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WOMAN IS NATURE IS WOMAN:

Media Exploitation of the Greenham Metaphor

by

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'OUR DREAMS'

'What lies under our Stillness.'

This above all, we have never denied our dreams. They would have had us perish. But we do not deny our voices. We are disorderly. We have often disturbed the peace. Indeed, we study chaos - it points to the future. The oldest and wisest among us can read disorder. From dreams, or the utterances of madness, the chance cracks of a tortoise shell, the fortunate shapes of leaves of tea, the fateful arrangements of cards, we can tell things. And some of us can heal. We can read bodies with our hands, read the earth, find water, trace gravity's path. We know what grows and how to balance one thing against another.

Many of us who practised these arts were put on trial. We stood at the gates of change, but those who judged us were afraid. They claimed the right to order the future. They would have had all of us perish, and most of us did. But some kept on. Because this is the power of such things as we know. And even if over our bodies they have transformed this earth, we say, the truth is, to this day, women still dream.

Griffin, 1980, p.175)

Preface: 'In the Beginning...'

I, me, this woman, encased in soft armchair, food-full, with thoughts lazy. Numbed vision of boxed woman in a square, word-mouthing today-tales of woe, horror, despair. Guns dull-thudding, bullets thundering flesh, torn souls crushed bodies. Yestermorrow. Always. Mouthed over, remote - a sudden dull sorrow.

Then, borne gentle, sweet, pure, come strong voices, strong faces. A sound on the air. Momentary; fragment of whispered memory longing, sweet-stirring. Striped sweaters. Mum knitted me. Woolly-caring, tears soothing. Now helmets in rows wall round. Confinement. Mismatch. But we have felt - we see, we weave threads. Seeds are sown.

That is to say, my impressions of the concept called 'Greenham' grew as a series of imaged gestalts which moved me, which I stored in memory, wrapped like pippins in tissue sheets. Later, searching for 'dissertation topics' remained fruitless until I reclaimed these wells of resource. These images of strong, courageous women were powerfully absorbing - images of women living that part of me least expressed, most secret, still potential. Long-term concern about the knowledges our culture has created to structure definitions of the category 'woman' and the frequent mismatch I had felt myself between such public knowledge and private identities more hidden, found fertile soil for development when focussed upon those 'Greenham images'.

My memoried women demanded new terms, new definitions, a more positive space for 'woman' to inhabit, but my understanding was too partial, incoherent. My images, those women's visions, needed understanding, exploration, a mind prepared to learn and listen.

Critical responses to the complex value-systems which 'Greenham' represents clearly matter. Media representations mediate the consciousness of those women to the world, but they must be seen as reactions, as posited in relationship to the identity the women develop for themselves and their means of expressing their protest which seek to be appropriate external manifestations of internal directives. To understand a reaction, first explore its reference point. The way in which mainstream media present concepts and events to their audience demonstrates the process by which dominant cultural value-systems try to 'make sense' of the unfamiliar, the challenging. It is this process and its necessary relation to the women's own process of 'making sense' that I have tried to explore. Constuction of self-identities, conceptualisation of the world, revolves around the use of metaphor; understanding experiences that are complex, or are evasive or incoherent in terms of the 'already-known'. I have sought to explore the metaphorical structuring at work as women who have identified with and lived identities matured at Greenham

Common redefine 'woman'. This necessarily involves realisation and exploration of tensions evident within this redefinition and pitfalls it affords as exploitable ground for those who find such meanings inappropriate to their own.

This study cannot claim to concern itself with all issues relating to the women's protest; I have elaborated those elements which seem to have most import, both in terms of personal responses of my own, and in terms of what the women involved directly seem to stress as most central to their situation. I have not dealt directly, for example, with the womens's highly eloquent arguments countering statements of the need for nuclear 'deterrents': these are available within any of the texts produced by them, but also, in taking emphasis here away from this level of 'argument', I am simply accepting the agenda the women at Greenham have themselves set:

> Peace isn't just about removing a few pieces of war furniture, or bringing about an international cease-fire; it is about the condition of our lives. Peace is the absence of greed and domination by a few over all the rest of us.
>
> (Harford and Hopkins, 1984, p.3)

The women's peace camp has developed of necessity from a simple campaign for disarmament into a complex critique. Hence, it is a rejection of a culture whose dominant ideologies facilitate creation and acceptance of perpetual forms of violence and oppression which have their ultimate expression in hoarded weapons whose terrifying potential as instruments of misery transcends all our worst nightmares.

'Greenham Common' becomes such a striking refusal to go on passively accepting a value system which degrades and threatens our lives, because, as a collective identity, it offers a lived alternative, a set of beliefs with new priorities, which value responses and human capacities that our dominant culture 'common-sensically' trivializes and debases. Women who inhabit this identity offer more constructive visions of human interaction:

> As well as showing what we are against, we must show what we are for. Life-affirming actions are important...
>
> (Harford and Hopkins, 1984, p.27)

Emphasis must fall upon transforming fundamental ideologies and practices as they operate at present - the nuclear mentality will not be transcended until this is achieved. Cruise missiles will remain whilst the tenents of a patriarchal society based upon praise of 'power over others' remain.

So I turn like a child, to inhabit another space, finding something essential in the stories women have to tell. I share pages from a diary, an account of actions unafraid of emotions.

Women write of fear, sorrow rising as a sob from somewhere inside; happiness, love, confusion, intensity-of-emotions-often hard-to-define-concretely... and I see identities forming. Stories we tell ourselves create, re-create our realities. 'Greenham Common' is not something fixed, but is fluid, volatile. Women ebb and flow as do emphases correspondingly. To claim to know all meanings is arrogance. To speak plainly, I can only claim to have attempted an understanding of what seems to me to be the most potent motivating definitions which draw together each individual woman into a wider collective consciousness.

I seek to explore a thread of 'meaning' which seems to me to inform in a very complex, evasive and yet persistent way, other aspects of the protest which plead for understanding. Thus, I have used media coverage for its illustrative capacity, as a concrete instance of my central commitment. I would hope my thoughts might complement, perhaps colour differently, subsequent analyses. Although, in the end, no final word can be spoken, certainly the more numerous, diverse the contributing components of the collective understanding, the less narrow the vision.

I 'We Open Our Mouths. We Try To Remember. We Speak' (Identities Form).

How to 'begin' a study of this kind, concerned as it has become with identities which remain fluid, which at some level refuse to be bound, represents a challenge to powers of logic and reason. Linear rationality cannot be avoided if communication is to be facilitated, so I find I have ordered, have made separate aspects of personal ('private') and public identities, which in the lived experience must surely be fused, holistic. However, this rationalizing process, the attempt to find coherence in terms of thought and response remains true to our everyday experience of identity construction. We continually 'tell stories', make 'narratives', are continually engaged in structuring the incoherence. It is valuable to emphasise that the process I am undertaking in writing to communicate perceived 'knowledge' in this sense echoes or retraces that process undergone, perhaps to an acute degree, by those (in this case, women at 'Greenham') actively and consciously defining a sense of self appropriate at the individual level and communicative at the public and collective level.

It is fair to say that 'Greenham' as a concept or collective identity which yet does not disallow the diversity of the individual whilst it collectivises, can be understood as consistent in two overall 'kinds' of response. Firstly, it represents an identity which arises in reaction to the existent, dominant culture at both its ideological and its more material levels. These women have refused to give any longer consensus support to the maintenance of dominant ideologies which naturalise, and so conceal, the deep contradictions experienced as we make and inhabit prescribed roles. They shout out that our role as carers, as protectors, as mothers of children not asking to be born, jars when then asked to sacrifice life, all that we hold dear, to the 'logic' we cannot understand, of nationalistic competition, technological prestige, a dehumanising demand that we accept the 'inevitble', a synthesised human violence. Women are saying they have had enough. They will not accept, will not be silenced. They have a serious grievance. They demand that the world listens as it has not done before.

So we advocate 'non-violence'. Means must be consistent with ends. The 'Greenham' understanding of this form of protest necessarily requires a redefinition of the larger concept 'peace'. 'Peace' cannot be understood, as we are accustomed to understand it, to mean simply the absence of war; it does not even mean simply the absence of violence of a physical nature. Violence consists also in the continual psychological demage done where a society is structured as a series of inequalities. Oppression of one group by another is violence: it is psychological as well as physical. 'Greenham' produces an essential gendering of the argument;

> Any commitment to non-violence which is real, which is authentic, must begin in the recognition of the forms and degrees of violence perpetrated against women by the gender class 'men'.
> (Feminism and Non-Violence Study Group,1983, p.35).

Our culture depends upon definitions of 'power' as 'power over', never 'power' as strength, a collective resource. To inhabit masculine identities or roles presently on offer is to accept the validity and desirability of aggression, competition and distancing of the self from emotional involvement. Assumptions that these qualities are both necessary and valuable are reasonable in a patriarchal culture which consistently awards them positive status: 'Everything that's valued in our society at present is masculine. The heroics, virility, power. It's lunatic and destructive...' (Jones, 1983, p.83). 'Men especially are taught to relate to the world at a distance...are encouraged to become unfeeling...We are prepared for the advent of war by continual images of violence and suffering presented as "inevitable" in the "real" world.' (Feminism and Non-Violence Study Group, 1983, p.10).

> War is the culmination, the ultimate expression of an everyday 'logic' which facilitates a blindness to pain inflicted on others, and women's accounts frequently deploy sexual violation as a potent metaphor to conceptualize the damage done through naturalisation of this logic. We must'...protest against male violence in all its forms, from the rape of individual women, to the rape of our planet.'
> (Harford and Hopkins, 1984, p.20).

If the determination to meet violence with 'a loving embrace' entails a redefinition of the concept 'peace', then it also reinforces the notion implicit from the beginning, that power may be strength, not domination, and, importantly, the women regard non-violent direct action as protest which renames the concept of passivity. To be female is, in the patriarchal context, to be passive, that is, to be 'done to', not doer. Yet this traditional definition and the knowledge of 'woman' it communicates, can be transformed, or in Barthes's terms the old meaning may be neutralized and a new one created. Non-violent action is always intervention, always forces those who face it to reappraise their situation, their actions, to confront directly the human cost of violent mistreatment.

