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# THE

# GREENHAM FACTOR



It is impossible to ignore the emergence of a new factor in recent opinion polls on the nuclear issue: the women of Greenham Common.

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POSTER



'The idea of the march was a little notice in Peace News about a women-led march from Copenhagen to Paris which I noticed whilst on a leaflet writing party to persuade our Council to go nuclear-free (they did). What a nice idea to have one here - everyone agreed, but no one wanted to "do" it because it would be too much work. Nor did I, but the idea just refused to go away so in the end I gave in to persistent internal pestering and announced that I would walk from somewhere in Wales to somewhere, like Greenham Common, in England with anyone else that wanted to come.

About forty of us assembled in Cardiff on August 26th, and the first thing that struck us was our variety. The more we discovered of ourselves the more impressed we became - by the numbers of women, for instance, for whom coming on the march had been difficult, involving elaborate arrangements over child-care or jobs, or giving up a holiday. Simply to discover that this prim-looking grandmother, this cheerful G.P., this nervous schoolgirl, this single-parent mother of five, took the threat to our future seriously enough to respond to a call to action coming not from any known organisation but from an unknown indi-

vidual living in an obscure rural corner of these isles gave us courage. This faith is important, for the potential of "the movement" to rise to the rhetoric about The Greatest Challenge in the History of Mankind is no more than the potential of these miserable individuals, with dinner to cook and too much to do already, and a deep-seated lack of faith in themselves and others...

By the second half of our long walk in the heat wave, the atmosphere was like a kind of force-field within which obstacles served only to strengthen determination and

policemen relaxed, became human and danced with us to the tune of "No More Hiroshimas" . . . What I believe we experienced was something of that creative spirit, that power of mimesis, evoked by our distant ancestors when they drew pictures to overcome their fear of the huge powerful animals that surrounded and threatened them - the woolly mammoth, the sabre-toothed tiger. They drew it and danced and in this way they came to believe it *could be done* - these powerful creatures could be killed.'

Ann Pettitt



Lesley McIntyre

**'We aren't going away. We'll be there for as long as it takes.'**

#### 1981

August 28 - Sept 5 - 'Women for Life on Earth' march from Cardiff to Greenham Common, a distance of 110 miles.

Sept 5 - Four women chain themselves to the fence at the main gate. They demand a live televised debate on Cruise between women on the march and a Ministry of Defence (M.O.D.) representative. From this direct action, the Women's Peace Camp is born.

Dec 12 - A march in the snow into Newbury to join a torchlight procession of Newbury people on the anniversary of the NATO decision in 1979 to accept US controlled Cruise missiles in Britain (and other European countries).

Dec 21 - Women prevent work on sewers, which are part of Cruise preparations, by sitting in front of machinery.

#### 1982

Jan 18 - 'Keening' outside House of Commons on opening of Parliament to warn politicians to rethink nuclear policy.

Jan 20 - Newbury District Council gives camp two weeks eviction notice.

Feb 1 - As part of eviction strategy, women at the camp decide only women will live there, and men are invited to visit during the day.

March 21 - Celebration of Spring Equinox. About 10,000 people go to base to protest against Cruise missiles. 24-hour blockade by 300 women. 34 arrests.

May - High Court eviction order. Women block gate for two weeks until camp is forcibly removed from council-controlled common land. It takes 9 hours to destroy completely the camp which moves to Ministry of Transport (M.O.T.) land nearer to road. 5 arrests and 4 women spend week in prison because they refuse to keep the peace in the terms of the court.

June 6 - Greenham women speak at CND rally in Hyde Park.

June 7 - 80 women stage die-in outside Stock Exchange. All roads to Stock Exchange are blocked for 15 minutes during rush hour.

June 8 - Women keen warning to MPs as

Reagan speaks at House of Commons.

August 6 - Hiroshima Day. 10,000 stones are placed on Newbury War Memorial.

August 9 - Nagasaki Day. Women enter base and give commander an origami crane, symbol of hope for peace.

August 27 - M.O.T. eviction order ultimatum. Women occupy M.O.D. sentry box and sing-song answer the phone until 18 are arrested and charged with 'behaviour likely to cause a breach of the peace'.

Sept 28 - Second eviction. M.O.T. dumps thousands of rocks over camp to prevent women from returning. Camp begins again on original piece of council land.

Oct 3 - Sewage pipe work stopped by women who lie down in front of machines and in ditches woven over with webs until they are dragged away and arrested.

Nov 15 - Sentry box trials. 23 women go to prison for 14 days.

Nov 17 - Sewer pipe trials. More women go to prison for 14 days for breach of the peace.

Dec 12 - At least 30,000 women embrace the 9 mile fence around the base and shut it down. Fence is decorated with symbols of life.

Dec 13 - Blockade of all gates. Some women go into base and plant snow-drops.

#### 1983

Jan 1 - At daybreak women climb over fence and dance on top of silos. 44 are arrested.

Jan 17 - Women lobby MPs and sing in House of Commons.

Jan 22 - 3 women arrested for putting up tent at Blue Gate.

Jan 24 - 15 women arrested for blockading Green Gate.

Feb 7 - Heseltine visits Newbury. Much action.

Feb 15-16 - New Year's trials.

Feb 21 - Blue Gate tent trial.

Feb 28 - Green Gate blockade trial.

March 10 - High Court order for third eviction. Women move camp again - back to M.O.T. land - a distance of 50 yards.

from Jill Tweedie. *Guardian* 16.11.82. 'Men accuse women of being emotional about the nuclear menace. I came here because of the little girl who took nine hours dying in her mother's arms after Nagasaki, her skin hanging off, saying "Mama, I'm cold". And because of the napalmed girl running down the road in Vietnam. I need no other reasons, and those seem to me quite logical.'

*A grandmother, Greenham Peace Camp*

**'I'm forty-four. I can't stand much more of this.'**

*Arlene, Greenham Peace Camp*

'I have borne and nursed three children and as a mother I will continue to insist on the right to life of both my own and every other child on this planet — including the 12 million who die every year of starvation while we spend £11 million a minute on arms. As a woman I will continue to defy the British state's policy of pre-meditated mass murder and as a historian I demand the opportunity for history to continue.'

*Susan, Rhondda Valley*

'I'm not a feminist and I'm not radical. I'm just a woman who's fighting for her life. It's that simple for me. I have nothing to lose and everything to gain.'

*Simone, Greenham Peace Camp*

'A woman in Russia is the same as myself, the same emotions, leading the same sort of life. In no way will I be part of anything that will murder her . . .'

*Sarah, Greenham Peace Camp*

'They say better dead than Red, and I say I don't want the world to end because they would rather be dead.'

'Studying philosophy began to look like some kind of luxury. We stopped at Molesworth and I knew then that someone had to be living at these bases permanently. I went away planning how to get back. It was an odd feeling hearing about the Greenham women and knowing people were doing what was just a figment of our imagination. We had planned to come at Easter but when we heard the Greenham women were digging in for the winter, it seemed rather weak-kneed to wait. So we arrived here on December 28th (1981).'

*Jean, Molesworth Peace Camp*

'I cannot teach Peace Studies as a subject because they would be "political". War, though, is on the school curriculum under the subject of History.'

