

the focus and stimulus of its work, and a greater value be given to the role of the Executive Committee with its constant attention to policy; the UN Consultants with their constant attendance at history-making Commissions and Assemblies; and the national sections as never-sleeping watchdogs of governmental policies which might make or break the world. (p. 203)

In the years following this shift of strategy down to 1965, Bussey and Tims demonstrate the active participation of WILPF members on United Nations and national governmental commissions dealing with such key issues as disarmament, the danger of low-level radiation to human health, human rights, status of women issues, and economic development. Although conferences became triennial instead of biennial after World War II, WILPF continued to use these meetings as educational opportunities to aid members develop policies consistent with the League's aims.

Tims, who actually wrote the second half of *Pioneers for Peace* following Bussey's untimely death, ends on a note which considers WILPF's future role in the peace movement particularly in light of the existence of more popular women's peace groups like the Canadian Voice of Women and the American Women's International Strike for Peace. She stresses that WILPF officers, like their counterparts before them, were still in the early 1960s not seeking to become a "mass, popular movement on the same lines as its younger sisters." (pp. 244-245) While working to establish closer cooperation with the new associations, WILPF leaders in the sixties continued to see their organization's goals and methods as necessary components of a diverse but ultimately united peace movement. In 1965 WILPF remained committed to "the well-trying tools of education, investigation, personal confrontation of issues, and action always from the basis of reasoned argument and conviction." (p. 245)

It is germane to note here that a short but useful forward to the 1980 edition of *Pioneers for Peace* is provided by the then international president of WILPF, Kay Camp. In a few pages Camp summarizes and highlights the activities of WILPF from 1965 to 1980, placing special faith "in the knowledge that with increasing equality and liberation women can and will make a decisive contribution to a more humane world." (p. 7)

Bussey and Tims' book is an important, indeed a crucial book, for anyone interested in the history of the women's peace movement. The saga of WILPF has been but briefly summarized here. Readers will be gratified to discover in more detail the impressive accomplishments of the remark-

able women of WILPF. As stated at the outset of this review, this study was written by two scholars who were also WILPF members. Their commitment to the aims of their organization is always clear and their work is scholarly. Unfortunately the authors provide no footnotes and the index is rudimentary.

Pioneers for Peace is still the only major published treatment we have of WILPF's history. For those interested in reading further on WILPF, Carrie A. Foster-Hays' unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (1984, University of Denver) entitled "The Women and the Warriors: Dorothy Detzer and the WILPF," is available for purchase with University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, Michigan. The archives of the international office of WILPF, previously in Geneva, are now located at the University of Colorado in Boulder. They represent a rich source for further study. Note should be made here, too, that archives of WILPF's Canadian section do not exist as a body of material (though much documentation will doubtless be discovered in the international archives at the University of Colorado). The archives of WILPF's U.S. section have been microfilmed and may be ordered several reels at a time from the Swarthmore College Peace Collection which houses the collection (a checklist is available on request as well as a catalog of the peace collection's entire holdings).

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Greenham Common: Women at the Wire. B. Harford and S. Hopkins, editors. *London: Women's Press, 1984.*

Greenham Women Everywhere. A. Cook and G. Kirk. *London: Pluto Press, 1983.*

I told him if the thought of women making love with one another was more threatening than the idea of men making war with each other, then I found that frightening (Greenham Woman).

On December 12, 1982, 30,000 women linked hands to encircle the U.S. military base located at Greenham Common, England. Since that day, "Greenham Common" has become a household word to tens of thousands of peace activists and to hundreds of thousands of others around the world. But this action was much more than just a routine protest against the arrival of U.S. cruise missiles. It heralded the bringing together of the two most profound social move-

ments since the Second World War—the struggle against nuclear war and for peace, and the women’s movement aspirations for equality and a new world.



GREENHAM FLOWER, December 1985, A. Burfoot Photo.

Here are two books that pleasantly transport you into the hearts, minds, dreams, and frustrations of the thousands of women who initiated and established the now famous peace camp. They are written by women who were (and perhaps still are) actively involved in the events and both books are full of anecdotes, poems, dreams, stories, and quotes from dozens of other women who worked to develop a “womanly culture” at Greenham.

In fact, the books are positive models of what can be called the feminist approach to peace education. Until recently, I, like probably many men in the peace movement, have been weaned on the classically malestream approach to anti-militarism. My bookshelves are lined with dozens of volumes which dazzle the mind and move the intellect. Statistics that prove; strategies that are logically absurd; trends that demonstrate—who in their right *mind* could contemplate the use of nuclear weapons? And, while all of this is not to be knocked completely, an equally valid or perhaps more valid question is who in their right *heart* could contemplate the use of nuclear weapons? And the women of Greenham Common have lots of heart.