Yet attempts to create new meanings, or, in this instance, to recognise the positivity potentially available within traditionally female-ascribed characteristics, are never unproblematical. Ghandi's tenet of non-violence - 'Success is the certain result of suffering of the extremist character voluntarily undergone.' - is inappropriate to the female situation. Women need to protest against something loosely

termed 'male violence', or, more accurately, oppression arising from an institutionalised patriachal culture, of which they are victims. To seek out suffering as a man by way of contrast from the normal situation, produces 'a kind of machismo' (Feminism and Non-Violence Study Group, 1983, p.36). To prize your position as victim and to be a woman can reinforce commonsense definitions of your role.

> We are committed to non-violence, but our aim is liberation. If being voluntary victims, if passive suffering, taking it like a woman could of itself liberate, millions of women would now be free.
> (Feminism and Non-Violence Study Group, 1983, p.28).

Only when 'passivity' is demonstrated to be active, positive, collective strength, can non-violence really facilitate a protest form which allows women to be visibly strong. Redefinition of one term becomes the foundation for successful transformation of knowledge derived from others:

> In order to change the world, we must first become visible, and that means standing up and standing together.
> (Feminism and Non-Violence Study Group, 1983, p.38)

We need new meanings for old terms. We need to demonstrate that to embrace 'feminine' characteristics can be a valuable response to the world.

Just as 'Greenham' women will refuse to use violence to meet violence, there is a refusal to live and protest via principles of organisation embodied in the institutions of our dominant culture which preserve the mentality of violence and domination of the many by the few. The military is clearly recognised to be 'a microcosm of our patriarchal culture', both in the sense that military training demands desensitisation to human pain, ultimate distancing euphemised as 'virility', and in terms of its reliance upon hierarchical structuring. The mass is taught to follow the few who make decisions affecting their lives both here and in the larger culture. The women at Greenham reject this notion: 'We won't have the kind of strategy that mirrors the military institutions we oppose proposing always a spontaneity which asks, allows all individual women to make decisions on their own behalves, to choose forms of protest, of expression, that they feel to be the most appropriate; it's both an organic and a political process; a response to whatever comes up, both in relation to what those in power do and to our needs as women.' (Harford and Hopkins, 1984, pp.25, 71, 43).

Importantly, this represents also a powerful recognition, and thence rejection, of a concept which can be seen in operation in all discourses surrounding the protest at Greenham Common. Our

society consists in innumerable barriers; barriers physical which materialise those erected at the psychological, ideological site. A fence around the miltiary base, barbed and razor-wired, separates those who control lives from those living them. Prison, 'hospital' walls confine those, like these women, who find 'our' laws partisan. Authority operates through systems of closure, denial of access and communication which might germinate into strength. Women have been, historically, isolated from other women either in the house, where they are physically separate, or culturally, in that race, class, and the man-made sexual category of 'prostitute' or 'mother', 'good girl' or 'bad girl' we fall into keep us apart. Nations are divided against each other, are separate territories, lands bounded, defined. Women are separated from their history. But 'Fences between women are being broken down.' (Harford and Hopkins, 1984, p.85). Each time the fence which cuts in two the Common, once common land, falls, symbolically other barriers fall too. Flower petals, babies clothes, imaged childhood innocences soften divisions as they cling to the concrete, the wire, once absolute, impenetrable. Now we see, '...women joining together by linking hands...containing the evil with positive healing energy ... weakening the fence as a barrier...' (Harford and Hopkins, 1984, p.89).

There is a strong need to devote time and energy to the conviction that women can build a culture founded on different values, can create something very positive from qualities our dominant culture debases.

And here we can begin to examine the ways in which the protest that 'Greenham' represents centres around the creation of a lived alternative to that which its inhabitants react against. This alternative they call a 'womanly culture', one which draws upon the vast reserve of patience, love and imagination, the capacity to protect, nurture, sympathise which women have learned culturally to regard as appropriate to their identities. The difference is that now these historically private directives are demanding validity on the public stage. It is the familiar insistance that 'the personal is political'. Acceptance of this regard for human emotional as well as physical calm, contentment, can defuse the aggression, competition and brutalization demanded of men, and essential to our dominant culture.

Women's strong emotional investment in their role as mothers, grandmothers, simply as lovers, begins an investment in the 'Greenham concept', those 'politics of whimsy' (Helen John, quoted in Observer, December 12, 1982). Elderly women, a burden, a source of mockery in the dominant 'reality' are here respected for their understanding of women's historical placement. They have lived through previous wars younger women can only imagine. One writes 'It was my war memories that kept me there ...' identifying with this opportunity to find a voice, to express previously silenced emotions of outrage. Mothers are motivated by visions of the threat to their children to come to Greenham

and to protest. A letter to the base commander reads 'Some of us have brought our babies with us this entire distance. We fear for the future of all our children.' 'BEATRICE (in the dock, with emotion) "I don't want to swear by the god, only by the life of my children."' (Harford and Hopkins, 1984, pp.22,16,51.

This concern for their children must be seen as representative of concern for humanity and for the future of our earth. Caroline Blackwood in her book On the Perimeter is accurate in her description of the women as 'symbolic candles representing the conscience of humanity'. Symbolism at Greenham is powerful, and it uses traditionally female representations to preach the need to repair the damage already done to the earth and to listen to values women have historically, culturally acquired. Women meticulously darn that sterile fence with primary wools, creating 'beautiful tapestries' (Blackwood, 1984, pp.112,228). And they weave webs; angry red webs darned by Sara, pink webs on a gorse bush.

Webs symbolise strength through collective identities; mutual effort, 'We are all interdependent ... all responsible for each other - how delicate the strands, how strong the web', but, being woven, they also embody determination, devotion to the cause of mending what is 'damaged and torn', holes made by aggression. 'The ancient spider goddess weaving tirelessly the web of life, again and again, as often as it is needed ... with homespun inner knowledge, we will weave again the strands of true existence ... will remove whatever lies of force and violence have got caught ...' (Harford and Hopkins, 1984, p.92).

The women are clearly making use of their sense of self as part of a continuum of women's tireless caring capacity which links present with past consciousness. Gathering wood for the fire, 'imagining women doing this together centuries ago'; 'Days last forever and merge with each other ... time stands still' (Harford and Hopkins, 1984, p.432).

Yet a tension hangs in the air. Paradox. A relationship to the past is fundamental to our sense of present self. As women, we have no history-book past; we float, nameless. We delineate qualities, emotions and call them timeless. And we achieve our 'past' - yet it intrudes upon, must restrict our future. How to seek change, progression, how to fulfil self-evident straining towards fluidity, spontaneity, flexibility when we feel ourselves eternal?

> ALL (linking arms, singing): You can't kill the spirit, she is like a mountain, old and strong, she goes on and on ... I have dreamed on this mountain since I was my mother's daughter and you just can't take my dreams away ... (Harford and Hopkins, 1984, pp.66-7).

And I feel uneasy because a 'womanly culture' quite clearly has a strong symbolic message to offer in opposition to values evinced

in our dominant culture in that it demands revaluation; it asks that social practice be based upon ideologies validating 'humane' responses and yet it is also accurate to argue that these humane, 'womanly' characteristics have been inextricably bound to women's oppression. Many women at Greenham are there because, in part, they are well fitted for self-abnegation, are used to caring for others as nurses or teachers or social workers, or to defining themselves through their role as mothers and lovers. 'Greenham' does represent a space in which women can find an identity for themselves, but it seems to be one focussed around qualities which 'placed' them in the female workforce with the inequalities that arise from this. There are no easy solutions to this - the longer term objective must be to secure for traditionally 'feminine' qualities positive status, which is what those women are attempting to do; but to understand the tensions that are detectable in almost all aspects of their protest, it is necessary to be aware that 'female qualities' have only as yet common-sensically operated in a fairly dynamic relationship with 'female inequalities'. The problem is posited thus: how to use actions and responses characterised negatively by those with power and advantage in our society to demand a revaluation of those qualities?

Caroline Blackwood may be making a similar point when she notices that the women survive the sadistic sexual abuse hurled at them by base soldiers each night because they are, culturally, 'conditioned to ignoring provocation'. Similarly, she observes of their darning, 'In symbol, they begged that they be spared from nuclear destruction so that they could still patch up the holes the men had made and continue to make the male foot rest more comfortably in his shoe,' (Blackwood, 1984, pp.17,28) highlighting the way in which, as I shall indicate in more detail elsewhere, symbols, like metaphor, can be partial and therefore open to interpretation.

If I have argued that 'Greenham' as a collective consciousness represents a symbolic caring for 'Life on Earth' (the name of the march which left for Greenham in 1981 and led to its creation) it is important that this involves a strong identification with the rights of all of the natural world. 'Nature' becomes a powerful living force which permeates all things and is threatened, as are human beings, by nuclear weaponry. The intensity of emotion experienced during protests is repeatedly associated in women's accounts with the beauty and potency of the countryside, partly because this is indicative for most of us of nostalgia for the innocence of childhood, but also because this beauty is indeed what the women are trying to save: 'The first warm day of the year. We stood on a quiet country road, Newbury Church just visible over the horizon. The hedges and trees just touched by a green mist, a lark singing, high and clear - peace ... women lay down head to toe ... we called in celebration to the trees and the Earth'. (Jones, 1983, p.89).

This investment in identification with the natural environment

runs deep; women see the life-force in all things. 'To tear a single blade of grass is violation', and stones and rocks, like the she-mountain 'are the oldest things. They have a lot of power.' Indeed the women themselves see it as intrinsic to their protest but more importantly to their self-creation of a new identity that they articulate and cultivate their sense of themselves as one with the natural world: 'I try to find harmony with the earth, my cycles with the cycles of the moon and planets' (Jones, 1983, p.96). A rainbow in the sky signifies a 'good omen', protests frequently coincide with the coming of the full moon, the Spring equinox was celebrated. Actions take place at dawn, midnight, mark the coming of the New Year. Renewal. 'In tune with the cycle of the season, we made plans to celebrate the full midsummer moon at the end of the month.' (Harford and Hopkins, 1983, p.153).