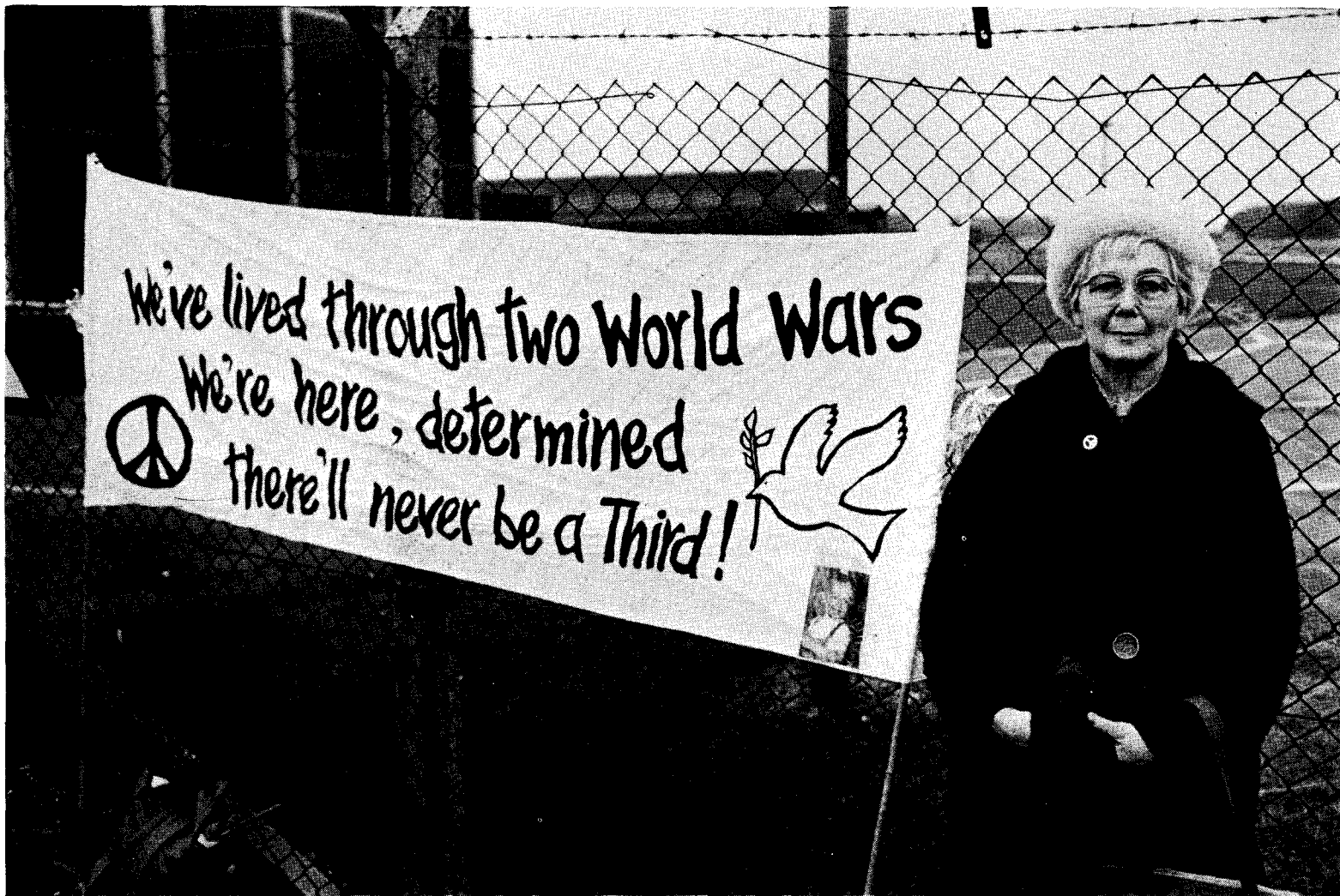
*Inger, Greenham Peace Camp*

'I am a pacifist and member of the Society of Friends and it seemed to me that the women of Greenham were doing something for me, something I'd be doing myself if I was younger. But I went down to the fence and put my grandchildren's picture on it. It seemed the only thing I could do.'

*Connie, Newbury court, 15th Feb. 1983*

'I remembered something someone had told me about a community in Africa, how it deals with one of its clan who has done something antisocial, against the code of the people. The person is surrounded by all the other members of the community, and surrounded by statements of support and recognition. Each of the people remembers good things about the person, things about who they are and what they have done, right back to their birth. This goes on until the person in the centre gets enough affirming and good feelings, until they believe in themselves and in Life and no longer need to do damage. Surrounding the base with our calling and messages of love for Life reminds me of the community surrounding the antisocial individual.'

*Sarah, Greenham Peace Camp*



*Ed Barber*



*Lesley McIntyre*

#### PROTOCOL 1, ADDITIONAL TO GENEVA CONVENTION 77

##### Article 51

The civilian population as such as well as individual civilians, shall not be the object of attack. Acts or threats of violence the primary purpose of which is to spread terror among the civilian population are prohibited.

A recent opinion poll showed that the majority in Britain does not want Cruise here. Democratic government is an expression of a civilized society. We want to safeguard our civilization and halt the erosion of its democracy.



'I stayed because there were so few at the beginning. Then I started reading, I had time there you see, and I realised what a big thing we were up against and how immoral and wasteful and upsetting the whole thing was and that most people didn't realise. I began to see that we're getting less and less free. My father always said it's a free country. Yet it's not.'

*Effie, Greenham Peace Camp*

Call themselves a peace demonstration, he snarled, when they won't let men in? All that twaddle about mankind being on the brink, yet these females exclude us. Pretending we'd cause violence, huh. Personally, I'd shoot them all, bang bang bang.

*Jill Tweedie (Dear Martha)*

**'We fought World War I in Europe, we fought World War II in Europe and if you dummies will let us, we will fight World War III in Europe.'**

*Admiral Gene Le Rocque,  
former U.S. Strategic Planner.*

'This is the only issue that matters. It does not matter if your kids clean their teeth or have good food or that you have a good married relationship which is good for the kids if we are not going to survive.'

*Dr Helen Caldicott.*

'I have never been able to accept the reasons for the belief that any class of nuclear weapons can be categorized in terms of their tactical or strategic purposes.'

*Earl Mountbatten*

#### WHAT IS GREENHAM COMMON?

An airforce base was first sited at Greenham Common during the Second World War, an area of common land being taken over by the Ministry of Defence. Although the airfield fell into disuse for some years after the war, the land was never returned to the council, and in 1951 the land was purchased by the Ministry of Defence against the wishes of the local authorities. Some time later the base was leased to the Americans and for a period it was quite openly an American base called USAF Greenham Common. All of the personnel currently serving there are American, but they are protected by the British MOD police and the name RAF Greenham Common is used again.

In December 1979, the British government announced that 96 Cruise missiles would be sited at Greenham Common in December 1983. Another 20 are to be sited at Molesworth in East Anglia in 1986, and these missiles will be deployed around the country in the event of a crisis.

'It is difficult for many women to learn that they can change things on their own, without men, and that is why they feel helpless in the nuclear crisis. We have all changed since we came here. We know we can survive on our own, run our own camp, and we know that we have the strength to stand up for what we believe in. We know that Cruise missiles won't arrive here, because we can stop them.'

*Sarah, Greenham Peace Camp*

'When I was about twelve, I read *The Diary of Anne Frank*, about a kid who was the same age as I was. And I went to my mother and said: "How could these things have happened?" And she said "People didn't know they were happening." And I knew that was a lie.'

*Arlene, Greenham Peace Camp*

**'You cannot be a conscientious objector in the next war.'**



*Lesley McIntyre*

'Most of the women are wearing rough trousers and coats and boots, muddied from the road; one anomalous creature has many petticoats, white and lacy, and as they yank her out her skin is exposed. Swept aside, she gets up as the others do and runs to lie down again in front.'

