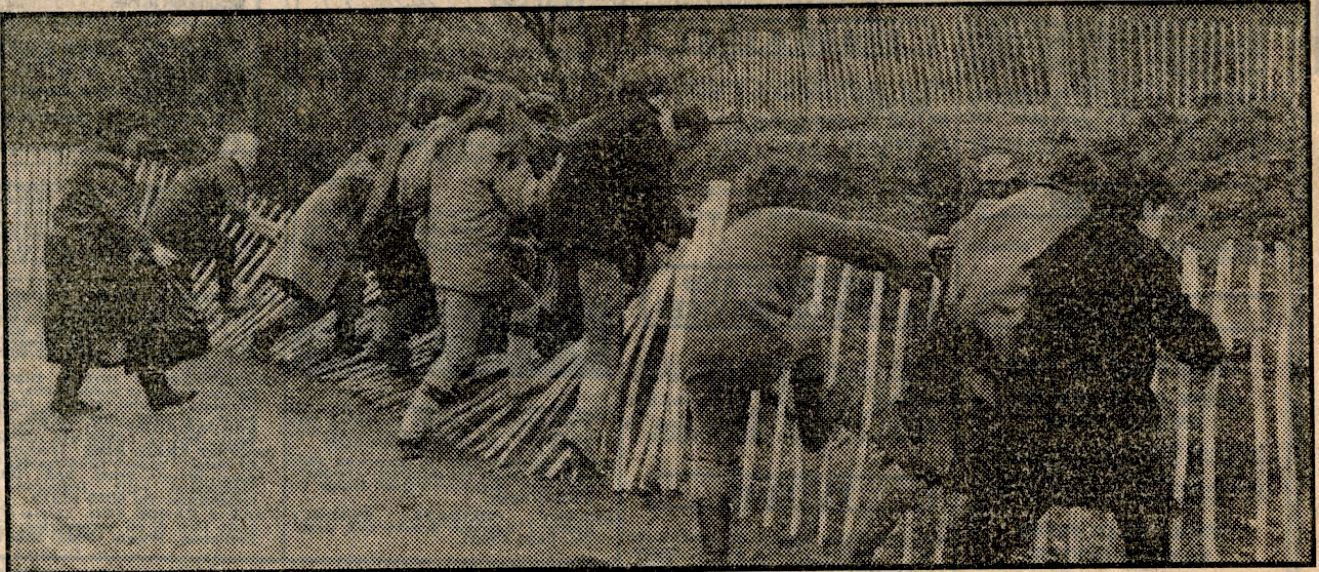
Turn to back page, col 3

Figure 93.

Newspaper cutting dated 15 April 1984: reporting on aftermath of evictions undertaken by bailiffs at the GCWPC.



the NUM ex- people found it extraordinary his aggressive style, is founded three-hour debate on the police.



Women protesters break down a wooden fence around Department of Transport land outside the main gates of the Greenham Common air base. The women briefly re-established the peace camp which was evicted last week, but within an hour police had broken it up again, making 28 arrests.

Picture by Paula Allen

HER

9-4-84

Figure 94.

*The Guardian*, 9 April 1984: reporting on Greenham Common peace women breaking down a wooden fence beside the main gate at Greenham Common airbase.



**2. THERE'S A SENTRY**

There's a sentry, sentry, standing at the entry  
To the base, to the base.  
There's a sentry, sentry, standing at the entry to the USAF base.

**CHORUS:**

My eyes are clear, I see very well  
I wish that they would go away  
I wish that they would go away.

There's a Cruise, Cruise and it's waiting to be used  
Inside the base, inside the base  
There's a Cruise, Cruise and it's waiting to be used inside the USAF base.

**CHORUS**

The police, police are breaching the peace  
Outside the base, outside the base.  
The police, police are breaching the peace outside the USAF base.

**CHORUS**

The British army, army is acting like it's barmy  
On the base, on the base  
The British army, army is acting like it's barmy on the USAF base.

**CHORUS**

There's a camp, camp and it's getting very damp  
Outside the base, outside the base.  
There's a camp, camp and it's getting very damp outside the USAF base.

My eyes are clear, I see very well  
I know that we won't go away  
I know that we won't go away.

**3. STAND UP (ROUND)**

Stand up, women make your choice  
Create a world without nuclear war.  
Now together we are strong  
Break the nuclear chain.

**4. WOMEN FOR PEACE**

Women for Peace  
Link arms together  
Women all over the world  
Stand up and say no — NO!

**5. FOR THE POLICE** (to the tune of Every Breath You Take)

Every breath you take  
Every move you make  
Every law you break  
Every woman you take  
We'll be watching you

Every single day  
Every word you say  
Every game you play  
Every night we stay  
We'll be watching you

Please don't guard me  
Guard your family  
For your children's sake  
See that the world's at stake

Every breath you take  
Every move you make  
Every law you break  
Every woman you take  
We'll be watching you

**6. FOR REPORTERS AND TV CREWS**

Every note you take  
Every tale you make  
Every film you fake  
Every muck you rake  
We'll be watching you

Every single day  
Every word you say  
Every game you play  
Every lie you say  
We'll be watching you

Please don't ask me  
Ask your family  
For your children's sake  
See that the world's at stake

Every note you take  
Every tale you make  
Every film you fake  
Every muck you rake  
We'll be watching you



Figure 95.