Why is this investment so very important to a protest ostensibly motivated by a complex critique of ideological and social practices which deny women freedom from oppression and inequalities? Couldn't it be argued that such emphases detract from more obviously 'relevant', overtly political elements of protest, such as the value of non-violence or eloquence of defence during trials? What processes appear to be operating as women invest in such identifications? At this point, it is sufficient to raise these issues. I hope to offer some answers through the central section of this study. But there are further statements to be made before the offer can be made.

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It seems fair to deduce from material covered thus far that 'Greenham Common' has become a battleground for a war that is raging, as it has raged before, between the forces of 'subjectivity' and those of its corollary 'objectivity'. The ground seems familiar. The common denominator in each rejection of ideologies, institutions, value systems represented by our dominant culture is the notion that they are reliant upon the 'male' notion that there is an objective, rational, absolute truth which must determine all thought and action. This reliance is at the centre of patriarchal culture, the tenet of a civilization, as Dale Spender might argue that has been 'man-made' and is now 'man-controlled'. In contrast to this, the 'Greenham' protest seems to represent the truly 'subjective'. The women's articulated conceptualisation of their standpoint corresponds clearly to Lakoff and Johnson's detailed analysis of the subjective, which states, 'our own senses and intuitions are our best guides for action ... feelings, aesthetic sensibilities, moral practices and spiritual awareness ... transcend rationality and objectivity ... We gain awareness through imagination rather than reason ... objectivity can be dangerous because it misses what is most important ... objectivity can be inhuman ...' (Lakoff and Johnson, 1979, p.188).

This seems to summarize fairly accurately the beliefs upon which

the 'Greenham' world-view is based.

The way in which our culture has established and maintains an absolute dichotomy between the two responses or 'myths' operates to the detriment of the women's position. The existence and acceptability of the dichotomy is itself testimony to the truth of the statement that 'In Western culture as a whole, objectivism is by far the greater potentate, claiming to rule ... the realms of science, law, government, journalism, morality, business, economics, scholarship ...'. Objectivism characteristically categorises, makes statements validating its own version of 'reality' and then calls them 'the truth'. Thus, if the Greenham protest is openly, explicitly, dismissive of objective forms (both of representation and action) and embraces defiantly emotional, symbolic forms instead, the voice of objectivism, a voice which endows itself with authority, cries accusations of 'subjective'. 'The idea that there is absolute, objective truth ... is not only mistaken, but socially and practically dangerous ...' (Lakoff and Johhson, 1979, p.159). If the voice of those in power calls itself objective, as it does, then that which openly deviates from it, especially when in conscious opposition to it, is unproblematically categorised as false, an untruth. 'Greenham' arguments deploring and demolishing arguments favouring cruise missiles are rendered invisible, invalid, (impotent?) in this way, despite their explicitly 'objective' logicality. The battle becomes a contest to validate conflicting 'realities', each opponent dismissive of that to which the other designates the status of 'reality'. The 'male' voice of science, law, knowledge, posited by Susan Griffin in dialgoue with the female, thus declares 'Colour is not real. Odor is not real. Dreams are not real. Pleasure and pain are not real. Not nightmares, nor chamber music ... sight, hearing, taste and touch are bastard understandings ...,' (Griffin, 1980, p.12).

I would want to argue that this culturally imposed dichotomy represents a fundamentally inaccurate conception of human experience, which need not consist in one realm or the other. Lakoff and Johnson have posited the 'Experientialist myth' in opposition to this division, arguing that both objectivism and subjectivism typically conceive of humanity as a separate from the environment. The former operates through an attempt to master that external sphere, its articulation being manifested in the dual metaphor 'knowledge is power and science provides control of nature'. The latter demonstrates a preoccupation with the internal world of individual consciousness which ultimately alienates us from others. By contrast, their 'Experientialist myth' centres around the belief that 'man' must be seen as a component part of the larger context of 'his' environment. Social truths are hence not those of one group made absolute, but derive from 'understanding which emerges from functioning in the world'. (Lakoff and Johnson, 1979, p.230). This essentially represents an assertion that the new myth demands that all groups acknowledge that their truths (versions of reality) are formulated through the same human capacities as those produced by

other groups (and individuals) although the two may be fundamentally antagonistic.

Following from this argument, I would define two major tensions existent within the women's position. Firstly, their protest represents an enactment in which the faculty of 'subjective' perception operates as motivating force for their 'objective', rational argument. The women are skilled in 'objective' discourse. In addition to this demonstration of the actual human fusion of modes of perception assumed, culturally, to be polemical, the women stress the importance of human connectedness to the larger living environment, not alienation from it. However, although it is possible to make this statement, the fact that it is the 'subjectivist' element of protest which has the immediate impact and novelty for the observer (critic), obscures the actual fusion of myths, and thus facilitates denial and negation of the women's central 'objective' discourse, as argued above.

A second tension remains for the women, since interaction between elements of subjectivism and of objectivism is inextricably linked to acceptance of these not as respectively female and male, but as <u>human</u> modes of perception. It is accurate to argue as women at Greenham do, that culturally, each 'myth' is gender-ascribed; that is, women are encouraged to be (but also subsequently are devalued for being) emotional or 'subjective', whereas objectivity signifies masculinity since its major strongholds correspond to our social structures which at the institutional level have a male population. Yet it is unfortunately true that for society in general, these cultural determinations are understood as 'natural' or biological. Although there are sound ideological justifications for exclusion of men from the 'common' proest, when coupled with the use of terms such as 'male objectivity', there is fodder produced with which critics of the political protest may fuel misunderstanding of it.

Feminists/pacifists are familiar with accusations that they adopt a separatist politics - Greenham is no exception. Even repeated attempts to argue that qualities favoured there are not biologically determined but culturally engendered and thus are potentially 'masculine' as well as 'feminine', may leave male sympathisers uncertain and resentful. If solutions are to be found to our present cultural sanctioning of the subjectivity/objectivity dichotomy with status residing in the latter half, we need to stress our similarities as human beings. There needs to be a space in which it is acknowledged that men, like women, do not simply adopt culturally predetermined identities but experience 'mismatch' between their fundamentally 'human' motivations and those roles demanded of them. Adherence to 'male objectivity' is eqally as oppressive for men in the individual realm of consciousness as it is for women in its external manifestations.

And again, notice how such 'logical' arguments as these are given succinct symbolic visibility at Greenham. Alongside the symbol of the woven web, the women value that of the 'snake', represen-

tative not only of circuity and constant psychological renewal, but also valued specifically for her full awareness - 'Our historical fascination with snakes comes from our secret desire to grasp full knowledge of the world which we cannot find in waking day consciousness alone ... the snake sees all'. (Harford and Hopkins, 1984, p.102). That is, the snake comes to symbolise the fusion of two culturally separate and unequally valued modes of understanding - the 'subjective' and the 'objective'. Full use of human understanding results only from fusion; both modes must be valued equally. Patriarchal thought is the wisdom of the Cyclops.

Thus, we stress the force of pictures which form in the mind and are motivated by dreams and nightmares which compel waking action. Pat saw a fawn in the woods - she 'imagined him with radiation burns' and found the pain unbearable. Women say they communicate without words, feeling instead 'an intuition or mysterious unspoken understanding'. (Harford and Hopkins, 1984, pp.7,92). Women can, will, listen to that predominantly suppressed, and argue that we all could benefit from doing the same.

II 'And we stand at the gates of change; but those who judge us are afraid' (Metaphor articulates tension.)

Having thus far been concerned with definition of what I understand to be major motivations behind 'Greenham's' protest, and with establishment of the wider issues at stake, this central component of the study will attempt to offer some more detailed analysis of the specific forms of identity-construction operative in this instance. As indicated already, the women's situation is both highly complex and somewhat unique, since alteration of lifestyle to the extent necessary for habitation on 'the Common' must involve acute reassessment of self. Because the protest does not simply concern Cruise missiles, but represents a demand for the acceptance of ideologies in antithesis to our dominant cultural values, individuals involved in this demand, must be engaged to an unusually heightened degree in simultaneously deconstructing former, now inadequate and restrictive, identifications and finding new ones corresponding more satisfactorily to the new situation. Women are not used to living, working with and caring for each other in the absence of men and male control. How have the women responded? What is the nature of the relationship between external representations available to those 'outside' the new cultural environment, and the more private consciousness of identity internalised by the women themselves?

Firstly, it is worth noting the importance of ritual within 'the camp'. Life revolves around brewing cups of tea, sitting huddled round the camp fire, collecting wood, darning, weaving webs: 'Making someone a cup of tea was the remedy; a cup of tea was the remedy for all ills ... The staple fare of the peace camps was tea and sympathy' (Blackwood, 1984, p.123). Such observations indicate perhaps an insistence upon the validity of traditionally 'feminine' forms of communication, assert that stability in this new environment, this new identity cannot operate independently of familiar roles and ritual. But this must be coexistent with validation of new manifestations of collectivity seeking new 'space' both psychological and physical.

The sense of the importance of ritual activity finds more explicit, heightened expression in such events as, for example, 'Veronica's white light ritual' which involved 'sitting in a circle holding hands, humming and asking and imagining light rising over us, sitting over the tipi to keep Sarah safe' (Harford and Hopkins, 1984, p.26). Such events indicate the intensity with which women respond to the necessity of creation of a new sense of self. It is through repetition of ritual (familiarly associated with sub-cultural groupings) that we strive to procure coherence - 'In performing them, we give structure and significance to our activities, minimalising chaos and disparity ... ritual forms are indispensible ... there can be no culture without ritual ...' (Lakoff and Johnson, 1979, pp.283-4).

Secondly, I accept Lakoff and Johnson's argument that metaphor is

no mere linguistic device, but rather an essential means by which we attempt to produce or impose coherence upon the complexity of human experience. Furthermore, 'In all aspects of life... we define our reality on the basis of metaphor. We draw inferences, set goals, make commitments, and execute plans all on the basis of how we in part structure our experience, consciously and unconsciously, by means of metaphor' (Lakoff and Johnson, p.158). Importantly, metaphors, in acting as 'principal vehicles for conceptual undertanding', function as means by which we find familiar reference points for that which is complex, abstract, inarticulate or elusively experiential. That is, we use metaphor to clarify and come to terms with responses to experience that otherwise remain uncontrolled. Humanity has a persistent determination to make the random coherent. Of necessity, this process involves 'understanding one kind of entity or experience in terms of another kind' (Lakoff and Johnson, pp.116) - and it is this factor which appears to create major difficulties when we apply this definition of metaphorical construction to the identity reconstruction in evidence at 'Greenham'.