As you watch the women coming forward to lie in their prostrate ranks under the army cars, to be wrenched out, returning inexorably around and forward, lying down again and again — "Someone's going to get hurt!" a male journalist cries enthusiastically; the violence is only just contained but still they come — gradually you see them like the waves of the sea, unstoppable as the tides.'

*Sally, 15th Feb. 1983*

'Having been on a number of demos, I was more impressed by this (the women blockading the gates) than any number of marches along Princes Street, Edinburgh. The emphasis is on action and not on orderly marching under police direction; no one made speeches — there was no need for that; the organisers weren't constantly referred or deferred to, and the inhibitions I've felt before along with the hopelessness associated with many protest marches was not there.'

I was aware of an amazing lack of pretension and strong all-embracing feelings. The songs and music keep the atmosphere of the action going; morale was so high!'

*Jane, NALGO rep, Newbury court*

**'I've been accused of being cruel and hard-hearted for leaving my children behind, but it's exactly for my children that I'm doing this. In the past, men have left home to go to war. Now women are leaving home for peace.'**

*Sarah, Greenham Peace Camp*



December 13th

'On the night of the 12th, a beautiful silver pyramid was erected right outside the main gate, and after a very short and fitful night's sleep inside it, I settled down in front of the gate with about 15 other women and the blockade was on. It was about 5.30a.m., and we were all in a picnic mood, much too hyped up to be sleepy. The support we were given was endless: plastic sheeting and sleeping bags to sit on, blankets to put over our knees, and a constant supply of hot drinks and food.

When the sun rose it became a beautiful day: cold, but sunny and bright and cloudless. Inevitably, the press arrived: What were we hoping to achieve? Would we succeed? What about the Russians?

When I heard, later on in the morning, that all the gates had been successfully blockaded, I turned to the woman next to me and we hugged and kissed triumphantly...

A mass of about 100 overcoated (to cover up their ID numbers) police emerged from one of the base buildings and walked rapidly towards us. I was very afraid, and I could feel the fear from the others. Deb took my hand and we all spontaneously sang 'You Can't Kill the Spirit'. The police in front began to pick women up and drag them roughly away. The gate opened further, Deb's hand was torn from my grasp, and I saw her being crushed between the gate and the pavement. No woman cried out, or attempted to fight, or abused the police. Then came my turn. I went limp as soon as I felt their hands on me. They dropped me and I thought it was all over, but suddenly I felt my thumb grasped hard. I was dragged along by it and half thrown, half dragged against the fence. All around us women were crying with anger and shock, or shouting out their fury.

Once all the vehicles had left the base, the police disappeared. The remains of the beautiful silver pyramid lay by the side of the road, torn and spoiled. Women who minutes before had been hauled around and hurt, sang out their hope.'

Toni

**'It was the first day that I felt I had any control over my life.'**

(Woman speaking at Workshop in Action Space, London)

'We're talking about life and death. We're not talking about images. I mean it won't matter when you're dead whether you were a good conservative chap or a radical feminist — you're just dead. And this is life and death.'

Simone, Newbury court

'30,000 pairs of eyes looking through the wire fence at a few huts, a man with a dog, and a police car every now and again. Is this our enemy? I hear a buzzing in my ears as a helicopter flies overhead, they are watching us, observing our reactions as we cry because we have completed our chain, or seeing us smile as we fall into the mud or hug one of our sisters.'

Dorothy McDowell  
unemployed feminist from Liverpool

I thought it might have been something which had nothing to do with the war, the collapse of the earth, which it was said would take place at the end of the world and which I had read about as a child.

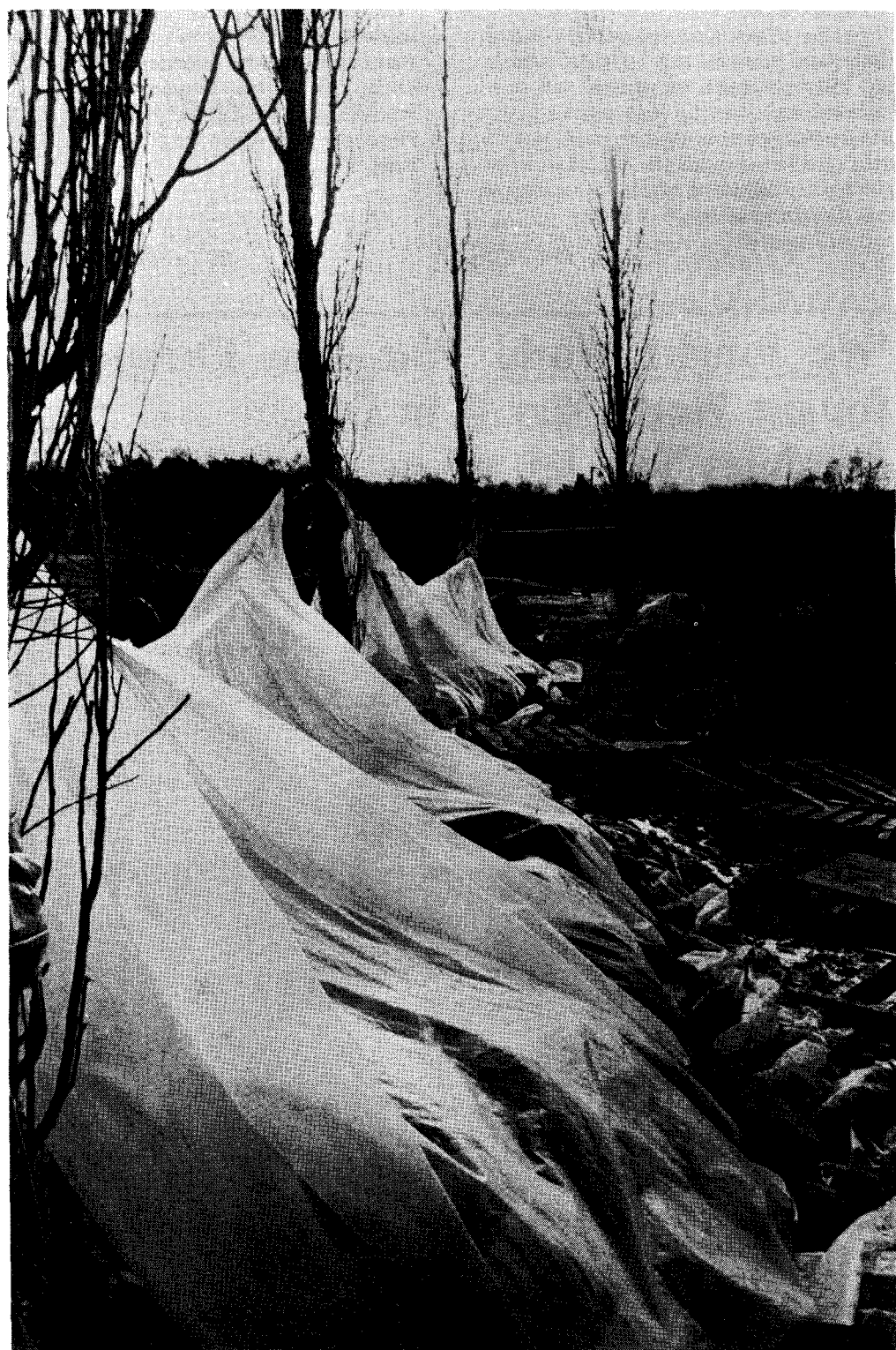
Yoko Ota, Hiroshima

**'If we don't use imagination nothing will change. Without change we will destroy the planet. It's as simple as that.'**

Lesley, Greenham Peace Camp

'Many of our national leaders seem to live in a schizoid world of, on the one hand, planned death by massive genocide and, on the other, a primitive fear of death when they are personally faced with its reality. This contradiction can be explained by the powerful defense mechanism "death denial": we all survive by pretending we will never die. Males are particularly adept at the denial of unpleasant emotions. Perhaps it is this defense mechanism that sublimates the urge to survive and allows politicians to contemplate "first strike capabilities" or limited nuclear war —'

Dr. Helen Caldicott/'Nuclear Madness'



Louanne Richards

#### The Second Eviction, 29/9/'82

'We had been daily expecting this eviction for a month but when it happened, all our dread left us.