Greenham Common Women's Peace Camp Songbook: pages 2 and 3 of typed and photocopied booklet of lyrics for singing at mass protests around the airbase.

7. DOWN AT GREENHAM ON A SPREE

Down at Greenham on a Spree  
Funded by the KGB  
Dirty women sitting in the mud  
Mostly vegetarian, except when we're devouring men  
Foreigners and other kinds of scum.

Mr Andropov provides us with our vodka  
Mr Castro makes sure we're kept in dope  
All the women here are outside agitators  
Who can't see Ronnie Reagan brings us hope.

What a bunch of layabouts  
Who don't know what it's all about  
How we need deterrents for the best  
Building fires and burning toast, bringing communism close  
Threatening the safety of the west.

In the bushes a cache of guns is waiting  
With sealed copies of Karl Marx in plastic bags  
While our children live in misery, with lives of deprivation  
But what do you expect from queers and hags?

Down at Greenham on a spree  
Funded by the KGB  
Laughing, singing, dancing in the rain  
Nowhere signs of sacrifice, being good or making nice  
Most of all we're not accepting pain.

'Cause we're trying to be done with games and problems  
Of hypocrisy, dishonesty and fear  
So don't be getting shirty 'cos it's us what's getting dirty  
And because of us we'll all be here next year.

8. THE CHIEF OF THE POLICE (to the tune of The Grand Old Duke of York)

Oh the Chief of the Police  
He had ten thousand men  
He marched them up to the silo top  
And he marched them down again.  
And when they were up they were up  
And when they were down they were down  
And when they were only halfway up  
They found all the wire was down.

9. THEY CALL HIM RON WITH THE NEUTRON BOMB  
(to the tune of "Da doo Ron Ron")

Sitting in a saddle down in Washington  
They call him Ron with the neutron bomb  
Brave and courageous with his stetson on  
He'll solve it all with the neutron bomb  
Ba dum ba dum

CHORUS:

Oh, my heart stood still!  
Ba dum ba dum  
Everybody else's will  
Ba dum ba dum  
If we let him drop that bomb  
The neutron bomb Ron, the neutron bomb.

He'll send his fleet to Nicaragua  
He'll call it manoeuvres, but we'll know it's war.  
He landed soldiers on Grenada's shore  
He thinks that he's above international law  
Well think again

CHORUS

All across Europe people live in fear  
Around the bombs he will deploy this year  
First strike bombs from the USA  
But in the end we're all gonna pay  
Ba dum ba dum

CHORUS

10. SHAMELESS HUSSIES (to the tune of "I Wish I was in Dixie")

We're shameless hussies and we don't give a damn,  
We're loud, we're raucous and we're fighting for our rights,  
And our sex, and our need to be free.

Men call us names to be nasty and rude  
Like lesbian, man-hater, witch and prostitute,  
What a laugh, 'cause the half of it's true.

The fragile docile image of our sex must die.  
Through centuries of silence we are screaming into action.

REPEAT FIRST VERSE.

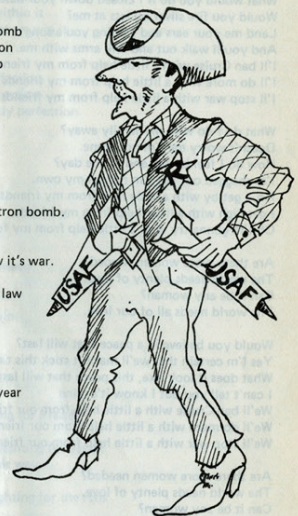


Figure 96.

Greenham Common Women's Peace Camp Songbook: pages 4 and 5 of typed and photocopied booklet of lyrics for singing at mass protests around the airbase.



11. A LITTLE HELP FROM OUR FRIENDS

What would you do if I closed down your base?  
Would you fire silver bullets at me?  
Lend me your ears and I'll sing you a song  
And you'll walk out and link arms with me.  
I'll ban Cruise with a little help from my friends  
I'll do more with a little help from my friends  
I'll stop war with a little help from my friends

What do I do with my family away?  
Doesn't worry me I'm not alone.  
How do I feel by the end of the day?  
I'm shagged out but I'm not on my own.  
No, I get by with a little help from my friends.  
I get high with a little help from my friends,  
Oh I'm gonna try with a little help from my friends.

Are there more women needed?  
The world needs plenty of love.  
Can it be any woman?  
The world needs all of our love.

Would you believe in a peace that will last?  
Yes I'm certain that we'll make it stick this time.  
What does it look like, this peace that will last?  
I can't tell you but I know it's mine  
We'll ban Cruise with a little help from our friends  
We'll do more with a little help from our friends  
We'll stop war with a little help from our friends

Are there more women needed?  
The world needs plenty of love.

Can it be any woman?  
The world needs all of our love  
Oh we'll ban Cruise with a little help from our friends  
We'll close the base with a little help from our friends  
We'll do more with a little help from our friends  
We'll stop war with a little help from our friends  
With a little help from our friends.

12. WE ARE WOMEN (tune Frere Jacques) ROUND

We are women, we are women  
We are strong, we are strong  
We say no, we say no  
To the bomb, to the bomb.



13. THAT'S WHAT GETS US BY

It ain't just the web, it's the way that we spin it  
It ain't just the world, it's the women within it  
It ain't just the struggle, it's the way that we win it  
That's what gets us by.

