

Penny Strange clearly and readably draws the links between the arms race, the creation of masculinity and male power, and everyday violence in this society. Such a wide view may seem to complicate the simple demand for nuclear disarmament. But, as she concludes:

“we would be fooling ourselves to imagine that peace is attainable without massive changes... this analysis means that we do not have to wait for governments and generals: we can all take a step in the right direction tomorrow, in our personal lives, at our next meeting. To destroy sexual domination is to undermine the foundations of hierarchy, power-seeking and violence on which war and the preparation of unbelievably destructive arms are based.”

This is essential reading for anyone who wants to go beyond natural revulsion at the inhumanity of the arms race to understand, undermine and finally halt it.

# IT'LL MAKE A MAN OF YOU...

**A feminist view of the arms race**

PENNY STRANGE

A Peace News/Mushroom pamphlet 95p





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## introduction

The women's peace movement is strong and growing all over Western Europe and the USA. In Britain, inspired by the women's peace camp at Greenham Common, many thousands of women have joined in the struggle for nuclear disarmament. Many women's peace groups are springing up, and there is more acceptance of women's initiatives and women-only groups and actions. However, although the practical effectiveness of women working together is very convincing, there is still little awareness of the connections between war and male values, and how women together are expressing values that are essential to a peaceful society.

These ideas are not new—similar things were being said by Virginia Woolf back in 1937. In her book *Three Guineas* she argues cogently that the best way to promote peace is to contribute to the liberation of women. More recently, feminist writers such as Andrea Dworkin and Barbara Deming have taken up the theme. Yet the ideas are still not widely known. Why is it that although Virginia Woolf is much admired as an author, what she had to say about war and a male dominated society is so neglected? The answer is that these ideas are hard to accept: they mean that opposition to war and violence starts at home: that the causes of war are "in here" as well as "out there". My hope is that this pamphlet will set some people thinking; it is meant as a starting point, not a definitive analysis.

This pamphlet grew out of discussions with my friends in Nottingham Women Opposed to Nuclear Technology, a specifically feminist anti-nuclear group. For us, making a feminist analysis of the arms race does not mean blaming it on individual men: rather it means looking at the causes of war in the struc-



tures of a male dominated society, and looking behind those structures to an underlying male cosmology. By cosmology I mean a basic worldview that shapes how we look at everything, and what kinds of patterns and meanings we make of our experiences. Our cosmology is so fundamental that it is usually invisible to ourselves: we think we are talking about "plain facts", and don't realise that a shift in our worldview would change the meanings of our perceptions—even change what we notice and what we are blind to. The male cosmology is the chief concern of this pamphlet. It so shapes and defines our world that many individual women actually support the male supremacy, either by emulating masculine behaviour (like Margaret Thatcher or Indira Gandhi) or by playing the complementary feminine role. On the other hand, some individual men are trying to work against male domination.

Still, all men derive certain benefits from their place in the system, although they are also oppressed by the limitations of their role. Women are doubly oppressed, first by being assigned a role at all, and second by the fact that inferiority is central to that role. In the male supremacist system, human qualities and activities, even natural products and artefacts, are divided between the male sphere and the female sphere, and arranged hierarchically, the male always superior, the female inferior. I hope to show how this dualistic, hierarchical thinking has led to the acceptance and approval of violence, and thus lies at the root of the arms race; and that this kind of thinking itself is a projection of sexual dominance.

Because male dominance is, as I shall show later, based on separation and dominance, men have sought to keep peace by building barriers to keep others out. Hadrian's Wall and the Great Wall of China are monuments to this approach. We still speak of "buffer states" and "zones". But now that physical distance is less significant, separation is maintained through fear, one country trying to keep another afraid of its military strength. The consequence of seeking "peace" and "security" through separation and barriers (known as dissociative peace strategies) is an accelerating arms race.



## the arms race

The causes and workings of the arms race are very complicated: here I can only make a brief sketch to provide a point of reference. The world arms race has achieved a momentum unparalleled in peace time. Military spending in 1981 reached somewhere between 600-650 billion dollars a year. Nuclear stockpiles are equivalent to a million Hiroshima-size bombs. It is a world-wide phenomenon: there are arms races between India and Pakistan, Iran and Iraq, Argentina and Brazil. In these arms races, it is impossible to say which side is "ahead"—different weapons systems are not comparable, the requirements of each country are different, and above all, military secrecy and lies make the numbers game sheer guesswork. But both sides claim that the other is ahead to justify their increasing arms expenditure. The stated aim of both sides is to keep a little ahead of the enemy in order to deter it from attack, and thus to "keep the peace". In fact, no balance of power can be reached, and the escalation continues.

The same is true of the nuclear arms race between the superpowers, the USA and the USSR and the alliances they lead, the NATO and the Warsaw Pact. The build-up in armaments is an increase partly in the sheer number of weapons and warheads, and more significantly, in their sophistication. Weapons, in particular nuclear weapons, are getting more powerful, more accurate, harder to detect. Estimating each other's forces has become even more difficult, and this arms race can never reach a stable balance and stop. It has no end but a nuclear holocaust.

A major force behind the arms race is, of course, the *military*. New equipment helps to keep morale high, and there is often competition between different



branches of the armed forces over which should have the most advanced technology. The military are professionals; their job is to aim for military superiority. They do not consider any other kind of defence than military strategy and equipment; they do not consider the human consequences except in balancing losses against gains. The pre-supposition of the existence of an enemy which poses an armed threat is the justification for their existence, and their existence keeps this pre-supposition alive. Military confrontations have a momentum of their own, as was evident during the recent Falklands crisis.

Withdrawal from the arms race would be regarded as a sign of weakness, a defeat in itself. Britain's independent nuclear force is a matter of national prestige, conferring membership of the elite nuclear club, which brings with it real political power, not just a boost to national pride. As existing arms invite attack from an "enemy", then even higher levels of "deterrence" must constantly be sought.

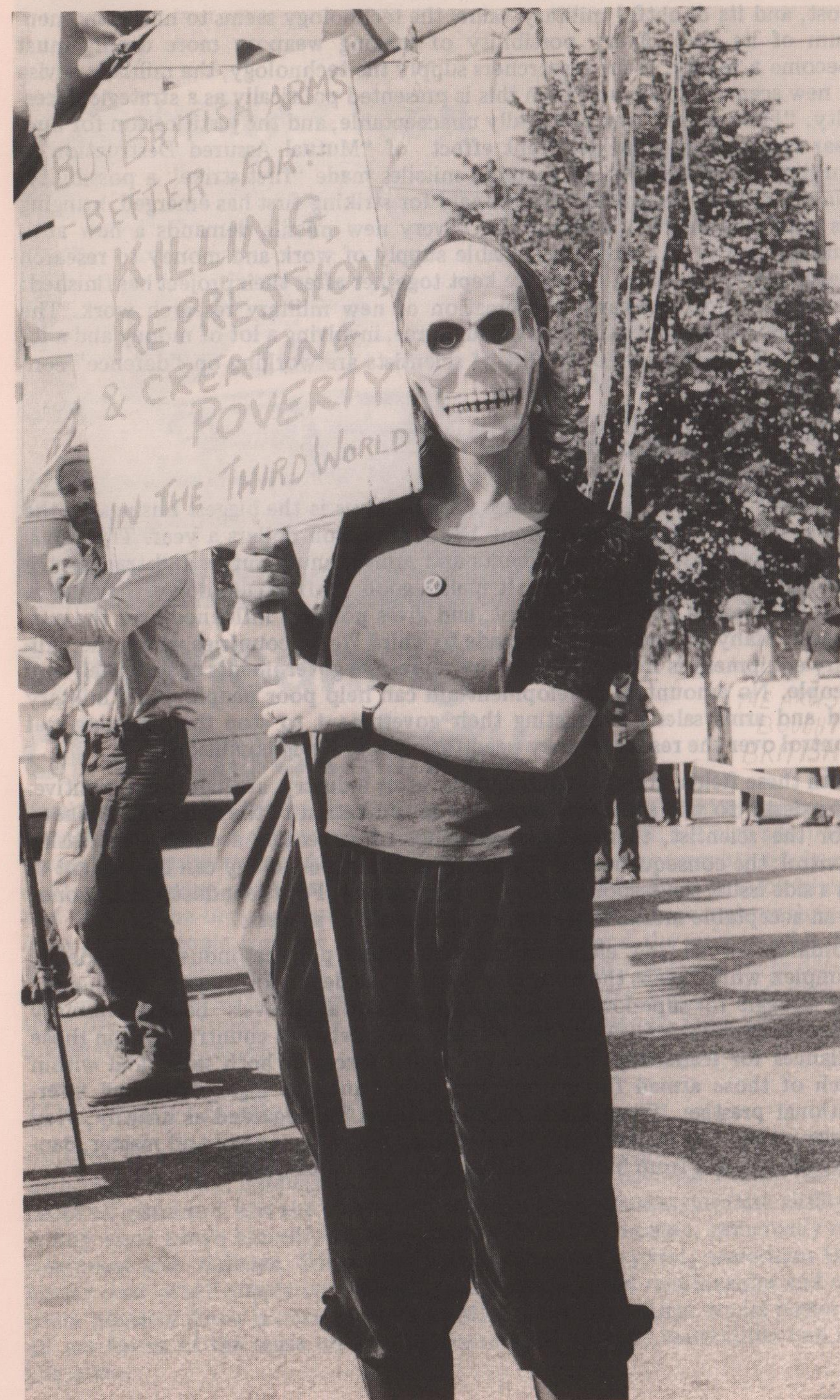
All over the world, the military possesses great influence over governments. In many countries, the military *are* the government, in others the government rule with the permission and protection of the armed forces. Even where the military is not so prominent, it still wields power over the government, as a powerful lobby and electoral force. Politicians who resist the demands of the military/industrial/academic/bureaucratic complex soon find themselves out of office, so their personal status is tied up with that of the military. This complex is also a major employer of both civilians and servicepeople, and, significantly, many ex-servicepeople.