Women having breakfast in the kitchen caravan were informed first, at about 10 a.m. Cheerfully and calmly, these women spread the word around the camp to women in other caravans and tents. Soon everyone was packing up tents and bedding and hiding them, looking for places to put the things we would need for the next stage in the camp's life — the stage where we could continue to maintain our presence without shelter — the stage the authorities thought would finally destroy our determination to stay.

How wrong they have proved to be.

Saucepans, cutlery, cash and bedding were packed into vehicles — we hid our standpipe very carefully. Meanwhile it rained solidly. More than thirty policemen stood around as the bailiffs' cranes lifted our seven caravans onto transporters and took them away to a compound near Hungerford.

There were eleven of us there that day but we did not feel outnumbered. Some of us spoke to the press and took photographs — we all linked arms and sang:

'You can't kill the spirit  
She is like a mountain  
Old and strong  
She goes on and on ...'

Greenham Common Newsletter

'That day of gentle peace was one I'll carry to my grave. Greenham Common will never be a "bleak" place again.'

Sheila, 12 Dec. 1982



Maggie Murray

Dec. 12th: Message received — the base is surrounded.



'The military is the most obvious product of patriarchy. For the same social and historic reasons men have usually taken the lead in the Peace Movement, but when this leads to a confrontation situation, men confronting men, this becomes a microcosm of the original problem. At the Women's Peace Camp, with the support of both women and men, women are exploring a different way to deal with the weighty problem of disarmament . . .'

*Greenham Common Newsletter*

'The decision to have only women actually living in the camp is partly tactical, as they feel the authorities treat them differently when men are not present, seeing them as less provocative. The camp, however, has always been a "women's initiative". This is not because the women are hostile to men, but because they feel the need for space to develop their own ways of working. They see more hope for the future in the political processes emphasized by the women's movement — shared decision-making; non hierarchical, leaderless groups; cooperation and non-violence — than in the hierarchical and authoritarian systems that prevail in mixed groups. They want a chance also to develop skills they are not normally expected to acquire: organizational and practical ones; and to express those characteristics normally devalued in society at large: caring, compassion, trust. Human characteristics which they feel all of us should reclaim if we want to survive.'

*Dr. Lynne Jones, from Keeping the Peace*

' . . . women in general in British politics have been conservative with a small 'c'. On this issue they're clearly more radical than men.'

*Joan Ruddock.*

'Having women's actions in my view has got nothing to do with excluding men. It's got to do with, for once — including women. It's so women, who've been told that they can only function in one small closed-in area to do with children and nurturing, can come out of those areas and take part in politics and actually begin to affect and change the world, and that's Why Women. It's got nothing to do with excluding men.'

*Katrina, Greenham Peace Camp*

'We understand that men also want to demonstrate in their own way their opposition to the nuclear threat. They can do this without undermining the achievement of the Women's Peace Camp. There are very many military establishments and armament factories which need to be brought to the public eye by having Peace Camps set up outside them. The multiplication of Peace Camps around the UK would be a more fruitful way of showing the scale of the danger of war, extending public debate, and eventually achieving the aim of *all of us* who are trying to save the world from destruction. We must spread our wings.'

*Aggie, Greenham Peace Camp*

The bomb dropped on Hiroshima was code-named 'Little Boy' and the one on Nagasaki, 'Fat Man'. In NATO language, protective clothes for troops are called 'Noddy suits', soldiers are 'human assets', and dead civilians are 'collateral damage'.



'Mamma was bombed at noon  
When getting eggplants in the field,  
Short, red and crisp her hair stood,  
Tender and red her skin was all over.'

*Michio Ogino, 10 yrs., Hiroshima)*

'Women have for too long provided the mirrors in which men see their aggression as a heroic quality with themselves magnified larger than life.'

*Nottingham WONT  
from Keeping the Peace*

'The authorities, when faced with organised non-violent women, do not know how to deal with us. They are trained to react to aggressive behaviour. So far they have tried to frighten us and stifle our right to express our opinions by harrassment, evictions and token imprisonment. We want women to come here to Greenham to gather strength and learn how not to be intimidated by the authorities and unsupportive men.'

'One of the lifts I got down here was from a guy. The whole time he argued with me about nuclear missiles. At the very end he said, I find this whole situation really bizarre, I'm giving you a lift to a demonstration against nuclear missiles and I'm a missile engineer'.

*Aggie, Greenham Peace Camp*

*Jane 15th Feb. 1983*



*Lesley McIntyre*

**'What we're saying is that women are powerful: we can all come out and say  
*You can't do this to us.'***

*Sarah, Greenham Peace Camp*



'I can remember meeting a Japanese woman in London while I was expecting my second child. She told me that members of her family had died at Hiroshima. She said that when a woman became pregnant in Hiroshima she was given no congratulations but people waited in silence for 9 months until the child was born to see if it was all right.'

As a result of the two small atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, at least 200,000 people were killed. Many died instantly, many died more slowly over the following months. Thirty-two years later there were 366,523 people still registered as suffering from the effects of those bombs.

The Home Office envisages an attack on Britain would be in the order of 22 megatonnes — the equivalent of 13,000 bombs of the sort dropped on Hiroshima.

'If it is necessary to leave the shelter at any time when fallout is still present, then stout boots or shoes and an outdoor coat should be worn.'

*Protection Against Nuclear Weapons, leaflet of the Scientific Advisory Branch, Home Office, March 1980*

'If we are successful, and Cruise never comes, it doesn't mean the Russians will have carte blanche to just come in and walk all over us. How are the Russians going to come and occupy Europe with all the problems they've got — and China at their back? It isn't that simple. If we disarm it would put tremendous pressure on the Americans and on the Russians. We're just a front at the moment, a limited theatre of war: there will be nothing afterwards for us so we've nothing to lose.'

*Simone, Newbury court*

## ARTICLE II OF GENOCIDE CONVENTION

In the present Convention, genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such:

- (a) Killing members of the group;
- (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
- (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
- (d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;
- (e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

'In today's world 1.5 billion people lack access to professional health services. Over 1.4 billion people have no safe drinking water. More than 500 million people suffer from malnutrition. But world governments spend twice as much on armaments as on health care...'

In our modern arms economy, military research consumes the creative efforts of over 500,000 scientists and engineers world-wide and gets more public funds than all social needs combined.'

*Dr. Helen Caldicott/'Nuclear Madness'*

Rats live underground in 'natural' nuclear shelters, e.g. sewers. Some strains of rat are resistant to radiation. The last estimate of the rat population in Britain was 100 million. A rat can have up to 800 baby rats per year. Rats spread diseases like typhus, rabies, roundworm, bubonic plague and lassa fever. For any survivors of a nuclear war rats be as much of a problem as the fight for uncontaminated food and water.