It ain't just the care, it's the love and affection  
It ain't just the way, it's the sense of direction  
It ain't that we're good, we're just bloody perfection  
That's what gets us by.

14. THE UNIVERSAL SOLDIER

He's five foot two and he's six foot four  
He fights with missiles and with spears  
He's all of thirty one and he's only seventeen  
Been a soldier for a thousand years.

He's a Catholic, a Hindu, an atheist, a Jain  
A Buddhist and a Baptist and a Jew  
And he knows he shouldn't kill  
And he knows he always will  
Killing, my friend, for me and you.

And he's fighting for Canada, he's fighting for France  
And he's fighting for the USA  
And he's fighting for the Russians, he's fighting for Japan  
And he thinks he'll put an end to war this way.

And he's fighting for democracy, he's fighting for the reds  
He says it's for the peace of all  
He's the one who must decide who's to live and who's to die  
And he never sees the writing on the wall.

But without him how could Hitler have condemned him at Levalle  
Without him Caesar would have stood alone  
He's the one who gives his body as a weapon of the war  
And without him all this killing can't go on.

He's the universal soldier and he really is to blame  
His orders come from far away no more  
They come from here and there, you and me  
And brothers, can't you see  
This is not the way to put an end to war.

Figure 97.

Greenham Common Women's Peace Camp Songbook: pages 6 and 7 of typed and photocopied booklet of lyrics for singing at mass protests around the airbase.



15. BUILDING BRIDGES

ROUND

Building bridges between our divisions  
I reach out for you, won't you reach out to me  
With all of our voices and all of our visions  
Sisters, we can make such a sweet harmony . . .

16. MASTERS OF WAR

Come you masters of war, you that build all the guns  
You that build the death planes, you that build the big bombs  
You that hide behind fences, you that hide behind desks  
I just want you to know I can see through your masks.

You that never done nothin' but build to destroy  
You play with my world, like it's your little toy  
You put a gun in my hand, and you hide from my eyes  
And you turn and run farther when the fast bullets fly.

Like Judas of old, you lie and deceive  
A world war can be won, you want me to believe  
But I see through your eyes and I see through your brain  
Like I see through the water that runs down my drain.

You fasten the triggers for the others to fire  
Then you sit back and watch while the death count gets higher  
You hide in your mansion as young people's blood  
Flows out of their bodies and is buried in the mud.

You've thrown the worst fear that can ever be hurled  
Fear to bring children into the world  
For threatenin' my baby, unborn and unnamed  
You ain't worth the blood that runs in your veins.

How much do I know, to talk out of turn  
You might say that I'm young, you might say I'm unlearned  
But there's one thing I know, though I'm younger than you  
Even Jesus would never forgive what you do.

Let me ask you one question, is your money that good  
Will it buy you forgiveness - do you think that it could  
I think you will find, when your death takes its toll  
All the money you made will never buy back your soul.



PLEASE KEEP THESE SONGS ALIVE-MAKE A COPY FOR A FRIEND  
PRODUCED BY THE GREENHAM UMBRELLA  
41 B MEDORA ROAD SW2 01-671-5888

17. WE ARE THE GENTLE ANGRY WOMEN

We are the gentle angry women  
And we are singing, singing for our lives  
We are the gentle angry women  
And we are singing, singing for our lives.

We are the dreamers of the future  
And we are dreaming, dreaming for our lives (TWICE)

We are the weavers of new patterns  
And we are weaving, weaving for our lives (TWICE)

We are the ones who care for children  
And we are caring, caring for their lives (TWICE)

We are creators of new visions  
And we're creating, creating for our lives (TWICE)

We are the few who speak for many  
And we are speaking, speaking for our lives  
We are the few who speak for many  
And if you listen we will save your lives.

18. SARAH'S SONG

They can forbid nearly everything  
They cannot forbid me to sing  
They can't forbid my tears to flow  
And they can't shut my mouth when I sing.

They can forbid nearly everything  
They cannot forbid me to sing  
And they can't forbid the flowers to grow  
No they can't shut my mouth when I sing.

They can forbid nearly everything  
They cannot forbid me to think  
And they cannot forbid the sun to shine  
And they can't shut my mouth when I sing.

19. BY THE WATERS OF BABYLON (ROUND)

By the waters, the waters of Babylon  
We lay down and wept, and wept, for thee Zion.  
We remember, we remember, we remember thee Zion.

Figure 98.

Greenham Common Women's Peace Camp Songbook: pages 8 and 9 of typed and photocopied booklet of lyrics for singing at mass protests around the airbase.



STATEMENT OF ELIZABETH MURRAY

After Delma Hughes was arrested I was left with a group of women from Corsham .  
the door was kept open.

None of us had any bolt cutters. To start with I climbed up the fence trying to undo the bolts with my hands. It was completely impossible. The police officers pulled me down off the fence several times. I had earlier been pushed from inside the fence. This was when Delma was on my shoulder trying to cut the bolts.

Having given up on trying to untie the bolts we tried to pull the fence where it had already been cut. At several points there were soldiers watching us. We were wasting our time. When we were climbing up the fence the soldiers on the other side of the fence pushed us from inside. When Delma was on my shoulder a bloke tried to push her off by punching the fence. We decided to undo the lattice work of the fence around the posts at one point MOD person in uniform who had an alsatian dog used the chain of the dogs lead to bash my fingers with. Women started shouting at him. I think they have a photograph of this.