And the influence of the military extends even further, in that its values are shared and admired in many parts of civilian life. The soldier's task is not thought of as a disagreeable necessity but as an heroic field of manly virtue, to be emulated. Some of these military values are: the acceptance of the use of force or the threat of it, and of the necessity and virtue of having superior force; the giving of orders, and unthinking obedience; the importance of winning; the need to be tough, to suppress feelings; the despising of bodily pain, your own or others'; the labelling of some other group of people as "the enemy". Most of these are also regarded as "manly". Social pressures encourage in boys the development of a character that has much in common with the military ideal. The institutions of a male-dominated society are based on these competitive and power-seeking kinds of behaviour. Indeed, the military is the model of manhood: the arms race is the collective expression of virility.

## high technology

The arms race is *high technology*. Weapons have become so sophisticated that many of them don't make sense economically or even militarily anymore. You cannot fight a war with nuclear weapons. "Modern military technology" writes Mary Kaldor, "is not advanced; it is decadent...They are incapable of achieving a limited military objective, and they have successively eroded the economy of the US and the economies of those countries that have followed in its wake."\* Yet despite the devastating economic effects of its massive

\* Mary Kaldor, *The Baroque Arsenal*





cost, and its doubtful military value, the technology seems to have a momentum of its own. Every possibility of making weapons more deadly must become a reality. If the researchers supply the technology, the military devise a new scenario to fit, and then this is presented politically as a strategic necessity. "First strike" was politically unacceptable, and the justification for nuclear weapons was the deterrent effect of "Mutual Assured Destruction"—until a new generation of accurate missiles made "first strike" a possibility. Now a military and political rationale for striking first has emerged, bringing us one step nearer a nuclear war. Every new missile demands a new anti-missile, and it all provides a reliable supply of work and money to research departments. Research teams are kept together after their project has finished: they are a force towards the creation of new military research work. The research establishment is a powerful force, involving a lot of money and a lot of people. Worldwide, over 50% of scientists are working on "defence" contracts.

## big business

The arms race is also *big business*. Selling arms is the biggest business in the world after oil, and grosses about 130,000 million dollars a year. The industrialised nations, both governments and arms manufacturers and traders, try hard to sell their arms abroad. It makes good profits, cuts down the relative cost of research and development, and gives political influence over the purchaser. Many of these sales are made to Third World countries where the military equipment is frequently used by repressive governments against their own people. No amount of development aid can help poor people while military aid and arms sales are assisting their government to stop them gaining real control over the resources they need for healthy living conditions.

Both these fields, arms research and the arms industry, are highly competitive. The desire to win somehow overrides consideration of the real consequences. For the scientist, there is the challenge of increasing accuracy, increasing control; the consequences of the use of the new technology can be thought of as a side issue, the responsibility of someone else. For the industrialist, money is an acceptable means to power, and the mark of success.

Common to all the elements in the military/political/industrial/academic complex which keeps the arms race going is the desire for mastery and power, the struggle for superiority. This struggle goes on at all levels—between military alliances such as NATO and the Warsaw Pact; between countries within those alliances for leadership; between the armed forces of both sides, and within each of those armed forces; between politicians, for high office and international prestige. These kinds of competition are regarded as healthy, even invigorating. Yet behind them lies a chilling desire to control and master, dangerously cut off from human feelings about the consequences.



## the meaning of masculinity

Feminists view the striving for mastery and superiority as a striking feature of a male-dominated society; we see it as not only widespread, but also admired, desired and cultivated in half the human race, and an acceptable mode of political discourse and international relations. It is an obvious but not trivial fact that all the organisations that promote the arms race are male enclaves. Most of the people working in these areas are men, and the women who do work there are generally not in positions of power. Until recently, these occupations were exclusively male. Men set up the structures, and this determines their operation today. Those who enter these occupations must accept the underlying male values.

## the male cult of toughness

Violence is not an exclusively male practice, but only for men is it bound up with their identity. Subjugating someone or something becomes the necessary proof of manhood, and the oppression of women perpetuates this false virility. A boy must prove himself, separate himself from the women, principally by toughness and violence. Sometimes this violence is physical; sometimes the power over other people comes from economic or social relationships and no overt physical force is necessary. Physical, economic, political, social power—all are forms of the same underlying dominance, and are convertible one to the other.



Perhaps the "macho" male has become such a stock figure that we are in danger of forgetting how profoundly the need to be thought tough and manly infects our political, social and economic life, and now threatens us with destruction. This need is a powerful influence over leaders in all fields. One might almost say that the more powerful the leader, the deeper this anxiety. David Halberstam's account of the behaviour of US leaders in the Vietnam war period shows how deeply their decisions were affected by this.

"President Lyndon B Johnson had always been haunted by the idea that he would be judged as being insufficiently manly for the job...He had unconsciously divided people around him between men and boys. Men were the activists, doers, who conquered business empires, who acted instead of talked, who made it in the world and had the respect of other men. Boys were the talkers and the writers and the intellectuals who sat around thinking and criticising and doubting instead of doing...As Johnson weighed the advice he was getting on Vietnam, it was the boys who were most sceptical, and the men who were most sure and hawkish, and who had Johnson's respect. Hearing that one of the administration was becoming a dove on Vietnam, Johnson said "Hell, he has to squat to piss."\*

The idea that Johnson's attitude to foreign policy was a projection of sexual dominance is borne out by a boast he made to a journalist after the bombing of North Vietnamese boat bases: "I didn't just screw Ho Chi Minh—I cut his pecker off". He regarded doubt as a feminine quality, and therefore depised it. And this was not just a personal hang-up. In his book *The Male Machine*, Marc Feigen Festeau studies Presidents Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon, and concludes: "Their failure of analysis and readiness to believe the Right, which might accuse them of being too soft and weak if they withdrew from Vietnam, was in large part a result of their personal preoccupation with toughness and the projection of that preoccupation onto the voting public." Taught to believe in the need for "strong" leaders, that voting public gets leaders from whom appearing tough and not weak is worth tremendous sacrifice by the nation. Deliberation and decision-making at the top takes place in a kind of male lodge, where the myths of masculinity are supreme. And these are not just the values of the leaders; they are the ambitions on which the whole society is structured.

## the patriarchal hierarchy

The dream of a male-dominated society is a dream of extending control. Past empires gave it clear political shape: now the power is exercised less blatantly and more diversely through military alliances, economic agreements, aid, the multinational corporations etc. Science, technology and agriculture are geared to conquer nature and wrest from "her" her secrets and resources. The desire for mastery has written a history of conquest, slavery, exploitation; it has given us nuclear weapons and the strategists who can plan to use them.

Yet it is customarily celebrated as an heroic quality. Man's striving to prove himself above nature, above animals, above other races, above women, has been equated with the pursuit of excellence. Philosophers have held it to be the tragedy, pathos and paradox of man's existence that his soaring "soul" is encased in a fleshy body, and attempts to rise above physical nature have

\* David Halberstam, *The Best and the Brightest*

been regarded as laudable endeavours. In the Judeo-Christian tradition, the body, nature, women, animals, "primitive" people, have all been seen as lower orders over which the "higher" rightfully have domination. "Thou hast made him a little lower than the angels...thou hast put all things under his feet: all sheep and oxen, yea and the beasts of the field and the fowls of the air and the fish of the sea," says the psalmist.