'A child formed from an egg or sperm cell mutated by radiation in a dominant way will show the results of mutation. It may spontaneously abort or, if it survives pregnancy, it may turn out to be a sickly, deformed individual with a shortened life-span. If this person then reproduces, statistically, half of his or her children will inherit the dominant gene and its deformities.'

*Dr. Helen Caldicott/'Nuclear Madness'*



'Mummy, why are the policemen guarding the bombs which are going to kill people but not the people who want to stop the bombs?'

*Alice, aged 5*



Lord Louis Mountbatten, Strasbourg, May 1979: 'In the event of a nuclear war there will be no chances, there will be no survivors — all will be obliterated . . . I am not asserting this without having deeply thought about the matter. When I was Chief of the British Defence Staff I made my views known. I have heard the arguments against this view, but I have never found them convincing. So I repeat in all sincerity as a military man I can see no use for any nuclear weapons which would not end in escalation, with consequences no one can conceive . . . As a military man who has given half a century of active service I can say in all sincerity that the nuclear arms race has no military purpose. Wars cannot be fought with nuclear weapons.'

Damage estimation of a 10 megatonne explosion at ground level from epicentre:—  
for ¼ mile, a crater ¼ mile deep; then  
for 2 miles, total destruction; then  
for 7 miles demolition of tall structures,  
everything that can burn does so; then  
for 15 miles fires connecting in built-up  
areas/woodland; then  
for 20 miles, fires and most streets blocked  
with wreckage; then  
for 30 miles fire, damage, flying debris,  
radiation burns on exposed or lightly  
covered skin;  
for 80 miles (depending on wind direction)  
corridor 20 miles wide, death to those  
exposed to radioactive fallout;  
for 100 miles (depending on wind direction)  
corridor 30 miles wide eventual death of  
90% of people in open air or under light  
cover.

**'In choosing sites for the mass graves it would be important to avoid additional contamination of the water supplies.'**

'If a death occurs while you are confined to the fall-out room place the body in another room and cover it as securely as possible. Attach an identification. You should receive radio instructions on what to do next. If no instructions have been given within five days, you should temporarily bury the body as soon as it is safe to go out, and mark the spot.'

*From 'Protect and Survive' the Gov. handbook that 'tells you how to make your home and your family as safe as possible under nuclear attack'.*

'Einstein said, "If there's a *fourth* world war it'll be fought with bows and arrows." Personally I'm less optimistic than Einstein. He didn't take account of genetic damage. I mean, how d'you fire a bow and arrow with dorsal fins?'

From 'Bang' by Jennifer Phillips and Jill Hyem

5 megatonnes = 1 million tons of TNT  
= *all* the bombs, shells and mines used by *all* countries during World War II.

'The drainage of urine and the burying of faeces into the ground . . . would be infinitely preferable to allowing random distribution over the surface of the ground . . . living conditions would not be conducive to bowel control and regular habits.'

*Environmental Health in War' annex to Home Office Circular ES 8/1976.*

**'I just felt I could no longer stand in front of the children and talk about their future when I didn't believe in my own.'**

*Jayne, a teacher, Greenham Peace Camp*



Dr. John Gofman, distinguished ex-nuclear physicist, discoverer of uranium 233: 'Many people have said nuclear war means the end of the world, and I don't think that's true. I think there will be lots of survivors. There will be lots of misery for countless generations in terms of genetic mutation.'

'The lie that we have all come to live — the pretense that life lived on top of a nuclear stockpile can last . . . In this timid, crippled thinking, 'realism' is the title given to the beliefs whose most notable characteristic is their failure to recognize the chief reality of the age . . . 'Utopian' is the term of scorn for any plan that shows serious promise of enabling the species to keep from killing itself.'

*Jonathan Schell*



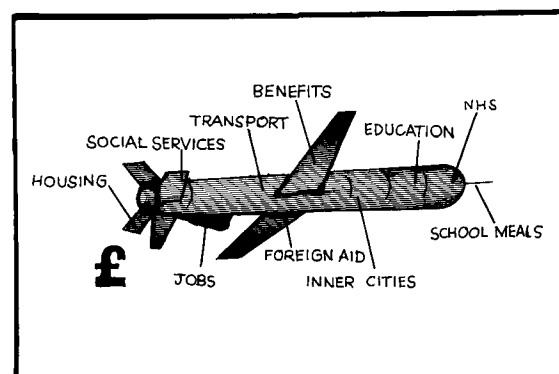
*Lesley McIntyre*

'We're right in the middle of reality here, aren't we? It's no good pretending it's going to be easy.'

*Jayne, Greenham Peace Camp*

'Military and national leaders are now planning to increase the nuclear weapon presence in Europe. In addition to the already present:

- 2,500 nuclear gravity bombs of the US Air Force,
- 3,800 rounds of artillery projectiles with nuclear warheads allocated to the US Army,
- 400 nuclear warheads located on the Poseidon submarine fleet offshore,
- 670 Pershing 1A missiles, lance missiles, and Hound Dog air-launched missiles,
- 700-1,000 British and French nuclear warheads,



'The arms race can kill, though the weapons themselves never be used. . . By their cost alone, armaments kill the poor by causing them to starve.'

*Vatican statement to UN, 1976*

NATO leaders want now to deploy 108 Pershing II missiles and 464 ground-launched cruise missiles.

*Rosalie Bertell  
Nurnberg Tribunal Feb. 1983*

**'You see, I really fancy some grand-children'.**

*Fran, Greenham Peace Camp*



'There are no roads leading to peace. Peace is the road.'

*M. Gandhi*

Greenham Common in Berkshire is one of the two sites chosen for 160 Cruise missiles, the first of a new generation of nuclear weapons, due later this year. Because of their size, they cannot be verified by satellite. Because of their size, they can be carried into Greenham in a laundry van. A Cruise flies close to the ground avoiding normal radar. It contains a lightweight computer with a map of Europe and Russia imprinted on its memory. The USA's Global Positioning Satellites over Europe can change and redirect flight continuously, thus assuring a high degree of accuracy. Once launched a Cruise will reach its target with the destructive force of 15 Hiroshima bombs. Cruise is officially called 'a defensive weapon', its 'strength' being that it can be launched from mobile launchers — so that the only way for the Russians to retaliate would be by blanketing the entire country with nuclear bombs.

#### STOP CRUISE!!

'Once they're in, they're in, it's not easy to remove them again; it just means a lot more sterile, polarized, academic debate. And the reason we've stepped up actions at the camp, and are putting so much energy into the here and now, is that when the transporters come, our job is to sit here and stop them going in. We've got to do everything we physically can to put ourselves in front of them.'

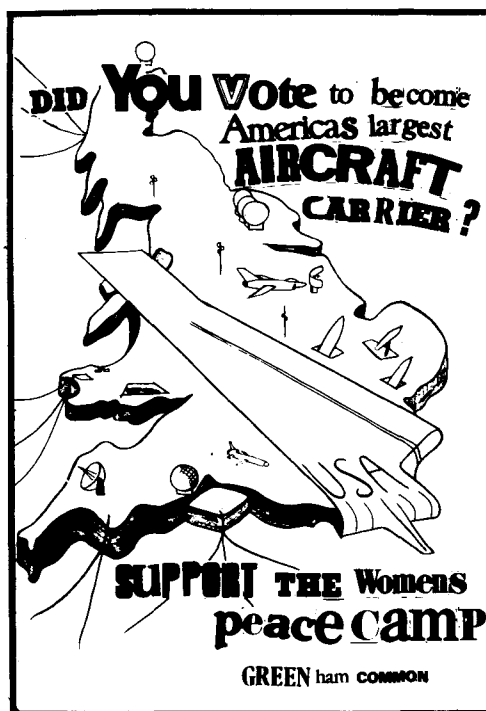
*Barbara, Greenham Peace Camp*

Near simultaneous detonation of half the world's stockpile would remove 70% of the world's ozone layer exposing survivors to deadly ultra-violet radiation, eliminate certain crops and reduce the yield of still cultivatable areas. Temperatures would drop several degrees causing other climatic changes.

