THE UNIVERSITY OF HULL

The practice, power and poetics of direct action

being a thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

in the University of Hull

by

David Heller, BSc (Hull)

September 2001

Contents

POWER OVER

RESISTANCE

SONG

POWER-WITH

List of figures

Acknowledgements

Introduction

I was sitting in my caravan at the Peace Camp, listening to the rain drum down on the thin aluminium roof. I had finally got the burner lit, and I was sitting on my bed, flicking through the pile of anarchist and activist literature I had bought at Fahrenheit 451, the (now defunct) radical bookstore in Glasgow. I had gone in to drop off a few copies of *Faslania*, the Peace Camp's newsletter, and had taken the opportunity to pick up a couple of books, a copy of *Anarchy: A journal of desire armed* (1997), and a few assorted leaflets. In their pamphlet rack I had stumbled across a poorly photocopied, slightly tatty looking, collection of essays, pictures and assorted musings from the Claremont Road campaign against the building of the M11 link road, the squatted row of buildings that had been credited with giving a kick start to the anti-road movement in the middle of the 1990s. Amongst the blurred photographs, and newspaper clippings detailing the build up to the eviction I saw a short quote, discussing the role of nonviolent direct action (NVDA), which immediately struck a chord with me:

> "NVDA is performance where poetic and pragmatic join hands.
> The sight of a fragile figure silhouetted against a blue sky,
> perched dangerously high, on a crane that has stopped work for
> the day, is both beautiful and functional, NVDA is deeply
> theatrical and fundamentally political" (Jordan, 1995, p 32)

I think that the simplicity, and the power, of those few lines, fundamentally changed the way I looked at direct action, both my own and that carried out by other people. This thesis has mostly been written in the comfort of an office, heated by a distant boiler fed more than likely on non-renewable fossil fuels. It is an attempt to recreate, reflect, or at least hint at some of the practice, power and poetics of direct action. It is an attempt to unravel some of the significant, and hopefully interesting, aspects of my experiences.

This introduction highlights a number of the themes that weave their way through the rest of the thesis.

The Practice

For the past few years, I have been involved, as an activist, in direct action campaigns around a number of issues, but primarily in opposition to nuclear weapons. My main involvement has been with *Faslane Peace Camp*. The camp, situated on the banks of the Gareloch, 30 miles North West of Glasgow, was

established in 1982. For the past 18 years it has maintained a presence outside Faslane Naval Base, which is now the base for four Trident submarines. These are "Vanguard Class" nuclear powered and nuclear armed submarines, and they make up Britain's only remaining nuclear weapon system. Over the past four years, since I first visited the camp, I have spent about 12 months there in total, including about five months in the spring and summer of 1998. Time spent at the camp, taking part in various direct actions and in the everyday running of the camp, forms the experiential basis of the thesis. Alongside this, I have also been involved in other campaigns, most notably *Trident Ploughshares*, previously known as Trident Ploughshares 2000, which is a campaign to disarm the Trident nuclear weapons system through the use of open and accountable nonviolent direct action. Over the past two years it has organised regular "disarmament camps" which have attracted up to one hundred activists, many travelling from other countries in Europe, and further afield. These camps are held at the Royal Navy Armaments Depot (RNAD) Coulport, approximately 10 miles from Faslane. This is the base where the Trident nuclear warheads are stored before they are loaded on to the submarines.

Outside of the Faslane/Coulport area, I have been involved in a variety of other direct actions, some of which I draw upon here. The *Disgrace the Base* action was an attempt to occupy a factory in Derby owned by Rolls-Royce plc. It is the site where the nuclear reactors that power the nuclear submarines are built. Along with several activists from Faslane and with delegates from the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) conference being held in Manchester, I made the trip to Barrow-in-Furness, Cumbria, to protest against the roll-out of HMS Vengeance, the fourth Trident submarine. These are just two of the numerous examples of where Faslane Peace Camp activists, and others, have made attempts to disrupt parts of the Trident system not based at Faslane/Coulport. I have also travelled to Belgium on a couple of occasions to take part in demonstrations and direct action at *Kleine-Brogel*, a Belgian Air Force base that is home to a number of the United States' nuclear weapons. I also took part in the For Mother Earth *Walk for Peace* in the summer of 1999, from the International Court of Justice in The Hague to NATO headquarters in Brussels. The walk culminated in a demonstration against NATO nuclear policy and against the NATO military intervention in Kosov@[1], and involved anti-nuclear activists from around the world. As such, the people involved

in direct action against nuclear weapons cannot be portrayed as a geographically bounded community.

The actions that I have been involved in have also not always been in opposition to nuclear weapons or nuclear power. Faslane Peace Campers have, for example, been involved in direct action in support of the residents of *Gartocher Terrace*, in an attempt to halt the dumping of toxic waste at the end of their street. Other actions I have taken part in include the *Diggers350* celebrations, culminating in the squatting of a piece of land on St. George's Hill, Surrey, to mark the anniversary of the establishment of the Diggers colony after the English Civil War. I have also joined pickets of various workplaces, shops, and arms fairs.

Although I refer to the "direct action movement", the "peace movement", and the "anti-nuclear movement", the range of issues that are tackled through direct action, resists any notion of a cohesive "movement". Alongside the lack of any obvious boundary, there are often conflicts within and between these various campaigns. The Peace Camp at Faslane has often been deeply divided by a whole range of conflicts, some of which I discuss in some depth, and others which I gloss over. The relationship between the permanent Peace Camp and the regular but temporary camp of Trident Ploughshares, is also of interest. Alongside the practical co-operation and solidarity between these groups there remains a certain level of conflict. As well as providing an account of these actions, I have also detailed the way in which resistance is performed, often at the micro-scale, through the use of various tactics. This focus on the practice of these tactics, likened by one activist to "part sociology, part fence-cutting manual" is an attempt to capture aspects of direct action typically ignored in the academic literature on direct action.

Alongside these actions, camps and campaigns, there are others that I would have more difficulty in talking about. Serious legal problems might arise if I even admitted knowledge of certain actions. These covert actions undoubtedly inform my writing, although they remain undisclosed in any specific form. There are also other actions that I have not discussed here, after speaking to activists who specifically asked me not to mention them. Their absence perhaps speaks more about the ethical implications of my research than any formal, angst ridden, reflexive methodology chapter ever could. On those occasions where I have been arrested, and either prosecuted, or arrested and subsequently informed that I will not be prosecuted, I am able to I draw on my experiences as a subject of the

criminal justice system. In particular, I make reference to the fortnight spent on trial in Swadlincote magistrate's court, as a result of the Disgrace the Base action, and the nights spent in various police cells around Glasgow as a result of anti nuclear activism at Faslane/Coulport.

The thesis also draws on my experience at Hull University, as a research student and Graduate Teaching Assistant. Negotiating this boundary, between "activism" and "academia" has been particularly important to the shape that my life in general, and this thesis in particular, have taken over the past few years.

I had been involved in direct action for a couple of years before I started my PhD research, and I had visited Faslane Peace Camp a couple of times before I even began thinking about it as a place to conduct "research". I continue to take part in direct action, and return to visit Faslane, not only as an academic seeking to get something out of the situation, but also because I share a commitment to nuclear disarmament. I have cooked and eaten food with people, not only as a "valid research strategy" to gain access to a community, but because it is part of being in that community. This is clearly not an objective position, and is marked by a rejection of the "god trick" (Haraway, 1988, p 584) of supposedly speaking from a neutral, impartial, "nowhere". I am often acutely aware that the account that I produce of the camp is based on my own position with respect to the camp, and that this position can change from day to day. It is also highly dependent on whether I have had a nice time at the Peace Camp recently, whether I am optimistic about the camp, and arguments and disagreements that I have had with people at the Peace Camp, and within the Geography Department. It is not, however, an entirely subjective position either. The myth of the sovereign individual subject, based in masculinist, liberal philosophy, and echoed through much post-modernism, forms the second of Haraway's god tricks (ibid.), one which claims to speak from "everywhere". In place of these positions, Haraway (1988) and McDowell (1993), propose a "situated knowledge". In focussing on this situatedness, and the various contexts in which I have undertaken this research, I hope that I have largely avoided the tendency of much post-modern social science to dwell too heavily on, solipsistic, hand wringing, particularly *individual* questions of morality. Such accounts can often disguise "self-congratulatory, narcissistic decadence" (Sangren, 1988, p 423).

This is, however, by no means a new position for academics to find themselves in. Sibley (1995), for example, outlines the differences between the social scientific paradigm, advocated by Park and Burgess, working in the Chicago School of Sociology, and the approach of Jane Addams, and others associated with the Hull House settlement. From an anthropological perspective, Nakhleh (1979) discusses the position of being a "native anthropologist", and the implications that this has for the production of knowledge. The question of situated knowledge has, also, long been a concern of feminist geographers, revealing *all* knowledge as situated, partial and political (McDowell, 1993, Haraway, 1988). Even from within masculinist (Marxist) geography, the question of advocacy was raised by Harvey in 1974 (Harvey, 1974). The rise of interest in research into direct action within geography has, however, seen a renewed interest in the role of the "activist-academic". Examples of this include Routledge (1996b), as well as the special issue of *Area* (1999) devoted to the topic.

Perhaps as a result of the attention that has been paid to the subject, there is a potential danger of overplaying the significance of advocacy within my research. It is necessary, for example, to be pragmatic about the practical effect that this thesis is likely to have on the world. When I started my research I had more illusions about the potential impact of academic work in general. I had thought, rather naïvely, that my work could play an unproblematic role as an extension of my activism. The process of writing, and the reflection that it has involved, has undoubtedly helped me to clarify a number of important issues, relating to questions of domination, the effectiveness of resistance, and the formation of community. Yet, being realistic, this thesis is unlikely to have any major impact on anyone. As such, it is necessary to look elsewhere for the political impact of the "activist-academic". Over the past three years, however, I have got something of a feel for the small, and highly select, readership of PhD theses, seeing the dust that has collected on them, and the tiny list of names of those who have signed them out of the university library. Even the most popular of academic journal articles are read by a relatively few people, a tiny number when compared to the readership of a national newspaper.

One possibility is the publication of my work in activist publications. Over the past few years I have contributed to *Faslania*, the Peace Camp magazine. Extracts from those articles, dealing primarily with the conflict between the Peace Camp and

Trident Ploughshares 2000 campaign, are reproduced at various points in this thesis. I have also written an article for *Peace News*, which gives an account of the first direct action that I was involved in at Kleine-Brogel (Heller, 1998). Neither of these, however, necessarily depends on having done the level of research that I have undertaken, and in any case I am not sure that it produces a better standard of journalism. In fact, it is possible to identify problems with relying too heavily on the role of academics, in their role as academics, in representing direct action. *Do or Die*, the forum for "voices from Earth First!"[2], actively discourages this Vanguardist position by steering clear of work written by the growing number of academic commentators on direct action. Even if this were not the case, their editorial line has such a heavy Situationist slant that my work would be unlikely to be published.

Routledge (1996b) highlights the "irony about the very practice of writing about [activist] issues *within* the conventional discursive sites of academia." (p 415 n 5), yet I would go further and suggest that as well as being ironic, the practice can actually be damaging, relying on (and thus reinforcing) the authority of the academic position. During the course of my research I have become more realistic about the potential impact of written academic work, and some of the negative consequences that might be involved. I have also got more heavily involved in direct action as an *activist*. Although it is problematic to suggest a separation of activists and academic roles, it is as an *activist* that I think I have the greatest potential effect in terms of bringing about progressive social change. For the vast majority of the time this has not depended to any great extent on having a degree in Geography, having completed a postgraduate training certificate, or any of the other intellectual capital of my academic position. It would be wrong, however, to suggest that this has not made a difference to my engagement with other activists, and the majority of people who I lived with at the Peace Camp were aware that I had a degree, even if they did not know, or remember, that I was doing research at the camp. Yet, it was not in any of the ways that I could possibly have predicted that this *has* made a difference.

When I told people that I was "a geography teacher", the most common reaction was an interest in the first year Core Skills course that I was involved in demonstrating for. This was especially the case for people who had dropped out of formal education. The core skills course was a particular topic of conversation with

Josie, a camper who was very proud of the fact that she was returning to college after several years out of full time education. In particular, she wanted to know how the system might have changed since she was last there.

Only once have I needed to read a map during an action. Rather undemocratically, I was able to use my geographical authority to convince the activists whom I was with that I knew the way. This saved us a lot of time walking in the wrong direction, and possibly a longer amount of time spent arguing about which direction to head in. As Starhawk (1990) suggests "When you're lost in the hills, and no-one knows the way home, you cannot figure out how to get there by consensus." (cited in Trident Ploughshares 2000, 1998, §2.6.3).

Aside from this, the opportunities to put both the intellectual and practical geographical knowledge into practice were limited. On several occasions, I was called on to arbitrate in minor disagreements between Peace Campers on matters relating to "geography". This was generally during heated, but entirely inconsequential, arguments over issues such as the names of clouds, and what weather they typically brought with them, or the types of rock formation that could be found in the West Highlands. Being almost exclusively questions of *physical* geography, these were things that I had to admit an almost complete ignorance of. I normally suggested that I could ask colleagues about it when I got back to Hull, an offer that was never taken up. On another occasion when I visited the camp after a few weeks away, I was introduced to an activist who had just moved to the camp. He was very hostile to this middle class English bloke, dressed in clean clothes, and who seemed to have left the camp just as the weather was starting to get cold. He verbally abused me for being a geographer, but not knowing the difference between "a glen" and "a valley". The answer was, of course, that the former is Scottish, and the latter is English...

Surprisingly, however, the issue of my doing ethnographic research at the camp has been greeted for the most part with amusement or indifference. "You mean, they pay you to come up here, get nicked, chop some wood, and then go back and write stuff about it?" "Yep." "What a blag!" was a common exchange. For those whose knowledge of the discipline of geography was limited to physical geography, there was an assumption that I was sneaking off from the camp, without anyone noticing, to measure the surrounding rivers or hills, a confusion perhaps exacerbated by the stereotypical image of the fleece jacket and walking boot-wearing geographer that

they saw before them. I must admit, however, that I did very little to disabuse people of this impression. The most hostile reaction that I got from anyone during my research was from the first person to whom I suggested that I might do research at the camp, on the camp. Although Steve was not a resident at the time, like myself, he was a regular visitor to the camp. We were sat talking to a Danish visitor to the camp, who explained that she was studying "culture" at University. I replied that I was studying anthropology, and that I was thinking of doing my research on direct activists. At this, without even mentioning my preference for doing research at the camp, Steve erupted. "How dare you come into these people's lives and study them, like some South Pacific Islanders? I bet they thought they were not your friends, not a bunch of natives..." Luckily, I was fresh from a methods course that was based almost entirely on discussions about the inherent flaws of Malinowski's approach in the Trobriand Islands. As a result, I was armed with just enough of an argument to convince him, after what felt like hours of discussion and debate, that it was an acceptable thing for me to be doing, even if it remained inherently problematic. Sincere thanks must be accorded to Professor Judith Okely. For the next few days he treated me with suspicion, interrupting even the most banal of conversations that I was having with people, to inform them that I was an anthropologist, and that anything they said might get used in my research. Every time we were sat by the fire together, he would self consciously exaggerate all his movements, just so that I could get them written down, and so that I wouldn't miss any of the symbolism. At one point, he began drying out some tobacco that had got damp in his pocket. He upended a few empty baked bean cans that sat around the fire, and spread a few strands of the tobacco out on each of them. This, he suggested was a fundamental ritual in the life of the Peace Camp, and hoped that I was paying extra special attention. At that point I had spent a few weeks at the camp, but hadn't finally decided that I would do my main stint of participant observation there. This was particularly in light of the precarious situation of the camp, which had just been served a "notice to quit", the first step in eviction proceedings against the camp.

It was possibly the closest that I came to deciding against research at the camp, but realised that I would have to start from scratch at any other camp that I visited for the purposes of research. For practical reasons, as much as anything else, it was a choice between attempting to produce a sympathetic account of Faslane, by spying

on friends at Faslane, or producing a more distanced, superficial account that reproduced so many of the flaws of the anthropology of which Steve was rightly critical. Over the following weeks and months, however, Steve became more and more interested in what I was doing, and occasionally asked how the research was progressing. Some months after I last saw him, I got an email from him, asking to read some of the stuff that I had written, as he was doing an MPhil dissertation on the spiritual aspects of direct action, and was interested in reading what I had written about the camp.

Despite these anxious episodes, I never really made a secret of my research. It would have been incredibly simple to do research entirely covertly, hiding field notes that I written in my caravan, and using the fact that I had a job at the university as a convenient reason to leave the camp from time to time. Although I told most of the people that I lived with for any length of time, it would have been totally impractical to tell everyone what I was doing, particularly due to the high turnover of visitors to the camp. The tour of the camp for new arrivals could never be expanded so that as well as pointing out the trees planted by the survivors of Hiroshima, and the compost toilet, people would have the resident ethnographer pointed out to them. For most of the people that I spent time with, the subject came up in conversation. In general, the people that stayed at the peace camp who were not in a position to find out about my research don't feature in my work anyway. When I was involved in direct action away from Faslane, I told most people about my research, if I thought I would want to write about them. The one major exception to this was the Diggers350 camp, where I spent a couple of weeks, but never really told anyone that I was doing a PhD, let alone that I was probably going to write about their activities. Shortly after I left, the camp ended, faced with an eviction notice from West Surrey Water. As such, contacting these people became impractical. In any case, very few people are identified as individuals in the account that I give, beyond those who actively placed themselves in the media spotlight. I reckon these people are fair game. I have to admit that, although I have wondered if I should have been more explicit about the possible outcomes of my involvement with the camp, it hasn't caused me any lost sleep. If this is an unethical approach, then so be it.

Outside of the pressure cooker atmosphere of the Peace Camp, the relationship between my activism and academic work has generally been less tense. I have been

able to use the insights I have gained through my research in a more conscious manner. The section on the use of lock-ons, below, is partly based on material presented to a group of activists at a National Petition Against Poverty day school. Most significantly, I have made interventions during discussions within the Trident Ploughshares 2000 campaign that relate directly to the question of the construction of an activist "community", and in discussions of the effectiveness of various forms of resistance. I refer to these throughout the text. There have, however, been few occasions in which I have been able to directly relate academic discussion of these issues to strategic decision-making within the campaign. In the majority of cases the relationship has been more complex. It is, however, not as simple as saying that academic and intellectual discussions have led to activist decisions and actions. As well as actions informing my academic discourse, debates and discussions with activists have, in the anthropological tradition of grounded theorising, had an effect on my academic theory and practice.[3] The discussion I include on the problematic nature of relying on the courts to inscribe innocence, as well as guilt, was developed in part through arguments that took place in legal strategy meetings. A large number of social science graduates, and postgraduates, pass through the Peace Camp. I suspect that the numbers are even higher in the Trident Ploughshares campaign. I have had discussions of a highly intellectual nature with "activists", covering not only matters directly relating to activism, but also New Social Movement theory, and sociology and anthropology more generally. I spent a long, and rather bizarre, coach journey on my way to an action in Belgium discussing the writings of Slavoj Zizeck. These sorts of conversations, and their obverse– the inevitable involvement of the academic in embodied practices– suggest that the destabilising of the activist/academic dichotomy, and the creation of a "thirdspace" of critical engagement discussed by Routledge (1996b), is not necessarily limited to the conscious strategy that he suggests. In fact, I have serious doubts that these positions exist as distinct categories. As such, the task of a critical engagement may not be so much about opening up these sorts of spaces, as recognising their potential for existence prior to the intellectualising of an academic.

This is not to suggest, however, that although the boundary between these categories might be porous, often to the extent that they become less useful categories to work with, there are not important questions of power/knowledge at

work. It is noticeable, for example, that my interventions in the Trident Ploughshares campaign occurred in a relatively formal forum with which I am more comfortable than the majority of Peace Camp activists. I am also deeply involved in a project of researching the Peace Camp, and despite my best attempts at the deconstruction, and the destruction, of the boundary between "researcher" and "researched", it remains in place.

The Power

The main structure of the thesis is provided by a distinction between four different, yet intimately entangled, forms of power, which, following Starhawk, (1988) and Clark, (1998), I refer to as "power-over", "power in relation to", "power from within" and "power with". This is a distinction used by theorists of direct action (such as Clark) as well as those, such as the Quaker "Turning the Tide project", involved in delivering direct action training. I first came across the distinction at *Gathering Visions, Gathering Strength*, a gathering for nonviolent direct activists held in Bradford in 1997. Howard Clark introduced the distinction during a plenary discussion, where he was speaking alongside three women who shared their highly personal recollections of involvement in a variety of direct action campaigns, including anti-nuclear activism, Earth First!, and the Welsh Language Society. He was the only man on the panel. I was concerned, as I heard him speak, that he offered an excessively formal and masculinist way of looking at the issue. He was also, possibly, obscuring some of the other accounts, through the tacit suggestion that the authority to speak on direct action was bound up with this kind of abstract reflection. These concerns remain. Nevertheless, I consider the terminology a useful way of making the distinction between domination, resistance, personal empowerment and solidarity, whilst situating them all as forms of *power*. Describing these forms here is not (consciously) an attempt to further systematise, but rather to outline the structure of the thesis.

Power-over:

Starhawk (1988) begins her description of power-over with a description of the effects of a one-megaton bomb,

> "Circle One—three miles across: winds of 500 miles hour; destruction of all buildings, including steel reinforced office structures; most people killed outright.

Circle Two—six miles across: winds of 300 miles an hour; stone and concrete buildings destroyed; exposed people, if not killed, critically burned.
Circle Three—eight miles across: winds of 160 miles an hour, destruction of brick and wood frame houses; exposed people seriously burned" (pp 1-2)

These circles are contrasted with a further set of circles, of women holding hands, and the power to be found "in writing, weaving, working, creating, making choices, [power] that has nothing to do with threats of annihilation"(ibid., p 3). From the start of her account of power-over, the possibility of resistance, and those forms of power– with others, and from within–fracture the structure of domination power-over.

This contrasts with the, often monolithic, terms employed in structuralist, and Marxist, accounts of domination. Although there is possibly an obligation, on the part of those undertaking an academic project, to relate seemingly disparate instances of oppression and exclusion, there is also something to be gained from avoiding the presentation of a totalitarian, or totalising, system. The account is, therefore, an intentionally fragmentary, and particular, view of a variety of manifestations of power over. Not only is this characteristic of the way in which power over is generally perceived by those taking part in direct action in Britain, at the present time. It also allows the possibility of resistance to these powers, in the "gaps in the map" of control. It also recognises the fortunate position that many (contemporary, British) activists are in, whereby our actions are generally *not* met with overwhelming force or repression. The recognition of this situation is, in part, out of respect to those activists who struggle in contexts where the consequences are much more severe.

I begin with a discussion of the ways in which the Trident nuclear weapons system is constructed, initially through an account of various activist discourses. I then turn to look at the ways in which the criminal justice system, including the policing of direct action and other public order situations, as well as bail conditions and the courts, are experienced by activists. In particular, I examine the ways in which activists are excluded from the criminal justice system through its reliance on the visual, the rational, and the cognitive. I argue that this is a system of domination that not only provides a crucial support for, but is also supported by, the Trident system.

Power-in-relation-to:

Having explored some of the processes of domination that are bound up in the discursive and practical construction of Britain's nuclear weapons system, and in particular the links that can be made between Trident and the criminal justice system, I turn to look at resistance. In order to situate this as a form of power, yet to differentiate it from domination, I return to the distinction made by Howard Clark (1998), who discusses resistance in terms of "power in relation to"(pp 18-19). This is in distinction to those activists, such as the *northern anarchist terrorist organization* who would reject all forms of "power" outright. They state, "we have no other interest but to rid the world of these domineering twats. when they go, we go. we don't want power, we want freedom, and power and freedom can never co-exist. we are freethinking radicals..." (nato, 1999).

I outline how the process of resistance is not simply the stripping away of domination, or "power" more generally, to reveal some nascent "freedom", but involves the active creation of a web of relations distinct from that involved in domination. The distinction domination/resistance is favoured in Sharp *et al* (2000), as well as by several of the contributors to their volume, *Entanglements of Power*. This situates both as forms of power. As Robinson (2000) suggests, "if power is productive and not just bad, then mobilising resources, capacities and discourses in the interests of resistance is also a form of power" (p 88 n 1). It is interesting to note, here, a shift from the opposition power/resistance, used in the contributions to Pile and Keith's *Geographies Of Resistance* (1997), as well as the four volumes that resulted from the 1997 BSA conference on power and resistance (Roseneil and Seymour, 1999, p viii).

Alongside the semantic difference, however, it is also *politically* important to develop an appreciation of the power that is to be found in resistance. I describe in the section dealing with Trident the operation of what remains a devastating form of domination. No academic niceties should be allowed to hide the fact that Trident is an evil. In this context, there is something actually quite reactionary in those postmodern discourses that would seek to destabilise questions of power as they could be used in *resistance* to Trident, without the recognition of the continued operation of *domination* in a state that is largely unaltered by academic posturing. This is not to advocate, however, the uncritical description of the forms that resistance takes at Faslane and elsewhere.

I begin the outline of "power in relation to" the Trident nuclear weapons system with a discussion of the Faslane Peace Camp, drawing on both the idea of the *Temporary Autonomous Zone* (Bey, 1991) and the "terrain of resistance" (Routledge, 1992, 1994, 1996). I then go on to discuss, in more detail, the use of a variety of tactics that have been used at Faslane, and in other direct action. I end the section on resistance with a look at the ways in which song is used in direct action, not only as an expression or demonstration of opposition, but as a form of resistance in itself. Continuing the focus on song, I look at the ways in which singing in police cells can overcome the barriers between activists, effectively challenging the isolation which is a fundamental part of the domination felt by those in custody. This is a form of resistance that depends, in part at least, upon the empowerment of the individual.

Power-with:

As my research has developed, it has become increasingly bound up with a desire to explore the physical and theoretical spaces of what may be termed the *intersubjective*. It is in these spaces, in the links between people and within groups, which cannot be reduced simply to either resistance, or to a purely individual form of empowerment, that "power-with" is to be found. I begin from an examination of the way in which the use of song, both during direct action, and more generally by activists, has the capacity to form powerful bonds between people. I draw on the use of one particular song *The World Turned Upside Down*, to show how it played a part in the creation of community amongst those involved in the Diggers350 occupation of St. George's Hill. This is contrasted with those positions that would seek to situate the use of song as either a purely textual phenomenon (for example Gammon and Stallybrass, 1984), or as simply the product of a particular subculture, or geography (for example Halfacree and Kitchin, 1996). It also stands as a contrast to those positions that, in positing the ontological priority of the individual, obscure the importance of relationships between people, and the possibility of collective forms of action.

This form of power encompasses the formation of bonds of solidarity, mutual aid, or community. It is also relevant to exploring the ways in which the production of knowledge can avoid the god-tricks of objectivism and relativism. Haraway reminds us that "situated knowledges are about communities, not about isolated

individuals" (1988, p 590). Power-with depends explicitly on the sharing of partial, often contradictory, meanings between people.

There is a danger, however, that in discussing the creation of groups or bonds that claim to be either universal in extent, or entirely open and transparent, exclusionary processes that are fundamental to these groups are masked. As such, I am critical of claims of holism within any of these groups. I am certainly not claiming some unmediated insight into the minds of other people, through a study of their actions. Drawing on the insights of a post-modern feminism, as outlined in particular by Haraway (1991a), Iris Young (1990), and Rose (1993), I suggest that the use of song also has the power to create fractured, partial, exclusionary, and fluid bonds between people. As such, the communities that are created are not simply the bounded and reified groups of structural functionalism, or the equally partial groups suggested by those placing their faith in various forms of feminist essentialism.