When we were trying to undo the repairs to holes in the fence a police officer, who was fat, stood between the holes trying to stop us to. Two Police officers were pulling us away at various times. Suddenly someone dragged me backwards towards the police van. At the police station there was some confusion as to who arrested me. Eventually I was taken on by a PC Day. It was the fat police officer who arrested Rowen.

We sat in the police van in the compound for a couple of hours. They took our possessions and tried to take our names, addresses and date of birth. I just gave my name and the Womens Peace Camp as my address.

Figure 99.

Page one of statement by Elizabeth Murray following arrest for perimeter fence cutting at Greenham Common airbase made to Jane Deighton at solicitors Seifert Sedley.



After it was dark, it had been dark for quite a while, we had been put in the police cells. There was 12 of us in our cells. One was women was asmatic so the door was kept open.

After a bit I was taken out by PC Day to make a description of me. He wanted my date of birth I said I wanted to see a solicitor before giving it. He said I had to give my date of birth as it was a Criminal Damage Charge. He didn't ask anything about the incident.

The police started writing reports in the corridors.

Later on that day a CID man read a charge to me. I was cautioned. I said nothing.

Since Saturday I have had pains in my adbomen and back I think these were caused by being pulled off by the fence.

Figure 100.

Page two of statement by Elizabeth Murray following arrest for perimeter fence cutting at Greenham Common airbase made to Jane Deighton at solicitors Seifert Sedley.



# Womyns Peace Camp Green and Common

## April news.....



### One Moonlit Night....

On the night of 9th April, 19 Womyn went country-dancing in the base. Although we were cramped by the barbed-wire, we danced several rounds of Strip-The-Willow - some of us got carried away dancing down the middle and couldn't stop, and ended up at the generator gap - or even through it! One of the Scottish Guards offered to call a reel for us as our repertoire was very limited. Altogether, a very enjoyable night out - definitely to be repeated.

- NAOMI

**Staying Common** On Sunday afternoon (8th April) about 30 ♀, aided and abetted by lots more, reclaimed the M.O.T. land (the subject of a very controversial and expensive road narrowing scheme). A bender was built, a fire lit and a cup of tea had.... and charges were dropped. Lots of damage was done to the fence and two ♀ were charged with criminal damage. - Ruth.

### Womyn's Camp at U.S. Brawdy 25-28 May

U.S. Brawdy is the largest nuclear trading station in Europe. It's in a very beautiful part of South Wales - and is trying to remain as secret as possible. Most of it is hidden underground, no British personnel are allowed in - let alone the wommin and children of Wales. Last Summer there was a peace camp there which shocked them out of their complacency. Now... SIX invasions and THREE new fences later... all wommin are invited to come to Brawdy to publicise, expose and overwhelm them totally!!

Bank holiday by the Sea-side...including.... Fancy Dress Party on Sunday May 27th

Help to Make

"Nuclear Free Wales"  
Nuclear Free!

Further details tel:  
057045/487 OR 0646/685186

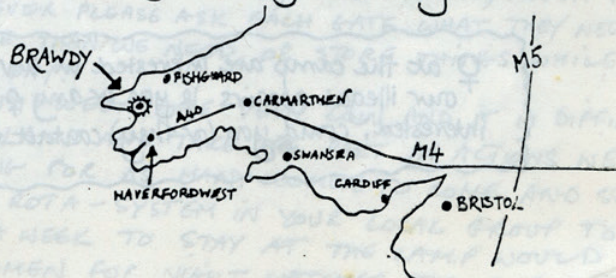


Figure 101.

Greenham Peace Camp Green and Common April Newsletter, front page of handwritten and photocopied chain letter.



PRESS FOR FEBRUARY 29th

We imagine that as with May 24th last year which also had different local actions, it will be difficult to get national press. We will certainly try, and it would help if groups told the regional Greenham contacts what they are doing. We should be able to do well with local press. If each group could tell their local press what they are going to do, as well as the regional contact, we should be able to give a double nudge to the media.

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Figure 102.

Typed and photocopied A6 chain letter press for 29 February 1983 demonstration at Greenham Common airbase.