These books vividly portray all the varied feelings and experiences of women—most of whom were new to any form of political action—trying to beat back the nuclear juggernaut and create a peaceful way of life. There are many interesting actions described: the confrontation with the military police of the base; the handling of the media; and the dealings

with the judicial system, given the hundreds of arrests that have taken place. But these two accounts are more than just lively description, they are in a sense handbooks of feminist organizing. Each one relates how decisions were made, how women were psychologically and politically prepared for the action, and the attempts to counteract the tendency of undemocratic and hierarchical organizing.

Both books have chapters devoted to the issue of nonviolence. Most feminists involved in peacework strongly see nonviolence as not just a tactic to achieve certain aims, but as a whole philosophy of life.

We cannot achieve peace through violence. It is a fundamental contradiction in terms. Means and ends merge into one another and cannot be separated, so that anything won by violence has the seeds of that violence contained within it. (*Greenham Everywhere*, p. 76-77)



GREENHAM AT THE WIRE, December 1985, A. Burfoot Photo.

Also within the realm of political issues, the women debate how they deal with the question of breaking the laws and handling the judicial system. Both books are similar in many respects, particularly with regard to discussing feminist organizing for peace. However, the Harford and Hopkins account is more global in its approach and covers more events. There is the story of the Greenham Common woman going on a speaking tour in the United States. There are the adventures and misadventures of a delegation trying to establish contact with their counterparts in Hungary. And there is an interesting anecdote of how a number of women attempted to protest Britain’s involvement in the Falklands war. Qualitatively, though, both these books are excellent and easy reading. Allowing myself a sweeping generalization, most

Canadian books on the nuclear issue (I do admit, though, that there are not that many) are rather dry. Reading these books will, hopefully, inspire peace activists—particularly the men—to learn from the feminist approach.

Let me conclude with a poem by one Greenham woman who was accused of (*sic*) “breaching the peace”:

What do you do with someone like me
the animal called human who, all gut, intestines, wings,
flies screaming in the face of official logic
unrepentantly and happily dissident
to join her friends who were occupying that sentry box
at the entrance to this monster
that all my life has breached my peace.
What do you do when I admit that I did nothing wrong
and tell you that after two men got hold of me,
and dragged me back to the gate,
I ran to the side gate laughing,
slid the latch and ran right in again
and that the only way I can be stopped is to silence me by
death
for I am the early warning system
because I've seen too much.
What do you do with a revolutionary
who carries no gun
and admits to having fun?

(*Greenham Common: Women at the Wire*, p. 80)

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Educating for Peace. A Feminist Perspective. Birgit Brock-Utne. *New York: Pergamon Athene Series, 1985. Pp. 174.*

Sexism and the War System. Betty Reardon. *New York: Teachers College Press, 1985. Pp. 110.*

These two books represent trends in the new feminist peace research, the outcome of more than a decade's development, based on applying the perspectives and methods of feminist scholarship to yet another of the previously male-dominated fields of study. Reardon examines the links between sexism as a system of oppression and domination of women by men, and militarism—the “war system” which increasingly underlies our economy and society. Brock-Utne applies these and other feminist findings, to explore what kind of education is needed to transform people and institutions from those who perpetuate direct and physical violence, and indirect, sys-

temic violence. It is misleading to consider feminist peace studies as applicable to women only. Inevitably, a large part of the focus is on men's training and participation in male-run systems, since violence is gendered; the overwhelming majority of direct physical violence in the world is carried out by men against women (with a lesser but still sizeable part men against men), and because women suffer more than men in every strata of society globally, from indirect structural violence.

Brock-Utne's work is organised in five sections; she begins by developing a definition of peace and exploring the situation of women in relation to four settings: as victims of structural, and next, direct, violence; wars of mass destruction; the military. Women are not only victims of these forms of violence, but also participants, directly as members of the military, and indirectly as producers and co-socialisers of men who act violently. The second chapter outlines and examines the characteristics and methods of women's peace activities and considers the possibility that women are more peace-loving than men. The dilemma of eliminating inequality, when equality is all too often (and falsely) presented as women becoming *like* men and equal to them, (rather than perhaps the reverse, or other definitions altogether) is explored. She discusses the reaction to women's peace and human rights activities in society at large. Next she considers peace education, the role of mothers in it, and the part played by ideal sex role images in determining how men and women are trained to play their parts in the system of violence. She explores several strategies for change, identifying the family as the locus of struggle for a just and peaceful world at the microsocial level. She concludes that the crucial locus for cultural reconstruction is the family, where males can be trained (particularly in their early years) into peaceableness.

The fourth chapter discusses science, higher education, and peace research, identifying “science” as it is carried out today as a destructive element. Pointing out that the focus of scholarship and its products gives rise to the distorted view that war is normal, inevitable, and historically and naturally characteristic of human relations, she argues that there should be a halt to “war studies.” She provides an overview of the women's peace research, and demonstrates that the feminist movement and the work of peace are interdependent. Since the best hope for social transformation into a peaceful world lies with women's perspectives, struggles, and knowledge, peace research should take this up as a crucial issue. Finally she examines feminism as the starting point for effective disarmament. Women need the time and resources to formulate nonviolent defence policies for the world. She speculates that a women's defence policy would include dis-