I would suggest that each specific feature of the woman's explicitly stated world-view coheres with others so that they become sub-sets in a larger context of a general metaphorical conceptualisation. Emphasis upon women's role as mother (ultimately connected with nurturing and caring capacity), creator of life, and as protector of the natural world find a place as stressed universals in terms of time and class. 'Woman' becomes a generalised category whose characteristics are familiarly 'known'. Greenham exploits a profound sense of the permanence of the female and, in searching for a reference point by which to 'understand' present identities, draws upon traditional sets of knowledge about women. These in previous temporal 'moments' of history pervaded social practice explicity and still permeate our conceptualisation of 'womanhood'.

Carolyn Merchant in her lucid book, The Death of Nature (1980), documents historical shifts occurring around the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries in terms of metaphorical conceptualisation of the natural world. Arguing that this shift corresponded to, indeed sanctioned, the exploitation of both 'woman' and 'Nature' by the forces of science and 'technological progress' which has continued to the present moment, Merchant examines in detail the assumptions behind the formulation and subsequent abuse of the metaphorical relationship posited between women and 'the Earth'.

Prior to the seventeenth century, the natural system was conceived of in terms of the female capacity to nurture life. 'Mother Nature' as a term in itself contains the understanding of nature as a beneficient, caring, fertile, abundant, living, female organism consequently demanding from mankind, as ultimate living creatures, respect and reverence: 'As long as the Earth was considered to be alive and sensitive, it could be considered a breach of human ethical behaviour to carry out destructive acts

against it ...' (Merchant, 1980, p.3). Conceptual shifting occurred as developing scientific theory demanded it. 'Progress' demanded exploitation of the Earth and its resources, violation of the previously referred Earth mother, who became the object of a metaphorical campaign of dehumanization. Organism degenerated to machine, respect to interrogation, mother to whore; the 'rape of the Earth' began. Permanent mother, previously yielding of her fruits was abused in her eternity: she could be made to yield more, made to operate, interact solely to human requirements.

It is fair to argue that the women at Greenham Common find the 'Woman is Nature' metaphor adequately contains and articulates major aspects of their sense of self relative to the protest in which they are engaged. Their concern is for the dual exploitation of women and our natural environment via the patriarchal cultural consciousness which adheres to the objective notion of the need to secure control over the external environment. Knowledge in our society has become a source of power to enforce the will of the powerful upon those to whom knowledge is denied. Women and Nature, metaphorically linked, are subject to man's technological obsession with competition for control. Man conquers territory, his wife is isolated in his home. Boundaries are erected. Domination of lesser forms of life guarantees prestige, power: '... nature (read 'woman') must be bound into service ... the Earth must be put on the rack and tortured for her secrets...' (Griffin, 1980, p.16).

Quite clearly, as women at Greenham defend the earth, they are speaking out in defence of themselves. Externalisation of self in terms of the natural world allows a distancing from the intensity of the sense of abuse. We understand our experience through metaphor. The military, microcosm of our 'patriarchal arrogance', is only the immediate enemy; real issues of far greater portent are manifested in the use of this metaphor to understand how Western Civilization has sanctioned appraisal of dehumanization - of Mother Earth, the natural world, woman and ultimately, in the final analysis, all - 'After continually witnessing the brutality of war, you will be deeply scarred ... both participants and observers become dehumanized ... they couldn't survive without hardening themselves to those who are weaker' (Harford and Hopkins, 1984, p.40).

And women are snakes, are spiders weaving webs, are old as the mountain, powerful as rocks.

In this instance, then, the metaphor 'Woman is Nature is Woman' serves a dual function as a structural concept framing the Greenham protest. On the one hand, it offers the women a positive image and understanding of how a culture might centre around respect for women and for the planet; on the other, it provides a conceptualisation which demonstrates the dynamic relationship at work when a new set of values - those of rationality, science, 'progress' supplant those understandings of

human/natural interaction which came before them. This is not to suggest that the women's use of this metaphor is unproblematic. It is not true, for example, that prior to the seventeenth century, women enjoyed greater freedom and higher status than they did following conceptual shifts. Also, it might be argued that this metaphor offers a negative sense of self since it formulates an image of women and nature in an intensely concrete, concentrated moment of opporession. However, these issues are not important; two others are essential. Firstly, the metaphor obviously 'works' for those using it because it helps make explicit, specific and powerful but otherwise elusive understandings of connections between women's need to protest about the arms race through an assertion of feminist goals and ideologies and on behalf of a natural world which is similarly destroyed in a patriarchal culture. It is effective in fulfilling a need for coherence. It structures adequately the lived experience.

But with reference to the second issue at stake, we shift from positivity to negativity. The metaphor may 'work' well for the women, but what 'reader-positions' does it offer to those not involved in the 'Common protest' - those whom the women must convince, must be in profitable dialogue with? It is an intrinsic feature of metaphors that they are <u>partial</u>. To return to Lakoff and Johnson's formulation: 'The systematicity which allows us to comprehend one aspect of a concept in terms of another also hides other aspects of that concept. By concentrating on one aspect, a metaphorical concept prevents us seeing other aspects of the concept that are inconsistent with the metaphor' (Lakoff and Johnson, 1979, p.10). Thus, the use of the 'Woman is Nature is Woman' metaphor, I would argue, leaves latent a whole set of meanings inconsistent with the women's appropriation of it, but exploitable by those not involved directly in this structuring of experience. Greenham draws on the more positive range of meanings offered by the metaphor whilst hiding, leaving uncovered at the <u>conscious</u> level, potentially threatening meanings.

Feminist theory has been adept at documenting and exploring the ways in which continuation of a patriarchal society depends upon dividing women into oppositional categories. Each category has, at one level, a specific frame of reference, but it is also evident that we can make a general statement; women are forever separated, divided into 'good' women and 'bad' - and the larger contextual reference point is nearly always sexual. Men judge and divide women on the basis of sexual status in relation to themselves. The dichotomies are historical <u>and</u> contemporary. For 'good women' think Mary, the virgin, the mother, the virgin mother 'Angels in the House', the Nightingale with her lamp. Diana (Princess), nurses, carers, housewives - all passive, calm. But for 'Bad' endless streams of women debased, cast out - think Pandora, Eve the temptress, sexual woman, lesbian, whore (used but not loved), aggressive, the threatening. Man separates woman from woman as he does nations from nations. Susan Griffin

composes the list -

> 'SEPARATION ... the quarter of prostitutes ... the neighbourhood of lesbians ... The Prison ... The witch house ... Space divided ... The mile ... The boundary ... The border. The nation ... Anger from her body. Intellect from her body. Separation ... Cataclysm. The last judgement. Judgement from emotion, from sensation (Griffin, 1980, p.96).

And the categories reveal man's need to control. 'Good' woman yields to domination, the bad presumes to have rights reserved for the male. She threatenes refusal to be controlled. Even without the use of the 'Woman is Nature is Woman' metaphor, the position of the Greenham women within this structure is comnplex. In stressing 'our roles as mothers, wives, lovers', the women appear to attempt positive appropriation of each quality of the good woman. They seek to demonstrate that passivity can be non-violence, can be intervention. But they do not adequately 'fit' the composite category. They appear to the external world to have rejected male sexuality, male control; they threaten a refusal to be suppressed.

And the adoption of the metaphorical conceptualisation chosen seems to clinch the categorisation in a peculiarly pervasive way. If 'woman' within their metaphor is a positive force, Earth Mother, fertile, symbol of life, then her corollary, latently turbulent, is the witch. This figure becomes a composite figurehead which conveniently, on the terms of the women's own metaphor, contains all the negative qualities attributed to the 'bad woman'. The exploitation of this 'duality' concept with reference to the world of nature sanctioned unleashing historically of forces of scientific progress - the Earth, being female, was prone to threaten, to challenge male desires for control, for knowledge of all things, woman and nature, to be absolute:

> The virgin nymph offered peace and security, the Earth Mother nurture and fertility, but nature also brought plagues, famines and tempests. Similarly, woman was both virgin-mother and witch. The witch, symbol of the violence of nature, raised stores, destroyed crops, caused illness, obstructed generation, killed infants. Disorderly woman, like chaotic nature, needed to be controlled.
>
> (Merchant, 1980, p.127)

The Reformation period was characteristically afraid; afraid that Mother Earth could no longer be trusted to observe her own laws. The Earth, chaotic and disorderly, signified woman in her darkest, most threatening state. Breakdown seemed imminent. She must be subjugated ('tortured for her secrets') and rationalised. The old metaphor of Earth as a living female organism was replaced by the 'masculine' metaphor of Earth as machine -

eminently governable, <u>not</u> prone to breakdown, violence, but 'known', created by man - his toy. But before old gave way to new, the ghost of Mother Nature was viciously exorcised - not simply in herself, in the sense that she was violated with mines, dismembered with boundaries, her wealth stolen, her baby-jewels aborted - but also in her human counterpart she was tortured. Women were accused. Fires were lit. Burnings began. The witch-hunt terrorized. MACHIAVELLI (with conviction): 'Nature is a woman and it is necessary if you wish to master her to conquer her by force.'

And does this seem distant, far-removed from the Common where women preach the politics of disarmament? It would be misleading to believe that we can speak of the present without reference to the past. All contemporary knowledge grows out of historical ideological perspectives, practices and culminates never. Much of history is lost, obliterated - that which remains is constantly reworked, always informs the present moment. And that preserved history, amongst other things, is male; we have more completely absorbed male 'knowledge' of women that we have women's own sense of self. Women cannot now construct identities for themselves in isolation from those historically designated to them: 'The witch-hunts left a lasting effect; an aspect of the female has ever since been associated with the witch, and an aura of contamination has remained ... it has become a theme of our history' (Ehrenreich and English, 1973, p.23). Society has deep-rooted psychological 'justifications' for subjugating, controlling 'witches'. It is said that I should be able to demonstrate this belief through citation of the Greenham protests. Too much is at stake.