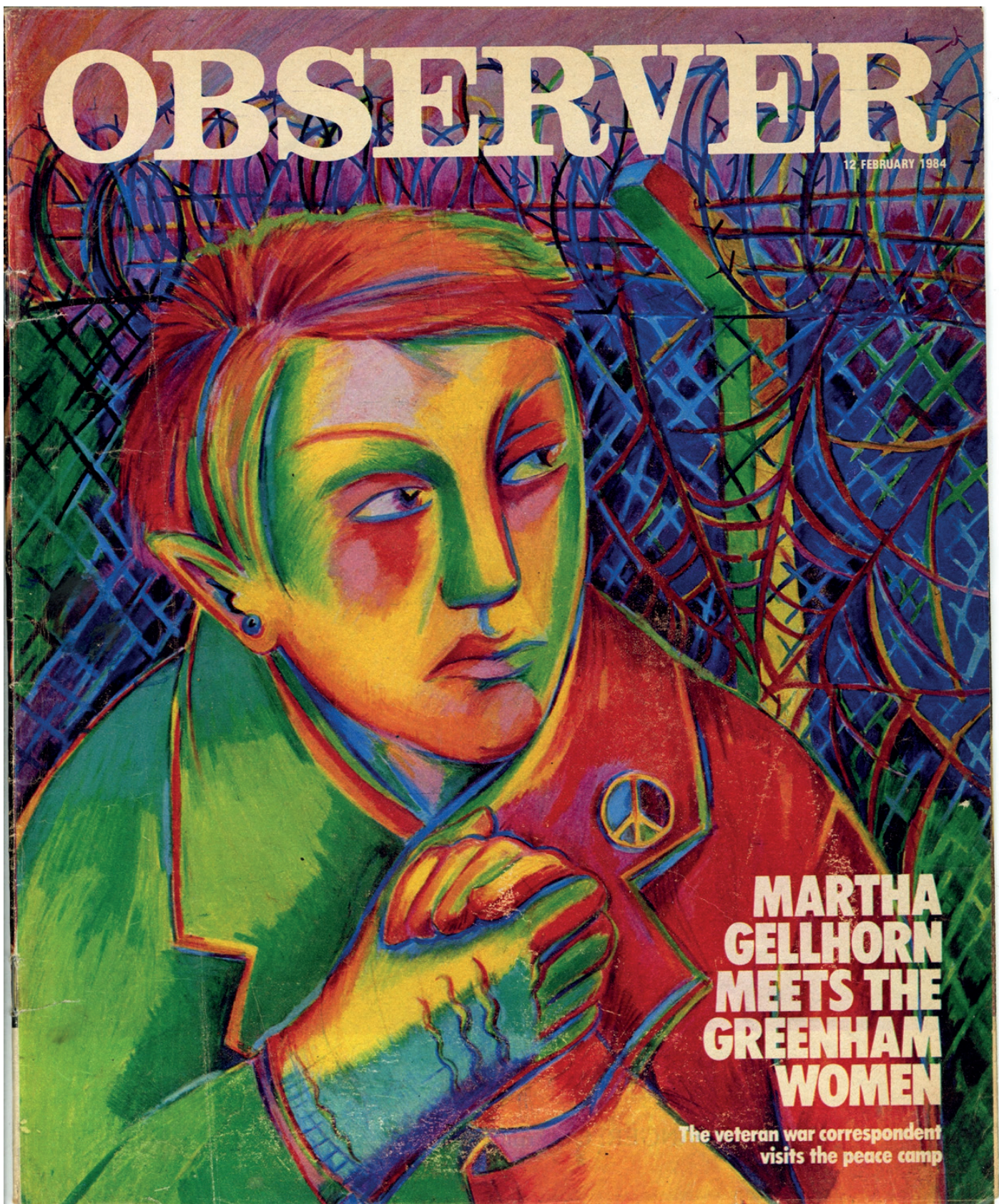


Figure 103.

*The Observer Magazine*, 12 February 1984: feature by reporter Martha Gellhorn on meeting the Greenham Women.





# FRONTIER SPIRIT

American author Martha Gellhorn, who has been a war correspondent since the Spanish Civil War, was so struck by the courage of the Greenham women that she visited their camp several times to write this report. Photographs, Paula Allen

Nine miles of fence surround the American base and the cruise missiles at Greenham Common. The steel mesh outer fence is 10ft high with out-and-down sloping steel bars draped in barbed wire. A continuous roll of barbed wire, 2½ in diameter, lies just behind. A patrol path separates the outer from the inner fence, also steel mesh, about 5ft high, topped by more barbed wire. Small wooden guard towers stand empty on this clear cold day. That fence has a very strong personality. It reminds me of Nazi concentration camps. The fenced-in land is bare, the dispersed buildings bleak, ugly, prison type. It is a dark place, alien in the countryside. The people who live and work on the base, and the missiles, are further protected by police, soldiers, dogs. They have all the power but seem helplessly trapped. They are under siege by a small group of women who have no power at all except an idea.

At four gates outside the fence, the women of Greenham Common camp in conditions of such startling hardship as would cause mutiny in a peacetime army. These camps also have very strong personalities but they remind me of nothing because they are new in the world, unique, and amazing.

Over two years ago, 60 British women met at Cardiff and walked 1-

At Greenham's perimeter fence police and troops have all the power but seem trapped. Right: Martha Gellhorn, on the left, with a camp veteran



Figure 104.

The Observer Magazine, 12 February 1984: feature by reporter Martha Gellhorn on meeting the Greenham Women.



Common. They had no sense of outrage, rapists poison life and the children could not grow up peacefully, with the fear of massacre. Now new weaponry weapons were to be in their homeland, increasingly intolerable danger. It was time for people to say NO. Then they stay where they had to camps have grown and empty since that day. Any remain, go, return, and be No questions are asked. hierarchy, no structure, no distinction by race, sex, money, age, class or These unpretentious in their beat-up warm become a world-wide model for countless people who also say NO.