The classical eighteenth century idea of a "Chain of being" set out a hierarchy very clearly from God at the top right down to the lowest living creatures. The idea thrives today in modern dress. Ernest Becker has studied the major themes of modern philosophy and psychology. He writes:

"Man has a symbolic identity that brings him sharply out of nature...This immense expansion, this dexterity, this self-consciousness, gives to man literally the status of a small god in nature...Man is literally split in two; he has an awareness of his own splendid uniqueness in that he sticks out of nature with a towering majesty, and yet he goes back into the ground in order blindly and dumbly to rot...The lower animals are spared this painful contradiction...They merely act and move reflexively as they are driven by their instincts...This is what has made it so simple to shoot down whole herds of buffalo or elephant."\*

This is an entirely male view about Man and nature; women are not deliberately left out of humanity; they are simply invisible. For centuries, it was taught that women lacked the full self-consciousness that according to this theory marks out man from the animal kingdom. In this passage too, we find the hierarchy—man's "towering majesty" over the "lower orders"—and with it, the consequences for the "lower orders": it is "so simple to shoot down whole herds of buffalo or elephant". Easy too to shoot down other human beings, once you have relegated them to an inferior place by calling them "niggers", "commies", "cunts" or "faggots". It is clear too that this is not a gradually ascending hierarchy: there is a qualitative leap between the man's "towering majesty" and the rest, identified with the natural world. On the one hand, the masters, the thinkers, the planners; and on the other, those who are there to be used, to fit into the plan. Not only is it possible to treat the inferior group roughly and violently, but it becomes imperative to do so in order to dissociate oneself from them, lest one be pushed around as they are.

## warring opposites

This way of perceiving the world as divided into two, one superior, the other inferior, is associated with many destructive splits in human life—mind/body, intellect/emotion, culture/nature. Man has perceived a contradiction between intellectual or spiritual aspirations and physical needs and appetites, and it has been thought virtuous to forswear physical pleasure, even to cause oneself deliberate pain. (Even the idea of sport is frequently to bring the body under control of the will and push it beyond its normal limits.) It is also regarded as admirable to keep emotion out of decision-making; feelings are thought to be irrational. So those who design, make and use weapons are trained to dismiss any qualms of pity or revulsion as mere emotionalism, although these feelings may be entirely consonant with rational thought about the implications of their work.

\* Ernst Becker, *The Denial of Death*

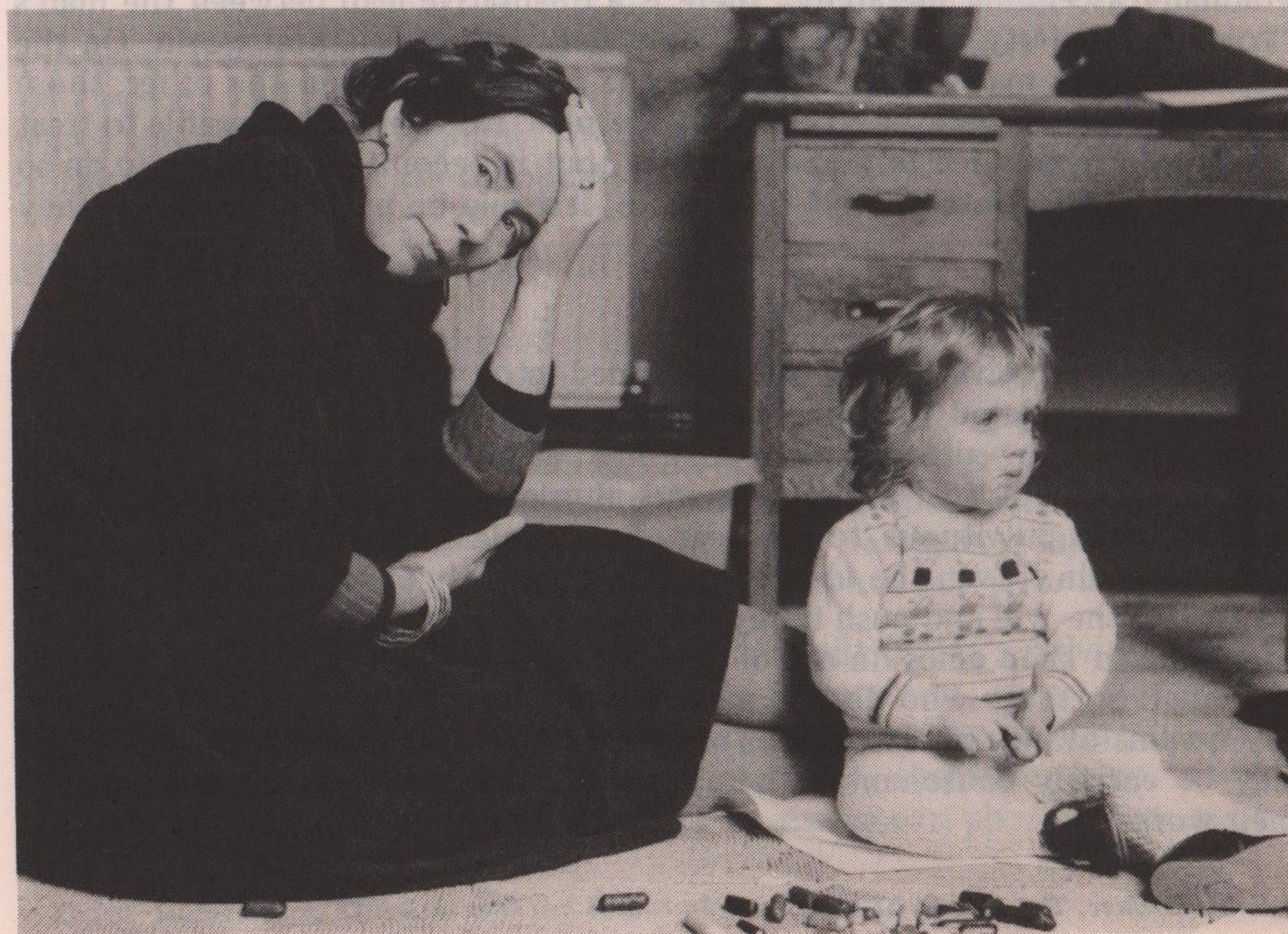


This essentially dualistic and hierarchical view of the world leads to a model of relationships based on conflict. The world is conceived of in terms of warring opposites. Those who are different are seen as threatening. It is assumed that there will always be an actively hostile enemy ready to exploit any "weakness". The "answer" is to make sure one is the stronger of the two. This sets off a spiral of fear, violence and preparation for war. This model is the foundation of the theory of deterrence. A nation state always has an enemy, though they change regularly; if an old enemy becomes a friend, then a new enemy will be found. In this model, there is no middle ground—if you do not constantly assert your superior power, then you will be oppressed by the enemy's power.

## debasing the female

Traditionally, women are associated with the lower part of the hierarchy, the natural world, by virtue of their child-bearing, and have been assigned roles within this sphere—nurture roles rather than glory roles. Women's place in reproducing the mortal body has been used as justification for the low value put upon them and their work, while men's work has been to seek immortality through deeds of glory.

Yet it is unreasonable if not suicidal to place low value on reproductive and survival skills. Rather than accept the usual justification for women's low status, we could turn it on its head and say that nature and survival skills are debased because of their association with women. We know from anthropologists that the tasks assigned to men and women in societies vary greatly, yet always those assigned to men have high status, to women, low status. Rather than women being stigmatised for their association with the natural world, the natural world and survival skills are despised because of their association with women.



If this is true, then such bread-and-butter issues as the setting of economic priorities are directly affected by men's need to put low value on womanly things. In Britain there is not enough money for social services, but always enough for prestigious armaments and nuclear power stations. In the Third World, the West's idea of "development" helps men to grow cash crops, while women's vital subsistence farming is ignored and gets more difficult.