In particular, I am critical of the role of consensus decision-making, and various forms of group process, in recreating certain exclusionary practices that can be associated with these overly cognitive, rational, structures. I also revisit a number of the tactics discussed in the section dealing with resistance, as well as other elements of life at Faslane Peace Camp. This is done in order to examine the ways in which power-with is practiced within the peace movement, and beyond, at a range of geographical scales from the face-to-face, to the level of international solidarity.

The Poetics

Traditional social movement research has been characterised by analyses of resource mobilisation, and identity formation, the outcome of which has tended to be overly formal, and mechanistic (Routledge and Simons, 1995). This is also a danger, perhaps, in the foregoing discussion of the distinction between different forms of power, as well as in some of the more theoretical sections of the thesis. In an attempt to avoid this problem, I have made a conscious effort to expose the *poetic* aspects of direct action, and life at Faslane Peace Camp. While this potentially introduces a new set of problems, without significantly affecting the problems associated with academic accounts of direct action, it is an approach with which I am more confident.

The Peace Camp, and my experiences of direct action, are bound up with memories of people, physical sensations, fears and desires, as well as more formal theories about space and resistance. I have benefited greatly from being open to what Judith Okely (1992) has referred to as "embodied knowledge", and as such the smells, sights and sounds of the camp mingle with my tactile experiences, and more theoretical observations about camp life. Every part of the camp holds memories for me, bound up with memories of people, actions and thoughts. These combine, and sometimes come into conflict with the memories and ideas of other people. Trying to negotiate these different meanings and feelings, and do them all justice in writing my account has often been difficult. It is possible to take one example as a way of illustrating the tensions involved in producing this sort of account.

Sitting in the outdoor bath at Faslane Peace Camp, the feeling of the warm water lapping around my naked body, and the view of the stars through the trees, are as important to me as any theory about what that experience "means". In a culture which has particular constructions of private space, and cleanliness, having a bath outside has the capacity to destabilise both. The old enamel coated metal bathtub is supported on metal posts at each corner, and sits above an open fire that provides the heat. It is filled up via a length of hosepipe, which runs from the outdoor kitchen. Sorted Dave, who I lived with at the camp for a month in the summer of 1997, put most of the work into building it. He died the following year of a heart attack on a road protest site in Birmingham. As such it has become a memorial to him in the minds of many of the campers.

Thinking about the bath also brings back certain anxieties. Each spring, before the leaves appear on the trees, there was always the danger of being spied on from a security guard's house in the MoD land behind the camp, which almost directly overlooks the bath.

One night, Tam was sleeping in "Yeti", the caravan at the end of the camp next to the bath, and he heard a couple playing in the bath. The next morning he told me that he had drifted off to sleep with the happy sound of laughter and splashing water, and I slowly realised that one of the people in the bath was a woman that I was having a relationship with at the time. When he told me, it made me stop and think about where that particular relationship was heading.

But the bath also holds fonder memories, of sitting in the murky water, with the steam from the water and the smoke from the fire drifting up through the trees, and

a gentle breeze blowing. There is a knack to keeping the fire at just the right size to keep the water warm without being so hot that it burns your arse. When the breeze picks up, it fans the flames under the bath, and the water actually gets warmer, rather than colder. For someone used to the conveniences of hot running water and central heating this is a truly amazing sensation.

The bath says more about the ingenuity of the camp than any written account could, and the bath, as well as the running water that feeds it, has led to the Peace Camp earning the title of "The Ritz of Protest Sites". This term was apparently first used by a Sunday Times journalist, used to the squalor of the more temporary road protest camps.

Other people living at the camp share some of these stories and significances, while others have different special or magical places, and contrasting ideas about parts of the camp. Hopefully the account that I provide captures something of the poetry of the camp, as well as including more theoretical insights into the way I view the camp, and direct action more generally. I also hope that it produces a more readable account than the traditional social movement literature.

Tyler (1986), in his contribution to *Writing Culture*, makes a call for "evocative writing", producing a forceful critique of the desire for *representation* within the social sciences. He suggests that, in contrast to those who believe that reality can be unproblematically projected into a text, a specifically "post-modern ethnography" would use participatory and dialogic texts, over which no one individual could have "the exclusive right of synoptic transcendence" (Tyler, 1986, p 129).[4] Certainly, there are problems in representing direct action, which relate to both the practical ability of achieving a "correct" representation, and the desirability of doing so. Routledge and Simons (1995) raise a number of these issues, and suggest a form of nomadic science, involved more in a process of *following* than *representing*. There is a further danger, however, in making the assumption that evocative writing, or a nomadic science, can overcome all of the flaws inherent in the process of representation. In my work, for example, I retain the privilege of having a final say over what appears in the text. With respect to the production of a PhD, I suspect that it could not be any other way. Pretending that this is not the case would mask a quite significant set of power relations between myself, and those whose actions I write about, whether this writing is done in order to represent or to evoke.

The fact that some post-modern ethnography makes claims to have left behind these problems, through a rejection of representation, potentially obscures its own problematic aspects. Indeed, even if representation *could* be completely avoided, the practice of evocation, itself, introduces a new set of problems. Central to these is the danger of a post-modern, apolitical, relativism, which has no recourse to the exclusion of certain voices from the dialogue. Spending time at Faslane, and taking part in direct action, I have often been confronted by a variety of unsavoury "voices" and actions. Sat in the communal caravan, at Faslane, I have routinely heard people use racist, homophobic, and sexist language. Scottish nationalism, while not always as violent in its outcomes, is also rife throughout the Scottish anti-nuclear movement. Activist friends of mine have also told me that their political views are basically a form of green fascism. It remains the case that there is a highly unequal gendered division of labour at the camp. Leaving these statements and actions unchallenged, either at the camp, or in the written account, in the interests of "polyvocality" or "dialogue", is one danger in adopting Tyler's manifesto (1986) in an unquestioning way. Like Keith (1992), who discusses the ethical problems of being confronted with these views during research, it is clear that I have not always adopted an entirely ethical stance. This is especially the case as I have been less attentive than I could have been to my complicity in instigating and perpetuating discrimination.

These are not issues that can easily be confined to the page, or the computer screen. Treating them as purely textual or poetic issues risks ignoring the political dimensions of research, and the need to give voice to critical comments, which by their very nature introduce some form of censure on certain voices.

---

[1] This spelling of Kosov@ is used to draw attention to the conflict between the Serb spelling "Kosovo", and the Albanian "Kosova".

[2] "Voices from Earth First!" was previously the subtitle for the journal, published annually. The journal is now subtitled "Voices from the ecological resistance".

[3] See Gudeman and Rivera (1990) for a discussion of the dialogue between the folk voice and the centric text.

[4] Yet, while my text might count as a "dialogical anthropology", there is very little dialogue. The dialogue that features in the text is rarely reproduced verbatim, and formal interviews were not a major part of my research methodology. Instead, my research is based on living with people, sharing work, songs, and arguments with activists, submariners, friends, enemies, fellow research students and other people back in Hull.

Power over

> Somebody must have made a false accusation against Josef
> K., for he was arrested one morning without having done
> anything wrong.
> Franz Kafka, *The Trial*
>
> "Hey, Johnny, what are you rebelling against?"
> "What've you got?"
> Marlon Brando, *The Wild One*

The first three chapters outline the ways in which the Trident nuclear weapons system and the criminal justice system form distinct, but intimately interrelated forms of domination. I begin with an account of activist discourses of the Trident nuclear weapons system, particularly as they are constructed through contact with the criminal justice system, in Britain and elsewhere. In a sense, it provides an example of an anti-nuclear critical geopolitics (after Ó Tuathail, 1994). I then move on to a consideration of the policing, bail and court regimes to which I have been subjected as an activist, and the micro-tactics of domination. I draw attention to the mundane, the local, and the visceral in the active construction of these forms of domination. This provides a context for the subsequent chapters, which are primarily concerned with the challenges to these forms of domination through the development of alternative power relations and which take the form of resistance, personal empowerment and the construction of communities. In particular, I suggest that the inherent imprecision of the regimes of domination, which I discuss in terms of "gaps in the map", provides space for challenges that do not depend exclusively on a reworking of dominant discourses. Resistance and solidarity are not merely reducible to a negative or mirror image of the forms of domination that I outline here. These are forms of power that are irreducible to one another, but at the same time remain inextricably entangled (Sharp *et al*, 2000).

Trident

In part, this account of Britain's nuclear weapons system is based upon arguments typically used by anti-nuclear activists as defence evidence in a variety of trials. Many of these arguments are collated in the Trident Ploughshares 2000 campaign handbook (Trident Ploughshare 2000, 1997, 1998) and the Scottish CND publication, *Trident, Britain's Weapon of Mass Destruction* (Ainslie, 1999). I

include an analysis of a number of the discourses that are employed. In doing so I attempt to disrupt the somewhat mono-vocal nature of the account. I devote a larger section of my consideration of the court regime to suggesting that the evidence presented in court is *necessarily* reduced to the objective, rational, and the visual. The Trident nuclear weapons system consists of four nuclear powered "Vanguard Class" submarines. HMS Vanguard, HMS Vigilant, HMS Victorious, and HMS Vengeance. Each submarine can hold up to 16 Trident-II D-5 Submarine Launched Ballistic Missiles (SLBMs). In turn, each of these missiles can be armed with up to 8 independently targeted nuclear warheads (MIRVs), each of which has a yield of up to 100 Kilotons, up to a total of 96 warheads. The government's *Strategic Defence Review* (undertaken in 1997) states, however, that each submarine will carry a maximum of 48 warheads. In terms of the numbers of warheads this represents a decrease on the Chevaline missile system, which was based on board the now decommissioned Polaris submarines. In terms of combined yield, however, there has been an increase, as each of the warheads is more powerful. The introduction of independently targeted warheads also increases the number of separate targets that can be hit. Each submarine has a 70-day patrol, during which time it is ready to fire at 15 minute's notice. The submarines do not surface for the entire patrol, as they must remain undetected. In addition to the Trident system, there are still an estimated 30 US controlled B-61 free fall nuclear bombs stored at RAF Lakenheath, in Cambridgeshire.

Figure 1 shows the main Trident related sites in Britain. Of particular relevance both to my research, and the system as a whole, are the Naval bases at Faslane (Clyde Submarine Base), where the submarines are based, and Coulport (Royal Navy Armaments Depot, Coulport), where the warheads are stored in a number of underground bunkers carved into the hillside. The nuclear reactors used to power the submarines are constructed at the Rolls-Royce and Associates factory in Derby. The other main manufacturing site for the Vanguard class submarines is the VSEL shipyard in Barrow-In-Furness, where the submarines are constructed. The warheads are manufactured in the laboratories at Burghfield and Aldermaston in Berkshire. They are transported to Coulport by road, in convoys of up to fifteen vehicles. These warhead convoys are controlled by the Royal Air Force, and based at RAF Wittering. As well as the manufacturing and storage and transport facilities, there are a number of testing, command and control and communications sites .

across Britain upon which the submarines depend during their operational life. The Very Low Frequency transmitters that are used to communicate with the submarines can be seen from the M1 motorway near to Rugby.

Burnett's account (1985) of "propaganda cartography" highlights the history of cartography in justifying and legitimating deployment of nuclear weapons, as well as the ways in which resistance to nuclear weapons has used various mapping techniques. Within this context, the map is not merely a neutral representation of an objective set of facts, but employs certain devices in order to bolster opposition to nuclear weapons. Perhaps the most visually striking element of figure 1 is the path traced by the nuclear warhead convoys, linking their sites of manufacture in Berkshire with their storage site at Coulport. This provides a graphic representation of what is often referred to as the nuclear "chain", linking production, storage, and deployment of the weapons.[1] As well as showing the physical connections between the elements of the Trident system, uses of the imagery of the chain also suggest that Britain is "chained" to America through the sharing of nuclear technology and the use of American designed and owned missiles on board the Trident submarines. The chain also enters the activist imagination as a particularly constricting burden from which the country cannot escape. Parallels can be drawn here with the image of the octopus, tentacles encircling the globe, used by both superpowers during the Cold War. The image is also applied to the links between nuclear and non-nuclear elements of the military. The "hunter-killer" submarines that are nuclear powered and conventionally armed, Swiftsure Class and Trafalgar Class submarines, are intimately linked to the Trident submarines, fulfilling a role of protection as well as bolstering their firepower. Hunter-killer submarines themselves became the subject of opposition when they were used to sink the General Belgrano during the Falklands War. In 1999 HMS Splendid fired Tomahawk Cruise missiles during the bombing of Serbia.[2]

More that being solely an abstract representation of a chain, such maps serve to inform activist ideas on direct action. Of particular concern here is the way in which the description of the nuclear system as a "chain" has greatly different connotations from a description of the "military-industrial *complex*". Leslie and Reimer (1999) assess the differences between conceiving of vertically organised and linear chains, as opposed to the non-linear and horizontal concept of the web, or circuit, in the discussion of "commodity chains". In the context of the British

St. Kilda
Rona
Ulsts
Benbecula
Skye
Dounreay
Crimond
RAF Kinloss
Edzell
Kyle of Lochalsh
Rosyth
Coulport
Faslane
Arran
Campbeltown
Prestwick
CAD Longtown
Chapelcross
Albermarle
Anthorn
Sellafield
Barrow
Forrest Moor
Inskip
Menwith Hill
Springfields
Capenhurst
Derby
Crigglon
Wittering
Rugby
Northwood
Burghfield
Aldermaston
Whitehall
St. Mawgans
Devonport

Key:

- Submarine bases or berths
- Communications and intelligence
- Submarine construction sites
- Warhead assembly plant
- Nuclear materials production
- Over-night stopping point for nuclear warhead road convoys
- Anti-submarine helicopter base
- Command and control
- Missile testing and monitoring sites
- Warhead bunker site
- Nuclear warhead convoy route
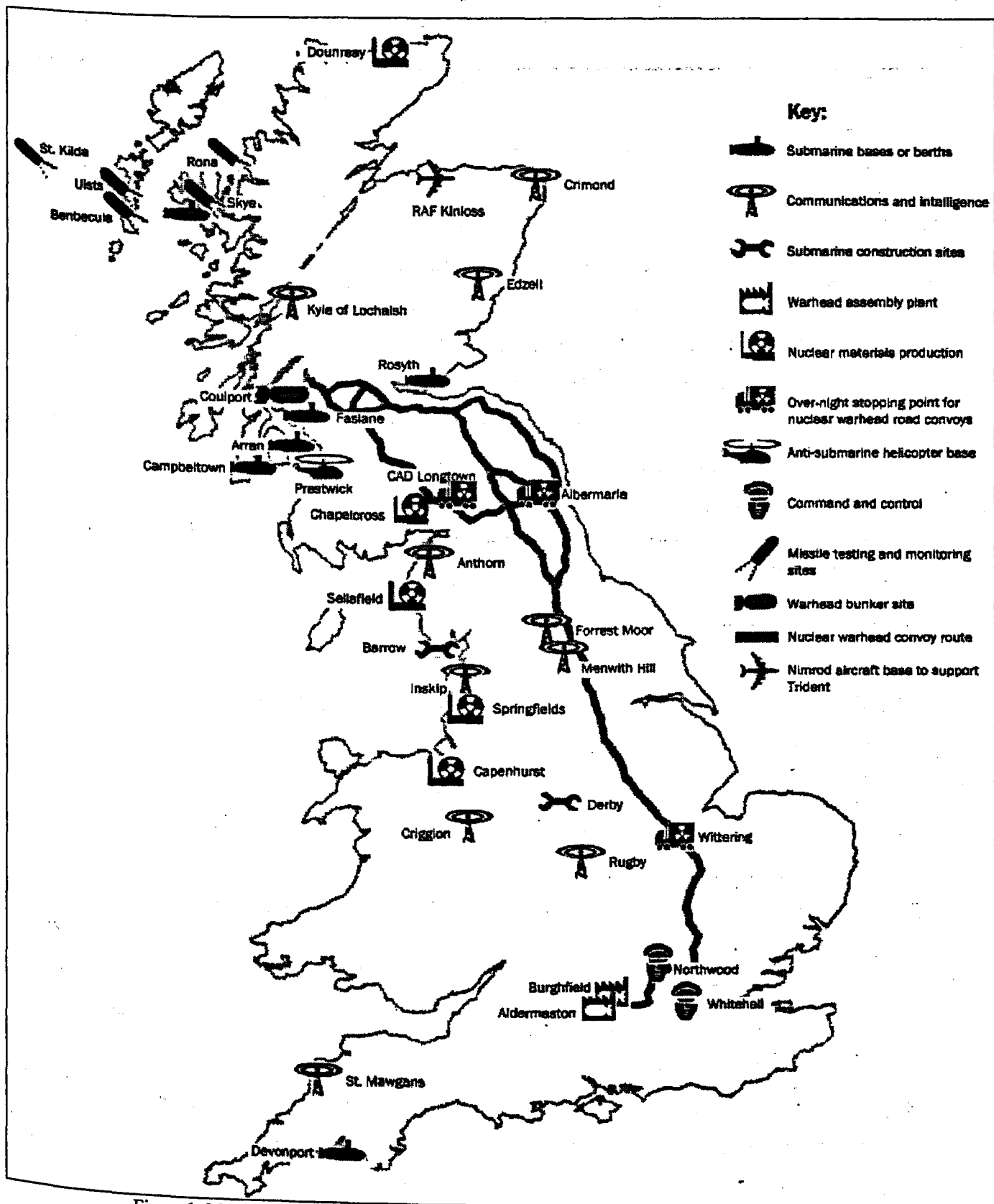- Nimrod aircraft base to support Trident

Figure 1: Main Trident sites in the UK (Trident Ploughshares 2000, 1997, §3.3)

nuclear weapons system, the image of a chain allows any point along the length of that chain to take on an increased significance. When a chain is cut the strength is lost and the whole becomes useless. This locates the weakness of the chain in the reliance upon seemingly strong and discrete links such as the Naval bases, the warhead convoys and so on. The suggestion is that each point along the chain is vital to the functioning of the system. Therefore, direct action taken against any point in that chain is necessarily targeting a vital part of that system. This idea legitimates the focus on a single part of the "chain", such as Faslane.

This emphasis on chain-ness stands in contrast to the complexity of the *web*, a metaphor much more common at Greenham Common Women's Peace Camp, used in both discussions of domination and resistance.[3] The web is relatively fragile, but can survive without any single individual element, its strength derived from the entanglement of a huge number of strands. This has a major effect in reducing the impact that is associated with each individual part of the system, ensuring that the whole of the web is targeted. This might involve targeting wider societal forces that do not at first appear to have such a "strong" link to the nuclear system. It also casts individual direct action in a much less heroic role, ensuring that no single action becomes more significant than the entire network that supports it. This vision of the web has, however, become somewhat subsumed by the image of the chain. This is possibly because the number of activists involved in the peace movement is much less than during the 1980s. As such, the importance of individual campaigns and actions must be highlighted. In any case, it is potentially a step backwards. It is also possibly related to the effects of a greater reliance on legal challenges to nuclear weapons. This has tended to reduce the reliance on feminist ideas and practice, out of which the image of the web grew.

Legal discourse has the effect of reducing the complexity in conceptions of the nuclear system, and the associated social structures. When I stood trial, with ten other people, charged with criminal damage to the fence of the Rolls-Royce and Associates factory in Derby, it was necessary to cast this plant as central to the nuclear chain. Another part of our defence attempted to establish the illegality of nuclear weapons, but it was still necessary to provide a case illustrating how this particular factory played a part in what was effectively preparation for genocide. We had to suggest that disruption to the factory would be both reasonable and necessary in order to prevent the use of nuclear weapons. We had obtained expert

evidence that proved that the factory was responsible for the production of nuclear material for Pressurised Water Reactors (PWRs), used to raise the steam to propel the Trident submarines. It has manufactured reactors for all four of these submarines, as well as the hunter-killer submarines. The factory had also recently won the contract for the construction of PWRs for the Astute class of submarines, the next generation of Cruise Missile armed hunter-killer subs. With this level of involvement in the nuclear system, it was not difficult to portray the activities carried out in the factory as central to the Trident programme, as well as to the upgrading of Britain's conventional weaponry. Crucially, the legal arguments depended upon the ability to distinguish between discreet parts of a system. And various analogies were used to reinforce the notion of vital and simplistic connectedness. When called to give evidence, I had prepared a statement based on a number of speeches I had heard given on anti-nuclear demonstrations.

I stood in the witness box and took a sip of water to steady my nerves. I turned and faced the magistrate- "If you'll let me, I'll use an analogy, between the nuclear submarine, and the Nazi concentration or extermination camps. Now this isn't exact, and I've got reservations about using it, but the reactor of the submarines can be seen in the same way as the railway lines leading to the camp. Rather than taking the victims to their death, the submarine takes the death, the genocide, to the victims. Anywhere round the world. Due to the ability to move undetected anywhere round the planet. Stopping the production of the reactors is like stopping the train tracks from working."

In cross-examination, the task of the prosecution became one of destabilising this chain, or at least, suggesting that the links were more complex and "web like" than they are "chain like". This would have the effect of making the actions that we took less likely to have a direct effect on the functioning of the submarines, and therefore less reasonable. The Crown Prosecution Service barrister questioned me- "Do you think if the railway lines had been removed the atrocities could have been prevented, or just disrupted?"

I replied: "I'd like to think that they could have been prevented. I think some survivors have actually questioned why this was never done."

"Do you really think that you and your bolt cutters could have saved the people of Derby?"

The magistrate was plainly not convinced that I could have done....

As a result of our inability to prove a direct link between our individual actions and the disarmament of the submarines we were found guilty. It *is* naïve to think that the act of cutting a fence at a factory in Derby will have a direct, immediate and identifiable effect on the use of nuclear weapons. It is also pessimistic to think that there is no possibility for resistance through direct action. The complexity of domination and of resistance undoubtedly opens activist claims to question in a number of ways. I aim to show, however, that it also introduces opportunity for resistance that are not possible in more monolithic conceptions of domination. Relying on the legal process, which itself is a form of domination, means casting aside this complexity in favour of reductionist accounts of the nuclear system, and of resistance. It is, however, necessary to portray direct action as less than a set of purely random attacks on an amorphous network of military and industrial installations. It is also necessary to provide an account of the effects of nuclear weapons that moves beyond the merely subjective.

The effects of Trident

The destructive power of each Trident warhead is approximately 8 times that of the bomb detonated above Hiroshima on 6th August, 1945. That bomb was equivalent to 12,500 tonnes of TNT. The Hiroshima bomb killed 140,000 people immediately, and the effects of the blast have lead to the deaths of a similar number over the past 55 years. The Hiroshima bomb blast consisted of three main phases. The first of these was a blinding flash of such intensity that it blinded anyone looking towards the hyper-centre of the detonation. It vaporised anyone in the immediate area, leaving only the shadows of the victims burnt into the stone of the buildings. This was followed by a pressure wave, destroying buildings, and leading to death and injury from flying shards of shattered glass, as windows were broken under the huge amounts of pressure that the blast generated. The third phase was a fire storm which killed many more people, and destroyed much of the city. In the aftermath of any nuclear explosion there is likely to be major damage to vital infrastructure and services, leading to further deaths from the rapid spread of disease. If the blast occurs at ground level, huge amounts of radioactive dust, fallout, would be created. This has the potential, depending on atmospheric conditions to spread across large areas. It is the long lasting and inter-generational effects of radiation poisoning that make the weapons unlike any other. Birth defects remain a lasting legacy of the

Hiroshima and Nagasaki explosions and the subsequent nuclear tests. Around civilian and military nuclear plants throughout the world, increased incidences of leukaemia and childhood cancers are routinely recorded.

One defendant during the Derby trial introduced harrowing evidence of the effects of his father's involvement at the Atomic Weapons Establishment at Aldermaston. This had led to his mother having seven miscarriages and six "monster babies" before he was born. His father, and perhaps the vast majority of those working in the laboratories at Aldermaston, was unaware of the dangers to which he was exposing himself and his family. This invocation of the effects of nuclear weapons on the life of the family is just one of the many moral judgements made implicitly through anti-nuclear discourses. Roseneil (2000) has commented on the potentially exclusionary nature of discussing the nuclear threat in terms of disruption to the heterosexual family unit. This is combined with specific ways of organising that attempt to build on the assumed heterosexuality of anti-nuclear activists, such as organising discos to attract young people. As such, while the anti-nuclear movement is involved in challenging one set of practices and assumptions, it is also involved in the creation and recreation of its own moral geography at a variety of scales.

Although the peace movement has challenged them over the past forty years, one particular set of value judgements that still guides British defence policy relate to the doctrine of Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD). Using a computer programme produced by the US Defence Nuclear Agency, and information on probable targets in a nuclear strike against Moscow, Ainslie (1999) has predicted the effects of the use of the 48 warheads based on a single Trident submarine. There would be a likely death toll of 3 million, including the deaths of 750,000 children within 12 weeks due to the effects of blast and fallout. The number injured would run into many millions. Contamination of land and crops would result in the death toll rising to a much higher level in the following years. If the arsenal of 144 warheads contained on 3 Trident submarines were used, the death toll would be around 30 million, including around 8 million children. This remains a scenario used by planners of a "strategic" use of Trident, despite the end of the Cold War It is likely that in an all out nuclear conflict between Russia and the West the scale of casualties in Britain would be of the same order. Knowledge of the catastrophic reaction to a nuclear first strike by either side has earned this position the title of

Mutually Assured Destruction. This position was held to be responsible for deterring an all out nuclear war throughout the latter part of the twentieth century. As such, it formed a major part of the justification for the possession of nuclear weapons.

Previously one of the foremost proponents of nuclear weapons, General Lee Butler was in operational command of all US nuclear weapons from 1992 to 1994. He has stated that

> "(deterrence) was based on a litany of unwarranted assumptions, unprovable assertions and logical contradictions. It suspended rational thinking about the ultimate aim of national security to ensure the survival of the state... The cold war lives on in the minds of those who cannot let go of the fears, the beliefs, and enmities born of the nuclear age. They cling to deterrence, clutch its tattered promise to their breast, shake it wistfully at bygone adversaries and balefully at new or imagined ones. They are gripped still by its awful willingness *not simply to tempt the apocalypse but to prepare its way*"(emphasis added; Butler, 1998, cited in Ainslie, 1999; p 2).

Moreover, evidence has emerged of accidents caused, in part by the increased fear and paranoia engendered by MAD. The most significant of these was the near launch of nuclear weapons against the US in 1995 after a Norwegian meteorological rocket strayed into Russian airspace.

Although the logic supporting the doctrine of deterrence is, and always was, fundamentally flawed, it would be naive to suggest that it served no purpose for the nuclear weapons states. In fact, "deterrence" both necessitated high military industrial expenditure, boosting GDP, and also allowed the development of forms of foreign policy designed to reinforce the hegemonic position of the nuclear states. In this respect deterrence and MAD were used as a cover for an aggressive, rather than defensive, nuclear posture.

For the US and USSR the Cold War represented a war not against each other, but against the "third" and "second" worlds respectively (Rai, 1995, p 25). According to Rai (1995), examples of nuclear aggression or sabre rattling under the guise of deterrence on the part of Britain include confrontations with Indonesia (in 1963), Argentina (1982) and Iraq (1991). The same argument could be made for continued airstikes against Iraq. In each case British nuclear weapons were moved, either on board aeroplanes or submarines, into a position where they could have been used (Rogers, 1996). Both Rai (1995) and Rogers (1996) discuss this gap between

rhetoric and actual policy, highlighted by these examples of aggression, in the context of the so-called Rifkind Doctrine (Rifkind, 1995). This doctrine, first expounded in 1993 by the then British Defence Secretary, Malcolm Rifkind, suggests a sub-strategic or "tactical" role for Trident, whereby a single warhead of limited yield could be used. Rather than responding to nuclear aggression from either the Soviet Union or some other state, the Rifkind Doctrine is used to threaten countries in the global South who may consider jeopardising Britain's "vital economic interests" abroad. Although they have never been spelled out, such interests are thought to include shipping lanes, markets for arms sales and Middle Eastern oil fields. This policy, continued by the present Labour government in the Strategic Defence Review is, perhaps, the first explicit indication of a first strike, rather than retaliatory role for the Trident system. It might be possible, following Haraway (1991a, p 161; 1991b, p 209), to trace the deployment of tactical nuclear weapons to the development of "the informatics of domination", necessary to deal with an increasingly complex geopolitical situation. Rai (1995, p 119) is clear, however, that tactical nuclear weapons are not simply a product of the post Cold War uncertainty. Tactical weapons have been deployed for several decades, and as new threats have been created/identified, new forms of "deterrence" have been developed.