The women's headquarters is outside the main gate a campfire circled by junkyard bits, ancient damp sofa, big collapsing chair, old straight chairs, and a makeshift canvas roof over the food supply in and are taken on a tour along a path by the that? It's new, it's razor press even in barbed wire. all of the new wire lies second fence; instead of ioned rusty barbs, silvery it maybe an inch long by wide. These slash like that of gouging like barbs, worried about it: we didn't spring back as you when doesn't, it springs out our guide is the oldest re, in years and length of a tall strong grandmother, down, with a wind-ance, her hair pulled back : band.

inted police ride along the e step off into the bushes. e says good morning and is pleasantly We were terribly afraid of but we aren't any more. ely. If you stand right up r heads they won't do Now we see three inside the fence, huddled thouse. Again our guide easantly but is not They're Ministry of De ce; they're always like e men look curiously by cold, boredom, sullen-Americans are forbidden contact with us. 'What? it allowed to look at us; see us. They drive in from e buses, in their buses, right ahead. But the local very nice and friendly. It's bring in the police support

groups; the Thames Valley ones are very rough. They don't care what they do.'

Back at the fire, the only heat in the camps and the only means of cooking, we find eight women at lunchtime, some casually making sandwiches. They cook one hot meal at night. Who does? 'Anyone who wants to.' I ask what they all were before coming here. A sociologist, a worker in a hostel, a teacher, a forester from Scotland, a psycho-therapist from America, a young German kindergarten teacher, a housewife, aged 50-plus, who announced that she was going home for a while next week as it was her son's 17th birthday. Next to me, a pretty brown-haired girl, a researcher by profession, spent seven weeks last summer at seminars and meetings in Japan as a rep from Greenham Common to the Japanese women's peace movement.

The brown-haired researcher was saying, 'It's no good blaming Reagan and Andropov and Thatcher. We all have to take responsibility.' Yes indeed, nuclear weapons are too important to leave to politicians. What have they done, in 39 years, except waste the nation's wealth on more and more of the abominable things, an insane overkill? As you get older, I find, politicians seem increasingly tiresome. There they are, on both sides of the Iron Curtain, solemnly mouthing identical prophecies: without these nuclear weapons, the Communists, the Capitalists, as the case may be, will invade our countries. They never explain why either side should wish or need to invade the other.

I want to talk about suffragettes because I am haunted to remember that I never thanked my beautiful mother, a suffragette, but took for granted what those women struggled to provide me: a legal identity, the freedom to choose how I live. Suffragettes were reviled, mocked, maltreated yet, without them, all of us women would still be tyrannised by Mrs Thatcher's beloved Victorian values and Mrs Thatcher would not be in 10 Downing Street, decrying peace women. How proud the suffragettes would be of their descendants in these hardship camps. How impressed Gandhi would be by this non-violent, determined protest. The women attack a fence, much as Gandhi attacked salt.

The women have learnt from Gandhi and thought about the suffragettes. 'Why do you think we wear their colours?' asks the researcher, showing me a Greenham badge with streams of purple, green and white ribbon. I didn't even know the suffragettes had colours. 'But we are going further.'

Now a very small girl in a poodle coat, cheap imitation astrakhan,



Above: on Remembrance Sunday last year, the women at Greenham commemorated the death of Karen Silkwood, a worker at a US plutonium recycling plant who died in mysterious circumstances while conducting a union investigation into plant safety. Her death has never been satisfactorily explained, and she has been adopted as a symbol by the Greenham women. Left: the first snows in December increased the hardships in the camp. Right: a group of 'benders', built by bending twigs into an igloo shape and covering them with a plastic sheet



arrives with a wonderful baby. The baby was born here, aided by 'a radical midwife'. They all love the baby, who is healthy and contented in his unusual extended family. Thinking of the girl mother, I ask about injuries. She says she stays out of actions. But five women have had legs and arms broken, one woman was badly kicked in the stomach, another girl had fingers broken by a deliberate boot, another's hand smashed by a truncheon at the fence, an ear torn, a scalp cut; all know what it feels like to have arms twisted up behind the back, to be >

Figure 105.

The Observer Magazine, 12 February 1984: feature by reporter Martha Gellhorn on meeting the Greenham Women..



'the violence of war equals the violence of rape'. They also realised the futility of binding themselves to dogmatic party political debate and intrigue, and sought to break through these to reach all women to 'pose and impose the question of the quality of life'...our right to good health and medical care, housing and dignified working conditions' and to reject war as a solution to conflicts: 'War is neither natural nor unavoidable'.

Links with Greenham Common were established when two Greenham women visited Sicily and showed slides of their peace camp and women's actions. On 12th December the Catania women joined with women of Comiso to form a circle in front of Magliocco base. Later that day they moved to the main square of Comiso, the Piazza Ponte Diana, to reclaim for the first time a space traditionally dominated by men - a piazza named for the Goddess Diana, protectress of animals, plants and water springs ... of life ... but hitherto the preserve of men (it is lined with bars and banks, concrete symbols of materialism and male control).

Since this first action growing numbers of women have become involved. On 4th January women wove a web across the main gates of Magliocco, effectively blockading the base for four hours. This led to a powerful week of actions over the period of International Women's Day on 8th March, when over 600 women from Italy, Europe and the USA gathered together to protest against male violence in all its forms, from the rape of women to the rape of the planet. But the strength of women together was too much of a threat. Police violence towards women escalated - two women had their arms broken during blockades while offering no resistance apart from the dead weight of their bodies. At no time was violence, verbal or physical, used by any woman.