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How, then, does this surfacing, availability of latent metaphorical meanings, corollaries of all that is positive, actually operate? Before, in my final section, documenting its functioning, predominantly within media discourses, it is important to attempt to elaborate the reasons why I have become convinced that the 'Woman is Witch' sub-metaphor is actually operational in responses to the women's position. Firstly, it is possible to detect its pervasive and troubling presence in unexpected and inexplicable situations which are difficult to 'explain' or adequately pinpoint to any stage in the analysis. Secondly, I have a sense that the women themselves, although they structure experience consciously in terms of the 'Woman is Nature is Woman' metaphor, may subsconsciously find that the 'witchcraft' sub-metaphor also informs consciousness. Finally, (and this will lead us towards that concluding examination of actual outside responses and how they appropriate the metaphorical structure) specific features of the Greenham camp and political stance that cause most vitrolic dislike and fear can be demonstrated to have very real correspondence to the 'crimes' for which women were burned as witches. Characteristically, ideology (articulated here through metaphor) is posited

in dynamic relationship with social practice.

Thus, it was declared that the witch might work her evil with the eyes, through contact with the eyes of another person, in an act of staring, hereby defined as 'fascination by the eyes'. From her sockets her orbs might issue forth an 'invisible' but 'potent emanation' (Thomas, 1973, p.519), declared to be an act of malediction. And is it purely to secure emotional distancing, dehumanization of object-opponent that the soldiers at the American Air Base Greenham Common are ordered to 'make no eye contact' (Blackwood, 1984, p.56) with persons (female) inhabiting the land around the boundaries (officially)? And it is stated in the annals of witch-hating England, once green and pleasant land, that women hold nauseous ceremony with the devil. It is said, 'That a mass is held with a naked woman's body as an alter, faeces, urine and menstrual blood upon her ...' (Griffin, 1980, p.9). And did they throw pig's blood and excrement upon our tipis and benders in the night as we were sleeping in the woods? (Blackwood,1984, p.8). From Newbury they came and did this thing. We protest; a voice growl-mutters, derisive, cruel - 'the only blood on those camps is their own' (Blackwood, 1984, p.103). How can they abuse us so? And is it said - is it -

'That these women are witches? ...' (Griffin, 1980, p.9)

Whilst such images, questions hover on the wind, we must turn to ask how it is that women at Greenham can be said to relate to the negative composite figure of the witch, who threatens the stability of 'Mother Earth'. It is clear that the women are intensely aware of the way in which women's history is one of subjugation. There are many moments of direct linking of themselves to women who have in the past suffered abuse at the hands of our social institutions. The suffragette colours may be used for banners, but, more potently, women link their own fate to that of 'witches' burned for their supposedly threatening behaviour - 'They used to burn witches and the law of the time endorsed it ... The law is not a creature which exists independently - laws have been wrong ...'. The biggest problem for the women, which appears to remain only potentially acknowledged, or unconscious, is that such connections are not only indicative of female suffering, but also directly have an effect upon present sets of knowlege about women. When I read the account of women's reactions to men taking decorations off the fence: 'We whispered into their ears, we stood close behind them so they could feel our presence, our breath. A deaf woman hissed the word "Hex" at them. We women, with no words, were in full communication with each other ...' (Harford and Hopkins, 1984, pp. 30,95). I feel disturbed. I suspect it is wrong to feed such frightening responses into an already bewildered public. It is one thing to express sympathy with women burned as witches, but such adoption of actions associated in the public mind so directly with witchcraft seems foolish. I do not try to judge - simply to state personal impressions of such recounted moments. Such actions would appear to hinder rather than further

communication between the women at Greenham and those with whom they need desperately to establish a dialogue.

Yet, apart from these stated moments at which an explicit identification with the figure of 'the witch' appears to be manifested, we could argue that, from the position of responsive observer, we can identify some sense in which women share with the 'witch' a more positive space within the almost entirely negative role. There seems to be truth in the assertion that the two face similarly huge forces whose magnitude can seem at times hopelessly overbearing. Keith Thomas argues that women did gather together, in groups which were suspected of being 'covens', because, in their poverty, 'the normal channels of legal action or physical were not available. Women identified with the belief that the witch had powers which transcended human restrictions.' The supernatural offered an immediate source of comfort and relief in the face of the enormity of social hardship to which women, particularly elderly women, were subjected - 'Witchcraft was thus generally believed to be a method of bettering one's condition when all else had failed ... it was a substitute for impotence, a remedy for anxiety and despair' (Thomas, 1973, p.623).

And women still need relief. The self-designated role of defendant of humanity against the law, the police, the military, science and technology - in short, against a seemingly all-pervasive patriarchal construct brings a great sense of burden. Essential to morale is the sense at Greenham (partly manifested in ritual) of working through different, new channels and methods. But, perhaps subsconsciously, the camp may stand for desperation - the desparation of knowing that women have little real power when they try to work through conventional means of political protest. They cannot succeed through might, because their opponents are mightier. The protest is moral ('we are candles representing the conscience of humanity') but there is perpetual tension, persistent fears that the task may be too great. And there is anguish - for what has been lost and what is threatened. Continuity, understanding, mutual expression of emotion ease the frustration,

> 'a small group of women appeared dressed in black to keen ... they told me it was wailing, lamenting - a way of expressing deep feelings of distress and anger ... it was like a healing, to wail out my distress and frustration at what the base represented ... the tears flowed as we put our arms around each other.
> (Harford and Hopkins, 1984, p.15)

The witch sub-metaphor finds fertile soil in other ways too. It appears that women who burned as witches did so because they were found guilty of wanting a knowledge of their own which represented a dismissal of male logic and rationality. Ehrenrich and English (1973) assert that witches were in fact 'wise women' who practised healing via means not consistent with the expanding

discipline of male medicine. They offered herbal, 'natural' knowledge founded upon observation as opposed to masculine knowledge which valued theoretical, theological purity above human physical requirements. Again, this dichotomy harks back to the need for those posited at the bottom of the social scale to find immediate fulfilment of needs, emotional and physical. Characteristically, male medicine operated hierarchically whereas the 'wise women's' knowledge 'did not depend upon complicated hierarchical mechanisms' and offered inclusion for all those excluded by the structuring of the new 'scientific' profession. For those who operate through the ideological notion that knowledge, that is, the assertion as absolute reality of a set of 'subjective' analyses, represents power, groups upholding their own truths in opposition to dominant constructs must be controlled. If knowledgeable women are threatening, then organised and informed women are still more so.

Clearly, it can be seen how the sub-metaphor 'Women is witch' can appear appropriate as a conceptualisation of the Greenham women's proposed alternative. The knowledge they offer is in strict anti-thesis to that valued in the 'objective' culture we inhabit. It is knowledge which transcends divisions, hierarchies which keep us ordinarily separate, some powerful, others oppressed. Where the personal is political, we can all take the stage as politicians, can all assert the validity of our emotions, intuitions, our subjective 'way of seeing'. The Greenham protest is organised too - not in the conventional mode; but in a form equally effective. Fences have been torn down, the precious missile silos danced upon. Sacrilege. Disorder. Chaos. Witches must be eliminated.

It is also interesting that one of the most pervasive myths about the camp is that it is exclusively lesbian. Again, the witch sub-metaphor seems to 'work'. Witches were specifically accused of sexual consorting with the devil. Two factors are important here - firstly that the accusation is one of sexual self-expression, which in woman was, and is, indicative of badness or evil. When passivity is the prescribed 'norm', sexuality in any form becomes an unacceptable sign of female aggression. Secondly, 'with the devil' heightens the threat, since the accusation then becomes one of sexual aggression not subject to male control. The possibility that women might find sexual fulfilment or even experience sexual desire not aroused by and, therefore, solely under the control of men represents a powerful subversion of conventional assumptions or sets of knowledge about women. On a similar level, the accusations call into play the seemingly timeless opposition in which male ritual activity is named 'religion' - that is, claims transcendental justification, whereas female ritual is derogated as 'cult'. The general fear at the base of each objection appears to be that a society which offers men control of knowledge, offers them power, finds women who assume the right to act independently of this control, threatening.

Like the wise-women, those at Greenham are 'Quite simply, accused of female sexuality ... of every conceivable sexual crime against men' (Ehrenreich and English, 1973, p.265). Within dominant ideological discourse, there is no acknowledgement of a situation in which women choose to live in isolation from men as an act of defiance. In the light of past knowledge, which permeates the present, it is hardly surprising that this defiance brands the women as 'deviant', casts them firmly into the whole series of negative 'female' attributes and roles which find expression in the composite metaphorical figure of the witch. To reject men is an act of sexual aggression, the 'logic' runs; sexually aggressive women are deviant. Like 'witch' (the larger, more 'latent' tag) 'lesbianism' becomes a blanket charge, and it contains what I believe to be a high degree of male discomfort, anxiety and resentment. Blackwood makes a valid point when she criticises lesbians at the Camp for 'provocative' public kissing: 'Embarassing because it looked unfelt and exhibitionist - the courtroom was such an unerotic spot' (Blackwood, 1984, p.30), Thus raising tensions expressed earlier. Should such displays be called symbolic, defiant demonstrations of refusal to conform to conventional stereotypes of female sexuality, or do they become in themselves stereotypic, providing 'ammunition' (a loaded term in itself) for those already tending to find the composite 'witch' metaphor appropriate?

Whatever the complexities and uncertainties arising in such instances it seems justifiable, finally, to argue that the women at Greenham can be seen to 'fit' in some way the witch sub-metaphor. Both witch (wise woman) and Greenham women serve as 'scapegoats' for the contradictions and subsequent crises of capitalism from the popular perspective. Thomas's statement that witch hunts 'were only made possible by people's readiness to believe that witches are the cause of all their troubles and that everything will be well once they are rooted out' indicates how very real social inequalities can be subsumed by concentration upon a group or groups perceived to be connected to external manifestations of those inequalities. I accept Blackwood's suspicion that the Greenham witch hunt has foundations in similar determination to pin-point some specific cause of frustrations ultimately arising from divisions and inequalities procured by them, and, within Newbury itself, from the terrible, constant reminder of the threat to human life which sits in grim majesty on the Common:

> While they sat, drawing attention to the danger in which humanity had placed itself, they were bound to draw all the fire of the public's buried terror and anger at the nuclear monster ... The sleeper hates to be woken ... hates to be alerted to his peril. His terror and fury at the terror he feels, can project itself. The figure who points out the danger can seem like the danger itself ... the tidings the peace women brought were very bad indeed.
> (Blackwood, 1984, pp.36-37)

Having hereby attempted to demonstrate how adoption by the 'Greenham women' of a means of conceptualising their position which has immediate relevance for them is open to assault by an antithetical and pervasive, already available or 'historical' set of meanings about 'women', it is important to 'test' the theory by asking how critical observers of the camp have drawn upon such a dichotomy which offers, as it does, negative as well as positive 'readings'. To what extent is media appropriation of such disparaging 'knowledges' about women conscious or unconscious, direct or problematic, total or partial? Can the thesis I have advanced help to elucidate some otherwise confusing or 'inexplicable' elements of reactions to 'the Camp'?