The sociologist Nancy Chodorow offers an explanation of how men come to despise all things womanly. Dependency on an adult, usually female, is a child's first and primary experience, and upon it all other relationships to the outside world are based. This is at first an identification with the mother, in which the child feels at one with her and not separate. When children begin to develop a separate identity girls discover they have made their first identification with someone of the same sex, whereas boys find that they have made their primary identification with someone of the other sex. And not only that—they have also made a deep tie with someone in a group that is treated as inferior. The response is often to come to define masculinity largely in negative terms as that which is not feminine or involved with women. The boy tries to deny his attachment to and dependence on his mother. He does this by repressing whatever he takes to be feminine inside himself, and by denigrating and devaluing whatever he considers to be feminine in the outside world—and this includes rejecting many of the qualities and activities associated with the mother.

Among these despised feminine qualities are survival skills—co-operating, admitting dependence; subsistence farming, preparing food, bringing up children. A boy learns not to show emotion, not to admit dependence: to compete, to try to get the better of others; he learns to value work for money over domestic work, the tending of machines more than the tending of children.

A boy learns to establish his masculine identity by a process of separation: orthodox (male) psychology looks at growing up as progressive individuation. The other side of maturity, discovering oneself in relation to others is a girl's experience, and consequently invisible. Clearly, we have need right now of developing an awareness of our interconnectedness with other people and the rest of the natural world: yet while men are learning that they must achieve selfhood by separation, this awareness can only seem to threaten loss of identity.

## rituals of growing up

Training in masculinity, initiation into the male club, begins very early. Anne Marie Fearon in an article "Come In Tarzan Your Time Is Up", traces her horror at the pressures on her young son:

"My son came home from nursery school one day with the information: 'Girls are soppies'...Then it was his lunch basket—a handy little basket that would hang on his peg; someone told him it was a "girl's" basket, so it had to go. His orange trousers were next to go; now he can't wear yellow socks to school. Think of it: a child of four or five having to scrutinise every toy, every garment, for signs of 'soppiness'; but these signs are so subtle that it must keep them in constant fear and self-doubt. After all, could you define the difference between a 'girl's' shoe and a 'boy's' shoe?"\*

\* Anne-Marie Fearon, "Come in Tarzan your time is up" in *Feminism & Nonviolence Shrew*



This is not trivial; the fear of being thought female (or soppy or weak) is a formative influence instilling male violence and the thirst for power. Boys are supposed to hide their fear and hurt; the resulting tension can only be let out in aggression or violence, which are "safe" because they are definitely not "soppy".

Little boys must hide their softer emotions and display aggression on pain of ridicule and ultimate expulsion from the male club. This is commercially exploited by super-hero and war-toys. Little girls, on the other hand, must suppress their assertive behaviour: they are taught to be kind and caring, but at the expense of learning self-effacement and lack of physical confidence. They become symbols of all that threatens a boy's claim to masculinity.

## drive to power

In this process of "making a man of him", there are several processes at work: separating boys from women, girls and babies; teaching them to fear and deny their own softer emotions; teaching them to identify sexuality with violence, ie to get a thrill out of power rather than pleasure; making them compete with each other. The drive to compete and to gain power is formed very early in life, and is addictive. It is a central part of the gender structure. Competition is the basis of our educational system and the driving force of the economy. It is held to be "character-building". It is the dominant mode of a male-dominated society, at play as well as at work. Our society's idea of a game is an aggressive competition between two opponents. "Big-time football manifests the ideal of masculine identity through its aggressive ethos. The weekend trip to the arena is not an escape from the world of corporate America; rather it is a weekly pilgrimage to the national shrines where the virtues of toughness and insensitivity can be renewed."\*

This is the image of the game that goes on in all spheres of a male dominated culture. And the origin of this game is the denigration of the female. Violence to women is not just a symptom of a violent society—it is the prototype for men's assault on the world. Eugene Bianchi goes on to say: "Although we don't want to acknowledge it, rape is the prototype example of the masculine game that pervades society. The competitor, the enemy, the opponent, needs to be humiliated, made powerless, made into woman."

\* Eugene Bianchi in *From Machismo to Mutuality*



## woman despised

Rape is an act of war, out on the battle-front, and daily in our streets and houses. Mary Daly writes of the "Unholy Trinity" of rape, genocide and war. She says:

"It is clear that there has always been a connection between the mentality of rape and the phenomenon of war...The socialisation of male sexual violence in our culture forms the basis for corporate and military interests to train a vicious military force. It would be a mistake to think that rape is reducible to the physical act of few men who are rapists. All men have their power enhanced by rape, since this instils in women a need for protection. Rape is a way of life."\*

Soldiers take it as their "privilege" to rape enemy or foreign women. Husbands also take it as their right to rape their wives—to force them to have sex against their will. Although rape is spoken of as a heinous crime, the way that the police and courts treat rapists and their victims shows that the rape of an adult woman (as opposed to children) is regarded as an extension of normal masculine behaviour.

The case of a young man in the Coldstream Guards found guilty of raping a woman, leaving her with a broken rib, bites, bruises and internal injuries, brings out the links between "masculinity" and violence, between rape and war. His sentence was quashed in the Appeal Court, where the judge said that the rapist "clearly was a man who, on the night in question, allowed his enthusiasm for sex to overcome his normal good behaviour. It does not seem to this court that the appellant is a criminal..."

Rape is an act of violence, and entirely consistent with the attitudes and practices instilled during the rapist's "excellent service" in the Guards. But the judge does not see this; for him rape is sex, the fault of man's "lower

\* Mary Daly, *Beyond God the Father*



nature". Nevertheless, the judge sees nothing inconsistent in the use of violence in the act of sex. Sex in our society is about power, and the ultimate expression of power is violence.

Pornography, too, is violence against women. Its images give insight into the attitudes underlying violence. As one women's movement slogan says, "Pornography—the theory; rape—the practice". In pornography we see clearly and brutally the expression and reinforcement of the dominant mode—which is the exercise of power as a projection of sexual dominance. Pornography is not about eroticism, but about sadism. Consider this photo from an American mass market magazine, described by Judy Greenway in *Peace News*: "A woman's naked torso and legs, spreadeagled at the bottom of the page, her head out of sight. Above her, between her legs, stands a clothed workman with a pneumatic drill. He appears to be inserting the drill into her vagina. The caption is 'A cure for frigidity'."

This kind of image can only be thought of as "sexual" in a culture where sexuality has become identified with violence. Its purpose is to show women humiliated, powerless, at the mercy of men, depersoned, robbed of their bodies and their wills. It is on this that male identity is built. "The major theme of pornography as a genre is male power, its nature, its magnitude, its uses, its meaning...degradation of the female is the means of actualising this power", writes Andrea Dworkin in *Pornography: Men Possessing Women*.

Pornography is not bought by a small pathetic minority. Estimates of British readership of pornographic magazines vary, but it appears that between 35% and 65% of men read them. And pornography is not harmless fantasy. Real women are abused in the making of it; real women suffer the consequences of its underlying attitudes, in rape, battering, and harassment.

Pornography also expresses men's feelings about the body, the flesh and sexual feelings. The body is despised, as part of woman's sphere, a connection with mortality, a reminder that man is of woman born. Nakedness is therefore a powerful metaphor for weakness. We have to pause to remind ourselves that it is only a metaphor. Bevan's remark that to abandon our nuclear weapons would be to go "naked into the conference chamber" has been taken as a strong argument for retaining nuclear arms: it gains its power from men's contempt for the body.

Violence against women, and the everyday "petty" harassment and humiliation they suffer are not "women's issues" separable from the violence of war and the structural violence of racism, poverty and exploitation. Male sexual dominance and female submission at home and on the streets is the child's early experience of power relations. I have tried to indicate the kind of model this provides—one in which, for the male, the exercise of power by the defeat and humiliation of others is essential to identity. This is the foundation of a society where violence is characteristic and war and preparation for war are major preoccupations and consumers of resources.

## Mother Earth

Man's relationship with woman provides the model for his treatment of nature. There is a statue called "Mother Earth" (by the Icelandic sculptor Asmundur Sxeinsson): it shows "a large bosomy woman bending nude over a toddler who is sitting up sucking on one breast while the mother-figure is in-

dulgently kissing the child's head." Here is the picture of nature and of woman in man's fantasies—indulgent and inexhaustible. Both Mother Earth and woman as Earth Mother are thought of as a "bottomless source of richness, a being not human enough to have needs of importance as primary as our own, but voluntary and conscious enough so that if she does not give us what we expect she is withholding it on purpose and we are justified in getting it from her any way we can."\*

In speaking and writing, nature is almost always referred to in the feminine. The consistency of the metaphor gives the game away; it is so common that it goes virtually unnoticed. There are different approaches to nature—but whether men think of nature as a "captive to be raped" or a "partner to be cherished", or seek to "overcome her resistance not by force but by...seduction", the relationship is always seen in terms of sexual dominance.