The week's actions culminated in a blockade, and the arrest of 12 women. These women were imprisoned for six days, and those of 'foreign' nationality deported on the personal order of the Minister of Interior, Rogmond. They are now awaiting their recall for a trial, charged with 'blocking the road' (a charge which carries the penalty of 2-12 years imprisonment) and trespass, but are forbidden access into the country to consult with their lawyers. They are also pressing for a revocation of the expulsion order which was unjustly and unconstitutionally applied: 'lack of money' was the reason given although the women did have sufficient money but were forbidden access to it, and in fact were not informed that this was the excuse used for their expulsion.

The response to this week of action has since been very strong in Italy. On 9th April 2,000 people took part in a successful blockade of Magliocco base. Again, on 24th May International Women's Day for Disarmament, women effectively blockaded the base. While 15 women prevented traffic from entering the main gate; 9 women walked in through the rear gate with a huge multi-coloured flag, flowers and a women's symbol woven from the barley that is growing on our land, to symbolically re-claim this land, inside the fence, from the powers of destruction.

**THE INTERNATIONAL WOMENS PEACE CAMP - LA RAGNETELA**

The Women's Peace Camp was born out of the gathering of women from all over Europe and America who came for 8th March. Even before the 12 women were arrested during the blockade we felt the overwhelming need to continue a non-nationalistic and non-party political women's initiative on a permanent basis - to establish a space where women can work collectively in non-competitive, honest, practical, emotional, and magical ways, and learn how to face our feelings of weakness and anger and to move beyond them into non-violent direct action. We have formed an Association to buy land and secured a piece of land with a small house where women have been living since the middle of April 1983. The camp and the Association are named La Ragnatela - Spiderweb. When the corn is harvested in mid-June there will be lots of room for women to camp. Women from the camp are already working with local women to overcome language and cultural barriers. We see very close links between the macho mentality, oppression and violence towards women, on an everyday level, and the threatening nature of super-power imperialism, militarism and nuclear weapons.

**HELP US BUY OUR LAND.**

We still need £5,000 to pay off the land and we are asking you to support us either by coming to join us at the camp, for as long as you can, or by helping with the purchase by subscribing £2.50 for a square metre of land. Each woman gets a receipt and becomes a joint owner. There is a strong possibility that our land may be expropriated when the base is extended. It will be more difficult for the government to deal with 4200 owners than just a few. For this we are asking for contributions from women and all womens groups in order to make an independant stand. But we do welcome support from men in the form of practical and financial aid, for the day-to-day running of the camp, administration and publicity.

If you wish to send a donation or subscription for a square metre of land, please send English cheques to Sarah Booker  
22 Mile End Place  
London EC3

Cheques should be made out to 'Donne per la Pace - Sarah Booker'

International Money Orders can be sent to 'Raffaella Iurato, Conto: 81/8992/P'  
Banca Agricola Popolare di Ragusa  
Comiso (RG)  
Sicilia

Money Orders should be made out to 'Raffaella Iurato, Conto: 81/8992/P'

Our postal address is: La Ragnatela  
Perma Poste  
Comiso (RG)  
Sicilia.

✶ AIRPORT	☐ DEPOT	☉ ARTILLERY RANGE
✶ NUCLEAR WAREHOUSE	☐ DOLBYARD	☉ HELIPORT
☐ HEADQUARTERS USA-US NAVY	☐ BRACKENBURY STATION	☉ INFANTRY
		☉ ITALIAN MILITARY H.Q.



Figure 106.

Typed and photocopied chain letter (Nd) from La Ragnatela Donne Per La Pace Sicilia (International Women's Peace Camp in Comiso) calling for help to purchase the land that the camp occupied beside the US airbase at Comiso, Sicily. Women were asked to subscribe £2.50 for a square metre of land.



Tents ablaze as the bailiffs move in

# PEACE CAMP



ON THE WAY OUT: bailiffs dismantling a women's peace camp at Greenham.

# CLEARED OUT

**MORE THAN 300 police took part today in a massive operation to clear away the women's peace camp outside the main gates of the Greenham Common Cruise missiles base.**

For a time the women stood and watched as bailiffs tore down their plastic-sheeted tents and shelters.

Then some of the women moved in and burned at least five tents sending 15ft flames shooting into the air and covering the site with choking smoke.

The anti-nuclear campaigners, who set up their "home" outside the gates in September, 1981, jeered and heckled the police and bailiffs—and there were 15 arrests.

Some women were dragged away after refusing to move and one protestor, 29-year-old Rebecca

### Standard Reporters

Johnson, lay prostrate inside her tent, wailing peace songs, as the bailiffs ripped it down around her.

The women had been waiting for the eviction since Monday morning, when a deadline was set for them to be off the land so that contractors could move in to begin a £150,000 road widening scheme.

Most of the 50 women living at the camp were still asleep when a convoy of more than 10 police vans swept along the A339 Newbury-Basingstoke road at 6 a.m.

Police motorcyclists closed a two-mile stretch of the road past the base and set up diversions. A radio broadcast said the road was closed because of an overturned lorry.

The police, including members of Thames Valley's specially-trained support group, formed a cordon around the camp to prevent reinforcements reaching the women, most of whom were still asleep.

The Head Bailiff, Reading estate agent Richard

Vanderpump gave the women five minutes to move out voluntarily.

They ignored the request, so a team of 24 bailiffs went into action, ripping down 18 tents dotted around the site.

Exploding gas cylinders and bottles inside the tents added to the confusion and women screamed abuse at the bailiffs as their possessions were piled by the roadside.