III Mismatch. (Our words are lost).

Examination of media reaction to 'Greenham Common' strikingly demonstrates an element of the protest as yet merely touched upon - the centrality of communication in any foreseeable degree of 'success'. For it is ultimately of little use to the women to know that they have a highly developed understanding of processes which have created the 'nuclear mentality' and to believe they can offer an alternative, if this knowledge and belief cannot be communicated to a wide audience. This represents the primary consideration in any form of protest. Newspaper reports of attempted communications represent a concretely available, chronological documentation of what can only be described as an intense engagement with the process of 'making sense' of this seemingly new phenomenon. 'Media coverage' indicates fairly neatly how we all typically undertake this process of 'meaning formulation', and is particularly important here, because it allows us to explore the means by which those outside the frame of reference adopted by the women may, or may not, achieve some degree of inclusion.

'Greenhan Common' has always been in dynamic dialogue with the media. Its initiation resulted from the failure of the original 'Women For Life on Earth' march to secure television coverage of their disarmament arguments. It would be valid to argue that this compact entity 'Greenham Common' is itself a 'media construction'. Although I would not wish to use this argument, since it neutralises the women's own role in creation of their ethical protest 'space', it is nevertheless true that visibility on the public stage is seen at the camp as an essential part of it. 'The media' comes to be seen as the mediator between camp meanings and those, in power, outside them - 'We must talk to the men building the silos and the men in power through the media ...' and yet time has increasingly exposed the fact that communication of meanings is no simple, direct process. Words have no fixed meanings and so do not 'innocently' carry an idea from the mind of one person to another, but are contextual and open to connotative flexibility. Likewise, media reporters impose layers of meaning upon those given to them by the women at the Camp. References to the process of communication by the women suggest that it might be possible to bypass the intermediate layer of media meanings; such as the decision to hold up a banner carrying peace messages whilst dancing on the missile silos, 'for the TV cameras who would then take it back to broadcast into living rooms all over the country (Harford and Hopkins, 1984, pp.28,101). However, I would argue that this hope is false; there is of necessity an enormous difference between 'visibility' and 'publicity'. Although visibility itself is never acontextual, publicity indicates a high level of meaning creation is at work in the representational mode - it is the latter the women have attracted.

From arguments stated previously concerning the nature of understanding and interpretation, it would seem reasonable to

argue that media critics might respond to the striking phenomenon of the 'Greenham protest' through reference back to, or comparison with, past cultural knowledge generated in similar circumstances. That is, we typically understand a new experience in terms of reactions to old ones; and reactions can be social, cultural, historical as well as individual and private. Women at Greenham Common represent at one level, the 'unknown', the paradoxical. They do not seem to be adequately prone to immediate categorisation. 'Peace woman' appears to be both feminine and deviant; in short, an entity difficult to immediately 'make sense of' using familiar conventional codes, since these offer only polarity - women are either 'good' or 'bad' - whereas these women inspire a whole range of responses in the observer which seem 'illogical' by conventional standards of 'logic'. Thus, Caroline Blackwood went to 'the Common' with a series of impressions received from the press of the women as 'almost mythical'. They'd been described as 'belligerent harpies', 'a bunch of smelly lesbians', as 'ragtail and bobtail' and 'the screamning destructive witches of Greenham' (Blackwood, 1984, p.1).

Quite clearly, these accusations are unsubstantiated and are, I would argue, demonstrative of a somewhat confused fascination on behalf of the press towards the women. There appears to be a searching for some adequate label to categorize women who are threatening because they defy conventional forms - of knowledge, of representation, of womanhood. None of the specific labels will fit as an adequate total container for the protest women. The women who commented on press reactions 'Are they afraid of what they don't understand?' (Harford and Hopkins, 1984, p.45), arguably pinpointed a central element of the reaction - fear.

It seems odd that those who have enormous reserves of power behind them should be 'afraid' of such a tiny challenge in physical terms, to their position. Yet the challenge extends beyond this to become a challenge to the individual, private 'realities' of those involved. The women offer them the frightening truth that the knowledge they have stored and previously found accurate for creation of coherence is in fact unstable. Objective knowledge is not absolute; women can be strong, work collectively without male control, can formulate new forms of organisation and new knowledge. But, characterisically the reaction to this challenge appears to have been reassertion of the objective logic - the unknown must be made knowable, the threatening, disorderly must be controlled, 'A set of rules must be drawn for reducing the irregular to the regular...' (Griffin, 1980, p.45) and although a high degree of fascination remains, conventional modes are returned to as a comfortable means of restoring coherence.

The women themselves have provided the basis for this process, through adoption of the 'Women is Nature is Women' identification. The protest's emphasis upon woman's closeness to the natural world, her emotionality, subjectivity and

performance, her hatred of violence actually presents little challenge to familiar modes of thinking about her. These aspects of her psyche are well catered for in the conventional frame of reference. On the other hand, peace woman's' attempt to positivize these elements removes them from the realm of the 'manageable' in male terms. Passivity, hatred of violence is translated into non-violent direct action, for instance - it becomes a threat to male control power and authority. Similarly, woman's capacity to bear children and nurture life no longer seems to confine and restrict her - she takes it to be indicative of a responsibility to act on behalf of those she nurtures, and to act without male involvement. 'Woman' begins to signify chaos, disorder, the darker side of her psyche so abundantly presented in myth and legend, a permanent vein in our cultural knowledge. She symbolizes all that is unknown, threatening, becomes a portent of crisis. And the male voice, patriachal voice of our culture says that we have encountered this figure before; we have always been a culture that will not accept woman's knowledge because it is subjective and hence dangerous. Real knowledge is objective. Woman as witch signifies that within all of us which must be suppressed. Society depends upon order, closure, an assertion of power over the irrational.

To begin with, images of the women as mysterious and unquantifiable pervade the coverage. The Sunday Express (April 2nd 1983) describes them as 'haunting' the Common, an image consistent with the highly imaginative 'almost mythical' description of The Sunday Times of January 2nd 1983 'As the sun rose on New Year's Day, dark figures of women... emerged from the Berkshire woods where they had been sleeping. Silently, they pulled hidden metal ladders from under gorse bushes and advanced...'. And there is a similar sense of uncertainty and bewildered fascination evident in The Guardian's documentation (July 7th 1983) of one particular 'nocturnal ' ritual, reported, but not commented upon, as if there were indecision as to how an objective, rational media reporter can react to such unfamiliar events, except by containing them within reassuring phraseology of control. 'The women had crept through thick woods... they had been seen...but were allowed to carry out their "exorcism" and sprinkle holy water, ashes and their own blood, 'before being detained'. It is hardly a suprise to learn from Caroline Blackwood's text that Newbury suspects the women of holding 'nocturnal revels' in the mysterious woods. The appropriately named 'RAGE' organization (RATEPAYERS AGAINST GREENHAM ENCAMPMENTS - of which Mrs Soull and Betty Warr are leading figures) accused them of 'dancing naked' and 'stripping their babies naked', and offered to take anyone interested to the camps (acting as guard?) to see such ceremony: Although on arrival, were defeated to find the woman 'not at it tonight' (Blackwood, 1984, pp.64,71).

The portrayal of the women as alien and somehow dangerous is

typically developed through deployment of the notion that 'Greenham woman' is intrinsically different from the more familiar figures of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament 'peace women' -a contrast which, predictably, operates to the detriment of the Greenham protest. The former is handled through the conventional media response to peace protest - trivialization. This is made easier because the protestors happen to be women and are thus readily open to dismissal as naive, or, in the words of the Greenham women, 'wooly minded' (Harford and Hopkins, 1984, p.97). Women who bring balloons, their children and flowers to surround the base on 'protest day' are represented as well-intentioned 'housewives', simply wanting a chance to air their views (Daily Mail, December 13th 1983) and even prepared to 'wade through ankle deep mud to deliver their message' (ibid). They sing songs, hold hands and hang up baby's nappies ' to symbolize woman in the home' (Daily Mirror, December 13th 1983). Coverage of this kind is typically juxtaposed with statements in the 'masculine' objective mode of rational discourse, of overtly 'Political' arguments in favour of 'the deterrent'.

MIRROR COMMENT (authoritatively): Both East and West base their defence on the theory of the deterrent. The belief is that a nuclear attack would mean the destruction of the attacker, and so it won't happen. If Britain quit Nato, the alliance would be crippled . . .' (Daily Mirror, December 13th 1983).

It is obvious where 'real' logic is supposed to reside. CND peace woman is quite enchanting in her simplicity and offers opportunity for statement of what is really at issue. But serious matters are best left to the experts. Consistent with this image of trivial protest is the notion that CND womanhood is open to corruption (contamination?) by that more sinister 'specimen of femininity' the 'Greenham woman' (Welch, 1983 p.4). Thus, Daily Express coverage of Monday, December 12th 1983 reported 'Most of the women obeyed CND calls for non-violence. But trouble flared when hard-liners stormed the wire.'

An excellent example of this division of woman and subsequent representation of Greenham woman as intrinsically threatening and eminently sinister is presented in the Daily Mail's (April 2nd 1983) article headed 'Carnival of Peace'. Opening 'paragraphs' are as good natured as the demonstrators themselves are gauged to be, playing upon familiar themes - the youth of the CND protestors, 'youthful folk, some in only their late teens', their middle-classness 'swathed in chunky-knit sweaters, the type worn in smart Hampstead pubs' the sense of women having joined the radical bandwagon for the day, 'hair plaited, expressions earnest and laughter most refined (they) had the genteel look of art-mistresses about them...all kitted out in the regulation woolly hats and Oxfam-shop style ripped coats', seasoned for good measure with a touch of hilarity as they 'frolicked around in a

sort of bizarre reel'.