Tactical Trident, and US tactical nuclear weapons, as well as nuclear and conventionally armed Cruise, are central to the role that Britain and the US continue to play as world policeman in their attacks on Sudan, Afghanistan, Iraq and Serbia (Chomsky, 1999). A significant factor in the preparations for the use of nuclear weapons is the growing reluctance to rule out their use in these conflicts. As the ongoing stand-off with Iraq proceeds, for example, each new peak in the conflict brings a greater hesitation on the part of the government to rule out the use of the weapons. The detonation of a single 5 kiloton "tactical" warhead would result in a much smaller loss of life than the strategic strike, and much less structural damage. The results of this doctrine, even before the detonation of a nuclear weapon, are, once more, to enforce a social and economic order amenable to Britain.

The hypocrisy of this position allows Britain to continue to deploy nuclear weapons, and in fact increase their capabilities, while criticising states such as India and Pakistan that have developed their own nuclear weapons programmes. Britain

is in breach of its obligations under the nuclear non-proliferation treaty to "pursue in good faith the disarmament of nuclear weapons", by increasing its arsenal with the replacement of Chevaline by Trident (Datan, 2001). Moreover, there are direct links between the continued presence of British nuclear weapons and the emergence of these new nuclear weapons states. In practical terms, the technology needed by India and Pakistan to develop their weapons is a spin off from the technology possessed by existing nuclear weapons states. In political terms, the race to develop nuclear weapons by states such as India and Pakistan, and threshold states such as North Korea and Iraq, is related not only to regional conflicts, but also to the perceived need to protect themselves from the "world policemen" of Britain and the US. This new form of tactical deterrence is just as flawed as the Cold War MAD, with the clear risk of escalation of a conflict. Moreover, all the attendant risks of accidental launches and environmental damage from the production and storage of the weapons remain, alongside a potentially much greater risk of proliferation.

It is not only at the level of global geopolitics that these conflicts exist. Nuclear doctrine, and resistance to it, are played out in specific places, at the level of the street, the body, the submarine berth, and so on. In the majority of cases, however, the effects of nuclear weapons appear in highly mediated form. In particular, the effects of the nuclear weapons can be seen, felt, touched and smelt in the infrastructure needed to maintain nuclear weapons. Thus I turn now to look at the criminal justice and policing regimes as part of this process. The police not only play a role in protecting these weapons. They also depend on these weapons, and the use of the military more generally, as the ultimate threat with which to maintain public order. In this role as the enforcers of a particular order the police are both creators of, and created by, nuclear weapons and the system within which they are entangled.

---

[1] Durie and Edwards (1982, p 31) discuss the role of the civilian nuclear power programme as a vital link in this chain.

[2] All hunter-killer submarines have been withdrawn from service, due to reactor problems.

[3] Haraway (1991a) discusses the cyborg nature of the military industrial complex. "They are floating signifiers moving in pickup trucks across Europe, blocked more effectively by the witch-weaving of the displaced and so unnatural Greenham Women, who read the cyborg webs of power so very well, than by the militant labour of older masculinist politics, whose natural constituency needs defence jobs" (1991a, p 153). The use of webs is also discussed by Harford and Hopkins (1984).

Policing

An account of the trial of the "D-5 Nine" anti-nuclear activists, arrested for blockading traffic outside the US Trident submarine base at Bangor, Washington State, contains the following exchange, highlighting the intimate intertwining of the police with support for the nuclear arsenal:

> "Defense attorney Ken Kagan, on cross examination of Deputy John Brossell, asked Brossell to display and describe the patch worn on the shoulders of Kitsap County Sheriff's Deputies. 'It says "sheriff" at the top. There's a yellow star below that.' 'And what,' Mr. Kagan asked, 'is below the star?' Brossell replied, 'That's a Trident submarine ...'" (Roberts, 1999)

Such links, which go well beyond this formal and symbolic relationship, are fundamental to all nuclear capable states. As such, I devote a sizeable chunk of space to a consideration of public order policing.

It would be impossible for me to provide a definitive set of motivations for police behaviour, nor for the behaviour of other people involved in the criminal justice system. This is not, in any case, my intention. There is a danger within this account, and in direct action more generally, of producing caricatures of police, reducing them to the playing out of some essential, subcultural, position. There is also the danger of viewing the police, or individual police officers, as the enemy, a position that is exacerbated by the fact that the police are often the most visible "agents of the state" during direct action (Johnson, 1986). It is possible, however, to outline some of the ways in which reactions to demonstrations or other forms of direct action may be related to the complex links between the police and nuclear weapons. The account, inevitably, focuses on resistance. My research is based on time spent on one particular side of police batons, in handcuffs and behind cell doors.

There is a danger in this strategy of using the presence of resistance as a "diagnostic" for regimes of domination. This risks, firstly, limiting resistance *solely* to this function, a position shared by Jefferson (1990), who uses his "bottom-up" investigation of "the policed" as a way to gain a supposedly more authentic view of policing. Despite reassurances to the contrary, the effect is a reinforcing of the voice of the police. In particular, Jefferson's argument (1990) focuses on police tactics to the exclusion of the dynamics of the groups being policed. It ignores questions of the self-consciously nonviolent nature of some demonstrations, seeing

the violence as solely a function of police behaviour. Secondly, there is a risk of reducing domination and resistance to some form of mirror image, or negative, of each other, obscuring the complexities of both policing *and* activism. Jefferson's reduction (1987) of crowd violence to a mechanistic reaction to police violence, and the equally simplistic argument suggested by Waddington (1993) that violence is due to an *absence* of effective force, both leave the particularities and complexities of violence unexplored. In contrast to these positions I would see these forms of power as entangled, yet not reducible to each other. This is a position that Sharp *et al* (2000) propose, but which their use of the holistic yin-yang symbolism obscures.

After a couple of weeks walking from The Hague we had arrived at NATO headquarters in Brussels to find the whole area sealed off by police. Barricades of razor wire, barbed wire and angle iron, and several rows of police in riot gear separated us from the complex of offices. Behind the police were rows of police vans, and water cannons, all in the same dark blue with red trim... After an hour of singing, dancing, sunbathing and waiting nervously the delegation who had been into the headquarters emerged and spoke to us over the public address system. Not surprisingly, the demands for the release of information that related to NATO's nuclear planning group had not been met. The signal went out. It was now open season for us to try and get the information ourselves. I stepped up to the barricades, which were designed to restrain the pushing of large crowds, and found a gap in the razor wire where two sections of barricade were joined together. Carefully placing a hand on each of the supports on either side of this gap I lifted myself over the barricade. Before I could take more than a few steps I was grabbed and thrown back over the wire. A number of activists who were treated in the same way were injured as they failed to clear the barricades and landed on the top strand of razor wire. A group who had taken advantage of the confusion, and managed to evade the first line of police made a dash across the open expanse of road to the NATO offices. They were beaten with the whip-like batons that the riot police held and rugby tackled to the tarmac before being arrested. Those who got too close to the barricade in an attempt to reason with police officers risked being pulled over the wire, or else received a swift blow from the batons. Attempts on the part of a couple of activists to cut through the barricades were met with a prolonged blast

from the water cannons. A group of us stayed to face down the police, while others backed off and shouted encouragement from a safer position. Prepared for such action, we turned our backs, protecting our kidneys from the jet of water with our bags- resulting in the soaking of passports, cameras and bank notes.

Policing as resistance?

It would be possible to produce an account of police action purely in terms of individual impulses to defend an existential or ontological security that is in some way threatened by the disorder of direct action. This would possibly be a form of psychic *resistance* in the sense used by Pile (1997, p 24). Such feelings may, most obviously, arise from a spectacular demonstration or from a severe disruption to everyday life, such as the blockade of a busy road. Faced with hundreds of activists, loud music, or uncomfortable arguments, it would be strange if there were not some need to enforce a sense of order onto the world. Indeed, participant observation with Metropolitan Police officers involved in public order policing leads Waddington (1987) to conclude that "policing a large disorderly crowd creates fear, anxiety, anger and frustration amongst officers who view the crowd from closer quarters", suggesting that, in part at least, this is because they "are unable to survey the whole scene" (p 40).

A couple of us spent a few minutes, jumping in and out of bushes on the small slip road leading down to Faslane Naval Base and shining torches at the police to make their reflective clothing sparkle. Playing hide-and-seek with the police. An inspector drove up in his police car. He was obviously agitated. "Any more of that, and I'll arrest you!" It is (potentially) his job on the line if the fence gets cut, or a police boat gets stolen. He drove off. Like naughty school children we walked back to the camp. Away from the base we weren't visible to the security cameras, and we weren't conforming to their expectations of proper activist behaviour. We weren't standing at the gate waving a banner. We weren't sitting at the peace camp drinking tea or chopping wood. We weren't even cutting the fence or taking part in a blockade. We hadn't advertised our action with leaflets for months in advance. We hadn't attempted to contact the police to discuss the policing requirements of a few minutes hiding in bushes. Stepping outside of this set of unwritten rules, acting spontaneously, unusually and stupidly could have got me arrested, even though it

wasn't actually illegal behaviour. *SchNews* (*passim*) has an extensive catalogue of "crap arrests" from the Peace Camp and from other direct action around Britain. This threat of arrest also indicates the extent to which the police themselves are disciplined, controlled and restricted by the regime in which they are working. The gut reaction of the police officer, combined with the need to follow commands from her superiors, depends on having some sort of an investment in the order that is potentially upset by activists. Rather than being reducible to purely individual impulses, such feelings arise in definite social and political contexts. This is not, therefore, some universal order. It does not map neatly onto questions of legality, but depends on the active negotiation, in specific locations, of "proper activist behaviour". These are events that take place within, and contribute to the formation of, a distinct police culture (Keith, 1993). As such, these reactions, or resistances, clearly depend on power relations wider than the immediate encounter of policewoman with activist. The decision to arrest, or not to arrest, or to use water cannons or truncheons is, therefore, as much to do with unequal power relations at a variety of levels, as it is to do with some psychoanalytical drive towards the expulsion of the abject. This is an entanglement made clear by Sibley (1995).

As the Peace Walk approached the border of Belgium, the conservative mayor of Brussels sent a letter to the organisers of the walk declaring a ban on demonstrations in the city for the duration of the NATO bombing of the Balkans. The letter included a list of those activities that would be deemed unacceptable, including the distribution of leaflets, the wearing of masks to disguise identity, and the blocking of traffic. We were refused accommodation in all council property and land. Whereas other cities had welcomed the walk with official civic receptions, the demonstration in Brussels was declared illegal. Nevertheless, throughout the morning it had been tolerated. The razor wire, water cannons, riot shields and truncheons left us in no doubt that this was a privilege that could be rescinded at any time. A press release portrays the feel of the area:

> "Referring to the war in Yugoslavia and the arrests a Brussels police officer declared to a reporter of Associated Press: 'NATO headquarters are a war zone. We can not tolerate any interference with NATO'" (For Mother Earth, 1999)

Purification of space

Roseneil (1995) suggests that there was a correspondence between the tactics used by the police in response to demonstrations at Greenham Common, and those used at the picket of Orgreave coking plant a number of months later (see Jackson, 1986). In particular, police "organised into wedge formations, marched along the road towards the blockades, rhythmically slapping their thighs, and charged at the women lying in the road, while police on horses also rode at them" (Roseneil, 1995, p 106). The "wedge" in this form has been largely superseded, however, by the baton charge (Geary, 1985).[1] This is a tactic that I have seen at first hand in police response to demonstrations against the British National Party in Welling in 1993, and at the Carnival Against Capitalism, in the square mile, on June 18th 1999. Such blatant flexing of police muscle is, thankfully, relatively infrequent, and, as such, it remains necessary to look beyond the *physicality* of the baton charge and the water cannon for the ways in which domination is exerted. In those, rare, cases where police violence does occur it is necessary to provide a more subtle account that the mechanistic progression from an innate state of "order" to one of "disorder", an assumption that underlies each of these positions.

After an hour of stand off between police and activists outside the NATO headquarters the police announced that they would be moving in to break-up the demonstration. The signal was passed around the crowd for those who didn't want to be arrested to leave, and a small number headed back down the road, away from NATO. The hundred or so of us left were corralled by a ring of riot police two or three deep, and we sat down, some linking arms. And then they moved in, other police filling their place in the cordon. Very gently for the most part, they began arresting those who were not joined to anyone else, and, after helping the activists to their feet, asked them to walk to the waiting vans. Again the police line opened and closed, almost seamlessly, to allow the police with prisoners to pass through. Working in small groups of maybe four or five, the police carried those who would not walk. With the stragglers bundled into vans, they started, again with surprising care, to separate those of us who were linking arms. A brightly coloured tangle of limbs and bodies, singing and chanting "It doesn't matter if you should jail us/ It's for freedom that we go now." A policeman comes over to me, and tugging at my elbow, found my left arm firmly linked, under Jenny's, to my right arm. A firmer

yank, and then an attempt to unlace my fingers. His hands are less nimble in heavy leather gloves, and this gives me a chance to wrap my leg around Teapot's. But another jolt and he has a firm grip of my arm. With the help of another couple of police I am free of the jumble. Unceremoniously, I am lifted clear of the ground, and carried, practically upside-down, out of the tight circle of police to the waiting police van...

The decision to begin the arrests was made at some high level (possibly the mayor's office, although we might never know). I didn't have time to work out what the police who lifted me from the ground were thinking. But waiting to be processed in the yard with hundreds of other activists, I saw the police sitting, still nervous with the buzz of adrenaline. Police were laughing with each other, most smoking cigarettes and avoiding uncomfortable questions from activists by pretending not to speak English. They were looking anxiously at their watches and checking how long until the end of their shift or until the next cup of coffee. Despite extensive briefings and training, it would be wrong to suggest that the police would have responded on a purely rational basis to the order to begin arresting people.

Six hours later we were thrown out onto the streets of Brussels again. The police could not get rid of us quick enough; a few more minutes and they would have had to provide food and water for us. There is a long queue in the police station as they rush us through. "Will I have to return for a court case?", I hear an American asking, worried about the expense of another airfare to Europe. "No," he is assured. In fact all of us are released without any form of charge, and will hear nothing more of the matter. It is explained to us later that this was merely "an administrative arrest"; a chance for them to round us up, quite legally, and keep us off the streets for a few hours. The use of police in this way can be read as a clear attempt at the purification of space, something more clearly demonstrated two days later when thirty activists were arrested leaving a tram, en route to the NATO offices. Within this context, the use of water cannons against the demonstration may constitute an attempt at the symbolic purification of space, the use of water being a way to cleanse the area of protestors. Indeed, this is often the way in which police operations are discussed, using metaphors like "mopping up trouble makers". Even the most aggressive physical force may also include, or mask, some element of the desire to purify. This is a desire that I suggest is involved in the

imposition of a particular, politically motivated, order, rather than the maintenance of some already existing universal order.

As in Belgium, the arrest of large numbers of activists, on relatively minor public order offences, to undertake a purification of space, is not unusual in Britain, either. In England and Wales, Section 14 of the 1986 Public Order Act allows any assembly (a group of more than 20 people) which a senior police officer "reasonably believes" may result in "serious public disorder, serious damage to property or serious disruption to the life of the community" to be declared illegal (HMSO, 1986). An order under Section 14 can apply to an area of up to 5 miles in radius, and remain in force for up to 4 days. Anyone aware of such an order, and who knowingly breaks it, is liable to arrest. In Scotland, blockades at the Faslane Naval Base routinely result in tens, or more rarely hundreds of arrests under the incredibly ill defined offence of Breach of the Peace, which covers all behaviour likely to "alarm or annoy".

Looking to Blomley's account (1994) of the police operations to prevent secondary/flying picketing in Nottinghamshire during the 1984-1985 miners' strike, a similar strategy of removing large numbers of protestors is identified, at a much larger scale. Police strategy was centred upon the erection of police blockades of the motorway turn offs of the A1(M) and the M1, with "a second main group of roadblocks drawn more tightly around...frequently picketed pits" (p 161). Blomley (1994) suggests that this conflict was essentially one between competing conceptions of a "right to work". But, his account also points to elements of "othering" and the purification of space that are common to the policing of anti-nuclear activism as well as the miners' strike. This depended on the, not uncontested, identification of the protests as alien to British culture, and the specific identification of secondary picketing as a form of "demonstration" that was a threat to this order. This, in itself, is not an earth shattering revelation, and similar purifying impulses have been identified in the ways in which police have dealt with demonstrations and public order situations, by Ackroyd *et al* (1980), Geary (1985), Keith (1993) and Cresswell (1996) amongst others.

It is possible to tell a more complex, and politically radical story that does not recreate this image of an apocalyptic clashing of "alien" demonstrators and "native" forces of law and order. However, the reliance on official sources of data in Blomley's account (1994) leads to neglect of important dynamics of resistance.

A relatively unquestioning reliance on sources such as *The Times* has a tendency to also homogenise the discourses of domination, and obscures conflicts that underlie their development (Chouinard, 1996). In effect, Blomley (1994) ties himself to an investigation of resistance through the very discourses of oppression that are being challenged. The reproduction of this "othering", with regards to anti-nuclear activists, is evident in Cresswell (1996).

In contrast, there is another more useful body of literature, produced by people who have taken part in riots, strikes and demonstrations.[2] The Black Bloc, vilified by the press, the police and the organisers of the anti-WTO demonstrations alike, produced the following account of their property damage:

> "When we smash a window, we aim to destroy the thin veneer of legitimacy that surrounds private property rights. At the same time, we exorcize that set of violent and destructive social relationships which has been imbued in almost everything around us. By 'destroying' private property, we convert its limited exchange value into an expanded use value. A storefront window becomes a vent to let some fresh air into the oppressive atmosphere of a retail outlet (at least until the police decide to tear-gas a nearby road blockade). A newspaper box becomes a tool for creating such vents or a small blockade for the reclamation of public space or an object to improve one's vantage point by standing on it. A dumpster becomes an obstruction to a phalanx of rioting cops and a source of heat and light. A building facade becomes a message board to record brainstorm ideas for a better world. After N30, many people will never see a shop window or a hammer the same way again. The potential uses of an entire cityscape have increased a thousand-fold. The number of broken windows pales in comparison to the number broken spells—spells cast by a corporate hegemony to lull us into forgetfulness of all the violence committed in the name of private property rights and of all the potential of a society without them. Broken windows can be boarded up (with yet more waste of our forests) and eventually replaced, but the shattering of assumptions will hopefully persist for some time to come." (ACME collective, 1999)

The closure of the map

Alongside, and closely related to discourses of purification and physical force, Blomley (1994) suggests a more general discourse of spatial closure, related not only to the physical exclusion of pickets from particular collieries, or the whole of counties, but also constructed through various technologies of surveillance. In particular, he details the use of spotter cars on motorways, the positioning of

roadblocks according to precise grid references, and the collating of geographically referenced information on the likelihood of any striking community's return to work. Numerous examples of such technology are also included in the volume edited by Fine and Millar (1985). At a more general level, Blomley (1994) traces the links between the development of technologies of mapping and the development of property rights and the liberal notions of state and individual sovereignty.

Bey (1991) develops the concept of the "closure of the map" also from a historical perspective, but sees the incomplete nature of this closure as allowing the emergence of temporary autonomous zones (TAZs). Along with Blomley (1994), Bey identifies this enclosure, and resultant net, as necessarily being an abstraction. No system of domination is able to map, to survey, to bound, or to exclude, perfectly. The result is that interstitial spaces exist, invisible to those who seek to enclose and exclude. He proposes TAZs as "islands in the net", as autonomous spaces that exist within and between the grid of control that the enclosure of the planet has brought about. While for Bey, these spaces are essentially psychological, Blomley (1994) identifies "the community" as a space that remains outside the abstractions of either "the individual" or "the state". This is in contrast to the view of social power held by traditional Marxist analysis of the state, suggesting that revolution can only be achieved through massive force, rather than through the exploitation of these interstices. Even in Gramscian analyses, that highlight the role of ideology over physical force, the model is still one of the clashing of monolithic blocks.

Drawing on Bey's insights into the *impossibility* of closure, gaps in the official "map" of the policing regime can be identified. The impossibility of "perfect" surveillance on the part of the police allows a number of the tactics used by activists. Blomley (1994) hints at this when he suggests that pickets may have been able to use local knowledge not possessed by the "flying police", who had often travelled from other counties. Leaving cars at the county border and travelling by foot across open fields could bypass a regime of control based on roadblocks. Similarly, the National Council for Civil Liberties (1986) reports that during the News International dispute at Wapping, while road blocks around Wapping often prevented local residents from gaining access by car, pickets were able to bypass the blockades simply by using the Underground. Such tactics also seem to slip

through the academic and media net of surveillance, to the extent that the potential of this form of resistance remains unexplored by Blomley (1994). Rather, his consideration of tactics of resistance is limited to the blockade of the motorway by the miners themselves, in a highly visible mimicry of the police blockades.

The policing of Nottinghamshire during the miners strike relied on the drafting in of police from across Britain. Blomley (1994) provides an account of a monolithic policing structure, effectively controlled by the National Reporting Centre (NRC), acting under Home Office and Prime Ministerial intervention. The "mutual aid" between forces is portrayed as unproblematically increasing the effectiveness of policing. Spencer (1985), however, suggests that such mutual aid agreements between forces, particularly in Labour controlled local authorities, imposed a strain on the relationship between the Home Office, Chief Constables and Police Authorities.

The ways in which processes of conflict between police forces can be of assistance at Faslane Peace Camp are clear. Large demonstrations require not only Ministry of Defence police ("MoD Plod") stationed at Faslane and Couplort, but also officers from Strathclyde Police ("The Strathies"). Although this is a collaboration that could be portrayed as an unproblematic co-operation between police forces, the often-confused delineation of jurisdictions, and the necessity on the part of Strathclyde to draft in police from across their operational area, results in gaps that can be exploited by activists. During a blockade outside the peace camp, to celebrate the Winter Solstice, 1997, the arrival of Ministry of Defence police to shift the activists who had locked themselves together was greeted with protests from legal observers. They had been sent to clear the road because the Strathclyde police would not be able to get through the 10-kilometre tailback that had been caused by the blockade.... However, the powers of arrest for the MoD Plod are specifically restricted to the base, and offences that contravene the bylaws of the base. Being several hundred metres from the base, they were clearly outside of their jurisdiction. After a lengthy debate, and the threat of legal action for wrongful arrest, they were forced to limit their intervention to directing traffic. Back-up from Strathclyde was summoned, but their response had now been delayed by up to half an hour.

"Operation Racoon", the name given to the Strathclyde Police response to the first Trident Ploughshares camp in August 1998, opened up similar "gaps". The

operation involved up to 300 police being taken from divisions across Glasgow. Stuck in a police cell in Maryhill, a policeman told me that burglaries in the area had risen when local "neds" had worked out that certain areas of the city were now short of police on the beat. He thought they might even have been watching for police they recognised on television coverage of the demonstrations in order to pick their time. At Faslane, territoriality and competition between forces was provoked by peace campers, with the odd comment along the lines of "Oh, you see, the MoD plod are off on their tea break already. Did you know, but we've heard they get better biscuits than you do?" "They're soft, they are!" or "Blimey! See that van of Strathies, got lost again. They know nowt about the area..." Such comments were often greeted with grudging agreement, and cannot have helped co-operation between the forces. On occasions when direct co-operation was required in the arrest of activists, the differences in procedure slowed action to the extent that, on at least one occasion, the activist in question was able to make use of this in her trial. She suggested that a Strathclyde police constable had been out of her jurisdiction when she had entered the base through a hole in the fence. This may have been seen as grounds for the case to be dropped by a less partial court.

Control of bodily functions
Feldman (1991) notes that arrest is fundamental to the process of becoming a paramilitary. Similarly, it has been suggested that arrest is central to the process of identity formation for activists, with the first arrest marking a *rite de passage par excellence* for the activist (Alex Plows, personal communication). Certainly, the recounting of tales from police cells, or prison cells for those remanded or sentenced, forms a significant part of conversations at Faslane Peace Camp. These certainly have the effect of establishing activist credibility. I draw on these discussions, as well as my own experiences of police custody, in this section.
In more formal settings, briefings that are held before "mass actions" often focus on the sequence of events that are likely to follow an arrest: from processing, to incarceration in the police cells, crap food, fingerprinting and photographing, to release, or an appearance in court the next morning. The ways in which these· stories are told, and retold, may be an attempt to make sense of a series of events that seem out of the control of the activist. The recounting of a macho tale of resisting police brutality may represent a similar attempt to reclaim some sense of

agency for the activist. In contrast, the experienced activist who shares his tales of joking with the police, and reduces their experiences to a predictable pattern may well make events seem less daunting for those who have not yet been arrested. It remains the case, however, that the policing regime is incredibly uneven, varying greatly from person to person, from country to country, from one police station to the next, and even from day to day.

On release from my first arrest, during the Trident Ploughshares camp, I explained that it had been a positively liberating experience. I was greeted with disbelief. Sat in a cramped and dark marquee, sinking slowly into the mud, with rain beating down on the canvas, I told the evening meeting that a warm and dry cell with space to think and sleep, had replaced the endless rounds of meetings, the rain, the midges and the cold. I was criticised by May, a veteran of many arrests, for suggesting that being arrested was easy. This might, she explained, have the effect of forcing people into things they were not prepared for. There is certainly something in comments such as this, and I know a few activists that were less well prepared for their first arrest, who were treated differently, or who reacted differently who have been put off taking roles in which they risk arrest- perhaps permanently. Fear of arrest and detention, and in particular the fear of the unknown, represents a major hurdle for activists, whatever role they are taking in an action. This still affects me whenever I go on an action. My experiences in police custody *have* been different on each of the times I have been arrested.[3] However, it is precisely this unpredictability which makes statements such as May's unnecessarily restrictive. It is impossible to tell exactly how people will react, and whether they have gone through enough preparation, or even whether preparation is useful. The impact of her statement was to risk raising arrest to a dangerously powerful status, as a part of activist life that is so far from the norm that it can have totally devastating and unforeseen effects on people. The corollary of this is that it takes a special kind of activist to survive arrest, and keep going back for more. The implication is, obviously, that those such as May are just that special kind of activist. A fetishising of arrest means that support roles necessary for most direct actions are undervalued. People that typically undertake them are seen as less important to the success of an action.

...The meeting continued with lengthy accounts of the day's events, proposals for future actions and the usual endless gripes about meeting process... Again,

Bumblebee, the vegan, organic, gm-free catering collective who ran the kitchen for the camp, appealed for help in the kitchens. They wanted help from a few people for a few hours peeling spuds or chopping carrots before the evening meal, and then a gang of people to help with the washing up afterwards. *Again*, they were shouted down with cries of "we've got much more important things to discuss…" The fact that a nonviolent "army" marches on its stomach, not on endless meetings to decide on group process for meetings seemed to have escaped some people.