'What has concentrated NATO thinking however has been the realisation that western strategy risks a loss of credibility. Many argue that, even at present, if deterrence broke down and Warsaw Pact forces crossed the East German border, NATO might have to go nuclear very quickly to avert defeat — in one estimate, within 3 or 4 days.'

*Jon Connell, Defence Correspondent,  
Sunday Times, 13th March 83*

*(Hansard, 15th Jan. 1980)*



'If it is really true that the Cruise missiles are a complete one key force, are we not approaching George Orwell's famous era when Britain was "Airstrip One"?'

*Field Marshall Lord Carver,  
House of Lords, 18th Dec. 1979.*

'An attack by the Soviet weapons now targeted on Britain would produce an estimated 38.6 million deaths and 4.3 million casualties. By the time the radiation hazard had fallen to acceptable levels for rescue attempts (14 to 21 days) most of the seriously injured would have perished from haemorrhage, secondary infection or radiation sickness compounded by dehydration, exposure and shock ... It is apparent that any schemes in existence would be completely inadequate to deal effectively with such a situation.'

*Report of the British Medical Association  
Board of Sciences and Education Inquiry  
into the Medical Effects of Nuclear War,  
April 1983.*

'The idea and amazing energy of going over the fence via ladders and clinging on to the silos came from one woman, but became the excitement and energies of a hundred or more women. Nearly the whole area round the silos is encircled by row upon row of barbed wire fence, apart from one small stretch where there was just one fence. Standing before the fence, we would need to be so quick. Two ladders were propped successfully against the fence, with carpet laid over the top barbed wire, and a ladder was slid down the other side. The atmosphere was frantic as we clambered over — headlights were driving towards us while it seemed an endless stream of women were crossing the barriers of destruction, bringing new life and hope.'

As we jumped from the ladders on the other side, we crouched for a moment, waiting for other women, wondering 'Will we get there?' In the next second we had joined hands — suddenly two policemen were there aggressively shoving the ladders and wrenching them away from the inside of the fence, leaving two women on top of the barbed wire. They jumped. We began singing and walking quickly, almost at a run, towards the silos. Our hearts were beating and our voices rang out clearly. The sky was light and it was softly raining on our faces.

I remember feeling ecstatic and overjoyed that we had successfully planted our statement for peace and life while standing on the top of what threatens the existence of our planet. Driven to Newbury Police Station we were charged with "breach of the peace". Still our energy continued to vibrate in our feelings and voices throughout the police cells.

*Bee and Ceri*

**STOP CRUISE!**

**STOP CRUISE!**



Dancing on the silos — 1st January 1983



# NONVIOLENT DIRECT ACTION NONVIOLENT DIRECT ACTION IS:

withholding tax  
singing  
talking to people  
leaving messages (in library books  
in the doctor's  
in bus shelters  
on the tube  
on walls)

refacing not defacing  
wearing badges  
putting up stickers  
flyposting  
thinking  
writing  
getting information and  
passing it on  
blockades, sit-ins  
occupations, strikes, boycotts  
pickets  
vigils  
mass demonstrations  
street speaking  
street theatre  
poems, songs, plays  
removing signs and changing  
their meaning  
banners  
newspapers  
holding on to a vision  
saying NO  
believing  
sharing feelings, ideas . . .  
more and more . . .

Some people find some things easy,  
other things difficult to do. I found it  
useful to work out for myself what  
actions I find difficult and try to come  
to terms with *why*.

Not everyone can go over the fence at  
Greenham.  
Not everyone needs to.  
There are so many other things to do.  
Support roles are vital to the success  
of any action,  
in no way secondary.

## SUPPORT ROLES

food & hot drinks for  
the blockaders  
talking to bystanders  
peace keepers  
watching out for cold,  
tiredness  
telling people what's  
happening  
giving out leaflets  
buffering hostility  
contacting the press  
medical help  
legal advice  
keeping track of what's  
happening  
taking police numbers  
following anyone who's  
been arrested  
contacting solicitors  
listing people's names  
giving moral support &  
encouragement  
helping to create a  
dignified atmosphere.

## BLOCKS TO NON-COOPERATION

Thoughtless support, going along with  
things, afraid of what might happen,  
what people might say, feeling  
unconfident, not wanting to stand out,  
feeling a moral obligation to obey and  
not make a fuss. (People in authority  
know better than I do, I might lose my  
job, it won't make any difference because  
they won't take any notice

## NONVIOLENCE IS:

believing that people can change  
channelling anger into action  
dignity and power from inner conviction  
a complete way of life  
a reasoned response to an aggressive  
situation  
people co-operating within a group  
communicating with opponents  
a commitment to openness  
trusting  
celebrating life. . . .

Dr. Gwynneth Kirk  
London, January 1983



Ed Barber



Maggie Murray

**This publication is itself a tool. Use the  
pages as posters, or send one to your local  
MP.**

# NONVIOLENT DIRECT ACTION NONVIOLENT DIRECT ACTION

'The macho-ness of the policemen and  
their eventual heavy-handed approach at  
the blocking of the gates cannot be  
counteracted effectively either by outright  
aggression or by complete passivity. Non-  
violent action is *not* non-action. When  
women are actually getting caught under  
huge army trucks and being pulled or  
kicked onto pavements only to get up  
again and go back for more, it is *real* action  
which requires *real* guts.'

Jane, NALGO rep, Newbury court

'A policeman trying to pull two arms apart  
in a firmly linked human chain has to  
directly confront his own feelings about  
handling women, not as sexual objects but  
as powerful beings . . . hacking through a  
chain he can avoid all that. It's just the nice  
easy masculine field of mechanics, no  
feelings involved. That lack of understand-  
ing as to what pain and suffering really  
mean makes it possible to press a button  
and annihilate a million people: that is  
what we're trying to challenge.'

Dr. Lynne Jones, from *Keeping the Peace*

'There was a case in Bridgend, Wales where  
30-odd people sat on top of a bunker that  
was going to be built, just sitting there and  
saying: We are not going to allow this to  
happen. After concrete had been poured  
all over these women the workmen refused  
to carry on, they didn't want the women  
to be hurt, and they went to the council  
who called an emergency meeting and  
reversed the decision about the bunker.  
The bunker has since been demolished and  
a factory built on that site which has given  
jobs to the local area. Now that's just  
twenty people putting their bodies where  
their beliefs are. And if a quarter of a  
million people who go to Hyde Park to the  
rally would put their bodies against some  
American base, they couldn't carry on with  
it, they just couldn't do what they're  
doing.'

Simone, Greenham Peace Camp

'The Sermon on the Mount and the  
command to be peacemakers is something  
which a Christian cannot escape, though  
many try. Christians among us have a rule:  
When we trespass on the base, we pray.  
We make a daily habit of trespassing.'