Robin Morgan puts it very strongly: "The violation of the individual woman is the metaphor for man's forcing himself on whole nations (rape as the crux of war): on non-human creatures (rape as the lust behind hunting and related carnage): and on the planet itself."

## birth: envy and imitation

On one of the few demonstrations against the Falklands war, some women drew attention because they were carrying a placard reading: "War is menstruation envy". This is a striking image for the idea that men's oppression of women, the rejection of "womanly" qualities, and their espousal of violence, arises from their fear and envy of women's reproductive capacity. Such is the stranglehold of male dominance over the values of the culture that it is hard to believe that menstruation could be the object of envy. It is generally treated as something shameful, to be hidden, at best a nuisance. But there is evidence that this is the result of a male attempt to denigrate the reproductive power which cannot be theirs.

Many tribal societies impose on their young men a puberty rite that makes them bleed from the genitals. The anthropologist Bruno Bettelheim was the first to suggest that this was an attempt to imitate the onset of menstruation in young women, an attempt to capture or equal women's power. The separation and elaborate cleansing rituals imposed on women in many societies during menstruation are signs of the fear felt by men for the power of menstrual blood. This is also the origin of the taboo on intercourse during menstruation.

Male history and mythology have been carefully constructed to ignore women's vital role. Myths tell of men giving birth to women or other men, a deliberate reversal of the natural course of events. The most influential creation myth in our culture tells that Eve was made from Adam's rib—that woman was born of man. Greek myths tell of men giving birth—Athena springing from Zeus' forehead, Dionysus from his thighs; Aphrodite born from Cronos' testicles thrown into the sea. Throughout the ages men have tried to live down the humiliation of being born of woman by belittling women's creative powers or taking possession of them. For many hundreds of years, the accepted view of reproduction followed Aristotle's teaching that men provided the active seed and women were merely the receptive "ground".

\* Dorothy Dinnerstein, *The Mermaid and the Minotaur*





Since the time of Greek civilisation, the attempt has been made to establish that physical birth, the monopoly of women, was only an animal process, and that a second social "birth" controlled by men, was the distinguishing human characteristic, and far more important.

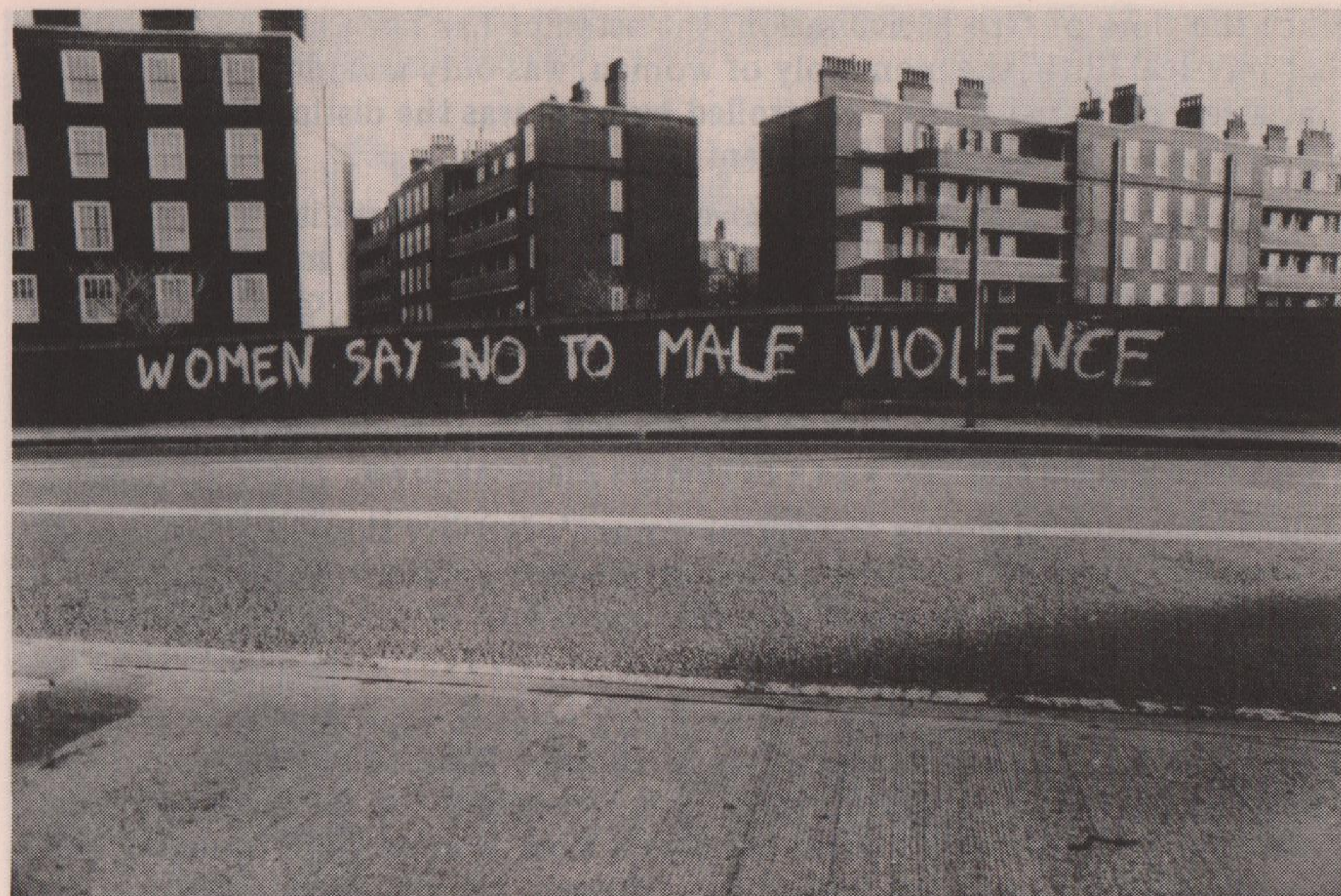
In modern times, men have taken over the process of birth itself, through increasing medical intervention. Medical advances have saved many women and babies, but there are now many more inductions, giving of drugs, forceps deliveries, than need be. Childbirth is seen as the doctor's achievement, not the mother's. If we look back at how hard the early male "obstetricians" fought to exclude traditional and experienced women midwives from delivery, we must recognise that this was a deliberate male takeover.

Male society also attempts to control women's fertility through marriage, the ideal of chastity, and control over abortion and contraception. Men's rights over children have to be based on their ownership of the mother. Paternity, unlike maternity, is not self-evident.

The difference between men's and women's roles in reproduction has led to fundamentally different expectations of society. Men must establish paternal rights through law and custom; they look to society for the recognition and protection of individual rights; society is then a means of regulating rival claims between competing individuals. Women, on the other hand, do not need to establish maternity in this way. Their requirement of society is support in bringing up their children; a genuinely co-operative society is in their interests.

In societies that still practise puberty rites, girls' rites, performed for each girl individually as she reaches menarche, are a social acknowledgement of a status, womanhood, that is conferred naturally; whereas boys' rites are performed for a group of youths, and confer a status, manhood, that is entirely a social construct. Men form a group bond to support each other's claim to manhood; and one of the ways of doing this is to dissociate from women. Although in our society, puberty rites have been fragmented into many different rites of initiation into schools, factories, clubs and gangs, the ideas behind them still run deep; that manhood must be socially made, proven, while womanhood is natural. Like physical birth, this "merely natural" status is regarded as inferior to the status conferred by the social "second birth" into the world of men.





## male values in the war-making system

The male cult of toughness has deep psychic roots, but the problem is not a question of personal power lust. These masculine values are built into the system—economic, political, social and even moral—and those who reach positions of authority are those who have best played the male game. I want now to look at the way the male-heroic model determines the nature of some of the major systems which mesh together to promote the arms race.

The two major causes of the arms race—the *external* force of nation state rivalry and the *internal* force of the military/industrial/technological complex—cover a range of economic, political and ideological areas. Sex-role division and the male projection of male sexual dominance are significant factors in all these areas. They are not the only factors, but I shall focus on them as a much-neglected area of the relation of sexual politics to the arms race.