The comments that I made in the meeting about my first arrest came as a surprise to many people. After the meeting several people came up to me and expressed that *their* surprise had not been about how easy I found the experience, but that this was my *first* arrest.[4]

I had, however, become accepted/identified/recognised as an activist in large part due to my involvement with Faslane Peace Camp. This was not least because my role as a mediator between the established peace camp and the Ploughshares campaign had made me visible during meetings at the Ploughshares camp. For the first few times I introduced myself at the beginning of meetings as "David, from Faslane Peace Camp" or "David, from the other camp" there was a round of applause, or whoops of delight, such was the esteem in which a large number of Ploughshares activists held the camp. More important, though, were the ways in which I was able to utilise my position, and knowledge, in order to help individuals and affinity groups from the Trident Ploughshares campaign. Central to this was the information I had shared with numerous groups about the base, how to get in and ideas on what to do when you got in. I took the Adonman of Iona group on a walk along the fence, pointing out weak spots in the security, and the berths most likely to contain Trident Submarines. I had arranged guided tours of the hills above the base, and taken some of the "Pips for Peace" group to a vantage point overlooking the base in order to show the location of the Trident submarines and other noteworthy parts of the base. Most importantly, perhaps, I had managed to "acquire" a section of the weld-mesh fence, and showed people how to cut it effectively. The irony, which I explained to the majority of those with whom I discussed tactics, was that this was largely second hand information anyway. This seemed to be less important than a willingness to share this knowledge, out of feelings of solidarity. I guess, some people also saw me, with my dreadlocks, beard, and dirty clothes as an "authentic" peace camper.

It would be possible to tell this story purely in terms of my acceptance to, and subsequent belonging to, a bounded group, my (self-)identification as a peace camper, and in particular the role of knowledge in facilitating this passage. There would be a danger, however, if I were to leave the account at that, by ignoring the role of *action* in this relationship, and to questions of community/solidarity/power-with more generally. With respect to the knowledge I was sharing with ploughshares activists, this certainly went beyond that which could be reduced to the written word. There is an extensive literature produced by the Trident Ploughshares campaign which includes a guide on how to get into the base and the workings of a sub (in the handbook), as well as a guide to Helensburgh and the local shops. It was important, however, to supplement this with more embodied forms of knowledge, an *actual view* of the base itself, with the razor wire glinting in the sun (or more likely covered in droplets of August rain), and *the feel* of slipping about on the muddy footpaths. The smell of a pair of freshly oiled boltcutters, the sound of a karabiner on a lock-on clip snapping shut. These experiences provoke something that is rarely experienced when encountering a written, or photographic, account, even in the evocative writing proposed by Tyler (1986).

Police cells

Comments regarding the difference in experiences in police custody notwithstanding, there is a certain routine that is generally played out in police custody, of which the processes of identification are central. I would suggest, tentatively, a correspondence between these processes, undertaken by the police, and the impulse to ascribe notions of an "activist identity" that can be found in certain accounts of new social movements (for example Melucci, 1996).

The opening scene of Brecht's *Mother Courage And Her Children* (1980) suggests a fundamental role for identification in the maintenance of order. Set in 1624, at the start of the Thirty Years War, a Swedish sergeant is recruiting for the war in Poland:

> "It's too long since they had a war here; stands to reason.
> Where's their sense of morality to come from? Peace— that's just
> a mess; takes a war to make order. Peacetime, the human race
> runs wild. People and cattle get buggered about, who cares?
> Everyone just eats as he feels inlined, a hunk of cheese on top of
> his nice white bread, and a slice of fat on top of the cheese. How

many young blokes and good horse in that town there, nobody knows; they never thought of counting. I been in places ain't seen a war for nigh seventy years; folk hadn't got names to them, couldn't tell one another apart. Takes a war to get proper nominal rolles and inventories— shoes in bundles and man and beast properly numbered and carted off, cause it stands to reason: no order, no war." (pp 3-4).

Alongside the centrality of list making to the effective prosecution of war, there is the suggestion that this order, covering such matters as appropriate diet as well as the more overt processes of enumeration, is only ever effectively achieved in times of war. Not only is war dependent on order, providing a *rationale* for that order, but order itself is dependent on war for its efficient practice.

The MoD Plod Landrover pulls into the base. "See, you got into the base after all." "What?" "Well you're in now aren't you." I think to myself that I suppose I am. Sort of.

After a tantalising glimpse of a sub in the dock, we stop outside a single storey portacabin, with razor wire round the roof. It's the MoD Plod processing centre and holding cells. For the next few hours it's going to be home. I'm bundled out of the back of the Landrover and led handcuffed towards the portacabin. The door is unlocked and I am led into a bare room with cream coloured walls and a bench running round the wall. Three women are there already, sat at one end of the room. My handcuffs are removed and I'm directed to the other end of the room. The policeman stood by the door attempts to shut it, and the door sticks. "You'd have thought they'd have got this fixed by now. I put in a notification months ago." He is getting frustrated and gives the door a good shove. The walls shake a little as the door jerks into place. Another uniform appears at the window with arrestee in tow. The door is opened again, Mark comes to sit next to me and the struggle with the door begins again...

Another policeman comes into the room and walks over to me. "Who's this fella's arresting officers? Two of the police step forward, and stand with one on either side of me. "Go on, stand up, give us your nicest smile". He's holding a beaten up Polaroid camera. I grin, and the camera flashes at me. A lovely picture of the three of us slides out from the front of the camera...

I turn to look at Mark, and he has pulled the hood of his jumper down over his face. He's attempting to tie the drawstrings when a policewoman grabs his arm. "Hey

sarge!" There's a bit of struggle, and three of the police are trying to pull his hood down. "Oiy, get off of him!" "Leave him alone", Maria and Janie are shouting at them to stop, and I turn to the one policeman still stood next to me and ask him to get them to stop. It is obvious that they are hurting Mark. His coat, jumper and shirt are now up over his head, and there are cops pulling at them, but they're not budging. The shouting and struggling continues as I'm led off through a doorway, along a short corridor and into the room where I am processed.

The custody sergeant has my Polaroid photograph, and he now needs to tie some sort of identity to it. "Name." The sergeant begins to fill in the form in front of him. I reply.

"Date of birth?" "Eight, twelve, seventy five. Which makes me –erhm, twenty three." I have answered two questions at once, and interrupted his routine... He enters the date of birth, and hesitates a little, as if he is silently asking my age. Then he fills in the age. "Address?" I tell him that I live at the peace camp, and he looks up, distracted by the noise from the next room...

With the form filled in, I am taken into the next room to be searched. The form is faxed to some central computer or other, to be cross-referenced against known activists with outstanding warrants. Through the thin plasterboard walls I can hear snatches of the conversation between the custody sergeant and one of the officers who is on the phone.

"Who?"; "Bishopsgate......Shoulder... brown" "IC1..." "No..." "...beard" "warrant... already" "number..."

I recognise "Bishopsgate" as the main police station of the City of London police, from where the operation to track down those caught on CCTV and police surveillance during the June 18th Carnival Against Capital "riot" is being co-ordinated. They have posted images of those wanted by the police on the Internet [www.corpoflondon.gov.uk/citypolice/index.htm]. They must love these big actions, having so many activists in one place at one time, being able to check them all against their files. A few months after the camp, one of the participants was arrested on an FBI warrant during an anti-nuclear demonstration in Belgium. He has since been deported to the US.

My belt is removed, along with my badges "No Cruise" and "When I grow up, I want to be alive" and my earrings. I am ushered out of the smaller room where I have been searched and back to the custody bar. They place my earrings and

badges in a small bag, along with my cash, and seal it. This small bag goes into a larger bag, along with my belt, my wood-smoky coat and the assorted contents of my trouser pockets. A form that lists my property is slipped into a pocket on the front of the bag, along with the Polaroid. The bag is zipped shut and sealed with a small white tag. This security device, meant to ensure that my property is not tampered with, makes no difference, as they don't allow me to take a note of the number on the tag. It could though, be seen as a further distancing of my now liminal body from those markers of my activist identity, and as a clear signification of my movement into a separate world of control and surveillance.

Indeed, Turner suggests that a characteristic of transitional or liminal beings is that they "have nothing. They have no status, property, insignia, secular clothing, rank, kinship position, nothing to demarcate them structurally from their fellows." (1964, p 9) Following this line in this context would, however, seem to play down the continuity of forms of domination and control that exist both inside and outside of the holding cells. Turner goes on to suggest, "Rights over property, goods, and services inhere in the political-jural structure. Since they do not occupy such positions, neophytes exercise no such rights... It must be understood that the legal authority of the elders over the neophytes is *not based on legal sanctions*; it is in a sense the personification of the *self-evident authority of tradition*" (ibid., emphasis added). I would suggest, however, that activists detained in police custody are far from external to these political and judicial systems. While the appearance of tradition and impartiality may be central to the maintenance of these regimes, a susceptibility to legal sanctions is obviously a central part of this system. Further problems exist with the concept of the liminal to explain the holding cell. Whereas outside of the liminal phase there are gradations of subordination and domination, in the liminal phase these supposedly become levelled, and an absolute relationship of domination and subordination is instituted. This lack of continuity is clarified elsewhere, when Turner states that "during the intervening 'liminal' period, the characteristics of the ritual subject... are ambiguous; he passes through a cultural realm that has few or none of the attributes of the past or coming state." (1969, p 80) Although holding cells will be an unfamiliar environment to most activists on their first visit, and there might be differences in the ways in which the regimes are practiced "on the street" and "in the cells", there is certainly no *necessary* disjuncture in the domination that is faced merely because they are in a different

location. Neither are the relationships between activists who are detained, or between police of different ranks, necessarily substantially disrupted in this context.

I'm taken along the corridor to one of the cells. It is similar in shape to the reception room, except that it is about half the size, and has only one door. And the door fits in the frame properly. There is a bench running round three sides of the room, not quite wide enough to allow a comfortable sleep; and a long, thin strip of metal and rubber, similar to the bells found on busses of a certain age, with which to summon the turnkey. There are also three small spy-holes in the wall, which periodically darken as an eye is pressed against them.

Foucault (1977) suggests that "the major effect of the panopticon [is] to induce in the inmate a sense of conscious and permanent visibility that assures the automatic functioning of power. So to arrange things that the surveillance is permanent in its effects, even if it is discontinuous in its action" (p 205). This is a power that must be visible, yet unverifiable. Barker's fictional account of an encounter between Beattie, in prison for her part in a plot to assassinate Lloyd George, and her friend, Prior, provides further indication of the importance of surveillance. And, in particular, the role of the peephole. The two characters discuss her brother, a conscientious objector for reasons of morality, not religion, who had been refused exemption and sent to the army:

> " '...Our William was sent to Wandsworth, and it was really
> tough. He was stripped and put in a cell with a stone floor and
> no glass in the window- this is *January*, mind- and then, he says,
> they just put a uniform beside you and they wait to see how long
> it'll take you to give in. Of course I was worried sick, I thought
> he has going to get pneumonia, but actually he said in his letter
> it wasn't the cold that bothered him, it was being *watched* all the
> time. The eye in the door' She laughed. 'I didn't know what he
> meant.'
> She looked past Prior's shoulder, and he turned to follow her
> gaze. He found himself looking at an elaborately painted eye.
> The peephole formed the pupil, but around it someone had taken
> the time and trouble to paint a veined iris, an eyewhite,
> eyelashes and a lid. This eye, where no eye should have been,
> was deeply disturbing to Prior... He blinked the image away.
> 'That's horrible,' he said, turning back to Beattie.
> ''S not so bad as long as it stays in the door.' She tapped the
> side of her head. 'You start worrying when it gets in here.'"
> (Barker, 1998, pp 251-2, emphasis in original).

Quickly bored with handstands, I take a look around the room for things to entertain me, and find a few inches of masking tape stuck to one of the walls. Tearing the strip into three, I place one bit over each of the spy-holes and sit back down on the bench furthest from the door. After about twenty minutes, the door flies open, and an angry, bemused, turnkey rushes in. He inspects each of the tiny, round, glass domes in turn, removing the tape from each. I try to keep a straight face. He is *not* looking happy. "Where did you get this from?" Without waiting for my answer he snaps "any more of this and there'll be trouble. Understand that?" Like so many of the questions in this place, this is more of a rhetorical question, a warning, a show of power, rather than an attempt to gain any information. The turnkey leaves the room, and his shadow appears at one of the spy holes. The *visible* appearance of the eye at the door means that the surveillance has once again become verifiable. As such, it ceases to be continuous...

The door is opened. I am told I'm going to have my fingerprints taken. I am led down the corridor again, and into a small room with a camera sat on a tripod at one end. A table with various tubes of ink, rollers and paper is standing to my left. The policeman waiting in the room takes a look at my hand, splattered yellow and red from an afternoon spent painting slogans on walls. It's why we're here. Even I can see that my fingerprints are almost totally obscured. The baby-wipes that he hands me are no good. At the best they just smear the paint about, filling in the intricate swirls and loops. He picks up a tub of some super strength hand-cleaning gunk, takes me next door to the toilet and runs the taps into the small sink. He watches over me as I attempt to remove the various layers of paint. When the worst of it is removed he hands me some paper towels and tells me to go back to the fingerprinting room. The procedure is relatively simple. Ink is squirted onto a brass plate bolted to the edge of the table. The roller smears it to form a thin film and each finger is pressed down onto the plate, picking up a layer of the ink. This is then deposited onto the proper form, in the proper space that has been assigned to each finger. The right hand thumb is rolled across the paper, then the right forefinger, right middle finger, and so on. Another layer of ink is spread onto the plate, and the palm prints are taken. This time the process involves holding the paper between the inky palm and a roller, and pulling the hand and the paper downwards against the roller to leave the print. The same technique is used for the

outside edge of each hand. Then all four fingers of each hand are printed side by side, and finally a print is taken of both thumbs side by side. This unique reference made, I am told to stand up against the wall, in front of the camera.

I am meant to be looking at a black cross that has been scribbled in the wall, just to the left of the camera. I'm distracted by the complex instructions on the wall, detailing the procedure for loading the camera and ensuring that it is properly focussed and wound on after each photograph. This camera is a much more complex device than the one that was shoved in Mark's face earlier, it looks well maintained. The risk of malfunction, and the production of useless photographs is much higher. A problem would also be more serious, as the delay between photograph being taken and fault being found would be much longer, and the opportunity to take the photo would have gone. The photo taken, I'm shepherded back to my cell.

Sitting in my cell, I begin thinking about the fallibility of the mechanisms they have for the quantification of identity... It seemed to me that although each of the technologies, locked doors, photography, fingerprinting, written descriptions and DNA testing represent discourses of control and restriction, bound up with exclusionary processes of measurement, reductionism, identification and cataloguing, there was also a certain fallibility to each. As an identical twin, photography and DNA testing could be brought into question. More problems arise for photography when my appearance as a "typical hippy activist" is considered. The actual fingerprints could be removed, temporarily, by smearing hands with paint. Possibly some other substance would prove more difficult to shift...

Indeed, it is possible to read a particular history of techniques of identification as an ignoble and ultimately fallible progression, bound up with the impossibility of reducing the human identity to a scientific formula. A history of the technology of fingerprinting, posted on the Internet, begins with the suggestion that "law enforcement officers [have for the past few centuries] identified old offenders by sight. Photography lessened the burden on memory but was not the answer to the criminal identification problem. Personal appearances change" (Moore, no date). The realisation of this problem of visual identification necessitated a more rigorous, quantifiable system, and preferably one that allowed the salient information to be transmitted by telegraph. This reductionism was provided by anthropometric

technology, already in service in anthropology and criminology more widely (Sibley, 1995). The history continues:

> "Around 1870 a French anthropologist devised a system to measure and record the dimensions of certain bony parts of the body. These measurements were reduced to a formula which, theoretically, would apply only to one person and would not change during his/her adult life. This Bertillon System, named after its inventor, Alphonse Bertillon, was generally accepted for thirty years. But it never recovered from the events of 1903, when a man named Will West was sentenced to the U.S. Penitentiary at Leavenworth, Kansas. There was already a prisoner at the penitentiary at the time, whose Bertillon measurements were nearly exact, and his name was William West. Upon an investigation, there were indeed two men. They looked exactly alike, but were allegedly not related [although it was later revealed that they were actually twin brothers]. Their Bertillon measurements were close enough to identify them as the same person." (Moore, no date)

This advocacy for fingerprinting technology concludes with the suggestion that "a fingerprint comparison quickly and correctly identified them as two different people." (ibid.) The implication here seems to be that although there were two people standing before them, counter intuitively, the prison officers depended upon a *quantifiable* difference before they would believe that this was not actually the same person. For Bertillon, identity was to be found at the individual level, a point of conflict with Galton and Lombroso, who were more concerned with developing racial or criminal *types* (ibid.). However, both approaches share a location of the essence of identity in objectively discernible criteria. Prior to this process of identification the object is seen to be part of an undifferentiated, and hence uncontrollable criminal or savage mass.

The relatively small area occupied by the fingerprint, and it's susceptibility to alteration through surgery, has led to the development of "DNA fingerprinting [as] the primary method for identifying and distinguishing among individual human beings." (Betsch, 1994). Again, there is the suggestion that, within the criminal justice system, identification is a process that can be reduced to a string of the letters A, C, G and T, and that this process of identification is necessary to impose some sort of order on the mess of genetic material. The nightmarish outcome is the use of gene technology, not only to identify individuals, but also to pinpoint and eventually remove genetic traits that supposedly predispose groups, families and racial types to particular criminal behaviour.

If the progression from photography to finger print technology had shifted surveillance from one that is remote to the surface of the body, then blood group matching and DNA fingerprinting takes this surveillance *inside* the body, and eventually into the individual cell nuclei. The suggestion, made with respect for hair testing for drug use, that those who are being sampled are in fact "donating" hair is an attempt to downplay this intrusion (Ditton, 2000). It is possible, however, that the need for intrusion opens up possibilities for resistance to overt control. A refusal to open the mouth for the swab used to scrape skin cells from the inside of the cheek, for example, is effective in thwarting this technique. Such a refusal gives police authority to attempt to remove ten hairs, including roots from the head, or from anywhere else on the body, of a prisoner. However, the small amount of material taken as a sample from suspects, or potential suspects in police custody may prove useless in establishing a genetic fingerprint. On the one time I have had a DNA sample taken, in Derby, a sign on the wall reminded those taking samples to "Be Careful taking DNA Samples. Only 60% of samples from this Division are acceptable." In this context, refusal to let the police get the ten hairs that were requested may have reduced their chances even further.

Aside from the practical implications of the use of this technology, it has been subjected to critical academic scrutiny in more theoretical terms (Ditton, 2000). The basis for this questioning, which also applies to both traditional fingerprinting and drug testing, is a curious inversion of the established scientific protocol. Typically, the sciences value large sample sizes. However, those involved in the promotion of DNA testing within the criminal justice system now pride themselves on the ability to achieve the correct results from minute traces of human hair, or other bodily materials. In part, this can be attributed to the construction of a particular form of scientific expertise, and the disciplining of those involved in operating the technology (Norris and Armstrong, 1999) which depends on the results being *literally invisible* to the layperson. With larger samples to work with (fingerprints, footprints, larger clumps of hair), those without the specific forms of technology and knowledge would be able to make comparisons, thus reducing the power of the expert. Following a position that is analogous to the *ultra-liberal* argument outlined above with respect to public order policing, Ditton (2000) bases his criticism of this technology purely on the reductionism of the scientific procedure. He suggests that not only is the sample size often small, but a positive

result depends on the correlation of only six or ten "points" within the DNA structure. As such, the incidence of "false positives" is potentially very high. A similar process of over-reduction is routine in the use fingerprint evidence, as it is merely certain points on the "latent print" left at the crime scene that are compared to the "inked print", rather than comparing the entire prints (German, 2000). Again, the outcome is false positive results, leading to the unsafe conviction of innocent suspects. Both Ditton (2000) and German (2000) advocate an increased use of "proper" science, and an end to the reliance on the simple counting of a few points. Their arguments may, indeed, provide a forceful challenge to what is seen as the *misuse* of these identification technologies. However, even when operated "correctly", these technologies represent a form of domination and restriction, practiced by those in a relatively powerful position. The suggestion that this technology has been made more rigorous will not alter this power relationship, and may actually silence the more liberal critics.

Perhaps more than anything else, the transition from activist to "criminal" that is inscribed in police custody takes place through the *isolation* of the police cell, reducing the activist to an individual, separated from other activists. The following poem is taken from *Faslania*, the Faslane Peace Camp magazine:

> After one and a half days I can tell you what isolations smells like
> Powdered tea, burnt meals, unflushed toilets
> After one and a half days, I can tell u what loneliness feels like.
> Sweaty plastic mattresses, blankets that itch, needing a cigarette (badly)
> After one and a half days I can tell you what boredom sounds like.
> Rattling keys "Yoo Allrite Pal?" the guy next door getting set free.
> After one and a half days I can tell you what depression taste like.
> It tastes like isolation smells (funnily enough)
> And after one and a half days I can't tell you what a fucking police cell looks like
> I've been crying in the corner with my eyes shut.
> (Mike, 1998)

Writing against identity

The forms of reductionism and quantification evident in DNA testing are thankfully absent from all but the most biologically determinist social scientific accounts. However, a similar impulse to reduce the "mess" of social life to questions of identity, and particularly individual identity is prevalent in the recent upsurge of writing on direct action. Routledge and Simons (1995) contrast this with the equally problematic resource mobilisation approach in the study of social

movements. Giving priority to questions of *identity* in fieldwork reduces resistance to that which can be observed, or inscribed. This is essentially the same process as that found in the police's regime of identification; the separation of the life of the activist into neat and knowable packages, and the erasure of all but the most functional of differences and unevenness. The process of "writing-up" ethnographic accounts of direct action also has the effect of reducing activism to a form that is essentially one-dimensional, a series of ones and zeros on a computer hard drive. Like Bertillon's system of measurements of convicted criminals, this can be transmitted by telegraph, although it is now more likely to be done over the Internet.

At a more political level, the shift in focus towards questions of identity seems to be based on the notion of a largely individual and depoliticised "choice" to identify in a particular way. Not only does this ignore the role of the inscription of identity by those in a relatively powerful position. In locating this as an explicitly individual process it also risks recreating the often highly conservative rhetoric of individualism.

Advocating a return to a more class-conscious analysis of social movements, Sivanandan (1990) provides a forceful critique of a focus on identity in the politics of the new social movements. He is critical of the "New Times" position developed by Hall (1988), Brunt (1989) and other contributors to *Marxism Today*, and in particular, the failure of these authors to engage with the question of a meaningful challenge to the power of the state.

> "There may well be all sorts of 'resistance to the system', as
> Stuart Hall suggests in civil society today, all sorts of new social
> movements and a 'politics of the family, of health, of food, of
> sexuality, of the body'. And they may even succeed in pushing
> out the boundaries of individual freedom. But the moment they
> threaten to change the system in any fundamental way or go
> beyond the personal politics of health, food sexuality etc. they
> come up against the power of the state. That power does not
> need to be used at every turn, just to intimate that it is there is
> sufficient to change the politics of the new social forces,
> personal politics, to a politics of accommodation." (Sivanandan,
> 1990, p 41- 42)

While this may risk maintaining a monolithic conception of the state, of the sort criticised by Bey (1991), it is a reminder that even in these "New Times", while aspects of the state and resistance may appear to melt into air, they often remain resolutely solid.

Direct activists have also sought to question the emphasis on identity. In a briefing distributed prior to the demonstrations against the WTO and IMF in Washington DC in April 2000, a series of questions were posed to prepare participants for the sorts of questions that members of the public might ask them. It suggests that when you are asked why you are wearing a mask, one possible answer is that "Wearing masks shifts attention from questions of individual identity to the issues of global capitalism...." In this case, identity, even a more "collective" form of identity, may distract from or actively obstruct efforts to challenge power relations. Although Bey (1991), at times, tends towards a neglect of the persistence of domination, his insights into the possibility of resistance, through the exploitation of interstitial spaces, can still be combined with a conception of domination and exclusion that can only be challenged through a fundamental change in power relations.

---

[1] The OMEGA Foundation (2000) to the STOA Committee of the European Parliament gives a thorough account of the development of more sophisticated, "2nd generation" non-lethal weaponary, and includes details of various forms of area denial technology.

[2] See also Merrick (1997) for a critical account of media coverage of riots, and first hand accounts.

[3] My arrests have mainly been for anti-nuclear activism at Faslane and Coulport, although they have also resulted from environmental activism, and arrests at other nuclear related sites across England, Scotland and Belgium. The length of time that I was held in each case varies between three, and thirty-three, hours.

[4] Similarly, I am almost *supposed* to have been arrested more than seventeen times, quite a low number by Faslane Peace Camp standards. I am also expected to have a longer criminal record, and it is sometimes assumed that I have spent time in prison or on remand. The record of arrests that an activist is *imagined to have* is closely related to the way in which others deal with them. Not only does this give power to the police and courts to define who is an activist or not, but the very suggestion of an "authentic" activist identity that automatically comes through arrest, obscures the basis on which people gain access to this group, reinforcing potentially exclusionary practices. Even after their first arrest, activists already marginal to the group may not gain acceptance, in the same way that I was able to gain acceptance without having been arrested. The process says as much about the desire to create a bounded group that can be *objectively defined* as activists, as it says about the ways in which activists gain authority. It also neglects the complexity of ways in which people can effectively resist, which may not involve the surveillance by the state involved in arrest.

The court system

> Approximately 70 British anti-nuclear activists took part in a
> "Nuclear Weapons Abolition Days" action at the Rolls-
> Royce factory in Derby where propulsion engines for the
> Royal Navy fleet are manufactured. 12 were arrested inside
> the factory, and ten of them have had their homes raided.
> Activists are speculating about this very heavy state
> response...
> "Conspiracy charges and house raids" *Peace News*,
> November 1998

> Charge 1: On Thursday 01 October 1998 at Raynesway in
> the County of Derby, conspired together with other persons
> to damage property belonging to Rolls Royce and
> Associates. Contrary to Section 1 (1) of the Criminal Law
> Act 1977.
> Charge sheet, Derbyshire Constabulary

The very different nature of the quotes I reproduce here from my charge sheet and
from *Peace News*, an activist periodical, serves to highlight the infinitely
contestable nature of discourses revolving around Trident and notions of direct
action and protest. Rather than being a neutral canvas on which contested notions
of the nature of the Trident system are writ, I aim to show the criminal justice
system is a separate, yet intimately linked and thus ultimately partisan element of
the exclusionary system which supports and is supported by Trident. As with the
discussion of the police, there is a danger of being distracted from consideration of
nuclear weapons. As several of the contributions to Dewar *et al* (1986) illustrate,
however, the legal system is fundamental in mediating the conflict between the
peace movement and nuclear weapons.

The first time I saw a court in session remains (for me) the starkest example of how
a person can be broken by the system. John was the only activist arrested (breach of
the peace and resisting arrest) following the arrival of the Strathclyde police at the
Winter Solstice blockade of the road outside the camp. The action had had a
defiantly celebratory atmosphere, falling on the morning following an all night
party to mark the solstice... a great party! The majority of the day shift had been
delayed from entering the base for around an hour. Police caught on the hop. A
major coup for the camp. The last time I saw him, during the action, he had been
loudly proclaiming that "Love is the law" as he was dragged away by the police...