Jean Hutchinson  
resident at Molesworth

'Ursula, my mother, got involved with  
Greenham Common. She came up for a  
week over Christmas and she went over the  
fence on New Year's Day. It's quite likely  
she'll get a prison sentence. Every woman  
who goes to prison must be replaced by  
two or three others. I'm the only daughter  
who's self-employed so I'll have to leave  
my little daughter, she's three and a half.  
It's obvious it's got to be done. Things are  
stepping up. They put twenty-two in  
prison, now it's forty-four, next time it  
must be eight-eight.'

Diana, Newbury court, 15th Feb. 1983

'Persuading a hostile member of the public  
to sign a petition can be more difficult  
than sitting in the mud.'

Campaign, March 1983

'Unlike the Army Field Service Manual for  
soldiers, where the overall objective is to  
obey commands given from others up the  
hierarchy, preparation for nonviolent  
action emphasises that we act from our  
own experience, convictions, emotions and  
reason *in concert with others*.'

Peace News Broadsheet



# NUCLEAR MADNESS — WHO SHOULD BE ON TRIAL

**'I will not be bound over to keep *your* peace: I am already keeping my peace. I will not take punishment, or recant, or admit guilt. I am responsible for this — for seeing the war machine grinding on, building silos, arming the arsenals of the world with death — and using all the non-violent means I can to stop it. *I am asking you to keep the peace. We are not on trial, you are.*'**

*Katrina, Greenham Peace Camp*

'I'm afraid; this sort of situation is designed to cause fear, to intimidate ordinary people; and fear can cause paralysis — as with the threat of nuclear war — but I was determined to overcome my fear because what we have to say is the most important thing anyone should be listening to. What we are saying is that we are at the 11th hour, we are at the brink of being destroyed, and it's not just my death or your death but the death of the whole planet . . . Each and every one of us has to question and challenge a system where people who have learned to live cooperatively like the Bush People of the Kalahari, the Red Indian people, the aborigine people of Australia are attacked by those who abuse or destroy everything they cannot understand. We cannot stand by while this continues. Nuclear weapons, particularly provocative first-strike weapons like cruise, are the logical conclusion of a life-denying culture that values aggressive domination and conquest above the power of empathy, sensitivity and compassion. We are trying to re-establish those values. They are vital for our survival.'

*Rebecca, Greenham Peace Camp*

'In 1969 the Genocide Act was passed . . . Cruise missiles coming to this country are a further stage of the crime of genocide. They are not a defensive weapon but a first strike weapon . . . it is my duty as a citizen of this country, as it is the duty of all citizens, to do everything within my power to prevent a crime which is about to be committed and that is why I walked onto the base . . . The first party to use a nuclear weapon is likely to destroy in the end the whole planet and all future generations. I am on trial for my life not just for a breach of the peace.'

*Simone, Greenham Peace Camp*

**'I have no doubt that the tactical nuclear weapons deployed in Europe represent the worst danger for the peoples of the continent.'**

*Senator Nino Pasti,  
former Deputy Supreme Commander for  
NATO Nuclear Affairs.*

'It is distressing that we are to be (tried under) laws framed in 1391 — a mockery upon this court (in) the nuclear age. We can be sent to prison, treated like criminals, because we do not want our families or any other individual obliterated. I will continue my protest until it is put to the electorate to democratically vote on the matter.'

*Helen Johns*

'The reason we have to take what seems to be radical action is that we have tried writing, lobbying and using the proper political structures. We are not only ignored but slandered as being in the pay of the Russians. We are told that we must be protected from the Russians by nuclear weapons but the CEEB (Central Electricity Generating Board) is still selling uranium to the Russians and the Americans are selling computer parts to them for weapons systems. It is people who are making money out of the arms race which lets it continue.'

*Simone, Greenham Peace Camp*

**'I think that people want peace so much that one of these days, governments had better get out of their way and let them have it.'**

*Dwight D. Eisenhower, 1959.*

'We are all of us intelligent people. How can we sit around hiding the truth, talking legal jargon. We could all be sitting together using our hearts and minds to deal with the terrible situation we face. Even if you feel that the possibility of a holocaust is remote, why does everyone refuse to discuss it. Today we have heard the bailiff say that he was only doing his job, the reasons for the peace camp being at Greenham Common are not his concern. The police say they are only doing their job because they are asked to by the bailiff. The court is here today because the police have brought us here. I am charged with disturbing the peace. My whole life is dedicated to peace. I may sing loudly but I do not swear or abuse anyone. I am totally non-violent. I do not eat meat, harm any person or animal on this planet. I try to find harmony with the earth, my cycles with the cycles of the moon and planets. I search for peace in a world which prepares for war.'

*Sara, Greenham Peace Camp*



*Brenda Prince*

Outside Newbury Courthouse

'It's not just a question of costs and alternative military strategy. It's a moral question. There's really only one thing you need to ask yourself and that is: would you pull the trigger? would you press the button? And if the answer's "no" then you have to work with us and help in this struggle for peace.'

*Sarah, Greenham Peace Camp*

**Richard Nixon, when President of the United States, commented, 'I can go into my office and pick up the telephone, and in twenty five minutes seventy million people will be dead.'**

'I took part in the action because I feel it's a breach of the peace to have Cruise missiles on Greenham Common. It's endangering my life and others' and I believe everyone has a right to life. I can't participate in or allow murder to happen. So I have to do something about it. The prosecutor is avoiding the issue by accusing us of obstructing people in their daily lives when the issue is people's lives.'

*Tesse, Greenham Peace Camp*

**'In order to ensure respect for and protection of the civilian population and civilian objects, the Parties to the conflict shall at all times distinguish between the civilian population and the combatants and between civilian objects and military objectives and accordingly shall direct their operations only against military objectives.'**

*From The American Journal of  
International Law, Vol. 72 (1978)  
Article 51 of the 1977 Protocol  
addition to the Geneva Convention*



# STRIKE

24th May - International Women's Day of Action for Disarmament. Build local support for one-day women's strike through your trade unions and women's groups. Research local companies to approach women there - organise pickets.

## Contacts

**National:** 'May 24th', 16 Arundel Road, Brighton, E. Sussex.

**Fund-raising and donations:** Women's Peace Action A/c, Midland Bank, North Street, Brighton. A/c No.: 51222449.

**Northeast:** Liz Reveley, 50 Third Ave, Heaton, Newcastle. Ph: 500343.

**North Central:** Leslie Boulton, 3 Wharnccliffe Rd, Brookhill, Sheffield. Ph: 0742 25079.

**Central (Leics, Notts):** Andrea Heath, 15 Kimberley Rd, Leics. Ph: 0533 555691.

**South Central (Women's Peace Camp/Oxford):** Barbara or Aggie, 7 White Hill, Ecchinswell, Newbury, Berks. Ph: 0635 298512.

**Central Wales:** Thalia Campbell, Glangors Ynyslas, Borth, Dyfed. Ph: 097081360.

**South Wales:** Susan Lamb, Lynn Fortt, 7 York Tce, Porth, Rhondda, Mid Glam.

**Southwest (Bristol, Bath):** Gail Griffiths, Alison Segar, 8 St. Saviours Tce, Larkhall, Bath. Ph: 0225 319121 or 334895.