### the international hierarchy

Rivalry between the two major power blocs involves economic and ideological competition and the maintenance of *national prestige*. I described earlier the sexual content in the US presidents' pre-occupation with personal prestige, and how this helped to determine foreign policy. These are the leaders who set up and defend national honour, a concept whose strength was made clear in the Falklands crisis. In the House of Commons debate on April 13 1982, Julian Amery, speaking of the use of force in the dispute, said: "Nothing else will restore the credibility of the government and wipe the

stain from Britain's honour". According to this code of honour and its more modern counterpart credibility, nothing is worse than defeat. "The NATO doctrine is that we will fight with conventional weapons until we are losing, then we will fight with tactical nuclear weapons until we are losing, and then we will blow up the world" (Morton Halperin, former US Deputy Secretary of Defence). Better dead than defeated; better to die a manly death (usually one that involves killing others) than to retreat, surrender, appear a softie.

### in-groups

Some of this national rivalry is based on real *ideological differences*, about which people feel passionately. The strength of this feeling is fuelled by the need to belong to the in-group, and the need of the in-group to identify and downgrade the out-group for its own cohesion. (This need led Aldous Huxley to say that the only thing that would stop the nations of the world fighting among themselves was an invasion from Mars.) This process is similar to the initiation of boys into the male club by the rejection of all things womanly, and the expression of contempt and violence towards women. Feeling a member of a superior group gives a sense of power; it is what men get from their treatment of women, and what nations get from having an enemy. National leaders gain particularly from this—an enemy on the horizon produces an internal cohesion in which domestic problems fade. This kind of behaviour is learnt by men as part of their sex role.

The existence of the *nation state* is a fundamental factor in the arms race. Arms races take place between nation states or groups of nation states: in the latter case power relations between allies can also help accelerate the arms race. The rise of the nation state is historically associated with a new concept of the military as a large permanent body of professionals, equipped with the latest technology. Maintaining an army prestigious in size, training and equipment is one of the marks of nationhood. It was reported in the *Guardian* that Argentina's military performance in the Falklands war sealed its "coming of age as a nation". Even though they were defeated, they had proved themselves in the same league as Britain, a major power.

The parallel between proving manhood and proving nationhood is clear: both are based on winning power, backed up by the threat or use of violence. National prestige is directly related to military strength: it is the major military powers who have most say in the United Nations; even in peacetime diplomatic negotiating, it is military might that speaks loudest. International politics closely resembles gang fights in the playground. The leader is the one acknowledged to have superior force: his power is then augmented by his position—in effect, the power of all his underlings is added to his own. They give this power to him and get certain benefits—protection, enhanced prestige from the relationship to the leader. Alliances such as NATO function in this way.

There are also real economic interests at stake in a competition for markets and resources. Modern nations are vitally dependent on international trade. This state of affairs is the result of a particular kind of economic growth. Some of it is a legacy of colonialism, which rested on the attitude that other people and other parts of the world are inferior, "underdeveloped", and therefore may legitimately be exploited ("developed"). A similar attitude to



natural resources is part of the reason we are accustomed to a life-style that cannot be self-reliant, and this lack of self-reliance is an important cause of insecurity and the resulting build up of arms to "defend national interests". It is a sign of the breakdown of wholeness, the loss of the feeling of being part of the world, working within a self-sustaining system, and its replacement by a sense of superiority and living off conquest and exploitation. Many western economies became dependent on oil when oil was cheap: now they arm themselves to protect their access to oil. There would in fact be more security in changing our life-style so that we could produce our own essentials, but such a change demands a complete change in thinking and the abandonment of the struggle for dominance.

Dependency is actually fostered as part of the power game. Men have deliberately made women dependent on them, economically and physically, and various mechanisms from job discrimination to rape have enforced this means of keeping power. Protection and economic support are used as forms of oppression. So in international relations, self-reliance has been deliberately undermined for political and economic penetration.

Aid is given as means of control, and this brings about alignments that give impetus to the arms race. It is plain to see that the Soviet Union's protection of Warsaw Pact countries brings political control; it is just as true, if less obvious, that the price of US protection for NATO is US dominance in economic and social life. Third World countries are drawn into superpower rivalry through their dependence on aid, economic and military. Thus the whole world is a battlefield, and relatively poor countries spend their resources on military technology for internal repression or an arms race with local rivals. It is arguable that the undermining of self-reliance and the integration of all nations into the international hierarchy is an important reason why the arms race is accelerating now as never before.

Britain's place in the hierarchy now makes it both oppressor and oppressed, and self-reliance politically and economically is a central part of refusing either role. The aim of self-reliance is paralleled by the struggle of many women who refuse to be victims any longer, yet also refuse to become oppressors. What is being struggled against is at root the same thing—a hierarchy grounded in and perpetuated by sexual dominance.

## it's a man's life

"We talked of the League of Nations and of the prospects of peace and disarmament. On this subject he was not so much militarist as martial. The difficulty to which he could find no answer was that if permanent peace were ever achieved, and armies and navies ceased to exist, there could be no outlet for the manly qualities which fighting developed, and that human physique and human character would deteriorate."\*

As I said earlier, the military is a great upholder of male values. The army, it is said, will "make a man of you"; "it's a man's life" in the army. The violence it represents is admired because it is regarded as a sign of virility and is held to be character-building. The military is fundamentally a male-bonding institution of specialists in violence, founded on such symbols of power as uniforms, drill, weapons, subordination and command. Within this framework,

\* From the biography of Anthony Viscount of Knebworth by the Earl of Lytton

pressure is on a man to "prove himself" by physical superiority over an enemy or over competitors. "Some men haven't the backbone for it" said one British army advertisement. US Army recruiting offers power in the form of weapons: "If you've never felt invincible, you've never ridden a tank...our monsters are things of beauty only to the guys who ride them". The choice of the word "ride" with its sexual connotations (when "drive" would be the more normal verb) is no accident.

Power in the army involves the humiliation and hatred of women. During basic training, recruits are commonly called "faggot" or "girl", the insult screamed at close quarters by a drill instructor. Chants such as "Your sister is a whore, your girlfriend is a whore, and your mother is a whore because she had you", exploit the sexual basis of violence. They prime men up to kill. the gun is a penis, the penis is a gun. "This is my rifle, this is my gun; this one's for killing, this one's for fun."\* Which is which?



The arms race is a mark of the permanence of the military. For many hundreds of years, rulers raised an army only in times of war; full-time soldiers formed what was in effect only an extended bodyguard. Nowadays it is accepted and expected that every country should have a considerable standing army supposedly for defence. For these professionals, war is the purpose of their training and very existence: in the minds of the military, war is going on all the time. A permanent army is the badge of nationhood. Its introduction is linked to the rise of the nation state, increased centralisation, state education, and industrialisation.

In all these, increased control at the top is linked to increasing fragmentation of tasks at the bottom. There is more division of labour, and professionalism grows: the "experts" rule. The rationale is efficiency; but the real result is alienation, loss of the sense of the whole community, and a shrugging off of responsibility. It teaches obedience and discipline, an unthinking performance of a single narrow task. These are military values, yet they pervade the whole of society. Factories, offices and schools were founded upon them: the pat-

\* Examples quoted by Helen Michalowski in her article "The Army will make a man of you"



riarchal family instilled them. And although social attitudes have changed, the basic structures still embody these values. The face is kinder, but the power has not been given up.

Women have a special understanding of the division of labour used to take power from some and give more to others, for that is precisely how the sexual division of labour works. For centuries, women were taught that obedience and submission were inextricably connected with the ability to bear children. With the rise of the nation state, the introduction of a standing army, and industrialisation, came also an even narrower role for women. The household ceased to be thought of as a productive unit. Work and public life were separated from home and private life. Women's place was firmly in the domestic sphere (although many poor women have always had to work outside the home as well). Their part in production was denied, and their role in bringing up children devalued, the prestigious part being taken over by the school.

This fragmentation of tasks and roles, to which the oppression of women is basic, provides a fertile ground for the arms race to flourish. The "professionals"—soldiers, arms designers and manufacturers—depend on war, the threat of it and preparation for it, for their self-esteem, identity, and varying degrees of power. The rest of us are told to "leave it to the experts". Many people play their small part in keeping the military machine going, working in an office or factory, without feeling responsible for the end product. They simply take orders.

The domestic sphere is supposed to be the source of emotional satisfaction—at work, you simply get on with the job. Getting on with the job means being blinkered to the death and suffering that are the result of military enterprises, blinkered to the ecological destruction that results from many industries. But it depends on women keeping going the haven of the home. What if women refused to maintain this protected area where men can admire themselves as husbands and fathers regardless of their lives outside?