The change, overnight, from someone who had been laughing, dancing, singing and blockading to the figure that entered the court handcuffed, head bowed and shoulders hunched, was shocking. Sitting submissively throughout the court proceedings, he rose only to confirm his name, his address and his plea, and then to receive his sentence. His case was conducted for him by a solicitor, despite that fact that he was articulate, intelligent and had represented himself in court before. The long hair and well-worn clothes that at the peace camp had been a mark of defiance and practicality, were now markers of some sort of deviance. They jarred with the wigs and gowns of the lawyers and Sheriff.[1]

The exclusionary geography of spatial bail conditions

The analysis and ideas in this section are based, in part, on an account written by Burrell (1997) of the protests against the A30 Expansion. It refers mainly to the bail system currently operating in England and Wales. Burrell (1997, pp 18-20) clearly situates the imposition of bail conditions as a spatial strategy of state used to control the means of production. As part of this role, bail conditions serve to police the movement of people and resources and act as a control over a variety of personal and political relationships. The motivation behind the use of these powers, which Burrell discusses with respect to road protests, has been to attempt to prevent activists from returning to their place of arrest, which is necessary if embodied resistance to the road-building scheme is to continue. Of particular concern to Burrell is the role of the draconian Criminal Justice and Public Order Act, 1994 (the CJA). Specifically, she is concerned with the powers given to custody officers under Section 27 of the Act to impose bail conditions on police bail. Prior to the CJA, conditions could only be applied to bail conditions by the courts. This shift has meant that in many cases activists risk arrest for returning to their homes or former homes without the case ever coming to court. Even if acquitted on the offence for which they were originally charged, a breach of any bail condition imposed as a result of this charge is still an offence in its own right. Burrell (1997) sees the imposition of these conditions as somewhat monolithic, wherein any challenge to them will inevitably be met by force or arrest. In reality they remain arbitrarily enforced, and as such there remains scope for effective resistance.

The initial imposition of the bail conditions following my arrest in Derby shows something of their arbitrary, or at least, their uneven, nature. Although the twelve

of us had been arrested at the same factory, we were taken to two different police stations at Full Street and Cotton Lane. While the group of which I was a part was released on the condition that we report to court the following morning, the other group had more stringent requirements imposed. These included a requirement to report to their local police stations a number of times per week, to reside only at their stated addresses and to stay away from the Rolls-Royce and Associates site at Raynesway, in addition to attending court the next morning. The discrepancy between these different sets of conditions allowed a challenge on the grounds that it was clearly not sensible that two groups of defendants charged with the same offence, at that time conspiracy to cause criminal damage, should be subject to such widely differing bail conditions. As a result of this challenge the conditions were equalised at a one-mile exclusion zone around the Rolls-Royce factory. The exceptions to this were that those of us represented by solicitors in the court case could visit the site in the presence of our solicitors, and that we could travel within that exclusion zone on our way to court. The standard bail conditions of attending the next scheduled court date, not committing any further offences, or interfering with any witnesses, and being available to allow further enquiries to be made also applied. These conditions held until the pre-trial review at the start of December 1998, when the exclusion zone was reduced to 400 yards.

Burrell (1997) deals almost exclusively with the material implications of the imposition of and resistance to bail conditions, such as the more effective control over the means of economic production, and the ability to take part in further acts of resistance, such as economic sabotage. The imposition of bail conditions also includes a significant symbolic element. On the part of those imposing the bail conditions, it would be possible to outline a case for the exclusion of defendants on the grounds of maintaining the purity of the area, in this case a factory. It became clear during the trial that our actions at the factory had caused significant disruption, not only to the workings of the factory, but also to the idea of how a factory should work. In this context, the exclusion is not only to stop disruption or protest, but also to keep us "in place" (Cresswell, 1996). Following Sibley's (1994) argument, this regulation of symbolic boundaries is central to much of the CJA. This fear of transgression is manifested also in the fact that it is "harder to get bail for people of Asian origin. The main argument is that they can always leave the jurisdiction." (Meek, 1999)

On a number of occasions, while subject to these bail conditions, a train journey from Sheffield to London took me through the exclusion area several times before the conditions were amended to allow this route. I would like to be able to say that this was an incredibly significant challenge to the bail conditions, and the symbolic exclusion that I faced. In truth it held absolutely no value of that sort for me at all. Bail conditions after a separate arrest prevented me from entering Gartocher Terrace, the site of an environmental protest in Glasgow that I discuss in more depth below. The breaking of these conditions, specifically to continue the protest and maintain links to the residents of the street held a much more significant position.

The breaking of bail conditions, or the opposition to their imposition, not only affords the possibility of future resistance, but also represents something of a challenge to this symbolic constraint on movement. Although there was no systematic attempt made to break the spatial bail conditions in Derby, the tactic is often used to force the hand of the court. The response to a breach of such bail conditions may well be a custodial sentence, but a concerted effort on the part of large numbers of people to break those conditions may make such a punishment unenforceable. The refusal to accept the spatial bail conditions, as the court or the police impose them, should result in bail being denied, and the defendant being remanded in custody until the trial. It may, however, result in the conditions being removed entirely. This has happened successfully during hearings for Trident Ploughshares activists who have questioned the bail conditions not to go within 800m of the fence on the grounds that these conditions deny their freedom to protest. In one case the J.P. was faced with a choice between sending an activist to prison for much longer than she would receive as a sentence, or dropping the bail condition. After lengthy deliberation by both parties the bail condition was dropped. Subsequently, the courts have been much more reluctant to impose this sort of condition.

It is perhaps worth noting, as evidence for this proposition, that during these first few hearings there were similar arguments over the acceptance of the standard condition of "not committing another offence whilst on bail", on the grounds that the defendants felt that they were upholding international law, and not breaking the law. Not surprisingly, there was very little progress made in this direction. The

condition remained in place for those who were willing to accept bail, albeit with the understanding that the activists released on bail did not believe that to repeat such an action would constitute an offence. Those unwilling to accept the condition were remanded in custody until their trial.

The exclusionary architecture of the court building

The power that the judicial system exerts over the defendants in a trial, and also over the prosecution and defence lawyers, the clerk of the court, the usher and so on, is, in part constituted and expressed through a myriad of controls and rules on the appropriate use of space. The following account is not meant to illustrate a harsh regime, or even a particularly damaging one, but one in which there exists particular physical and social limitations related closely to the judicial discourses that are played out within the courtroom.

The exclusionary nature of Swadlingcote Magistrate's court became apparent on our first arrival, as a rather bored looking man from Burns, a private security company, guarded the entrance to the courthouse. When we first went into the building we were all given a cursory examination with a hand held metal detector, the sort they use at Faslane to check arrestees for metal objects. Not the most invasive of searches, but even so it was not the sort of greeting we got at the library, where we went to check up on the local papers for any press coverage of the trial, or at any of the other municipal buildings along the main street. Within the judicial space it was the court usher, an ageing gentleman with the air of a former police officer about him, who played a central role in maintaining the flow of defendants, lawyers, witnesses, papers, exhibits, magistrate and clerk around the building. Central to his role was giving the order to "All stand please" when the magistrate entered the court room. The same process was repeated when the magistrate rose to leave the room, for lunch, to allow an argument to be had between the lawyers, or to consider her verdict. The usher's low, calm and measured voice caused a Mexican-wave like ripple around the room. He wasn't an obstructive man, but he was as disciplined in his role as we were in ours as defendants. He informed us when the court was about to start again, letting us know whether we had time to nip outside for another cigarette, a third cup of coffee from the WRVS hatch, or a quick dash to the supermarket to stock up on food for the evening meal.

Once in the courtroom, summoned there by the usher, the control that he exercised over the use of space became particularly evident. The scene in the courtroom is sketched out in figure 2.
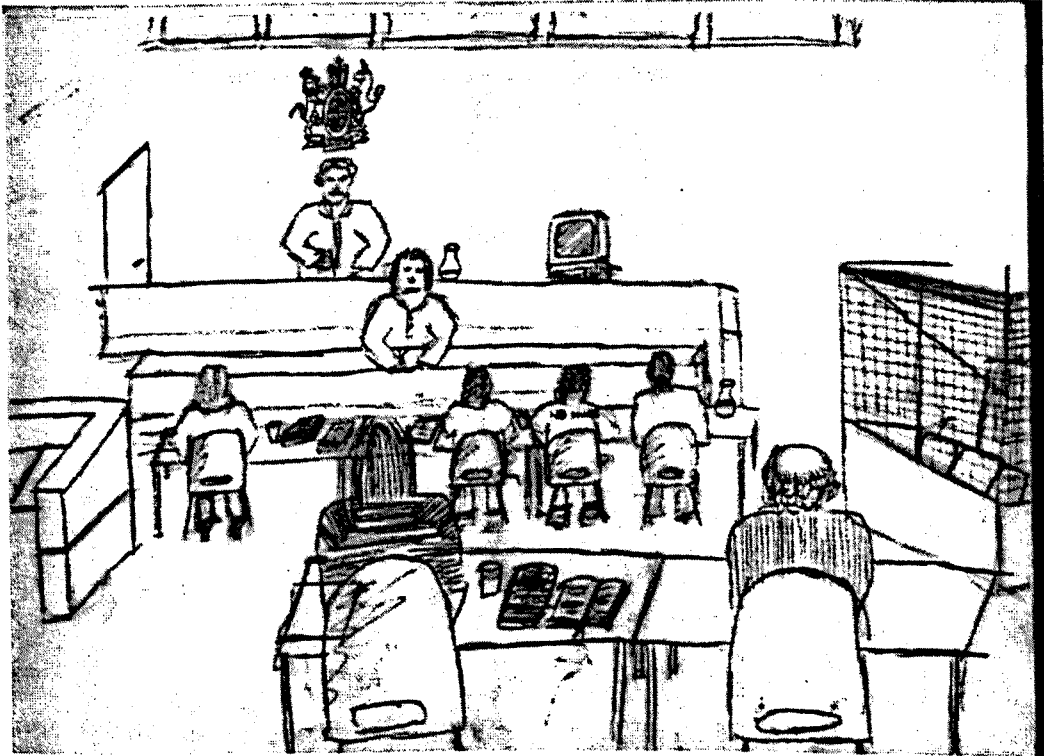
Figure 2: Swadlincote magistrate's court

On the first day, the layout of the room underwent it's only significant change, to allow the activists representing themselves access to desk space to enable them to take notes comfortably. Their initial position behind those of us being represented by lawyers was also felt to unduly distance them from the magistrate, and, as such marginalise them from the proceedings. This was something of a victory in the constant struggle to stress that these three individuals were representing themselves rather than being "unrepresented". The implication remained, though, that those of us sitting behind our lawyers were to be passive throughout the case, accepting whatever our highly trained representatives said as much as what the magistrate said. The courtroom at Swadlincote was actually already a more egalitarian physical environment than most of the courts I have been in, both standing trial myself, and supporting other activists. The furniture had more in common with the sort found in a school or conference centre than the archetypal dusty wooden benches and the magistrate's greatly raised platform. Even in newer courts, such as the Preston Crown Court, where one of the Ploughshares trials was held, the Judge

sat a good few metres above the rest of the court, in his own little gallery. Unlike the magistrate in Swadlincote, he still wore the full costume of wig, red silk gown with black trim, breeches and stockings, and the black piece of cloth as a reminder of the days of capital punishment.

It was only the usher, in his Batman gown, who retained any of this formal dress. While the court was in session, he swept across the floor, accompanying anyone moving about the courtroom. Most often these were prosecution witnesses, the security guards that we had disturbed on the morning of the action, and the police who had arrived a few minutes later to arrest us. He also carried any papers or exhibits (the bolt cutters, the sections of fence with the bolt cutter marks clearly indicated, the photographs of the holes in the fence) that had to be passed round the room, between prosecution and defence lawyers, or to the magistrate. The usher is also responsible for keeping order in the court. He would glare at us, looking more like a head teacher than anything else, whenever any of us started giggling over an unintentionally humorous comment from a policeman in the witness box or an unfortunate turn of phrase by the prosecution barrister. But this wasn't really a role he was often called on to perform in any obvious way. It was in less physical ways that the usher was instrumental in guiding us through the proper sort of behaviour. He instructed us when and how to take the oath "to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth", perhaps the most important part of the symbolic control evident in the process. Waiting to take the oath, I had a flick through the little booklet that contained the different versions of the oath. All of them were based on the same set of words, but while Christians would be expected to "swear by almighty god,", atheists would be expected to "solemnly and sincerely declare,". Other versions were available for Quakers, Hindus, Buddhists, Muslims and Jews, often involving a particular holy book to be brought in to make the oath more powerful. A separate set of oaths was also provided for translators, who were expected to promise to give an accurate translation, both into and from a foreign language, or various forms of sign language. It struck me, reading through the spiral bound booklet, that this was not the absolute regime that I had suspected it might be, bending all faiths (and none) to a single, Christian, faith. It was much more insidious than that, willing to co-opt the authority of the Buddha, the Koran, or simply a liberal sensibility to uphold the law in order to achieve the control that it needed. The appearance is one of a regime that is willing to mobilise various

discourses with regard for what will make the control of a heterogeneous population more effective. It does, however open up possibilities for resistance. I have heard it suggested on numerous occasions that activists who may feel it might be necessary to "lie" under oath in order to protect others, yet cannot bring themselves to do this, could avoid this dilemma by swearing what amounts to a meaningless oath. So, the atheist swears by an Almighty God, in which they do not believe; thus effectively removing any moral obligation. Likewise, if a "believer" were to take an oath that makes no reference to their God, it may be more acceptable to "bend it" slightly. But, as well as drawing on these disparate forms of authority, specific to an individual's own moral values, the oath also depends on the sheer intimidation of the architecture of the room, the magistrate looking down from her raised platform, sitting beneath the coat of arms, twenty other pairs of eyes staring at me. As I promised, "to tell the truth..." the words almost stuck in my throat. I wasn't even intending to say anything that I thought *was* untrue. I could hear the words echoing in my ears, and my heart pounding, and felt that even if I had been intending to lie to the prosecution barrister, the defence barristers and solicitors, my co-defendants, the usher and the magistrate, I might well have been having second thoughts.

Despite attempts to foster the illusion of being an impartial arbiter between the crown and defendants, this is not a regime that is applied entirely impartially. While there might be something inherently terrifying and constricting about being stared at by a group of people who are hanging on your every word, this can't be separated from a consideration of wider forces outside of the courtroom. The statement that I gave could, possibly, have got ten other people off a charge of criminal damage. It could also have played a major part in convicting them. Most importantly, those of us who had made a direct challenge to the power of the state, or at least a major contractor for their armed forces, were clearly at a disadvantage. Unlike in the United States, it is by no means clear that there is even the *attempt* to suggest the separation of powers within the British state between, for example, the judiciary, the legislature, who offer manufacturing contracts to Rolls-Royce, and the Navy, for whom such contracts are carried out. At a more immediate level, away from the machinations of Whitehall and company boardrooms, this was also a building where we were playing by their rules. It is the state who, through their various government departments and authorities, maintained the court room,

employed the stipendiary magistrate, paid the wages of the Crown Prosecution Service barrister, the usher, the police and the security guard hanging around in the waiting room. The "crown" was prosecuting us. We knew that from the fact that the name of the case was "R v Doyle and others". Reflecting on this during the case, looking up at the large coat of arms on the wall above the magistrate, with lion and unicorn rampant, I wasn't sure how this illusion of the crown also acting as an impartial arbiter in the case could even be entertained. In the "crown" court it would have been laughable. As if that wasn't bad enough, even the barristers and solicitors who were representing us were largely having their expenses met from the legal aid fund...

Visual reductionism

For the duration of the court case, with the help of other anti-nuclear activists, the twelve of us established a peace camp outside another Rolls-Royce factory in Derby. Living in tents and benders, and cooking around an open fire every night, gave our clothes, hair, and bodies the unmistakable aroma of wood smoke. At the start of each day in court we would drive from Derby to Swadlincote in a borrowed minibus and arrive in enough time to have a wash in toilets in the court building. Several of the women took the opportunity to change their clothes, removing smoky jeans, combat trousers and thick jumpers, replacing them with skirts, dresses and clean t-shirts. The one clean-shaven man amongst us took the opportunity to have a shave each morning. We all took advantage of the toilet facilities in the court building, the alternative being a slit trench in the corner of the field where we were camped. There were no *obvious* sanctions that would have greeted us if we had not maintained this, somewhat self imposed, regime of cleanliness. There were signs in the court's waiting room that urged the prompt payment of fines, a halt to domestic violence and drunk driving, as well as the ubiquitous "no smoking", discussed by Hermer and Hunt (1996). There was even a portrait of the Queen, lending the building a particular moral geography. But no signs in the waiting room read, "No being smelly in the court building". Yet, our bodies, and the clothing that was entirely practical, and actually necessary at the camp, clearly marked us as out of place in the surroundings of the court building. A cloud of wood smoke, cheap duty-free tobacco, and strong fresh coffee followed us into the building. I think we all hoped that it was removed in the toilets. Getting rid of the incongruous smells,

as well as the stained clothing, the heavy boots, the less subtle anti-nuclear slogans and the stubble was a daily attempt to get ready for court, our own small ritual of purification. As perfumed soap mingled with, but failed spectacularly to obliterate the ingrained odours and mud, we clung to the vain hope that we would *fit into* the system, that we could use it to our advantage. That meant not only playing the legal game in terms of the correct procedure, but also constraining our bodies into a form that did not offend the eyes or the noses of the magistrate.

This purification of court space is tied up with the erasure of all sensations other than the visual from legal discourse, and practice. This is a reductionism that takes place, crucially, at the level of a prioritisation of senses, at the hinge between the body as lived, and as discursively inscribed (Grosz, 1995, p33). With regards to the genesis of this reductionism in mid-eighteenth century France, Corbin (1996, p 82) states that

> "[H]earing was for a long time accepted as the sense of social communication, as opposed to sight, source of intellectual knowledge. The increased role of sight was manifested in legal procedure; in the courts hearsay was gradually subordinated to eyewitness testimony. But from the mid-eighteenth century on, a new aesthetic movement tended to make olfaction the sense that generated the great movements of the soul."

This scopophilia remains today, and as such, all forms of knowledge must be reduced to the visual if they are to play a part in the relatively narrow field of legal discourse. Not only are all senses reduced to the visual, but it is also a visual that is largely disembodied. This suggests not only a domination of legal practice over the courtroom in material terms, but also that this practice serves to legitimate, and exclude, various forms of knowledge. This much is evident from the ways in which the evidence was presented.

The prosecution evidence opened the trial, and dealt mainly with establishing the sequence of events on the morning of 1st October 1998, when we were arrested. The Crown Prosecution Service barrister called evidence from three security guards on duty that morning, as well as from their supervisor Mr Buggins. No two witnesses were actually able to give accounts that entirely agreed with each other. One security guard in particular gave a substantially different account to the others. He was subjected to extensive cross-questioning that verged on the racist, as he struggled to remember the events that had taken place over six months previously.

Questions that were asked by the defence solicitors regarding their *feelings* about working in a nuclear related factory were dismissed as irrelevant.

Police evidence also dealt mainly with the sequence of events on the morning of the action. However, disagreement remained over the precise location of holes that had been made in the fence, as well as how many holes had been made. Once the problem had been identified, the prosecution made an attempt to clarify the matter. A series of maps of the factory were hastily photocopied. Several of the later police witnesses were asked to indicate on the plan, using references relating to a grid that had been drawn over the map, where they had seen fence cutting taking place. They were also asked where they had seen groups of activists standing or running at any particular time. This use of mapping was done to exclude any superfluous narrative from their accounts, to reduce evidence to the purely visual. But, it would be wrong to suggest that this tactic totally removed any bias from the proceedings, or that the removal of narrative could ever be entirely accomplished. Rather, the technology of mapping represented a different form of, equally partial, narrative. This time, however, it is one that is even more tightly bound up with exclusionary processes (Ó Tuathail, 1996).

Some doubt remained, however, as a result of the evidence presented by the police officers who had arrested us. The possibility of the fallibility of human memory remained. The Scenes of Crime Officer (SOCO) was able to give photographic evidence. The evidence of the *precise* number and *exact* location of the holes, "settled" many of the disputes raised during the prosecution evidence.

As well as confusion over the number and location of holes, there was some disagreement between witnesses over the length and colour of hair, the colour of trousers and the types of overcoat that had been worn. This raised questions about the "continuity of detention", and the prosecution was forced to prove that we were not only the people who had been processed in the police station, but that we had also been at the fence when it was cut, and that a line could be drawn between the two times, accounting for our every movement. This was resolved, again, using photos. This time they relied on a series of photographs taken by the police when we had been arrested and on closed circuit television footage taken in the police station.

The forensic scientist followed the Scene of Crime Officer's evidence. He should also have been able to clear up some of the ambiguity regarding the use of a

particular set of bolt cutters on a particular section of the fence. In the actual course of events his evidence was less than conclusive. The forensic expert gave a lengthy technical description of the marks found on the bolt cutters that were confiscated at the factory, as well as the marks found on the wire of the fences. He detailed the minute traces of plastic left on the blades of the bolt cutters, the damage that was evident in each of the blades, and the likely impact that this would have on the profile of the cut. He talked about the angle at which the blades came together, and the pattern they would make when closing around a section of wire. All that could be said, despite this huge amount of detail which took most of a long hot afternoon to deliver, was that one of the pairs of bolt cutters was probably responsible for cutting part of one of the fences. In addition, none of the other bolt cutters could be ruled out from having cut any of the other fences. There was a lengthy cross examination from my barrister, Val, who set about attempting to disprove, or at the least cast doubt on the evidence he had given. As a trained marine biologist, and a fellow of the Royal Geographical Society, she based her argument in the invalidity of the statistical method that he had used. The main point of contention was that there had been no "control" cut made in the wire by a pair of new bolt cutters similar to the ones confiscated, what she described as an elementary error in scientific methodology. Neither had measurements been taken from a large enough number of cuts to make the results statistically significant. Despite Val's contention that this should make the evidence inadmissible, it was still allowed to be heard. According to the prosecution barrister, the length of the forensic scientist's experience, some 17 years, and his self-professed expertise largely compensated for this. The lack of science wasn't such a big deal in the light of the expertise of this individual.

More significant however, was a remark that was left unchallenged in the confusion of exactly which piece of wire had come from which part of the fence, and in the argument about the statistical significance, or otherwise of the evidence. In qualifying his reply to a question of whether there had been test cuts made with similar, new, bolt cutters, the scientist stated "if you've got enough resources you could prove anything." This was clear admission not only that the whole, supposedly impartial, scientific endeavour is dependant upon funding for the results, but that the source of the funding, in this case the CPS, is implicated in determining the outcome of the experiments. It appeared to be acceptable to

challenge science "on its own terms" with reference to the formula for the "student-t" test, and the fundamentals of empirical methodology. In contrast, a more fundamental challenge to the premises of the scientific endeavour, namely that it is dependent upon material investment, and that, in effect the CPS buys the results that it wants was not made. This reluctance can, in part, be put down to a tactical assumption that the argument would carry no weight. But, it also indicated that having been trained as a scientist, although now practicing law, my barrister was unable or unwilling to bring into question the impartiality of the scientific paradigm. Again, the grounds on which this science could be challenged, and indeed the whole case, was reduced to a set of scientific, visual, discourses.

The visual reductionism inherent within the judicial system provided the greatest challenge to our being acquitted. This was not because the evidence that we were presenting necessarily suffered from an internal or logical inconsistency against which the prosecution evidence was either more persuasive or correct. Rather, it was because of the partial nature of legal fora, and in particular the reductionism to which legal discourses and evidence alike, are subjected. It would be dangerous to suggest that the partiality of the courts could be attributed *solely* to a preference for one sense over the others. Visual reductionism remains bound up with important questions of power, and economic and political vested interests.

In this respect I am following the work of Peace (1993) on the partiality of the Irish public enquiry system, and particularly the way in which debate is framed by the creation of certain acceptable bureaucratic discourses. He suggests "From the outset the most signal part of An Bord Pleanála was it's claim to be an independent, impartial and autonomous review body which conducted its investigations on judicial lines in the interests of fair practice and balanced judgement." (Peace, 1993, p 197) On reflection he is able to identify that

> "within this comprehensive framework of bureaucratic
> rationality, it was especially significant that the review body was
> able to reinforce its own criteria of assessment of the project as
> definite and beyond challenge. This meant that the objectors had
> increasingly to phrase their own submissions in terms of those
> criteria, even though their case was thereby much weakened...
> [However,] at the time, and from within, the sheer complexity of
> on-going influences and events served to obscure from view the
> decisive direction of the public hearing" (ibid., p 202).

It is the same ideas of fair and balanced "judicial lines" that are mobilised in the criminal justice system, an image that obscures a partiality, and a whole host of

vested interests. The reduction of submissions, made either to a court or to a public hearing, to an essentially rational realm within which the truth or otherwise of such discourses are assessed, is itself open to challenge as a partial and exclusionary framework. In particular, it is biased against those that would prioritise other forms of (direct) action above rational discourse (Petts, 2000).

A reliance on the verbal, visual, tangible and legal, excludes the indescribable, intuitive, corporeal, olfactory, aural, moral, complex, irrational and uncertain, amongst a whole range of other categories, from consideration by the courts. They are not entirely excluded from liberal discourse, however. As Corbin (1996) points out, the aural and the olfactory (to which we can add the intuitive and so on) remain important in the "movement of the soul". The legal process marks these as abject, and possibly dangerous.

> "Bodies like local government are expected to reach decisions
> on grounds deemed to be 'rational' rather than arbitrary... If a
> decision is perceived as, or can be construed as affective– based
> on likes and dislikes rather than more acceptable criteria– it may
> move outside of statutory discretion. More fundamentally it can
> be defined as antithetical to public authority and power."
> (Cooper, 1998, p 20)

This also reinforced the idea of a division between the public sphere of the courts, as rational, acceptable, political and masculine, and the private sphere of the soul, as affective, arbitrary, personal and feminine. Pateman (1989, ch 6), provides an indication of the development of this public/private dichotomy, and the impacts that it has had on the domination of women. This is by no means a universal distinction. It is more important in the exclusion of some groups of women than others (Blunt and Wills, 2000, p 114). It is, however, one distinction on which various forms of western patriarchal liberal democracy depend. At a semantic level, the word *testimony* itself provides a reminder of the exclusion of women from the right to give evidence, from the public sphere, and from citizenship.

In criminal cases those aspects associated with the private sphere are generally confined to questions regarding the presence of *mens rea*, or guilty mind. This is as opposed to those elements of legal discourse that can prove the presence, or otherwise, of *actus reus* (wrong act) which is constructed as a specifically *rational* action. The secondary role of *mens rea* is evident in cases where the conviction of anti-nuclear activists has been secured, although the presence of a "guilty mind"

has not been established. An appeal based on this argument is currently proceeding through the Scottish courts.

In Derby, numerous items of evidence were deemed inadmissible. Our feelings of fear and revulsion at the deployment of nuclear weapons carried no weight in informing a legal judgment. The "fact" that we had *heard* that things such as Trident submarines exist was dismissed by the courts as "hearsay". Only our own accounts of *seeing* the submarines at Faslane, *seeing* them leave on patrol and then *seeing* them return three months later were sufficient. Even in these cases the emotional impact of these sights, the nausea that I've felt seeing these huge black objects cutting their way through the water, accompanied by helicopters and MoD Plod police launches, is excluded.

Similarly, the accounts of Hibakusha (survivors of nuclear weapons) are constrained when they are called on to give first hand accounts of the effects of nuclear weapons. The smell of charred flesh, the feeling of the blast, the sound of breaking glass, and even the visceral embodied visual experience of the "blinding flash", become less important than the more rational considerations of what could be *seen*.

A similar opposition of morality and legality can be seen in the attempts to use international humanitarian law to justify anti-nuclear actions. In practice, priority is normally given to those parts of national law that define criminal damage in a *rational* way. The somewhat marginal position within legal discourses of humanitarian law can be attributed to the moral dimension contained within these laws. In the past few years there *have* been notable successes for sections of the peace movement in obtaining not guilty verdicts. The "Seeds of Hope" and "Pheasants Union" Ploughshares trials, stand out in this regard. Both acquittals came about through successfully arguing that there was "lawful excuse" (for the disarmament of a Hawk Jet and Trident submarine testing equipment respectively). Despite the progressive uses to which these legal arguments can be put, their use within the peace movement is highly contentious.