But the tone shifts to one of deep hostility as our attention is shifted away from the Carnival to the Greenham 'hard core' who reside 'down by the barbed wire backed gates... on the stony ground ' amidst ' the black skeleton of trees'. The women themselves are portrayed in equally powerful images of aridity and sterility, as 'hardened sisters of the cause... a sisterhood that rejected convention in general and men in particular'. The use of this term 'sisterhood' confirms the connotations of sterility implicit in the enviromental descriptions, suggesting the asexual convent, the coven, cult. They are reported to be 'shrill' and they 'rasp', 'oblivious to the outside world'. The contrast between these women and their warm laughing counterparts draws upon the association of the 'witch' with pestilence, famine, 'obstruction of generation' (Merchant, 1980, p.127) desolation, death - indeed, draws upon the antithesis of all the women find appropriately expressive of their position in the image offered by the 'Women is Nature' metaphor: of Mother Earth, fertile, production symbol of women's creative power, life-giver.

Within dominant cultural understanding, womanhood in isolation from male control must be 'sterile and arid' (Waugh, 1983 p.6) or else aggressively sexual; as illustated in the Daily Telegraph's disbelief at the sexual aggression of the women who shouted to a reporter: 'come too close and I will take your trousers down' (December 13th 1982). It is consistent with patriarchal 'logic' that women can be derogated for being both sexual and asexual. Dominant ideologies are pervasive because they contain rather than admit their inherent contradictions. But the derision 'works' through its reference to the construction in which 'Greenham women' is persistently cast; that is placed within each negative category of the good/bad woman dichotomy, the series of associations finding coherence through their containment under the composite concept of 'women as witch'.

There are 'moments' when this use of the 'witch' metaphor surfaces in a fairly explicit way. Although incidental to the actual material covered by its article of Monday 31 October 1983, the Daily Express chose to lead its report with the striking single word 'Witches'; a reference to the women's witch costumes chosen for a Hallowe'en action, indicating imaginative involvement with the situation and hence engagement with this metaphorical construction of the women; accompanied by a sense of uncertainty as to how to then handle this involvement. Alexander Chancellor, writing in Spectator's 'Notebook' (17th December 1983), is hardly so equivocal: 'though aware of the personal novelty of making a claim so deviant from objective rationally as the women are the, "witches of Greenham" - I say witches because witches are precisely what they seem to be...' they 'held up mirrors to reflect the evil within...it was fairly spooky

behaviour...' According to The Guardian they 'tied symbolic woollen webs to the fence. It all sounds very much like witchcraft to me.' Note also the tone of bewilderment, almost resentment at being 'excluded', unable to comprehend the protest. The women's meaning have here become distorted, even obliterated. There is no sense of 'immemorial female power', the belief that 'women's healing energy' might 'neutralize the military potency of the base', (Harford and Hopkins, 1984, p.89) except, of course, in the connection of knowledge of this kind with the 'spooky behaviour' connotative in the conventional sphere of deviancy, paganism, witchcraft.

A second set of 'meanings' or versions of 'Greenham woman' evident within media coverage revolves around the issue of physical destruction and violence. 'Greenham Common; the media's version' an article appearing in Peace News (21st January 1983, p.12) outlines women's initial sense of victory 'at seeing themselves in "news photographs" since "now the public across the country would hear what we have to say", but documents also the disbelief and outrage which replaced the pleasure, on relizing that 'our crucial commitment to non-violence had all but disappeared ... our tactics tended to be described in the most violent way possible'. The women themselves had been aware only of moments of aggression from police, not of any violence on their own behalf. How is this complete subversion facilitated? What is it that makes it possible for the media, without exception, to report the women's protest as violent and aggressive?

Examination of further instances furthers understanding of the processes at work. Coverage of the December 12th (1983) protest, which brought mass CND support is typically approached in terms of the 'hardline Greenham women' (Daily Mail) who instigated violence at the expense of their supporters, or 'under cover of CND, which had claimed all along that this was to be a peaceful demonstration' (Daily Express). It was purely the 'Greenham women' against whom the police were 'powerless'. Although great play is made of the injury received by a policeman ('a married man', 'father-of-two' - Daily Mail), the central preoccupation and source of outrage is supposed 'lack of control' displayed by the women. The image is one of hysteria, women wild and beyond 'reason': the Sun sets the tone; 'the wild women of Greenham brought mayhem ... violence ... erupted ... ugly clashes', which is echoed in Daily Mirror's concentration upon 'women ... screaming and blowing whistles ... suddenly (producing) a deafening chorus of screaming', and echoed also in Daily Mail's image of women as they 'swung wildly on the already weakened fence'.

There are two points to be made here. Firstly, it is accurate to argue that our everyday metaphorical conceptualization of

experience operates to the women's disadvantage. We all use the metaphor 'Argument is war' to structure the concept of disagreement. We talk without thinking of 'taking sides' in an argument, we 'win' or we 'lose' one; an argument being only 'resolved' when one 'side' is 'forced' to 'surrender' or 'give in'. And since metaphor informs not only our conceptualization but also provides directive for action, the women who try to follow the logic of non-violence through linguistically and conceptually violent frameworks are working, through no fault of their own, within modes which automatically provide their 'opponent' with metaphorical 'ammunition' against them. If they are engaged in protest, runs the logic, then their stance must be necessarily antagonistic, aggressive, violent. Peaceful protest is, within this metaphor, paradoxical. Whilst the women speak of 'blockading the base', 'occupation of the sentry box', 'surrounding the base' and 'scaling the fence', inhabiting as they do a peace' camp' constantly in need of 'supplies' and 'reinforcements' a ready-made mechanism for derogation of their 'position' is easily adopted by media and other critical observers. Phrases used to head coverage of events such as those of May Day protests drew headlines talking of 'Invasion of the base' (Guardian) and the Sun called women (April 2nd) 'The Chain Gang'. The 8th February confrontation with Michael Heseltine also brought forth an ingenious range of paradoxical juxtapositions, the Sun surpassing itself with the headline 'Angry Peace Girls Rough Up Hesletine'.

If metaphor plays its part here, then it is still more pertinent to the present purpose to argue that the women suffer metaphorical derogation specific to their situation in addition to the problem outlined above which must affect all protest groups. Drawing upon the 'knowledge' contained within the 'witch' metaphor allows the created image of violence to become symbolic not only of a threat to the fence of the base, but of a more sinister, hysterical, utterly uncontrollable (even by the women themselves) force. The witch is the symbol of chaos and fundamental social disorder. She not only represents the threatening realm of the unknown as a composite figurehead of negative femininity, but also unleashes that force in reactions she provokes. We fear her because we have externalized in her out least controllable psyche. The brutality of witch torturers must surely arise from deep-rooted fear of the unknown, the belief that imposing the conscious will can eliminate the chaos which threatens us. We attempt to deny 'that which cannot be reduced to number and measured' that which we cannot rationalized, 'is not real' (Griffin, 1980, p.10).

Recalling the emphasis placed upon the women's 'screaming' and their 'wild mayhem', their 'hissing and spitting' (Express February 8th), the accusations of insanity which defile the public reactions to the protest find contextual reinforcement. The women are aware of the close connection between punishment for refusing 'to accept dominant values' and its diagnosis as

'madness' (Harford and Hopkins, 1984, p.82). What else is insanity but an inability to formulate a coherent identity, a control and assimilation of reality in line with the 'reality' posited by the dominant culture? In the light of the argument I have so far advanced it is with a sickening sense of inevitability that I read 'A Greenham peace woman has been certified insane after dancing naked on the lawn of a local councillor' (Sun, August 24th 1984). If, in the final instance, control must be imposed by denial of the right to be human, then, says the 'logic', so be it. 'It is said that the thoughts of women are formless and wandering ... extravagence and excess are seen to be apparent, women's sorrows are too extreme ... inordinate ... not to be believed.' (Griffin, 1984, p.11).

And before finally offering 'conclusions', it is useful to indicate how the 'Woman is Nature is Woman' metaphor facilitates a further mode of dismissal of women's meanings. If woman asserts her closeness to nature, she can be taken to assert her materiality, animality, her physical as opposed to spiritual or intellectual (rational) presence. Moral protestors, 'consciences of humanity' are abused physically. 'Civilization' (male) is conventionally posited in antitheses to 'Nature' (female) - the latter connecting the primitive, the unrefined. Hence ascribing the Hesletine incident "Tarzan's War' (Daily Mirror, February 8th) contains serious connotations - connotations made concrete in Auberon Waugh's grim statement (Spectator, January 15th 1983), familiarly deploying the language of control - 'the dripping plains of Greenham Common were just about the right place for these women - Tarzan just about the right man to deal with them.' 'Newbury Weekly News' (April 5th 1984) indicates the use of this set of meanings as a persistent thread through its coverage. Women 'climbed a tree', 'herded together', 'took to the undergrowth' - that is, are conceptualised as eminently primitive beings.

This secondary sub-metaphor has implications for the women equally as serious as those deriving from exploitation of the 'witch' conceptualisation. Regarding human beings as simply material, as 'matter', assists dehumanisation of them in the eyes of others. It provides a negative context for non-violent blockading thus threatening to subvert intended meanings. Women can be seen as 'using their bodies the way they've been used for centuries, lumps of unintelligent flesh booted aside when they got in the way' (Jones, 1983, p.93). Frighteningly too, this context represents a final sanctioning of the familiarly persistent patriarchal tendency to return all interaction of men with women to the sexual. Concentration upon the physical invites abuse of the body; and emphasis by critics upon the sexuality of the women indicates overlap between the two metaphorically 'latent' or hidden sets of meaning. Hence women suffer sexual taunts at night from the soldiers - 'They abused us all night. It was sexual, of course ... the peace women brought out all that was sadistic and cruel in these men' (Blackwood, 1984, p.14), and are stripped by male doctors on entering

Holloway. It's all a part of the same mentality, a demonstration of the power men have to humiliate women.