## the scientific worldview

Over half the scientists in the world are engaged in military research. How can so much knowledge be devoted to destruction? One answer, of course, is money. The defence establishment has the money to give for research and development, and this in itself is a reflection of priorities. Another answer is that scientists can cut off from the consequences of their work as any arms factory worker can. But there is more than this. Weapons research is consistent with the attitudes underlying the whole scientific worldview, although individual scientists have been people of integrity and desirous of peace. Many have been dedicated to the pursuit of knowledge as an end in itself, and have claimed that the uses to which it is put are outside their responsibility. But the purpose of scientific enquiry within this male-dominated society has always been to master and control the natural world: it has always involved accumulating power to increase control. In traditional ways of thinking the concept of mastery and the master-slave metaphor are the dominant ways of describing man's relationship to nature, as well as to the implements of technology.

There are seldom any reservations about man's rightful role in conquering, vanquishing and subjugating everything natural. This is clearly stated in the

writing of Francis Bacon right at the start of the scientific revolution. He makes clear that man should "obey Nature" only as long as it takes to learn "her" secrets; then he will command "her" as a tyrant commands his subjects. The basic approach has been to take the world apart and re-assemble it under the control of men. The model for this approach to the natural world is, as discussed earlier, men's oppression of women. That some of this activity has had obviously dangerous, even disastrous consequences has not slowed it down at all—there is a blind faith that science will solve the problems it creates.

Many scientists have seen their task as conquering nature for the benefit of mankind. Yet we know that, by and large, research resources go to the most prestigious projects, and these are frequently the most daring and difficult (like transplant surgery or space technology) and not the most useful to most people. Research is an intellectual competition, and the race to be first with a new military technology is an exciting challenge. We are told there is "no turning the clock back", that the knowledge of nuclear technology cannot be forgotten—is there also no way of stopping the upward spiral of this knowledge? The realisation that something is technologically possible sets scientists to work to make it a reality. This work goes on in secret, and the rest of us are not held fit to question the judgement of "the experts". Meanwhile, the scientists may claim that the technology is neither good nor bad, and disclaim their responsibility. There must be a way of stopping this forward thrust of military research: it involves a different kind of science, in which scientists no longer stand back from the social and political implications of their work—an escape from the patriarchal science in which the conquest of nature is a projection of sexual dominance.





## women and the peace movement

The male cosmology based on separation and hierarchy gives rise to strategies for peace and security based on building barriers and creating fear (a dissociative peace strategy). The result—a never-ending arms spiral. The alternative a positive peace built on mutual support and co-operation (an associative strategy). Women are not only calling for nuclear disarmament as a first step towards trust-building, we are also showing a new way of working in our organisation. Women in the peace movement are now confronting cruise missiles, the police, prison, with the strength of our sisterhood, and it is a very powerful defence for preserving our values and our freedom.

It is our vision and our practice of a new way to peace that makes women such an important force in the peace movement—not any “natural pacifism” attributed to women. The common belief that women are by nature non-aggressive is itself part of the feminine stereotype of passivity, the complement to the idea that violence and war are “natural” to men. Just as boys are

initiated into the male club, so girls are taught to accept male dominance. They learn to distrust their own opinions, and their physical abilities: in place of confidence and assertion, they learn endurance and patience.

But women's existing role also includes many valuable human qualities, particularly those associated with nurture and sensitivity to the needs of others. Under a male-dominated society, however, these are channelled to support male pride, male ego. It has been recognised recently that housework is unpaid work, but it has not been grasped that “love” is also exploited labour. The theft of a woman's sense of herself as an autonomous self-sufficient person produces for the man his surplus sense of himself. The female stereotype provides the environment in which masculine dominance and aggression flourish; it is the mirror in which men see these things as heroic, and themselves more than life-size.

Women are not inherently nonviolent: they are traditionally oppressed, and as an oppressed group, have often turned their anger and violence in upon themselves. Nor are men inherently violent: they are traditionally and structurally dominant, and retain that dominance through the cultivation of toughness and violence. Women are not “Earth Mothers” who will save the planet from the deadly games of the boys—this too is part of the support and nurture role that women are given in the world. Upon the support and silence of women has been built the male edifice of dominance, exploitation and war.

Women have played this role too in Left movements including the peace movement—typing, tea-making, making up the numbers. Yet it has been very difficult to get men in the peace movement and Left groups to accept their own behaviour and ways of organising as part of this male edifice. Difficult to get them to take the hierarchy, the centralism out of their meetings and to use a structure where everyone can take part, be listened to and cared for; where everyone's energy is fully available and not dissipated in frustration or competition. Difficult too to get men to accept the centrality of women's oppression. On the Left, sexism has joined all the other isms—racism, imperialism, capitalism etc—but it is often thought of as a private and domestic matter for now, its public side to be sorted out after the revolution or whatever. Women have put sexism on the agenda in the peace movement too: but here as well it is frequently regarded as a side issue. There is not the recognition that violence against women—rape, assault, exploitation—and the violence of war and the arms race have common roots: that the violence the peace movement is struggling against is a function of male sexual identity.

## women in action

Women are playing a leading role in the peace movement today. The Women's March from Cardiff in 1981 set up the first peace camp at Greenham Common. Despite attempts at eviction, women there have now endured their second winter, and their commitment has inspired many others. In December 1982, 30,000 women took part in a demonstration at Greenham Common, surrounding the nine mile perimeter fence, and hanging on it symbols of the things dear to them that were threatened by nuclear weapons—photos, baby clothes, poems, drawings, flowers. Many women have gone to prison for their part in blockades or actions inside the base: they refuse to be bound over to “keep the peace” since they must continue their protest precisely in order to make peace.



The movement is also strong abroad. In the USA, 2000 women demonstrated at the Pentagon in November 1980. Their statement made clear the connections between the nuclear threat and the daily oppression in women's lives. Women from various European countries formed the core of the European Peace March in 1981: Scandinavian women led the 1982 peace march through the USSR. There are many other women-led peace initiatives, such as Mothers for Peace, and also many women's peace groups. Some groups are well-established, such as the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) and Voice of Women; others have been set up more recently, such as the Women's Peace Alliance, Women for Life on Earth, and Women Oppose the Nuclear Threat (WONT). Some of the women involved are specifically feminist, others are not: WONT is the only declaredly feminist group. Not all would share my analysis. Some work in mixed-sex groups, others in women-only groups, many do both.

Working in an all-women group or taking part in women-only actions gives women the space to recover their autonomy, to gain confidence, to find their identity: the opportunity to work out their own ways of organising, based on the sharing of power and responsibility and the personal caring that have been features of the women's movement. Any woman who has taken part in a Greenham Common action will know the powerful feeling created by women working together. We also need this chance to work out our analysis, a task we have only just begun.

Women's leading role in the peace movement is (as I said earlier) not an expression of any "natural pacifism" but a measure of their refusal to accept the role division that lies behind this idea. By refusing to be oppressed, they are refusing to allow men to be oppressors.

"We will diminish violence by refusing to be violated. We will repudiate the whole patriarchal system with its institutions...its social scenarios of dominance and submission all based on the male-over-female model, when we refuse conscientiously, rigorously and absolutely to be the soil on which male aggression, pride and arrogance can grow like wild weeds."\*

## feminism and positive peace

Working together, women are recovering valuable human qualities distorted by male supremacy. Women bring their caring and nurture out of domestic isolation where it feeds male dominance. Our caring for life on earth is not soft or sentimental: it is determined, realistic, political. Our care for each other builds strong groups where work, responsibility and power are shared, and energy is generated. Women refuse to "service" men and provide emotional support for them, not because we spurn giving each other support, but because men must learn to give it to each other. Our vision is of each person a whole person; of women reclaiming their autonomy and self-assertion: no longer seeking "femininity" in submission and helplessness: of men learning to care, to nurture, to show emotion, to admit weakness, no longer having to prove their manhood in acts of domination and violence, instead seeking positive peace through co-operation and confidence-building.

A first step is to encourage the equal participation of more women in the peace movement, whether in women-only groups or in mixed groups. This

\* Andrea Dworkin

involves asking how many women go to meetings or demonstrations, and what role they play. It may be necessary to make a policy that office-holders, committees, etc should be equal numbers of women and men. It involves changing the organisation of meetings and the style of demonstrations in the light of the experience of the feminist movement—using meeting structures that encourage equal participation by all and give mutual support, which are not dominated by a few; and demonstrations that make the movement seem open and welcoming to those outside, as well as determined in its struggle.