Powerful strategies of resistance remain impossible while those subject to the court regime limit themselves to the discursive practices that are provided by that regime itself. The best that can be achieved by "playing the legal game" is the inscription of innocence, from a regime that remains fundamentally wedded to the maintenance of a nuclear arsenal. At worst, the strategy of pursuing lengthy and

costly court cases can divert attention from more direct forms of campaigning (Vogler, 1986). Any acquittal must come, of necessity, through accepting subjugation to the judicial regime.

The role of the courts in the process of domination and dehumanisation lead Bankowski and Mungham (1976) to argue for resistance to the legal system. They identify the need to open up a space within the courts that does not depend on "playing the legal game". While Bankowski and Mungham (1976) are keen to distance themselves from a position of absolute legal abstentionism, due to the harsh penalties that this would incur, they point out the political dangers of co-operation with the courts. The use of political theatre, actually in the courtroom, is suggested as a way to reveal, and challenge, the domination that is inherent within those spaces. They find one example of such a strategy in the "Chicago conspiracy trial", which followed the rioting at the 1968 Democratic Party convention. The trial was disrupted by defendants and their supporters refusing to stand for the judge, and by the defendants making political statements from the dock despite the effort of the judge to stop them. There were also several incidents physical confrontation between the defendants and the court officials. This approach is criticised by Hunt (1980) as it maintains an "instrumental" view of law as rigidly authoritarian, and ignores the ways in which the legal system can be manipulated, and used to more progressive ends.

Over the past few years anti-nuclear activists and supporters have undertaken direct action aimed directly at the criminal justice system, although this has not yet happened as part of the Trident Ploughshares campaign. Cresswell (1994, pp 41-42), for example, includes accounts of "carnivalesque" disruption of Newbury district court by Greenham women. It is also an idea that is mentioned in the Trident Ploughshares handbook, where a series of rhetorical questions were posed regarding the possible limits to collective responsibility.

> "If a few people are picked off and charged should the rest of us
> go to court and disrupt it by continually getting up and saying
> that we are also guilty of upholding international law so that we
> all get done for contempt of court? Should we blockade the
> courts and prisons or should we rather put our efforts into more
> disarmament acts? Maybe you can ponder all these options and
> discuss them in your group?" (Trident Ploughshares 2000, 1997,
> §2.4)

At one Trident Ploughshares meeting, in February 1998, a few people advocated the disruption of the courts, as a definite strategy of the campaign. There are a growing number of people within the campaign who argue that while activists remain within accepted legal discourses, the courts can cope with us, no matter how large the numbers.[2] Suggestions of possible actions to disrupt the courts included refusing to stand when the J.P. entered or left the room, standing with your back to him, wearing wetsuits in the dock, attempting to prevent the court from functioning by blockading the doors.

Counter-arguments were put forward to suggest that this would unfairly prejudice the chances of other activists achieving a fair trial. As such, the "consensus" was that such action should not take place. But, it is precisely because the notion of a "fair trial" is an illusion that this sort of action is legitimate... While it would be disingenuous to suggest that anyone was supporting the court regime for anything but anti-nuclear motives, the investment in legal challenges to nuclear weapons remained an unsurpassable obstacle to the legitimation of court disruption as a strategy.

I turn now to a more detailed look at forms of resistance that do not depend for their success on the use of the dominating discourses of the judicial system. I refer to the activities of Peace Camp at Faslane, as well as to various other instances of direct action.

---

[1] Not least of the elements of this criminalisation are the use of words such as defendant, accused and prisoner when referring to those subject to the regime. In an attempt to problematise this, and to retain a sense of agency which comes from a source other than this subjection, I refer to these individuals and groups as "activists".
[2] 700 people were tried in one week after a mass-action at Upper Heyford airbase in 1983, at Greenham, Stipendiary magistrates were able to deal with 500 cases in 2 ½ hours, a rate of one every 15 seconds (Vogler, 1986, p 124).

Resistance

Faslane Peace Camp

"We cannot understand the role of space in the reproduction of social relations without recognizing that the relatively powerless still have enough power to 'carve out spaces of control' in respect of their day-to-day lives" Sibley, 1995, p 76.

"So what have we achieved in the last 15 years at Faslane Peace Camp? – the much asked question from the media hoards of the last few weeks. The obvious answers come easily; we've been a permanent protest against nuclear weapons, monitored and blown the whistle on the base time and time again, organized demos, broken into the base, got onto submarines, stopped the convoy, kept public attention on the issue etc etc. But it's a whole lot more than that.

For me, nuclear weapons are the top of the pyramid. They are the ultimate craziness; that we, human beings, have such little respect for this planet where we live that for the sake of power and greed we have designed and built weapons capable of destroying everything. Faslane Peace camp has been there for 15 years hammering away at the top of the pyramid along with all other peace activists worldwide.

At the same time it has been just as important that we have been chipping away at the bottom of the pyramid, undermining it, and weakening it. Nuclear weapons are as much to do with power and money being in the hands of the few, with hierarchy and patriarchy, with people being disempowered, isolated, out of touch with the world as they are to do with plutonium and submarines. The camp has tried to challenge the status quo, to live and work as a community, to find ways to make decisions and get things done without leaders, to value everyone's voice and everyone's skills.

The camp is a demonstration of Anarchy in action.....or is it? It's certainly not been easy, in fact it's often been absolute hell, as any camper past or present will tell you. There has certainly been conflict, and finding ways to resolve it non-violently is also part of the way forward. Sometime we have, and sometimes we have just shouted at each other. People have left the camp disillusioned, angry, hurt. Utopia it is not. But there have been many more who have left feeling that they can make a difference. Discovering that although they feel it's pointless joining a political party or even voting it doesn't mean they are powerless. Learning that in a society that encourages everyone to look out for themselves there are people who care about each other even though they've only just met.

The present generation of campers are working out how to cope with the eviction threat. As well as building tree houses, digging tunnels and making lock-ons we are working out the other

> things that need to be done. If the day comes when the sheriffs
> officers, police and council workers turn up to 'just obey order',
> at least we all know that we are there because we have decided
> to be there. We are there because we don't want nuclear
> weapons. We are there because we have a vision of a better
> world where people do work and live together, valuing each
> other, respecting each other, loving each other and our home
> planet Earth." Jane, *Faslania*, Summer 1997.

In an argument that shares many similarities with this article in *Faslania*, the Faslane Peace Camp newsletter, Pile (1997) suggests that while resistance is partly orientated towards exclusionary power structures, there is also a sense in which resistance occupies the interstices between parts of a discontinuous grid of exclusion. In Pile's metaphor, the direct challenges are represented as the massed villagers hunting a vampire and occasionally becoming embroiled in internecine arguments. In the second engagement, simultaneously connected to, and dislocated from, the spaces of domination, a form of resistance exists under the nose of the powerful, and occupies more opaque sites and the internal spaces of desire, anger and dreams. This is the virus that eventually kills the vampire. The partial dislocation enables a resistance of "one of authority's most insidious effects [which] may well be to confine definitions of resistance to only those that appear to oppose it directly, in the open, where it can be made and seen to fail" (Pile, 1997, p 3).

This section is an attempt to unpack some of the resistance that is taking place at Faslane Peace Camp, beginning with the ways in which the landscape of the camp itself is involved in both the struggle against nuclear weapons, as well as being central to conflicts within the camp.

Faslane landscapes

Academic and media debate regarding the landscape of peace camps has, in the past, tended to focus on the aesthetics of these camps and in particular on the labelling of peace camps as eyesores. Cresswell (1996) includes several examples of the way in which Greenham Common Women's Peace Camp was treated in this way, focussing particularly on media articles.

> "Mud splashed half way up their legs. It oozed a raw onion
> smell and spread like a brown paste over a chunk of Berkshire.
> Peace was a dirty business.

> Yards of stinking rubbish spilling out of black plastic bags and donated refuse containers hit the eye and the nostrils at the entrance to the camp, which oozes with thick, wet, mud" (*Daily Mail*, 13 December 1982, p 17 and *Sunday Telegraph* 19 December 1997; both cited in Cresswell, 1996, p 105).

These discourses of smell, mud and refuse even entered parliamentary debate: "The area in and around the site on either side of the access road is littered with rubbish, rags of old carpet, parts of broken fences and bags of refuse.... The whole site is ugly, and environmental eyesore." (Michael McNair-Wilson, MP, House of Commons, 25 July 1986; cited in Cresswell, 1996, p 105)

Commentators, such as Cresswell (1994, 1996) and Blackwood (1984) who are more critical of the media and parliamentary vilification, or sympathetic to the peace camps, have drawn attention to the paradoxical nature of this labelling. Greenham Common was located in close proximity to a massive military installation, which are never the "prettiest" of places. This is an irony that has not gone unnoticed at Faslane, where the peace camp is similarly located a few hundred metres away from the Naval Base. The potential effects of the weapons stored in these bases, rather than the base itself, is the focus of a cartoon that was published in the *Lennox Herald* (1997, figure 3). In particular it draws attention to the hypocrisy of the council, who began eviction proceedings against Faslane Peace Camp on the grounds that it was an eyesore. The politician sporting the rosette in the foreground is, I assume, one of the two main instigators of the eviction proceedings, Councillor Dick Walsh or Councillor Bill Petrie.

Figure 3: "... And this is the eyesore" (Lennox Herald, August 1997)

A description of Faslane Peace Camp could also focus upon the marginalisation and exclusion of the camp. The position of the camp on a grass verge on the side of the busy A814, for example, lends itself to descriptions of marginal people living on a marginal piece of land, eking out an existence in harsh conditions. The transgressions involved in peace camp life are also evident; a dirty bunch of people with odd looking hair, who annoy people on busses because of their smell, and are currently facing eviction for being an eyesore.

Such a focus is, however, highly problematic, not least due to the association of transgression with the study of "deviance", and the crossing of boundaries imposed from "above". Cresswell (1996, ch 1) talks of common sense geographies, essentially the spatial status quo, and quotes the well worn phrase of Becker's (1966) that

> "Social groups create deviance by making the rules whose infraction constitutes deviance, and by applying those rules to particular people and labelling them as outsiders. From this point of view deviance is not a quality of the act the person commits, but rather a consequence of the application by others of rules and sanctions to an 'offender'"(p 9).

As such, in Cresswell's construction deviation and transgression are largely equivalent, and transgression is little more than a negative label applied to the direct activist by the media or the courts or by academics. The insistence that transgression, which forms the main focus of the study, is neither a quality of the action, nor of the actors themselves, but of the reaction of the powerful, would seem, at the very least, to deny the agency of those who use direct action. Using the study of activists to build up a picture of an identifiable "order, propriety, and 'normality'" (Cresswell, 1996, p 27) also ignores the power of the "disordered" to change the very rules, norms and values that are being considered.

Although Cresswell (1996) discusses the roles of food, clothing and animal symbolism, beyond the level of individual symbols, the account tends to view the peace camp landscape as something that is largely constructed by those *outside* the peace camp. This has typically been at the hands of journalists and local government politicians, although Cresswell (1996) also suggests that the radical feminist media also undertook a pejorative construction of Greenham, criticising the perpetuation of heterosexist, patriarchal and middle-class values through appeals to the "normality" of their actions. Such "constructions" take place in terms of the social and cultural construction of the meanings associated with the

landscape, and in terms of the labelling of the camp as deviant. External forces are also seen to determine the physical structure of the camps, as they are pushed towards marginal places, threatened with eviction and denied certain amenities. In an echo of Marx's insistence that "Men make their own history, but …they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves" ([1852] 1963a, p 15), Cresswell (1994) suggests that the Greenham women "were 'making geography' but not in landscapes of their own choosing" (p 57). His position external to the camp reduces the landscape to a periphery, one that has logic solely in relation to the core. Indeed, the terms in which Cresswell discusses New York subway Graffiti and the hippy convoy, as well as Greenham, only make sense from his position as an outsider of each of the groups. As such, the account of Greenham becomes another way of "putting women in their place", and risks marginalising further those groups who are being looked at.

The landscape is, however, also something that is physically constructed by the peace campers. The caravans that people live in are not only "eyesores", or "quaint", but have been brought to the camp because they are relatively comfortable to live in, because they are cheap to acquire and are generally easy to maintain. Similarly, the benders[1] that have been built at the camp provide temporary accommodation for visitors, or more permanent living spaces for those that are willing to put the effort into insulating them properly. But the use of these structures cannot be reduced solely to the rational choices of people wanting to maximise their warmth, while decreasing the cost of living.

I returned from a few weeks back in Hull and announced my intentions to stay at the camp for a few months. For the first few days I worked solidly preparing a living space for myself. I had picked "HMS Sceptre" or "Sceptre" the smallest caravan on site. It used to be towed around festivals with an exhibition about the camp and a café. It was named after a hunter-killer submarine based at the Naval Base, which two women from the camp had swum aboard just before the camp was due to shut down in August 1996. A few of the people who were around at the time claim that the action, a spur of the moment decision on the way back from the pub, and the ensuing publicity had persuaded enough people to keep the camp open. All the caravans have similar stories that could be told about them… I wasn't sure who had lived in it last, but it was in a bit of a mess, with stacks of damp bedding in

there. Other than that, it was alright on the inside. The structure was a little less sound. A wheel had been taken off it some time back to provide a spare, or perhaps to make it less easy to tow away. In any case it gave the caravan a distinctive list to the starboard. It is basically constructed from sheets of aluminium stuck together in a sort of sardine tin style, with a door and window cut into it. It's skylight also leaked. I took out the skylight frame and stuck a bit of plastic over it, as a temporary botch-job and then cut another hole for the burner stack pipe. Most of the first day was spent trying to sort out the burner. With a collection of blunt, broken, inappropriate tools for the job it took a lot longer than it should have done. Nevertheless, I managed to transform an old vegetable oil tin into something to hold chunks of burning wood. It had holes in the bottom to let in the air, a hole in the side for the stack pipe and a hole in the top for the wood to go in... That sorted, I cut a length of "flexi-pipe" to the right size, stuck it through the newly cut hole in the roof, joined it to the burner with another length of metal pipe, and got some chicken wire to wrap round the flexi-pipe where it came out of the roof. This was so that the tarpaulin (which would eventually replace the plastic bag covering the unfortunate second hole in the roof) wouldn't touch it. There had already been one fire on the camp that month caused by the tarpaulin coming into contact with a hot stack pipe, and I didn't want to repeat the same mistake. With a concrete slab to protect the floor of the caravan, and a couple of bricks under the burner to allow the air in, I was ready to go. I lit the burner and managed to fill the entire caravan with smoke in seconds. There was a hole in the pipe joining the flexi-pipe to the burner and an ill fitting lid – it needed some fire cement... The next few days were spent fixing the burner and patching up the holes in the walls and the floor of the caravan, spending most of time hunting about in the various piles of tat for the right sized bit of wood, or metal to fit them. The holes patched, I chopped up two old wooden palettes to make a sort of futon-type bed, which I covered with a couple of layers of carpet.

There is something about making my own home, carving out a space of control perhaps, that gave me an attachment to it like I had never felt for a house that I had moved into. I felt this most strongly when I spent a couple of days preparing living spaces in the more heavily fortified parts of the camp for people to use in the run up to, and during, the eviction. It seemed that there was an almost daily movement in terms of physical and social structures...

These spaces were mostly benders built on platforms at various points up the scaffolding tower, and tree houses built in some of the spindly trees that surrounded the fort. In some cases they were built from scratch, in other cases I was finishing the job that someone else had started, or repairing damage done by wind or rain. Each one I completed I could imagine decorating, spending time in, waking up in each morning and eventually being evicted from. It was a struggle deciding which one to move into when the time came to leave Sceptre...

Temporary Autonomous Zones

For a number of reasons, the work of Michel Foucault appeared to provide a good conceptual framework within which to work. Foucault, having produced a large amount of work was, I felt, almost bound to have said something useful and/or important to my work. This feeling was reinforced by the appearance of references to Foucault in so many bibliographies. Sharp *et al* (2000), for example, as well as other contributors to their volume on *Entanglements of Power*, draw heavily upon his work in developing their conception of both domination and resistance. As I embarked on a highly selective, and quite limited, reading of his works, this attraction to Foucault was slowly eroded.

The most pressing concern that I had with his work, and consequently with the work of those who use it relatively uncritically, is the lack of any notion of agency that does not have its genesis in forms of domination. Of particular concern is the suggestion that any *resistance* that exists is purely a function of, and made possible by regimes of domination. An example of this is found in Sharp *et al* (2000), who draw upon the example given by Foucault (1986, ch 2) of the Roman elite's ability to resist through a remodelling of their selves. However, while Sharp *et al* question the "masculinism" (2000, p 35) of the passage, they fail entirely to problematise the *elite* nature of these individuals. Neither do they provide any indication of the ways in which those outside of such structurally elite positions are able to resist, beyond · unsubstantiated assurances that "it is not *only* elites who can creatively 'model' themselves in the manner meant by Foucault" (Sharp *et al* 2000, p 35, emphasis in original). Despite the presence of multiple sources of power in Roman society, it is possible to account for this particular ability to "resist" purely in terms of the discursive and material resources at their disposal as a result of their elite position within the imperial regime. The devolution of dominating power that such a form

of resistance represents includes no suggestion of any fundamental challenge to this regime, either from within or without the regime. In other situations it can be seen to actually strengthen such regimes through a co-option of dissent.

It is undeniable that a number of the "victories" over the criminal justice regimes that I have described can be seen in this light. The rearranging of furniture in the court room, the lessening of bail conditions, the demands for more water in police cells and the wilful disrespect of No Smoking signs are merely concessions on the part of the court usher, the crown prosecution service, a police constable or an individual security officer. None of them represents a significant shift in power relations in favour of those subject to these regimes. Indeed, it is possible that the reverse is true. The only possible form of resistance *appears*, therefore, to come at the behest of the dominating. To the extent that they are seen as victories, yet indicate the impossibility of escape from domination, they represent one of the most pernicious elements of the self-disciplining required by the state. Discussing the role of the prison system in disciplining anti-nuclear activists in the United States, Starhawk (1988) recognises this role explicitly.

> "Going to jail for a political action is an experience that can
> teach us more about consciousness than a hundred growth
> seminars. For in jail we experience the controls of our culture
> directly. We see their naked operation, unclothed of the usual
> niceties. Power-over is a vise, a clamp that holds us with our
> own hopes and fears. For *there are always privileges to be won
> if we behave*, and there is always somewhere else they can put
> us, something they can do to us or take away from us, if we
> refuse to be controlled. So we are caught. In prison we cannot
> escape knowledge of this control: the system itself has devised a
> thousand minor rituals, a thousand petty rules to drive the lesson
> home again and again." (p 95, emphasis added)

In contrast to this entirely pessimistic view of the inescapable vice of power-over, de Certeau (1984) provides for the guerilla tactics of "the weak" to oppose the spatially embedded strategies of domination. Such tactics utilise the permeability of domination to allow for sabotage, vandalism, and other acts of resistance coming from "outside" of these regimes. Tactics remain, however, ineffective in combating domination, and it is for this reason that Sharp *et al* dismiss de Certeau's conception of resistance/domination (2000, p 36).

This powerlessness is, in part, related to the spheres in which de Certeau recognises power. For him, strategies of domination occupy the *spatial* and material realms,

while tactics are confined to symbolic interventions that play upon the subaltern control over *temporality*.[2] In drawing on de Certeau, Cresswell (1994) offers pessimistic conclusion when considering the inability of resistance at Greenham Common to bring about any meaningful challenge to the systems that are being opposed. Casting the role of the camp as "carnivalesque", Cresswell (1994) suggests that behaviour at Greenham Common was "...allowed by the government, police authorities and other agents because it is essentially harmless." (p 55). However, this is a discourse that is as constructive as it is descriptive. While such pessimism remains, both in the accounts of those who theorise power, and enacted in the praxis of those who are engaged in resistance, resistance *will* be permanently disadvantaged in the face of domination. A recognition of the importance of symbolism to all forms of resistance, and the possibility of the emergence of *material and strategic spaces* of resistance is a much more powerful basis for resistance. This position necessitates rejecting the work of Foucault and de Certeau, however, and looking elsewhere for work that can help explain this resistance.

It has taken me quite a while to come to this conclusion, and although there is little of substance that can be taken from the work of Foucault, the way in which I *read* these texts may still prove to be useful in discussing the production of knowledge and, specifically, the reading of canonical texts.

Still (1994, p 150) suggests that Foucault is read *desiringly*. In contrast, the works of Marx, Freud, Lacan, and Derrida, are read attentively by those "within the school" or dismissed out of hand by those outside of it; and the works of Rousseau, Cixous and Irigaray are read by those who feel that they are being directly addressed; Foucault is a writer who many readers want to have "on their side". Foucault is read

> "in order to make him say what the reader *knows* to be true and necessary. When he doesn't quite say what is necessary, then the reader, while grateful for Foucault's 'insights', will sadly or admonishingly fall into a discourse of 'what Foucault fails to acknowledge" (Still, 1994, pp 150-151).

This was something that I could recognise in my reading, and I have felt the constant danger of falling, or perhaps being pushed, into the discourse of suggesting, along with McNay (1992), that "'what Foucault fails to acknowledge...'... is the necessity of spelling out the norms underpinning any ... struggle"(Still, 1994, p 151).

I have been conscious of slipping into this form of desirous reading on several occasions during my research, a process that was not matched by the way in which I read any other author. I would, typically, read a reference to Foucault in a book or a paper, and be gripped by an overwhelming urge to drop everything else and rush to the library in order to get hold of the reference. Sometimes this would involve searching for hours for the specific version of the text that contained a particular footnote. More often than not I would be greeted by a densely written tract, with no way of knowing which part of the book or article the author had been referring to when they placed the reference to "Foucault (1986)" at the end of a line or a paragraph. On more than one occasion I reserved copies of a book that was on loan, only to be unable to remember what the precise reason was for wanting the book, when it finally returned to the library. Such desirous reading has not always been triggered during the library-based parts of my research. Explaining my research to other academics often prompts them to suggest a particular text of Foucault's, or more enigmatically the assumption that "you must be drawing heavily on Foucault". Even outside of the formal academic sphere, when I told one particular Belgian activist what I was doing my research on, he took the opportunity to launch into a conversation about Foucault and the role of resistance in his later written work. This epistemic split between the "earlier" Foucault and the Foucault of *History of Sexuality* Volume 3, and his interviews, is also commented on by Still (1994). Another desirous reading beckoned when I returned to Hull, this time in a vain attempt to find an English translation of a text originally written in Portuguese. This was (allegedly) the text that could provide me with an account of tactics Foucault had suggested as a coherent opposition to the regimes of domination... Working in this sort of environment, it is not surprising that being unable to find anything of use in Foucault's work has triggered a sense of anxiety. It has meant an engagement with writing that goes beyond the rapidly ossifying post-structuralist canon, of which Foucault, Deleuze and Guattari, Derrida and Lacan are perhaps the most widely cited. Within a specifically anthropological context, Clifford and. Marcus' *Writing Culture* (1986) could be added to this list. But there are also more practical problems with a reliance on these author figures. The tendency to pack a text with as many references to these authors as possible, exemplified most clearly within geography by the work of Doel (1999), has been parodied perhaps for as long as the tendency has existed. An example of this is the reply to Doel (1993) by

Porteous (1994). It is ironic in the light of his claims to espouse the fluidity of text that Doel's (1999) argument remains trapped, partially at least, in a supremely dense text, which must remain impenetrable to all but a few "nomad minds", one of which I do not possess. The resulting text lacks of any sense whatsoever of *flow*. This is perhaps its most damning indictment.

Instead, I have drawn pragmatically on an eclectic range of sources, many of them found on the Internet, and in anarchist and activist newsletters, pamphlets and other publications. These have not only provided me with vital "data", but have often also provided theoretical insights that are much more useful in explaining the phenomena that I have encountered during my field work than the work emanating from the academic literature. Most important in the appreciation of the Peace Camp at Faslane has been the magazine produced at the camp, known variously as *The Faslane Focus* or, more recently, *Faslania*.[3] Additionally, in 1984 the camp also wrote a book titled *Faslane: Diary of a Peace Camp*. There are many similarities between the situation documented in it with sixteen years later. The way in which I read these texts is also different. In place of the anxiety of trying to find the *exact* quote that I need, hanging on every word, willing the writing of some great author figure to say what I want it to say, I am quite content to skim through reams of anonymous writing. But, it is hard to generalise about pamphlets and newsletters. Sometimes they are well written, and occasionally beautiful; often not they are not. And although they are not always more interesting than a text book or monograph, the commitment to the peace movement, to anarchism and to something beyond an academic career marks them as different from a straight academic text. As well as being a source of information and ideas, reading these alternative texts provides an entirely different physical experience. In place of the clean, often hardback and security tagged library books, these are texts that as *physical objects* reveal a great deal about the Peace Camp and the direct action movement more generally. Caked in mud, missing pages, or rescued from a pile of fire lighting material, they bare the scars of life on the Peace Camp. Mouldy covers, with corners that have been ripped out for use as a roach when rolling a spliff. On the Internet, although the same few texts crop up again and again, there is the potential to stumble across texts, arguments, fragments of ideas, which would be unlikely to find their way into a university library.

Of these alternative texts, and the one that has, for me, come closest to capturing the possibility of exploiting the gaps in systems of domination is Hakim Bey's *Temporary Autonomous Zone* (1991). This is an idea that I introduced above, with respect to the impossibility of the "closure of the map". It describes a form of activism that is as much to do with partying as with politics. Perhaps it is because many activists in Britain share this position that it has gained a certain currency with direct activists. The term was used for a few months to describe information centers and squat cafes in the contacts list of the Earth First! *Action Update*. It has also been the title of at least one workshop at an Earth First! Summer Gathering. Increasingly, it is making its way into *academic* accounts of direct action. It has been used for its historical discussion (Routledge, 1997a, pp 361-362), as an analytical device (Blunt and Wills, 2000, p 30), and as a way in which activism is discussed between activists, particularly with respect to the Internet (Gibson, 1998). But despite the attention that has been paid to the text, it has received very little *critical* discussion. In spite of the significant flaws and contradictions that are to be found in his writing, Bey is placed beyond criticism as some sort of authentic and organic intellectual. His ideas are often taken at face value, and their implications receive much less attention than the, admittedly beautiful, rhetoric that Bey deploys. In order to overcome the dangers of taking such an uncritical stance, I return to criticisms of Bey's ideas throughout this thesis, using them as a starting point for the discussion of both my own theoretical position and my empirical material.

I was first introduced to the idea of the *Temporary Autonomous Zone* (Bey, 1991) at a Reclaim the Streets street party in York by a fellow street partier as we sat down to discuss the significance of reclaiming a piece of land in the middle of a busy city. He suggested I read the text, which is widely circulated on the Internet and is available from a number of radical distributors (including AK distribution and Dead Trees Earth First!). It is a short text, more a polemic or meditation than a standard academic tract. Bey explicitly states that the concept should not be defined. Rather it should be explained through the formation of such zones.[4] Despite the way in which it has been used both by academics and activists, it is definitely not intended as a blueprint for unquestioning action. Instead, he circles around the idea of the TAZ, investigating a myriad of tangents. These are addressed, with varying degrees of clarity, through the discussion of the historical

precedence for the establishment of TAZs, some of which I discuss below. Bey also examines the condition of "too late capitalism", the one remaining meta-narrative in the post-modern world, which has precipitated the need for the TAZ. Crucially, this is a system that depends on the illusion of "the closure of the map". However, when it "takes its abstractions for realities; precisely within this margin of error the TAZ can come into existence." (1991, Waiting for the revolution). While this has a certain similarity with the Marxian idea of the bourgeoisie creating its own gravediggers, it is not a dialectical relationship, as Bey explains.

> "The TAZ is like an uprising which does not engage directly with the State, a guerrilla operation which liberates an area (of land, of time, of imagination) and then dissolves itself to re-form elsewhere/elsewhen, before the State can crush it. Because the State is concerned primarily with Simulation rather than substance, the TAZ can 'occupy' these areas clandestinely and carry on its festal purposes for quite a while in relative peace."
> (ibid.)