**Southwest (Devon):** Sara Meyer, 6 Fore St, Salcombe, Devon. Ph: 054884 2979 (wk) or 2851 (home).

**Southeast (Brighton-Dover):** Jan Pryer, 'The Mount', London Rd, Brighton, East Sussex. Ph: 0273 556744.

**South Central:** Sue Bolton, Ventnor, Isle of Wight. Ph: 0983 854457.

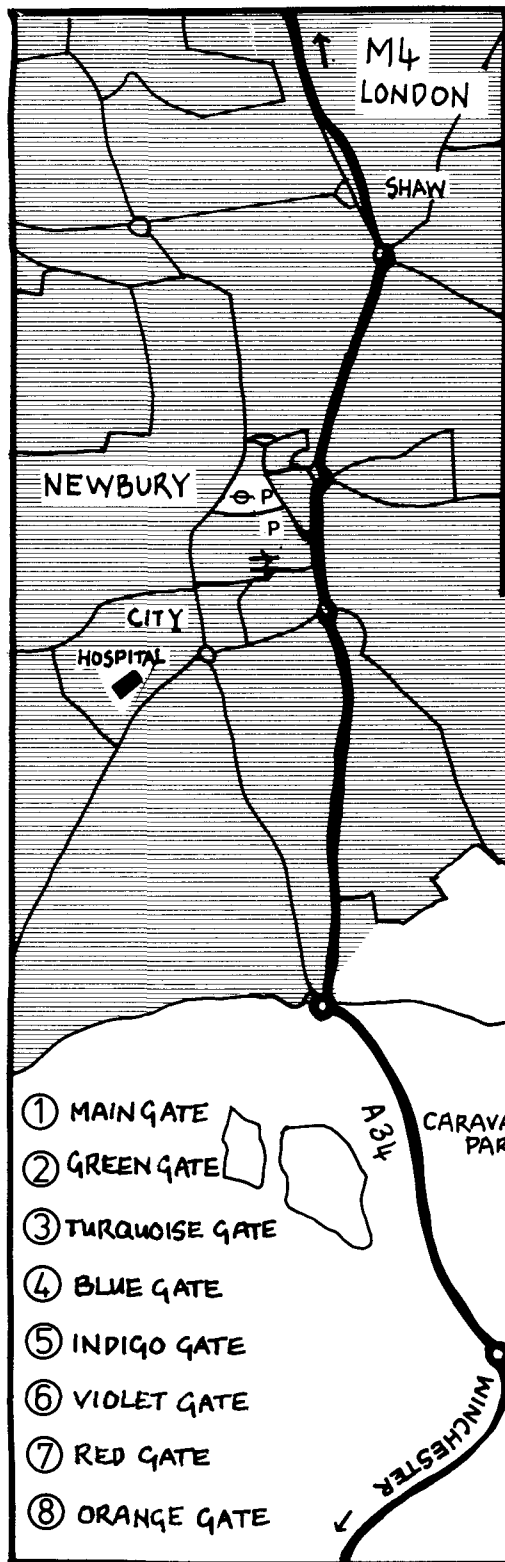
## Information on Non-Violent Direct Action

Send s.a.c. to: NVDA Training Workshops, 7 White Hill, Ecchinswell, Newbury, Berks, or 1 Crowland Terrace, Islington, London N1.

## WHERE IS GREENHAM COMMON?

The main entrance to the base is on the A339 out of Newbury on the Basingstoke road. Newbury is on both the A4 and M4 between London and Bristol. From London, there are trains hourly from Paddington Station (via Reading) and the single fare is £5.

The base has five entrances (recently a sixth has been opened) around its nine to ten-mile perimeter.



"YOU CAN'T KILL THE SPIRIT" a spiritual - also a round



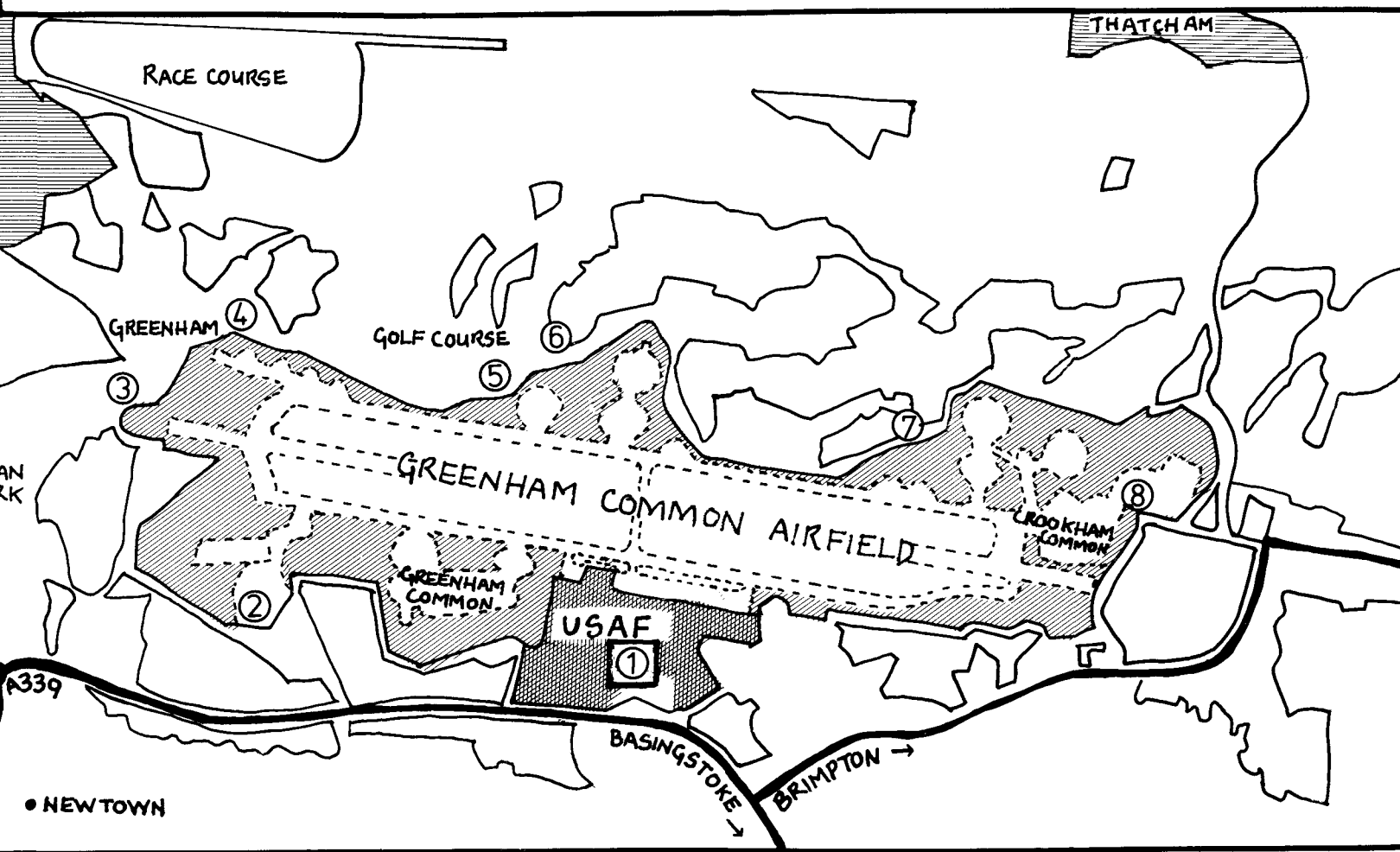
You can't kill the spirit she is like a mountain



Old and strong, she goes on and on and on



Brenda Prince





**Britain has more nuclear bases and consequently targets per head of population and per square mile than any other country in the world.**

**All proceeds to Greenham Common Peace Camp.**