Beyond this, I believe that all who oppose violence must take seriously the daily violence against women: that all who support liberation must look seriously at how women are oppressed: that all who work for peace must uproot from their own lives the sexual dominance and hierarchical thinking that breed wars. Great changes are demanded in our social, political and economic systems, but they begin at home, in our personal relationships, and how we bring up our children.

At one level, we are creating an alternative sexuality which is not based on dominance but relies on respect from other people, equality of power, sensitivity, and an ability to receive and give generously—to be confident in giving and vulnerable in receiving; a sexuality in which body and mind are one, and equally precious. At another level we are finding alternatives to reliance on increasingly menacing weapons and a highly trained professional group for our defence. These would be based around ideas of self reliance and peace building through co-operation between equals, with widespread knowledge of the techniques of nonviolent civilian defence. This is as important for protection against internal repression as against external enemies.

The analysis linking these two levels that I have attempted to explain may seem to complicate the issue of peace and confuse the simple demand for nuclear disarmament. It makes the changes required seem huge. But we would be fooling ourselves to imagine that peace is attainable without massive changes. And on the other hand, this analysis means that we do not have to wait for governments and generals: we can all take a step in the right direction tomorrow, in our personal lives, at our next meeting. To destroy sexual dominance is to undermine the foundations of hierarchy, power-seeking and violence on which war and the preparation of unbelievably destructive arms are based.



## groups

Women's Peace Alliance, Box 240, Peace News, 8 Elm Avenue, Nottingham.

The main functions of this alliance are to provide a means of communication between groups and individuals and to provide resources to encourage women to become active on the issue. The alliance will be able to give you a contact for your nearest women's peace group.

Women Oppose the Nuclear Threat, Box 600, Peace News, 8 Elm Avenue, Nottingham.

WONT is a network of autonomous feminist anti-nuclear groups, working within the peace movement and the women's liberation movement.

Women for Life on Earth, 2 St Edmunds Cottages, Bove Town, Glastonbury, Somerset BA6 8JD.

WfLOE is a network of women who make the connections between disarmament, ecology, women's liberation and health.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 29 Great James Street, London WC1.

Founded in 1919 WILPF has branches all over the country and all over the world, notably European countries. It exists to promote peace and freedom.

Greenham Common Women's Peace Camp, Outside main gates, USAF Greenham Common, Newbury, Berkshire. London office: 5 Leonard Street, London EC2.

Started as a peace camp it has generated energy and inspiration for many women who simply call themselves Greenham women. Contact them for details of actions.

Mothers for Peace, 30 Gledhow Grove, Leeds LS9 1NZ.

MfP is a grouping of women who wish to act as mothers concerned for the future of their children and themselves.

Families Against the Bomb, 56 Park Avenue North, London N6.

FAB whilst not an exclusively women's peace network is formed mainly of women. Their focus is on protection and preservation of children and of the family.

The women's peace movement is a broad based one with many women's peace groups who do not identify with one particular network. For details of your nearest peace group, contact Women's Peace Alliance, address above.

## further reading

Andrea Dworkin:

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*Up from Under—redefining nonviolence* in *PN* November 21 1975.

*Pornography: Men Possessing Women* Women's Press.

Elizabeth Dodson Gray:

*Green Paradise Lost*, Roundtable Press, Massachusetts.

Lynne Jones ed:

*Keeping the Peace*, Women's Press.

Pam Mcallister ed:

*Reweaving the Web of Life: Feminism and Nonviolence*, New Society Publishers, Pennsylvania USA. UK distribution by Housmans Books.

Rosemary Radford Reuther:

*Women's Liberation, Ecology and Social Revolution*, reprinted in *Peace News*, November 9 1973.

Feminism and Nonviolence Study Group ed:

*Shrew: Feminism and Nonviolence*, Summer 1978. Includes *Come in Tarzan Your Time is Up*

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Virginia Woolf:

*The Three Guineas*, Penguin.

Women at the Pentagon Action, November 1980:

*Statement of Unity*, reprinted in *Peace News*, December 12 1980.

Ernest Becker:

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Eugene Bianchi and Rosemary Reuther:

*From Machismo to Mutuality*, Paulist Press, New York.

Susan Brownmiller:

*Against Our Will*, Bantam.

Mary O'Brien:

*The Politics of Reproduction*, Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Nancy Chodorow:

*Family Structure and the Feminine Personality*, in *Women, Culture and Society*, ed Rosaldo and Lamphere, Stanford University Press.

Mary Daly:

*Beyond God the Father*, Beacon.

Dorothy Dinnerstein:

*The Mermaid and the Minotaur*, Harper and Row.

Barbara Deming:

*We Cannot Live Without Our Lives*

*Remembering Who We Are*, Pagoda, USA.

Dorothy Thompson:

*Over Our Dead Bodies*, Virago.



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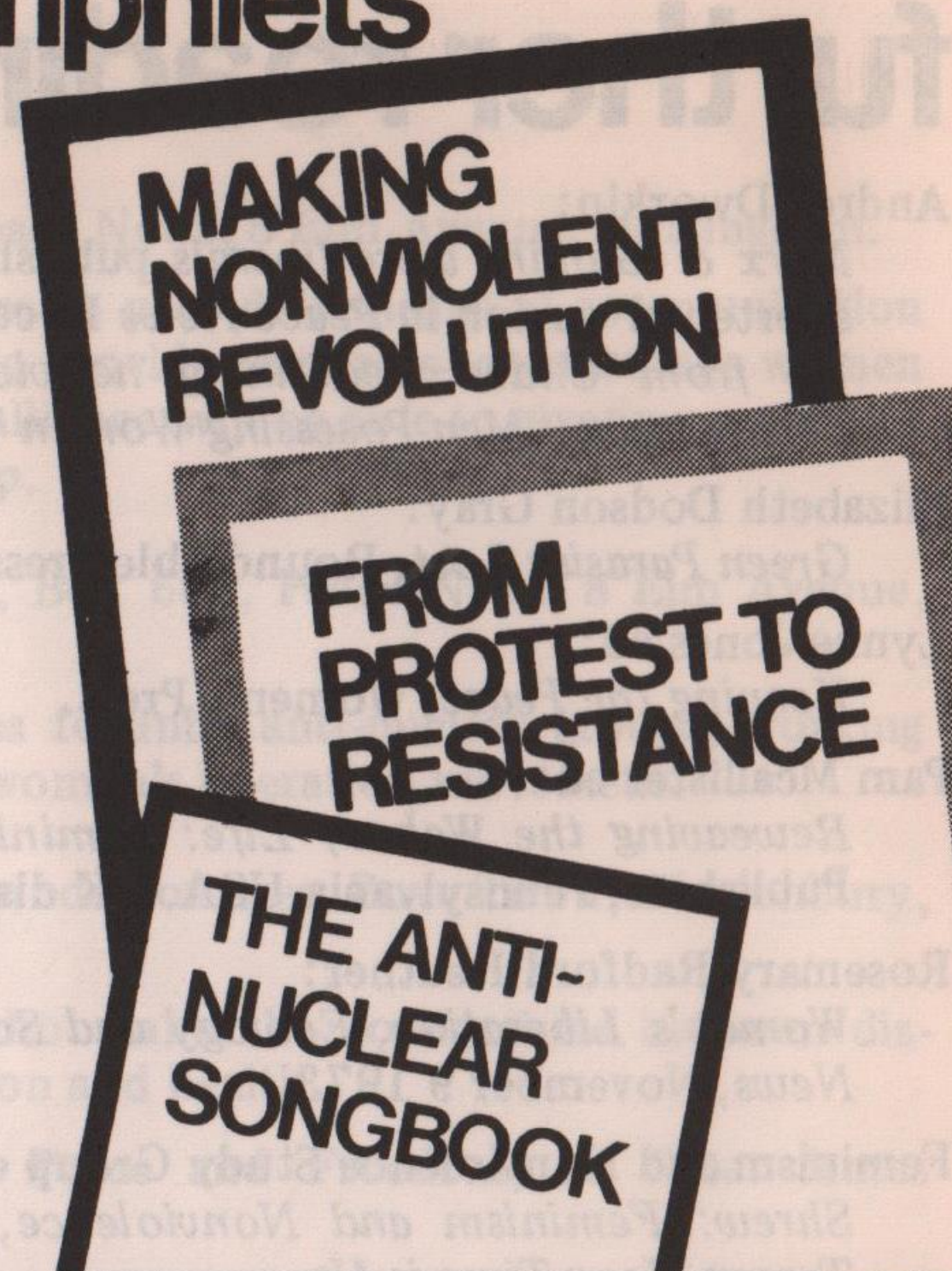
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