As such, the TAZ does not necessarily occupy a *marginal* space, but rather one that is beyond, or below, the view of the State. While the relationship of the TAZ as the "other" to the centre is generally characterised as secondary to the TAZ's own internal dynamics, the concept depends greatly on the construction of its own "other", in the form of the "wilderness".

Bey suggests that the year of 1899 saw the enclosure of the last theoretically "unpoliced or untaxed" (1991, The psychotopology of everyday life) wilderness territory on a global scale. As such, throughout the twentieth century, autonomous zones were limited to "gaps in the map". Nevertheless, these gaps retain, as an archetype, those communities that existed prior to 1899, when autonomous zones could exist beyond the encroachment of the state in the unconquered lands. Bey deals largely with the North American context, and, as such, he depends on a particular imagination of a wilderness land untouched by the taxing and policing institutions of European settlers, specifically, beyond the Western Frontier. Short (1991) sees the history of human engagement with the world, and in particular those parts of the world constructed as "nature", or "wilderness areas", as consisting two positions which he terms the classical and the romantic. While they often *appear* diametrically opposed, both views have been responsible for the exploitation of the environment, and also of people who are viewed as "native" to the wilderness, or as part of nature. For Grosz (1995) the separation of nature and

culture, generally with culture in the ascendant position, is always part of the same complex of binary oppositions that subjugate women, corporeality and subjectivity.

A fractal resistance

Bey's *TAZ* (1991) occupies a position as an "insurrectionary event"; something he is at pains to contrast with the "revolution" as theorised and practiced by revolutionary anarchists and Bolsheviks. This is a distinction that arises from the question: "How come the 'world turned upside-down' always managed to right itself?"(1991, Waiting for the Revolution). The intended *permanence* of revolution, according to Bey, necessarily ensures the return of the state. It is this imposition of a new set of rules and restrictions in the post-revolutionary society that is anathema. This seems to be based on a rather partial reading of anarchist history, which ignores the instances where such revolutionary "closure" has been resisted. In warning against the Spectacular clashing of revolution and reaction, Bey (1993) suggests that "you don't need five seconds on the Evening News ('Police Raid Cultists') to validate your existence". Instead, he suggests that a "Permanent TAZ" maintains the festive and insurrectionary elements of the TAZ, and resists both the ossification of post-revolutionary society and the violence of counter-revolutionary reaction. Indeed, in the original text, Bey (1991) muses: "Perhaps certain small TAZs have lasted whole lifetimes because they went unnoticed, like hillbilly enclaves–because they never intersected with the Spectacle, never appeared outside that real life which is invisible to the agents of Simulation." (1991, Waiting for the revolution). As such, it is clear that his conception of permanence/temporariness involves a social, as well as purely temporal dimension, with the "temporary" social relationship ultimately possessing a greater potential for liberation, no matter how long it lasts. This echoes Debord (1983) when he suggests that "The spectacle is not a collection of images, but a social relation among people, mediated by images."(§ 4), a point taken up at greater length in Bey's espousal of *Immediatism* (1992).

In place of closure, a form of self-deluding Gnosticism, Bey (1991) espouses a "psychic nomadism" equated with Lyotard's *driftworks* (1984), the situationists *derive* and Deleuze and Guattari's *war machine* (1987). In his analysis of eighteenth century anarchist thought and practice, Hakim Bey (1991) suggests that after the crushing of the Paris Commune certain

> "anarchists took up the practice of revolutionary nomadism,
> drifting from uprising to uprising, looking to keep alive in
> themselves the intensity of spirit they experienced in the
> moment of insurrection. In fact, certain anarchists of the
> Stirnerite/Nietzschean strain came to look on this activity as an
> end in itself, a way of always occupying an autonomous zone,
> the interzone which opens up in the midst or wake of war and
> revolution" (1991, Music as an Organizational Principle)

Other antecedents are to be found in the "pirate utopias" of Croatan, the Bahamas and the proto-fascist Republic of Fiume.

The "seizure of presence" (Bey, 1991, Sorcery) central to such revolutionary nomadism, and the formation of the TAZ more generally, is identified by Routledge (1997a) in the actions of the Pollock Free State, established to oppose the construction of the M77 motorway in Glasgow. Some of the activists who had been involved in this protest and other eviction battles were drawn specifically to the prospect of an *eviction* at Faslane, and the embodied experience that that would bring. In contrast to this nomadism, the anarchist revolutionary struggles of the Paris commune itself, and the Civil war and collectivisation in Spain, are given as examples that actually run counter to Bey's conception of the TAZ, being based on the possibility of closure, and the re-imposition of order. This is a position that problematises Gibson's assertion that Bey is a "left anarchist" (1998, *passim*), at least as left-anarchism has typically been practiced. Indeed, it is not at all clear that Bey is anything other than a self-publicist and a Stirnerite reactionary.

Where Bey's arguments (1991, 1992, 1993) *are* of use in a more progressive sense is in identifying an alternative to the, Marxian inspired, apocalyptic clashing of a vanguard-led revolution and a monolithic state. On closer inspection, "certain cracks in the Babylonian Monolith appear so vacant that whole groups can move into them and settle down." (Bey, 1993). The task for a more progressive revolutionary strategy is not just to settle down in these cracks and thrive parasitically, but also to use these fissures as ways of bypassing various social systems and as points of leverage so that the supposed monolith crumbles. Such a position is similar to that proposed by Sharp (1973) in his outline of *Nonviolent Political Action*. It also shares much with the more classical anarchist ideas where "'revolution' means the moment when structure is loosed, so that free functioning can occur. The aim is to open areas of freedom and defend them."(Goodman, 1968, p 4).

The focus on interstitial spaces, or "gaps in the map" should not be taken, however, as a recreation of previous discourses of mapping, merely reformulated at a smaller scale. Examples of this simplistic reading of interstitial space can be found in Soja's reading of Los Angeles as a "fractal city" (2000, ch 9, *passim*). Following Allen and Turner (1997), he relies on the metaphor of an ethnic mosaic or quilt of tessellating pieces. This is an idea that has been forcefully challenged by Hannerz (1992) and Clifford (1992). Compare this account with the reading of the city made by Ward's *Child In the City* (1978), or the urban rioters taking advantage of opportunities that can only be appreciated by the people who actually use space in a particular way. It is in similar "gaps in the map" that Faslane Peace Camp exists.

The creation of this more fractal form of resistance involves a process of "practical deconstruction". Emberley and Landry (1989), both of whom spent time at Greenham Common, recall that that particular camp's "strategy of reversing and displacing binary oppositions in thought and practice [was] a form of *practical deconstruction*" (p 491, emphasis added). Here, the term carries an obvious and appealing double meaning. Although Emberley and Landry (1989) use the term exclusively to refer to the way in which ideas rather than solid objects are deconstructed, the process might also include the overturning and *breaking down* of various material forms that are necessary to the maintenance of domination. Theresa, a woman from Greenham Common Womens Peace Camp described cutting the fence as "An expression of 'No'... to the machine and the barriers it creates... East from West, black from white, heterosexual from homosexual, barriers of class, religion, barriers of privilege and deprivation" (Theresa, quoted in Harford and Hopkins, 1984, p 159).
I am drawn to the idea that deconstruction could be rescued from its current position as an academic "trick" to be performed with pen and paper, or computer and keyboard. There seems to be no reason why deconstruction could not be done with a pair of bolt cutters, tonnes of concrete, or the chopping of some vegetables. Alongside this destruction is a process of reconstruction, and the creation of new cultural, social and material forms, often themselves in need of challenge.
As such, it is a practice that has much in common with the strategies of resistance employed by anarchists throughout history. In particular, it finds a resonance with those forms of resistance involved in the "undermining" of structures, discussed by

Jane (1997, quoted above). This is a capacity that outlasts any particular individual action, creating a web of shadows and residual effects, and revealing boundaries to be both permeable and constructed. Emberley and Landry (1989) identify the binary oppositions of centre/margin, state/citizen and public/private as particularly worthy of deconstruction. I have already suggested how the distinction centre/margin becomes less stable in the context of various forms of resistance, in particular through the recognition and occupation of a variety of interstitial spaces that are neither central nor marginal. The public/private distinction is also subject to "practical deconstruction" at Faslane Peace Camp.

Roseneil (1995) suggests that rather than merely entering the public space delineated by the patriarchal order (a typical liberal feminist tactic), Greenham Women engaged in a more radical process of opening up new areas of specifically *female*, and often lesbian, public space. Roseneil (1995) discusses the blockading of the mechanical diggers undertaking building work at Greenham, and then goes on to suggest that

> "As a women-only community (from February 1982) occupying
> public space, and open to any woman who wished to join,
> Greenham enacted a *constant* challenge to patriarchal social
> relations. The symbolic statement made by its existence and
> persistence was that women can live without men, not just for
> short periods of time, out of necessity, but for years, in a
> functioning community, through choice." (pp 115-116,
> emphasis added)

However, while the public/private distinction remains, no matter how often it is transgressed or how much space is made public, the division itself continues to act in support of patriarchal economic and social order, a point made in particular by socialist feminists (Blunt and Wills, 2000). In contrast, it is primarily through the construction of a *communal* space that the practical deconstruction of the public/private distinction is undertaken at Faslane. This can be contrasted both with the idealised types of public and private space discussed by Pateman (1989), and with the gradations between these ideals, implicit in the spatial logic approach of Hillier and Hanson (1984). It is also distinct from the liminal space of Turner (1964, 1969) in that its purpose is not to reinforce the importance of the (structural) public and the private, but to destabilise them.

An indication of the communal nature of space can be found in the names given to certain parts of the camp, such as "the communal caravan" and "the communal

bender". The use of these labels is important in marking these as spaces within the camp to which individuals cannot even make a temporary claim to privacy. It is usual, for example, for visitors to be allowed only a few nights sleeping in the communal caravan before they are asked to move into one of the other caravans. This process is likely to be speeded up if they remain in bed while others are awake and trying to work around them. They are reminded that this is a *communal* space and, as such, that there are other demands on it. As I suggested above, private property relations that underpin the construction of private space are based on the supposedly universal, yet ultimately partial discourse of common law. As the camp does not even posses a tenancy agreement for the council owned land on which it sits, it is clear that it would be wrong to characterise it as a private space in the same way as a private house or even a shared room in student accommodation. In its position as effectively a *squatted* piece of land, the camp also represents a direct challenge to this system of property relations. Although such labels are important in terms of the discursive construction of communal space, it is necessary to look beyond the names and legal status given to parts of the camp, in order to unpack the ways in which the *use of* these spaces might provide a challenge to the public/private distinction.

Henri Lefebve (1991) suggests that "communal or shared spaces, the possession or consumption of which cannot be entirely privatised, continues to exist. Cafés, squares and monuments are cases in point."(p 57). By placing emphasis on the way in which experience of these spaces is *shared*, Lefebvre destabilises the liberal ideal of public space, based as it is on the notion of the (urban, male, white, bourgeois) *individual*. For such public spaces the *illusion* of universal access is fundamental, although the reality is, of course, somewhat different. What is not clear from Lefebvre's outline of communal space is the way in which the exclusion of certain groups may, for reasons not directly related to the exclusion by the bourgeois class remain, even in these communal spaces. This is in contrast to Foucault's focus on more heterogeneous forms of domination (Gregory, 1994).

Until it burned down in an accidental fire towards the end of 1999, the large static trailer in the centre of the camp, known simply as "the communal", was the clearest example of communal space on the camp. It included a sitting room area, the indoor kitchen and toilet, and the office. It acted as the symbolic "heart" of the

camp, or at least one of the hearts. Although a simple list of the ways in which communal spaces are used cannot do justice to the experiences that are had and shared there, I include this contribution to *Faslania* as a poetic way of suggesting the variety of activities that go on at Faslane.

```
        PEACE AND HARMONY
    TIRED NACKED NEED A BREAK HOLIDAY TELLY
    BATH PINT BABYLON AND PUB TO CHILL OUT COLD
    CARAVAN WOOD LAND BURNER PAPER WOODRUN
    BIG AXE SMALL AXE BOWSAW
    WELLINGTONBOOTS MUD SHIT WET MOODY
    PEOPLE GREEN RED YELLOW LEAVES WATERFALL
    KINDLING BOX BUS TRAIN AEROPLANE GLASGOW
    POLLUTION BRIGATE PRINTERS CANDLES CND
    OFFICE TEA COFFEE PEACE BACK HOME DINNER
    VEG SPICES PLATES FORKS KNIVES SPOO🅐 POTS
    PANS WASHING UP PILES AND PILES MARTYRDOM
    SLAVERY OR CO-OPERATION RIGHT. I CAN SEE FAR
    WITH MY BINOCULARS TELESCOPE RADAR
    RADIATION RADIO STEREO BRUCE SPRINGSTEEN
    GONG + PIXIES BO-BOS BUCKET HIGH
    PERFORMANCE DOG DIJ DRUM STAPLE- GUN
    STAPLER STICKY TAPE STICKY LABELS STAMPS
    ENVELOPES MAILINGLIST POST OFFICE MAILMAN!
    NOTHING FOR YOU COS  NOBODY LOVES YOU A
    CHECK! WICKED! A WICKED CHECK INDEED THANK
    YOU DEARLY AND BANKBOOK BANK SIGNATURE
    YOU SEEN DISCO WHERE'S DAVE HOW THE FUCK
    SHOULD I KNOW TEA COFFEE SPLIFF SUGAR TWO
    PLEASE SOYAMILK COWSMILK VEGANMILK
    MILKMAN GREENCITY🅐BROWNRICE CHEERS
    SUBMARINE MOD MINESWEEPER GARELOCHEAD
    BEACH BOMB MISSILE WARHEAD NUKEWATCH
    CONVOY COMING NEXT TUESDAY PAINTBOMB D-
    LOCK WHERE'S THE KEY WHAT'S THE TIME WHAT
    TIME FOR FUCKS SAKE THERE'S A CHERNOBYL ON  -
    YOUR BLOODY ROADS PEOPLE PHONE WHO?
    SAYTHAT AGAIN PLEASE RIGHT I THINK SO
    THISONE..IT'S..OONEFOURTHREESIXEIGHTTWOO
    NINEOONE OK BYE THE BOOK MESSAGE BOOK
    PURPLE PHONEBOOK DIARY CHE GUEVARA
```

ANARCHY   REVOLUTION VIVA LA FRANCE
MURUROA NEVADA HIROSHIMA GENOCIDE
MASSACRE DESTRUCTION DESTROYER
TERMINATOR I&II ROYAL NAVY NAVAL BASE
RAZOR WIRE CCTV CS GAS DEFENCEFENCEFENCE
BREACH OF THE PEACE TRESSPASS CHARGE COURT
CUSTODY JAIL TEA AGAIN YOU'LL HAVE IT
THROUGH A WEE HOLE IN THE GREY DOOR IN THE
COMMUNAL YOU CAN FIND SANITY SOMETIMES
LUNCHOUTS A MESS BEARDEDBASTARD
AUSTRALIANS SOUTH-AFRICANS LOVELY POIETS
SKISUITS SLAGGING YOU OFF. SCOTS. EVEN MR
BOND CIRCLES AND UNIVERSAL MOTHER BLAA
BLAA
(Saara, 1997, p 15)

The camp was established in the context of a Thatcherite political orthodoxy that had attempted to restrict the formation of community to the private sphere of the family (and possibly the neighbourhood) on one hand, and the nation on the other. The peace camp, which operates at none of these scales, and in a much more fluid and ambiguous way, was an anomaly (Members of Faslane Peace Camp, 1984). The fire pit is another of the communal spaces at the camp. It is where a great deal of the cooking, socialising, arguing is done. It cannot be reduced to the position of the private, family kitchen, or to that of the restaurant kitchen, or any other space shaped primarily by the production, or reproduction, of the capitalist economy. The need to cook in what is not a typical private or public space, in full view of a road, and in a space that is also used for socialising, leads to the rupturing of the "cooking = private space = female" relationship. Men do a greater share of the cooking, but cooking also has a higher value in camp life than elsewhere. There is a danger, of course, that this has merely recreated the association of low status tasks with women, and shifted the position of cooking to a higher status. Certain tasks *are* primarily undertaken by specific people, both men and women. Tony had the job of fixing bicycles, Fungus does a huge amount of the gardening, John and Barry designed the tunnels. But in each case this is as much to do with the development of expertise, involving a whole range of complex factors including gender, as it is to do with a simple gendered division of labour.

It would be naïve, however, to suggest that in there were not times when more structural forms of discrimination carry on in the camp relatively unchecked. In other cases they are merely shifted from one form to another. This division of labour has developed as a result of forces evident outside the peace camp, and also through the creation of new divisions specific to the camp. This was a matter of particular concern after I moved to the camp as a permanent resident, at a time when all but one of the campers was male. I began to designate the gender of those who had done various jobs, as a matter of course. The following fieldnote, from the end of June 1998 shows that "communal" space, although largely shorn of the private/public distinction provides no guarantee of the absence of forms of discrimination.

Billy cΓoked again tonight, good stir-fry with vege-burger in it. It only took an hour. Better than what might have been his last attempt at cΓoking an evening meal,— In early <u>March</u>, when Kay went on strike from the kitchen— 3 hours to make potato pancakes. Enough to make you start a fast, or become a feminist. Or possibly both. Gender issues are less evident recently, – and less frequently articulated certainly – more a reflection of the lack of women on the camp than (that position in itself being a gender issue itself) than an indication that anything has necessarily changed in terms of people's (men's) attitudes and actions. Gender issues are, of course, always present, not just when they are expressed, and certainly not when thing are "going wrong". The fact that men are doing all of the cooking and cleaning now is more to do with the fact that the only residents on site most of the time are men – leaving cooking and cleaning to visitors, or just leaving cooking or cleaning, is not seen as an option by enough of us to make sure that it gets done. ......I was about to comment on Billy's lack of expletives which often accompany cΓoking, when **something exploded** in the kitchen. No obvious damage, and nothing obviously in a post-exploded state. **Very mysterious.** Possibly something to do with the cooker or something getting chucked at the window...

We're all fed, and the experiment in mutual aid/co-operation continues for another day...

Spent the evening in the communal writing and chatting with people. Mainly waffle. Jill asked if I was half-jewish, don't know how she worked it out–not that it

worries me. Sparked an anti-Semitic joke from George. Told (by several people) that it wasn't called for. I'm not really into points of origin, but it always makes me think when someone brings it up. I was actually glad that George started talking about his own roots. Atheist mother, Christian father, taken to bible class, where he waited for "my balls to drop so I could cop off with all the women there" took the pressure off me to explain my heritage <u>again</u> (we had that conversation a week ago)…

At the risk of obscuring very real and very damaging forms of discrimination, I would suggest that the communal character of the camp provides a space in which they can be challenged. Routledge (1997a) mentions this process at Pollok Free State. It is not as simple as suggesting, however, that an entirely communal space would reduce these problems. It is clear, for example, that the camp's communal spaces also provide a forum for the spreading of racist, sexist and other objectionable views. The very ambiguity of these spaces, with no clearly defined insiders and outsiders, introduces particular problems when it comes to challenging them. Other problems exist with respect to the use of communal space at the camp and the division of space between campers, many of which would not necessarily be reduced by the production of a "totally" communal space.

There are few spaces beyond caravans and tents that have been brought to the camp by specific individuals, that are actually "private" property. Even the caravans of the longest-term residents are available for (trusted) visitors to use when the particular resident is away. The lack of a distinction between "public" and "private" space can lead to awkward situations when space thought of as private actually turns out to be public or communal, or vice versa. At worst it can lead to open conflict about the use or occupancy of a space, especially at times when the numbers of people at the camp rises, and the amount of sleeping space is limited. The inevitable unequal division of space on the camp is, actually, often reinforced as a result of the unwillingness to address the issue. The unwillingness comes, in part, from an assumption that, because there are no formal restrictions on who can use a particular space or perform a particular role, such restrictions do not exist. As a result informal barriers, or a "Tyranny of structurelessness", may persist (Freeman, 1972/3).

"Contrary to what we would like to believe, there is no such thing as a 'structureless' group. Any group of people of whatever nature coming together for any length of time, for any purpose, will inevitably structure itself in some fashion. The structure may be flexible, it may vary over time, it may evenly or unevenly distribute tasks, power and resources over the members of the group... This means that to strive for a 'structureless' group is as useful and as deceptive, as to aim at an 'objective' news story, 'value-free' social science or a 'free' economy. A 'laissez-faire' group is about as realistic as a 'laissez-faire' society; the idea becomes a smokescreen for the strong or the lucky to establish unquestioned hegemony over others." (p 152)

Freeman's analysis deals primarily with the formation of a-spatial hierarchies within feminist campaigns. It is possible to expand Freeman's analysis to the ways in which communal space is not necessary non-hierarchical or unstructed, but is actually just a different way of structuring space. Claims to *spatial* structurelessness can be considered as flawed as claims to *social* structurelessness. As such, it is important to highlight the barriers that exist to the equal division of space and labour, in order that they can be challenged. The most significant of these within the camp is the way in which certain space can, at times, become "privatised". This involves the conscious or unconscious exclusion from a particular space of certain groups or individuals from within the camp. In the case of spaces used for socialising, these privatised spaces are used by sectional interests within the camp, which may be based on gender, length of stay at the camp, the use of a particular drug or friendship cliques. It is the caravans of longer-term residents at the camp that most frequently become privatised in this way. But it is a most problematic when this exclusion infringes upon spaces referred to or thought of as specifically communal. This would include spaces such as the "communal caravan" or the "communal bender". The office in particular routinely becomes the hangout for longer term residents of the camp.

In order to combat these problems, which may remain hidden beneath appeals to equality, Freeman (1972/3) states that "For everyone to have the opportunity to be involved in a given group and to participate in its activities the structure must be explicit, not implicit" (pp 152-153). To this end, she suggests

"some principles... that are essential to democratic structuring and are politically effective also:
1 **Delegation** of specific authority to specific individuals...

2 Requiring all those to whom authority has been delegated to
be **responsible** to all those who selected them....
3 **Distribution** of authority among as many people as is
reasonably possible....
4 **Rotation** of tasks among individuals....
5 **Allocation** of tasks along rational criteria....
6 **Diffusion** of information to everyone as frequently as
possible. Information is power....
7 **Equal access to resources** needed by the group. This is not
always perfectly possible, but should be striven for." (pp 163-
164)

At the camp, restrictions *are* placed on the use of certain spaces. At times, "Bag
End", the second large static caravan has been designated a women's space or a
"family space". This has been done to allow the *inclusion* of women or families
with young children, who might have been excluded from the camp if there hadn't
been such a space available.

From a particular anarchist position, however, the perceived rigidity of these
principles, and the possible erasure of diversity, has led to "The Tyranny of
Structurelessness" being characterised as an apologia for the "Tyranny of
Structure". In defence of a certain amount of structurelessness, one anonymous
Earth First!er has suggested that Freeman's text "is oft quoted, without having been
read, and without any reference to the follow-up essay 'The Tyranny of Tyranny'
(which by the by is worse)." (An Old Hack, 1999). There is a creative tension here
between the challenge to various forms of domination, and the closure that is
implicit in their complete eradication. Spivak (1987) suggests, however, that in her
project, a feminist deconstruction, this imposition of dogma never comes about,
because "the displacement of male-female, public-private marks a shifting limit
rather than a desire for a complete reversal." (p 103).

The process of deconstruction is a challenge to the often-reassuring mystique that
normalises dominating as well as oppositional structures, whether they are concrete
and wire fences, policing regimes or more abstract structures. Once this thin veneer
is destroyed, the fear of arrest overcome, the necessity of a nuclear deterrence
questioned or the inviolability of private property challenged through communal
ownership or criminal damage, these structures may be irrevocably changed. In the
case of the challenge to structures of domination this is often a necessary step, but
the process of embracing the irrational that can be involved in deconstruction can
also be deeply unsettling.

I was sat in the Polo Lounge, a rather trendy bar in the middle of Glagow's small gay district. The three of us had gone out to try and escape the preparations for the Trident Ploughshares blockade which was going to take place later on in the weekend. The conversation turned to what we did when we weren't involved in antinuclear direct action. Chris explained that he was planning to go back to university the following autumn, after a couple of years out, although he had grown increasingly disillusioned with the scientific paradigm that he felt himself drifting into. Joel was pretty much a full time activist when he was back home in the States, involved in various Earth First! stuff, including some of the big logging protests on the West Coast. He was over in London for the year, doing an MA in literary criticism, but had managed to find the time to travel round various direct action camps, actions and meetings. I had spotted him a few weeks earlier at a planning meeting for the Diggers350 events. I explained what my research was about, and the conversation soon turned into a pretty heavy discussion on the search for a new epistemological position that could capture what we were each trying to do. Joel was trying to convince us that we had to reject all of our preconceptions, our meta-narratives of science, right and wrong, of domination and resistance and of struggle, and begin to engage in some sort of Nietzschean experiment in irrationality, where we would float freely through an infinite range of possibilities. This was not the search for the "homeplace" that he had found in the work of bell hooks (1990, nor the way of being at home in an increasingly fluid world, as described by Dawson and Rapport (1998, p 27). It was an intentional physical and cognitive homelessness, and one that actively embraced the feeling of being lost, disorientated and insane, closer to the position of the "dead-heads" identified by Doel, (1999). I had given up long before on the dogmatism of the fifty-seven varieties of Trotskyists, but I wasn't ready to reject the possibility of some *meaning* to life, beyond the search for an intensity of experience that Jon proposed. The implications of his ideas seemed to be paralysis, and a constant questioning, rather than the freedom that he suggested.

The opulent surroundings of the crowded bar, with its rich red and gold colour scheme, and the hundreds of young and tanned blokes in tight t-shirts and cropped hair helped to make the conversation even more bizarre. I left the bar with Chris and Joel after three or four hours of heated argument, feeling physically shaken by the conversation. Ears ringing from the loud music, we walked back to the Friends

Meeting House, still engrossed in discussion. I found his ideas profoundly disturbing. I told him I couldn't even see how they would translate into any sort of action. I had seen people get burned out and go mad at Faslane, reduced to egomania, depression, lethargy and uncontrollable aggression when faced with the enormity of the nuclear threat. I explained how we used to tell people that they had three months of living at the camp before "camp-fever" struck. Most people who lasted that long *did* flip out in some way. Often, it was within days of the three-month anniversary of their arriving at the camp. At times I had felt myself drifting towards the "chasm" of nihilism that Joel was proposing, but had fought hard to pull back from the edge...

There must be, I thought, as we arrived at the Meeting House, some way of avoiding both the tyranny of structure, and the equally problematic utter destruction (and possibly tyranny) of structurelessness. The last thing he said before we opened the door, and had to end the conversation because of the large numbers of people asleep in the building, who almost certainly didn't give a toss about our conversation, gave me a glimmer of hope. He turned to me and said in a pretty enigmatic way, knowing that he wouldn't have a chance to explain himself "Y'know, once you give up on the search for objectivity, *and* the search for an absolute form of subjectivity, there is an infinite range of much more exciting possibilities of hmmm, I guess you'd call it *inter-subjectivity*, links between people..."

Go, Move, Shift...
For the past few years Faslane Peace Camp has been under threat of eviction. While previously, the camp had attracted activists who were primarily opposed to Trident, this threat of eviction has attracted activists who see their primary involvement with the camp in terms of opposition to the eviction. This shift has involved a destabilising of certain categories that are often taken for granted in social scientific accounts, most obviously the distinctions between movement and stasis, and between territorialisation and deterritorialisation. Thinking through these issues necessitates a challenge to the growing orthodoxy within critical geography and anthropology of "movement good, stasis bad", a focus that can lead to the reinscription of problems associated with traditional structuralist accounts, and also introduce a number of new problems. [5]

The camp has been under the threat of eviction for the past 4 years. The redrawing of local authority borders in 1995 saw the land which the camp occupies pass from the control of the Nuclear Free Local Authority of Dumbarton District Council to the decidedly pro-nuclear Argyll & Bute District Council, the last bastion of Tory local government in Scotland. This threat was a direct result of the gerrymandering of local authority borders following the destruction of the Strathclyde Regional Council which, along with the Greater London Council and several other metropolitan councils represented an unacceptable Old Labour stronghold to the Tory government. Within weeks of this "move" the decision had been taken to terminate the camp's lease (on a peppercorn rent), and the planning permission that the camp had enjoyed for 13 years.