Some of the protesters sang: "We are the women who have learned to be free".

Today's operation was completed in 50 minutes. It was 6.30 a.m. when the police and bailiffs moved in. Eviction began 15 minutes later and by 7.20 the camp had been cleared.

In the past few weeks, smaller camps around the base have been cleared by bailiffs but few women packed up and went home.

Women at the main gate camp said they would take to the woods if they were evicted.

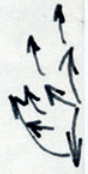
● Cruise missile's perfect flight—Page Eight.

Figure 107.

*The Standard*, 4 April 1984: Front-page coverage of mass eviction by 300 police and bailiffs to clear the women's peace camps at Greenham Common.



## STATEMENT.



WE ARE WOMEN WHO HAVE COME TO GREENHAM FROM ALL OVER THE WORLD FOR ONE PURPOSE ; TO ACT OUT OUR ANGER BORNE OF LOVE FOR LIFE ON EARTH, IN A SPIRIT OF NON-VIOLENCE.

THE MILITARY SAY THAT THIS FENCE IS A WALL TO PROTECT "PEACE", "FREEDOM" AND "JUSTICE". THEY ARE WRONG.

WE ARE TAKING UP TOOLS TO CUT DOWN THIS CHAIN-MAIL FENCE OF FEAR AND DESTRUCTION, AND TO REPLACE IT INSTEAD WITH A THREAD OF HOPE AND TRUST.

PEACE CANNOT BE ESTABLISHED BY SILENCING THOSE WHO CALL FOR IT, NOR FREEDOM BY TARGETTING MISSILES ON THOSE WHO ARE OPPRESSED. JUSTICE IS NOT OBTAINED BY DEPRIVING PEOPLE OF LAND, LIVLIHOOD AND HEALTH.

THE GOVERNMENT ASKS US TO TAKE DOWN THE BERLIN WALL. THIS FENCE IS OUR BERLIN WALL. WE CAN ONLY BEGIN TO TACKLE THE CONCRETE AND BARBED WIRE THAT DIVIDES OUR WORLD, WHEN WE START WITH THAT ON OUR OWN DOORSTEP AND IN OURSELVES.

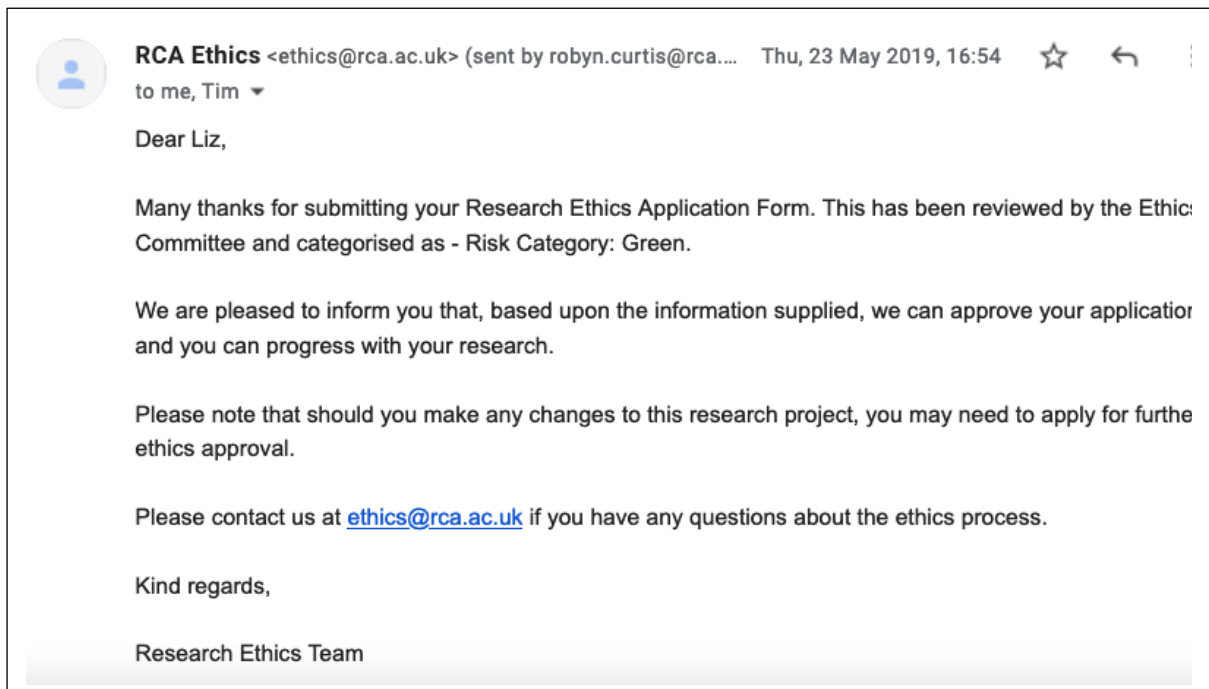
WE ARE TAKING DOWN THE FENCE TO EXPOSE THIS HYPOCRISY, RECLAIM THE COMMON LAND, AND RECLAIM OUR LIVES.

GREENHAM COMMON . 29<sup>th</sup> OCT. 1983

Figure 108.

Statement from GCWPC dated 29 October 1983, outlining aim to take down perimeter fence to reclaim the common land.

## APPENDIX 2: Research Ethics Approval





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