Is it then impossible to identify any positive moments in the coverage of the Greenham women's protest? The process I have sketched above suggests that in being required to 'make sense' of the women's actions, critics face a stage in which, either subconsciously or explicitly, the logic of objectivity as being free from subjective response is exposed for the sham it really is. It is in some sense valuable that fear of the unknown (a motivating force behind both 'RAGE' and media responses) is reaction through the 'subjective' faculty of emotion, as is bewilderment, anger and resentment at exclusion. Our purportedly 'rational' media, upholders of commonsensical, patriarchal values can find tears. 'On 12-13 December, when all those items were put upon the fence, I saw very hard-bitten reporters actually crying' (John in Davison, Ruddock, John, 1983, p.11). If the elements of the 'Woman is Nature is Woman' metaphor, found appropriate by the media as container for their categorisations, works negatively at the overt level for the women, then at least the active creation of metaphorical meaning demands use of the imagination; whereas the objectivist myth conventionally accepted as absolute, 'misses the fact that human conceptual systems are metaphorical in nature and involve imaginative understanding' (Lakoff and Johnson, 1979, p.194).

However, it becomes quite clear that this process of having to come to terms with emotional reaction finds little positive manifestation in actual media reports. It is reasonably easy to suggest why this is so. Interest generated by, for instance, use of spider, web and snake symbolism must quickly degenerate into the more negative responses of resentment and frustration, because the symbols do not adequately serve the function of language as a medium of communication. It is readily recognised within modernist and structuralist theory that the further language structure departs from 'realist' discourse, the more obscure it becomes, the wider the range of potential meanings derivable from it. Symbol must have some mutually-recognisable element of meaning which operates to secure communication. A vulture for instance, could not symbolise 'peace' as could a dove. A punch in the face likewise.

The women's webs have immediate and powerful connotations already available within dominant cultural codes. As Blackwood objects, 'Many people have a terrible fear of spiders. Webs are sticky and you get caught in them. Once caught in a web, metaphorically you die.' There is no 'reason' to expect that anyone not familiar with feminist or 'Greenham' discourse should recognise the subtle symbolism at work. Familiar meanings must take predominance. Similarly, the snake within dominant discourse signifies a 'frightening and poisonous creature', (Blackwood, 1984, p.21) connotative of deceit and cunning; if anything, ironically probably connected in the popular imaginagtion with Eve's succumbing to temptation by the devil ('And of the fact

that women are at the Devil's Gateway, it is observed that sin and death came in to the world because Eve consorted with the Devil in the body of a serpent (Griffin, 1980, p.90).

When meanings cannot be communicated, but instead become distorted, not because of any deliberate 'bias' on behalf of the receiver of them, but simply because meanings are not fixed, realities not absolute, a reaction of fear is predictable. Confusion, misunderstanding, a sense of threat then leads observers to resort once more, perhaps more determinedly, to previous formulations and responses. The subjective response surfaces, but, typically, is then suppressed by the more 'trusted'; objective rationality. The whole process operates at the subconscious level, but has its external manifestations. And the intensity of the women's protest, the potency of their emotional commitment and warning is lost. The 'commonsense', objective media discourse of numbers of arrests, numbers involved, times of actions, surrounds, contains, chokes the women's sorrow and energy.

For

> 70,000 people linked arms ... 3 or 4 deep (it is said that) ... between 3 nuclear weapons centres ... Burghfield is 3 miles from Reading ... (that which cannot be measured) ... 9 helicopters and 2 light aircraft ... 200 women scaled 10 foot high fences ... 25 dressed as teddy bears ... (and reduced to number) ... 1,000 police drafted in ... cost £68,000 for 2 days ... (is not REAL).
> (Guardian 2nd April, 1983 and Griffin, 1980,p.11)

And, pray, what might the women be advised to do? How to respond to this problem? The text demands conclusions be drawn.

Toward Conclusions: 'What Hope Continuity, What Price Failure?'

Seemingly, we face ideological stalemate. What is at stake is the very substance of the experience of each contender in the context over whose 'reality' is the true one. The patriarchal line in the argument is to suggest that only the objectivist reality is valid, thus facilitating accusations that 'Greenham woman', in rejecting this 'truth' has divorced herself from 'reality'. This proposition is assisted by the geography of the protest - although it could not effectively be sited away from the base, its isolation from mainstream society invites the notion that the women's physical alienation is a manifestation of their ideological separatism. Thus Colin Welch writes of the women,

> They seem to have cut themselves off from ordinary life ... from all obligations and responsibilities ... the world Pinnochio wishes to preserve is devoid of all the shadings and colours of reality ... impelled by ... indifference, alienation, a sort of nihilism.
> (Welch, 1983, p.4).

I would argue that the women's own position in the contest is more indecisive, since its major expressions appear to suggest their line favours the subjectivist myth (thus paradoxically making them objectivist, since this stance at some level argues that it represents the 'true' version of reality) whilst in fact their complete view represents an acknowledgement that the two myths are constantly interactive. And it is this latter proposition that I believe the women's protest must in future concentrate upon and develop. The division of human experience into the two categories of 'objective' and 'subjective', which become correspondingly 'male' and 'female' when the analysis is gendered, can lead to acceptance of a separatist politics in which each group regards its experience as its exclusive 'property'; which others cannot share. And this becomes, ultimately, oppressive; the group which enjoys greater power and status materially has the capacity to continue enforcing its own version upon its counterpart. Communication is not possible. Thus, Lakoff and Johnson can state that 'By giving up on rationality, the Romantics played into the hands of the myth of objectivism' (Lakoff and Johnson, 1979, p.192). Similarly, if the Greenham protest rejects science without examining how it might be appropriated and responsive to more 'humane' directives, how 'science might be a liberating force', (Ehrenreich and English, 1973, p.60), then control over it will remain in the hands of objectivists. The transformation of 'science' as controlling force in our society cannot operate outside dismantling of the objectivist myth. 'A general realisation that science does not yield absolute truth would no doubt change the power and prestige of the scientific community' (Lakoff and Johnson, 1979, p.227) - but the two must go hand in hand. Greenham, as a 'constantly changing consciousness' (Harford and Hopkins, 1984, p.4), must aim to avoid the false sense of freedom

created by separatism and head towards new formulations, developing the tendency evident within the protest thus far, to embrace fusion of world views which our culture at present preserves in diametric opposition.

If this study has revealed a crisis in communcation between the women and those in power, then we could argue that this feature demands increased attention. It is insufficient to demonstrate simply possession of qualities you are convinced society must validate; a dialogue must be established as a channel for negotiation. Yet there is, as always, an inherent problem. If it is problematic to attempt to argue for the positivity of qualities society invalidates using only those qualities, then to abandon them and establish a dialogue on the terms of those in opposition to you is also ineffective. Lakoff and Johnson's assertion that mutual interchange can resolve conflict, that realities can 'meet', promises to offer some profitable suggestions.

The major conditions upon which successful fusion depends are posited. Firstly, there must be 'enough diversity of cultural and personal experience to be aware that divergent world views exist and what they might be like' (Lakoff and Johnson, 1979, p.230). Here, the Greenham women are eminently well fitted to the requirements. Their protest represents a reaction to dominant world-views; of necessity it therefore encompasses an understanding of two modes of perception artificially set in antithesis in the dominant culture with the 'subjective' mode suppressed and little understood or explored as a 'political' directive.

Secondly, Lakoff and Johnson's 'Experientialist' alternative identifies the necessity of a 'talent for finding the right metaphor to communicate the relevant parts of unshared experience or to highlight the shared experiences while de-emphasising the others' (Lakoff and Johnson, 1979, p.231). It follows, 'logically', that the onus is upon the women to find this metaphor, to 'take the lead', since they have the broader, more complete understanding of the processes at work in our response to the world through two modes of perception at present, but not inherently, polemical. (If the metaphorical conceptualisation that has evolved within the protest as appropriate to their needs is inadequate, and the term 'Nature' in our culture is indeed.)

Metaphor is vital because it 'unites reason and imagination' - as we have seen, it operates at the level of subjective (emotional) response, but has a basis in historical cultural event and demonstrates to those who believe their response to be purely objective, that it is not so.

It is fair enough, 'logical' enough, to posit this argument, to adopt the theory in the hope of it furthering awareness of how the protest might develop - yet there is another vitally important consideration which comes into play in this instance -

posit the issue as one of lack of communication, which, once corrected, dialogue set in motion, can facilitate resolution of differences, enlightenment and hence erosion of patriarchal ideologies and social practice. At one level, the Greenham protest exists as a threat to masculine sense of self. It is, ultimately, a necessary, justified challenge, and it offers a new identity which would allow men to cease suppressing emotions which can bring great pleasure, fulfilment and release. Yet if they stand to gain, they also stand to lose a great many social and individual privileges. The women ask men to denounce masculinity, and accompanying social advantages and power as a preliminary to inhabiting a new consciousness; which may be difficult for them to imagine in its entirety. Similarly, whilst social practice and institutional life operate along patriarchal lines, there exists a material barrier to restructuring of the male identity.

There are no easy answers. Until men actively want to adopt new modes of perception and organise social practice on the basis of 'the Experentialist myth' or 'the Greenham logic', successful dialogue cannot operate. It would be fair to conclude from this study that the 'Woman is Nature is Woman' metaphor is an 'inadequate' choice, since it does not facilitate communication of the women's meanings - thus, the women must search for a new one. Yet it seems to me that any metaphor, any articulation of female identity attempting to assert its positivity does not operate in a cultural vacuum. Within patriarchal knowledge systems, there always exists means by which to derogate and disallow. Women's history is one of exclusion.

The 'moment' we presently inhabit forebodes Armageddon. Women must demand inclusion, must help men share their wisdom before we are all deprived of the chance to correct the damage done to the world.

> ... We dreamed we travelled at the speed of light. And our flesh vanished to nothing. We were in the void. But before we reached this void we saw a glimpse. There was the world we always knew possible. In our fleshless bodies we felt our hearts drop infinitely. To see what we had given up. In our terror. In our desire to speed as far as possible. To be away from the terrifying roar, the blinding light, the cataclysm, we had sped into the world of impossibility.
>
> But there, behind us, green and still living, was this possibility - a day's walk back into a future we could have touched: Such tenderness, such joy.
> (Griffin, 1980, p.147).

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