At the time, road protests were much more media friendly than nuclear weapons protests, and in the summer of 1997 a decision had been made by those living at the camp that it should close. The high profile evictions of camps set up to oppose road building, at Newbury, Pollok and Fairmile, and at the site of the Manchester Airport second runway, were, however, to have a significant effect on Faslane. The threat of eviction of Faslane not only attracted renewed press interest in the camp, but also saw the arrival of an increasing number of activists, many of whom were veterans of previous eviction battles, willing to defend the camp from eviction. Faslane became established as a stopping place on an eviction site "circuit" that included the campaign against the Birmingham Northern Relief Road, Lyminge Forest in Kent and The Glen of the Downs in Ireland. For some of these "nomadic revolutionaries" it was a return to a camp they had visited or even lived at previously. For others it was their first experience of anti-nuclear activism, or any activism not explicitly geared towards the prevention of motorway construction. One conversation I had during the height of this influx highlighted the potential for conflict between activists focussing on these different issues. A friend of mine, who had previously been involved in protests at Fairmile and at Newbury, came up to Faslane with a crowd of other activists from across Europe who had been at the Ekotopia environmental activists gathering. Like myself, her parents had taken her round London on the big CND demonstrations of the 1980s. But, she lived in a post-Cold War society. The most obvious threats no longer came from nuclear weapons. The government was heavily involved in the destruction of the environment, in particular through road building and expansion. She couldn't see

the links between the remaining British nuclear weapons and "the bigger picture". She explained that at road protest camps she felt that she was challenging the whole capitalist system, but that nuclear weapons were just a single issue. I disagreed, and explained that I felt the same, but in reverse, and that this was the reason I hadn't spent longer at road protest camps. An article from an old copy of *Faslania*, that I found pinned to the wall of the office summed up the situation:

> " 'I'm a road protester'. Well I'm a peace activist. That's
> nothing I'm an ALF man. Oh well I'm a green anarchist. I'm a
> conscientious objector, Union activist, hunt saboteur. A road
> protester buys transported good at a Tesco supermarket designed
> for motorists 'cause it's cheaper'. Peace protesters buy Nescafe
> 'cause it's nicer'. The vegan in her leather jacket slags the union
> activist for eating 'bangers' for breakfast. Hang on a minute,
> let's get together and get it right. Trident nuclear submarines are
> here to make the world safe for the likes of Tesco and Nescafe.
> Those roads we're protesting against are being built for speedy
> access for the military and cheap distribution of genetically
> engineered goods to ram down our throats." (Morag, 1996, p14)

As well as encountering different issues on which to campaign, the activists travelling on the protest circuit came into contact and conflict with an existing community at the camp. After existing for more than a decade and a half, the camp could have been characterised by its stability and permanence. This is the opposite of the fluidity and drift that Routledge (1997a) and Bey (1991) associate with these "nomadic revolutionaries".

The first time I spent a few weeks at the camp, in August 1997, we were expecting an eviction imminently. The Notice to Quit, served by the council, had just expired, and there was a massive influx of activists chasing the next big eviction. In those few weeks changes at the camp were incredibly rapid. Over the past couple of years I have spent more time at the camp, each time returning to see big changes have taken place. Eviction rumours have also come periodically, triggered by anonymous phone calls, by the build up of MoD and Strathclyde police in the area, or by unannounced council meetings taking place behind closed doors.

Topographically, the biggest change to the Camp, provoked by the eviction threat, was the construction of eviction defences. This included digging a number of tunnels under the camp, the building of tree houses and walkways above the camp, and the laying of 4 kilometres of barbed wire at one end of the camp. Although these changes to the physical landscape are significant, there have also been fundamental changes in terms of the social structure of the camp. The new arrivals

have tended to bring with them, and engender in others already at the camp, an entirely different, defensive, mentality. There is a focus on the council rather than Trident as the main target of opposition. Ever more elaborate ways of frustrating bailiffs have been dreamt up, changing the physical structure of the camp, and altering the ways in which people engage with the camp, physically, mentally, economically and socially. In turn, this led to a more defensive mentality, and more defences...

Occasionally, the camp has sucked another person in, ready to join this spiral of defensiveness, or spat someone out who is unwilling to accept it. It is not a surprise, therefore, that this change in social and physical structure was often fiercely contested by those resident at the camp, and previous generations of camp residents and visitors.

A structuralist account of the conflict would, perhaps, focus on the physical and social transgression of the peace camp's own "hegemony of sedentarism" by those nomadic eviction seekers. Indeed, the work of Mary Douglas (1966) underpins many academic analyses of the reception of "new-age travellers" (Sibley, 1994; Halfacree, 1996; Cresswell, 1996 and Atkinson and Laurier, 1998) and traveller gypsies (Okely 1983, Sibley, 1995). At Faslane, the eviction chasers *were* seen as bringing with them particular forms of pollution, such as mounds of earth excavated from the tunnels, barrels of concrete and barbed wire.

Douglas' seminal *Purity and Danger* (1966) suggests that shellfish are deemed profane due to their discrepant position with respect to a regime of classification. She quotes "Leviticus xi 12. Everything in the waters that has not fins and scales is an abomination to you."(Douglas 1966, p 42). The Scottish CND website also highlights the central place of dietary taboos in the life of the camp:

> "The food we cook communally is vegan; and although we don't
> want to impose food fascism on anyone and respect the right for
> people to make personal choices -vegan food allows everyone,
> resident and visitor alike, to join in the meals whatever their
> preferences. Another reason for eating vegan is that it cuts down
> the amount of toxins entering the body" (SCND, 2000)

Refusing to take Douglas at anything more than face value, one particular instance, revolving around a bucket of clams, stands out as a defining moment in the conflict at the camp. This illustrates, ethnographically, a number of the caricatured

structural oppositions present at the camp. These are also (somewhat ironically) charted in figure 4.

I returned after a couple of weeks away from the camp, ready to announce my intention to move in, full time for a few months. Josie was the first to greet me, and was the first to get in her side of the story. She had been up north with her boyfriend to pick up a bus that the two of them were going to move into. They had bought it from an old friend for the sum of one pound, and somehow it had limped back to the camp in one piece. As a "bus warming" gift, this friend of theirs had given them a bucket of live clams. And it is at this point that the stories diverge. According to Josie, these clams had been left under the bus, which was parked up at one end of the camp. According to Tam, a long-term resident at the camp, they had been left next to the communal fire pit. As such, they were deemed to have interfered with the camp's Vegan status. The clams were stolen and wastefully thrown away, according to Josie... or "heroically liberated" according to Tam. Either way, the clams ended up in the Gareloch (the loch on which the camp and the nuclear submarine base are based) to brave the radioactivity. A massive argument ensued, the fall-out of which was the splitting of the camp into two factions, and the departure within a couple of weeks of five or six campers from either side of this divide.

The argument revolved, most obviously, around the clams, and not only whether the camp was Vegan or not but also whether this meant that all those living there had to conform to this regime in their "private" spaces. It was clear in talking to those involved, however, that it had actually exposed a wider range of divisions. Most important amongst these was whether the couple who had been given the clams were "proper" peace campers, or "merely travellers". The opposite side of the argument was that those who had disposed of the clams were actually fascists, rather than anarchists as they claimed, and therefore not suitable to stay at the peace camp. The most significant implication of this exchange was that movement had, for some, become incompatible with the notion of being a peace camper. These two particular nomads were seen as polluting the camp, not only with their clams but also with their diesel fumes, their drugs and their Englishness. Josie and her partner were not typical "eviction chasers". They were described as, and thought of themselves as, "Crusties". Numerous conflicts and individuals were conflated through reference to the catchall reference to "travellers", in an indication

of how the process might work elsewhere. This was to have severe consequences for those equally mobile activists who came to visit the camp for the impending eviction, being more nomadic both in terms of physical movement, from eviction to eviction, and also cognitive movement, in that they imagined a wider variety of alternative futures.

Nomadic eviction chasers	Sedentarist peace campers
Carnivore, omnivore	Vegan
Go, Move, Shift	*You Can't Kill the Spirit*
Short stay at Faslane (visitor)	Longer stay at Faslane/ return frequently (resident)
Anti-eviction	Anti-Trident
Faslane as eviction "site" to be lived "on"	Faslane as Peace "Camp" to be lived "in"
Willing to work on eviction defences	Willing to do campaigning work, beyond direct action
Eco-warrior	Peacenik
Background in radical environmentalism/ dance culture/ traveller sites	Background in peace movement
Part of *movement(s)*	Member of campaigning *organisation(s)* such as CND, Greenpeace, CAAT,
Faslane portrayed as "The only peace camp in Britain", and the only legitimate challenge to nukes	Faslane seen as one of many peace camps, and part of a wider movement against nukes
Special Brew	Buckfast Tonic Wine
Internet	Phone Tree
Chai	Herbal Tea
No overt Politics/ individual anarchists	Left wing/ social anarchist/feminist Politics
Anarchy as Chaos	Anarchy as Order
"Dropped out" of education at a variety of stages (including university)	Educated to A-level or higher education, often gap year students
Younger/ Veterans of recent eviction battles	Older/ longer involvement in peace campaigning
English (German, Dutch, Finnish, Canadian, Australian)	Scottish
Colonialist	Nationalist
Arrive in groups	Arrive alone
"To live"	"To stay"[6]
Working class or middle class who describe themselves as "underclass"	Middle class
Highly creative/ fluid visions of the future	Often teleological/ proscriptive visions

Figure 4: The "sacred and profane" at Faslane Peace Camp

While sedentarist forms of domination persist, an account based upon resisting them is undoubtedly of value. Dawson and Rapport (1998), for example, suggest

that there are certain "forces arrayed against movement in the present (restrictive or repressive state or community institutions, state or community borders *per se*)" (p 23). In the case of the camp these forces could include the decisions made by Argyll and Bute council, and the 1994 Criminal Justice and Public Order Act, alongside the prejudices of other peace campers. This hegemony of sedentarism has, however, not only been evident in the rhetoric and policies of most, if not all, nation-states. It has also been evident in the normative judgements of the social sciences throughout the modern era. Within this context, the focus on those groups and individuals that have chosen or been forced to move in a *physical* sense is important. Equally, representing an increased *social* and *cognitive* movement is also clearly a challenge to essentialist and determinist notions of identity. However, if all such an account consisted of were the systematic reduction of the conflicts caricatured in figure 4 to a single meta-narrative, this would seem to serve no great purpose. The conclusion would, in each case, be that, whether the individuals involved are aware of it or not, these conflicts are *actually* about the playing out of a conflict between nomadism and sedentarism, a position that is problematic for a number of reasons.

Not surprisingly, individuals exhibit characteristics from both sides of the table. I am, for example, both English and a Vegan, I came to the camp to oppose the eviction, but I was also a member of CND. Routledge and Simons (1995) suggest, also, that a similar "seizure of presence" sought by the eviction chasers was not entirely alien to the peace movement. Discussing the permanence of spirits of resistance, they state that

> "Over a century [after the crushing of the Paris commune had led to a wave of revolutionary nomadism, discussed by Bey (1991)] anarcho-feminist affinity groups would repeat a similar praxis in the United States, moving from one antinuclear direct action to another, weaving a smooth space of rebellion across the country, recapturing those moments of action where 'reality became more real'" (Routledge and Simons, 1995, p 472)

There was one paradox in drawing up this table that was, however, particularly troubling. The "nomads" were interested in resisting eviction by *staying-put*, and, after 16 years on the same piece of land, it was the supposed "sedentarists" who were more willing to move to another bit of land before the confrontation of an eviction. A number of us had actually begun sending off to estate agents for prospectuses of land close to the naval base, with a view to purchasing a plot to establish a land trust or housing co-operative. This is a paradox that I would

suggest remains insoluble not only within the terms of the structural analysis presented above, but from any position that sees movement and fixity as necessarily opposed. Merely creating finer and finer categorisations of identity based on these binary divisions, is not a strategy guaranteed to escape this problem. In any sensitive discussion of conflict such over-arching categories of stasis and movement actually become destabilised and contested, both through academic analysis and in the actions of those at the camp, to the extent that they are meaningless both analytically and practically.

It would be possible to resolve the entanglement of movement and stasis by turning to Bruce Kapferer (1995) and Jack London (1915), both of whom tell stories of the ways in which physical fixity acts as a condition for social and cognitive mobility. In London's *Star Rover*, a prisoner who is regularly restrained in a straightjacket, in solitary confinement, suggests that freedom might come from constraint. The eviction, which might involve a similar incarceration in a tunnel for up to a month, or a few hours chained to a barrel of concrete, could be seen to open up the possibility of a similar process of roving, or cognitive movement. The corollary of this argument is the new-age truism that one must travel to "find oneself" and "appreciate home". Such a position is given academic expression in Dawson and Rapport's extolling of the permanence of home as a way of being (mobile) in the world (1998, p 29). Although this position escapes the emphasis on questions of purely physical mobility and stasis, I would suggest that in many cases these analyses just do not hold. For example, life down a tunnel is more likely to be characterised by boredom, and endless cans of baked beans, rather than cognitive flight (Testa, no date).

It is clear, moreover, that not all movement can be unequivocally celebrated. To suggest this would clearly risk the same fallacious arrogance found in some structuralist accounts. In certain circumstances an appeal to privilege movement over fixity can act to obscure highly unequal power relations.

In the summer of 1999, for example, I joined the peace walk from the International Court of Justice to NATO headquarters. Although we *moved* from The Hague to Brussels, a physical distance of 200 km, the event could actually be categorised as being ultimately sedentary, not least because of the relative social stability of the group. In effect, we slept in the same "place" each night, with the camp having the

same social structure and, to a lesser extent, the same physical structure. The daily physical exertion also had the effect of limiting the extent to which there was *any* possibility of cognitive or social development; at the end of a day's walking people were too tired to do any effective campaigning or strategising, or even talking. Any time not spent nursing blisters seemed to be spent in meetings, with a morning and evening meeting every day, and additional meetings for those of us planning and delivering nonviolence training. The intention of the organisers was to develop a strong sense of community amongst the participants in the walk, who came from over 50 countries and a wide variety of backgrounds. This occurred in spite of, rather than because of, the meetings, which tended to be occupied exclusively with practicalities. However, such situations almost certainly go beyond the *quid pro quo* substitution of movement in one realm with movement in another. In the case of the peace walk there are clearly matters at work beyond those that can be easily reduced to questions of fixity and movement. These include questions of effective and sustainable ways to protest and resist, the element of sadism or martyrdom involved in walking 30 km in the baking sun, every day for a couple of weeks (or several months in the case of the walk across America), when there is an excellent public transport network. The focus of activity on movement (in the case of the peace walk, physical movement) can also be seen to lead to the neglect of other elements of social life, and moreover, to obfuscate power relations, and make the challenging of them impractical if not impossible.

Placing other issues prior to questions of movement and fixity places a different "spin" on a variety of issues. The increasingly rapid *movement* of capital around the planet, for example, is problematic in a whole range of ways. While it is undeniably linked to increased opportunity for the privileged few, it has also been implicated in the destruction of cognitive, cultural and biological diversity (Shiva, 1997, p 101). The strength of the growing *resistance* to these forms of "movement" and their associated exclusions, has come not least from their international and highly mobile character. Thousands of activists from across the world converged on Seattle at the end of November 1999 to prevent the World Trade Organisation from meeting. Simultaneous demonstrations and direct actions were held at financial centres around the world. Yet, they are also campaigns that are *rooted* in specific places, cultures and identities. We should not lose sight of the benefits that

are gained by *staying put* in various circumstances, not least in the face of the threat of eviction. Rouse (1995) accuses

> "those who celebrate migrants as exemplars of multiplicity and
> de-territorialisation... of *bad ethnography* because they fail
> adequately to listen and observe, and *bad politics* because they
> privilege the allure of current intellectual fashion... over the
> practical realities of... lives and struggles" (p 355)

The negative consequences of this social and physical locatedness are, however, clear. It is the case, for example, that within the diversity of anti-capitalist demonstrators protesting against the World Trade Organisation and the International Monetary Fund there are representatives of far-right groups who see the process of globalisation as a threat to their rooted and bounded *national* sovereignty. The complex interweaving of movement and exclusion can also be seen in the way in which increased ease of movement between European states, under the Schengen agreement, has been marked by the construction of "Fortress Europe", to the exclusion of those from outside of Europe. The most vocal campaigners against closer European Union, in Britain at least, have been the right wing of the Conservative Party.

Returning to Faslane it is possible to categorise Trident submarines as "nomadic". Conversely, Roseneil (2000) has also described a series of more insidious inscriptions of sedentarism within the peace movement, related to the construction of a "heteronormativity". While this is most obvious in those organisations such as "Mothers For Peace", it is also enacted/performed through the unequal gendered division of labour at the camp. The present convergence of anti-nuclearism and Scottish nationalism, a phenomenon that is by no means limited to Scotland, has resulted in the construction of certain problematic nationalist discourses.

It is clear from even a cursory analysis of this complexity that other questions beyond that of a simple "movement versus fixity" must be considered if the accounts produced are not to repeat the simple dichotomies of structuralism in a new, postmodern, guise. Movement and stasis are not terms that are mutually exclusive, nor can they be arranged in a simple dialectic to be resolved in favour of a larger whole. It is ironic that this is a point made by Clifford (1992) in a text that has become widely cited by those less critical of the overemphasis on movement.

By looking beyond such crude dichotomies (and beyond movement and identity as meta-narratives) it is, however, possible to present any number of more satisfactory

accounts. In particular, I would like to suggest that focussing on the ways in which these conflicts are *practiced* provides a way of looking at the situation without reifying movement, and without collapsing into a nihilistic relativism that remains devoid of any recognition of power relations. This is to suggest that life cannot be reduced to the purely individual acting out of some drive towards fixity or movement, that may be essentially biological (Rapport, 1997). Rather, it consists of the development of contingent, fragile, and often contradictory, common bonds between people and groups. These are bonds that may coalesce around the ideas of "mobility", "traveller", "fluffy", "peace camper", "activist", or indeed any of the terms contained in figure 4.

Not only does the practice of these discourses actually go to (re)invent these positions, but they may also resist any such simplistic categorisation. Contrary to the position that would see a total dissolution of such categories, however, I am grasping for an understanding of the discursive and physical positioning by activists of themselves and others not only within, but also between these permeable, messy and yet curiously resilient narratives.

More importantly, these are positions that depend on their almost constant remaking and reinscription on the bodies of activists at the camp and on the physical structure of the camp itself. In this respect it is possible to contrast my position with that of Cohen (1989), who states that "culture—the community as experienced by its members—does not consist in the social structure or in the 'doing' of social behaviour. It inheres, rather, in 'the thinking' about it.... Community exists in the minds of its members." (p 98). As an example of this approach, he uses the symbol adopted by the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND):⊕ . He suggests that this is little more than a manifestation of an "imagined" community. For Cohen (1989), the unstable and fragmented basis of the anti-nuclear movement is something that remains subsumed beneath the "gloss [of the] common symbol", which would be revealed "were they to debate..." (p 18). This is a rather condescending assumption. Not only do these conflicts make themselves apparent, but the importance of the "CND symbol" *is* contested and is often rejected in highly reflexive ways. These are conflicts that take place through the very materiality of these symbols themselves. It is possible, therefore, to examine the material ways in which the symbol is used, and the ways in which

meaning is contested materially between people, and not solely in the minds of individual activists.

The materiality of the symbol has played a significant role from the first time it was used. The original badges made of the symbol were discs of painted clay. "They were distributed with a note explaining that in the event of a nuclear war, these fired pottery badges would be among the few human artefacts to survive the nuclear inferno." (CND, 2000).

At Faslane Peace Camp, the symbol forms part of the Peace Camp's "terrain of resistance" (Routledge 1992, 1994, 1996a). This is a concept that goes beyond the merely symbolic, to include the tactical and strategic praxis of social movements (Routledge, 1996a, p 517).

As well as being a resource for the interpretation of the meaning of the camp, by members of that community (after Cohen, 1989), it is bound up with the physical and social creation of the camp itself. It is painted and carved on stones, banners, caravans and placards. The fact that this symbol is also *tattooed* on a number of the campers suggests a corporeal element to the use of the symbol, and is reminiscent, also, of the disciplining "harrow" in Kafka's "In The Penal Colony" (1981; Grosz, 1994, pp 134-137).

On the beach next to the peace camp there are a series of concrete jetties and slipways which run out into the Gareloch. A number of these are decorated with anti-nuclear slogans. One of these drab concrete structures has been brightened up with a large yellow ☮ symbol, next to which, in white gloss paint, is the phrase "Drop the bomb on the CND". The first time I read this, while walking along the beach, I wasn't actually sure whether it had been painted by a disgruntled base worker, or by a peace camper with major disagreements with the workings of the campaign...

Conflicts between movement and fixity are played out in conflicts over the terrain of the peace camp. It is most pronounced in the case of those artefacts that have been constructed or located at the camp in order to develop clearly *sectional* communities within the camp. There is, for example, a selection of carvings at the camp, relating to freedom and to movement. These include a running horse, with the legend, "When freedom is outlawed, only outlaws will be free". A stone with a bicycle carved into it also evokes a number of the same themes. (See figure 5).

Figure 5: Symbols of movement, the running horse and the bicycle.

There are also more "static" symbols. The Green Man (figure 6), for example, is overgrown with moss, and hidden in the trees. This particular image also appeared in *Faslania*, the camp's newsletter.

Figure 6: The Green Man

The text accompanying the image reads, in part:

"When the old religion was driven underground by the Christian Church, the Green Man continued to appear in the stonework of churches and cathedrals. He often lurks at the top of columns as if sprouting from a stone tree trunk... The life force it represents will not lie down quietly. It is alive in the hearts of us all fighting to protect Mother Earth. There is a fire in Babylon, and from the soil fertilised by its ashes new life stirs..." (Simon, 1997).

The same issue of the magazine included an image entitled "It's Your Very Own Cut Out And Keepsake Crustie" (Vicky, 1997). It was a parody of some of the stereotypical images of new-age travellers. It would certainly be possible to read these as multi-vocal representations of Faslane as a community. However, at the time this magazine was produced, claims that acting or thinking in certain ways, or having a certain way of life made you a "proper peace camper" were routinely being made on all sides in the conflict. In this context, placing articles in the magazine, seeing them distributed in a physical form not only amongst those staying at and visiting the camp, but also to the wider peace movement became a very powerful way to create particular physical and social structures at the camp. Conflicts over the importance of the gardens at the camp were also significant. Many felt that the time and money spent on the gardening could be better spent building eviction defences. Fungus explained her reasons for planting sunflowers, relating them directly to opposing Trident.

"The sunflower is the symbol of the international nuclear weapons abolition movement. After the Ukraine gave up its last nuclear warhead, the Defence Ministers of the U.S., Russia and Ukraine met on a former Ukrainian missile base on 4th June, 1986. They celebrated by scattering sunflower seeds and planting sunflowers. Former U.S. Secretary of Defence William Perry said, 'Sunflowers instead of missiles in the soil would ensure peace for future generations'. Sunflowers are believed to rapidly absorb dangerous radioactive elements such as Caesium 137, which causes cancer in humans. For this reason sunflowers have been planted across the Ukraine and Belarus in an attempt to mitigate the effects of the Chernobyl disaster. It is because the Sunflower has become a symbol of peace and opposition to nuclear power, over the past few years, that a number of them have been planted in the gardens at the Peace Camp."(Fungus, 1999, p 7)

Meanwhile, the work on building the tunnels would have been much quicker if a JCB or other larger earthmover had been hired to do the work. But, those planning the eviction defences had to question whether such a machine was actually a

potential ally, or part of the problem that we were campaigning against. Debate raged over the use of the digger. Such a machine is not only the symbol, but also the reality of so much of the environmental destruction that had been caused in the country over the past few years. Using a JCB to defend a camp from eviction would not only have been hypocritical, but also deeply distressing to activists who had spent years sabotaging them to stop road builders and housing developers digging up patches of land. Eventually the plans for the tunnel were changed so that a large machine was less practical in any case. The whole camp became involved in doing the digging by hand, bringing something of a sense of shared purpose, a communal effort, in order to defend the Camp. The development of tunnelling as a tactic has led to a whole new protest mythology, linking eco-warriors to the Viet Cong. *Do Or Die* (1999) has produced a list of tunnellers through history... People began to talk of their attachment to the Camp, and the planet, as a result of digging all day. After weeks of tunnelling, John dreamt of waking up inside the womb of mother earth. He described his feeling of being protected, and of protecting her, from the destruction of the planet[7]...

Another source of conflict during the construction of the defences was the issue of whether or not to use razor wire on the camp. In a bizarre analogy of rhetoric advanced to support the use of nuclear weapons, arguments in favour of the use of razor wire revolved around the inherently "defensive" nature of the tactic, which could only possibly injure those who tried to attack the camp. A minimum credible deterrent, in other words, was necessary to ensure the survival of the camp. This was unsurprisingly countered with appeals to consider the possibility of an accident, and the suggestion that rather than being viewed as a defensive posture, the use of razor wire would actually exacerbate any conflict. There are, so the argument went, some tactics that should not be used, if only for reasons of non-violence and the safety of those using them; a direct activist equivalent of the Geneva Convention, perhaps. More important in opposing the use of razor wire, however, was the appeal to the aesthetics of the camp. As much as anything else, razor wire didn't fit with a particular idea of what a peace camp should look like. It was difficult enough for some people to square the presence of tunnels and tree houses with their idealised notions of what the camp should be like, and what it had previously been like. After all, who wanted to live somewhere that looks like the base? When the decision was taken to surround the fortified end of the camp in

barbed wire, quite a few of the long term visitors and former residents were put off returning to the camp.

This construction of the peace camp goes beyond the physical structures, and the purely symbolic. Bey (1991) and Routledge (1997b) identify the use of songs and music in the creation of TAZ, and terrains of resistance, respectively. I return to consider this in more depth in a later chapter. However, it is possible to point to the use of one particular song, Ewan MacColl's *Go, Move, Shift*, in the conflict between a focus on nuclear weapons and the eviction. It would be possible to read the playing of this song around the communal campfire at Faslane as an expression of opposition to eviction, and as way to legitimate the nomadic way of life. Indeed, this might be borne out through an analysis of the lyrics, which begin:

Verse 1:   Born in the middle of the afternoon
    In a horsedrawn wagon on the old A5
    The big twelve wheeler shook my bed,
    "You can't stop here!" the policeman said.

Chorus: You'd better get born in some place else.
    So move along, get along, Move along, get along,
    Go! Move! Shift!

Verse 2:   Born in the common by a building site
    Where the ground was rutted by the trailer's wheels
    The local Christians said to me,
    "You'll lower the price of property."

© Stormking Music

The original version of the song, and *The Travelling People*, the Radio Ballad for which it was written, carries on in a very similar way, portraying a romanticised view of the nomadic tradition, and drawing parallels with Jesus' birth in a stable. There is talk of timeless tradition, and although MacColl recorded the voices of a variety of travellers, what you actually get is a sort of anonymous, chocolate box image, devoid of any real sense of the political injustices faced by travellers.

As a remedy to this, Christy Moore (1994) has written an alternative couple of verses that draw attention to specific conflicts:

    Six in the morning out in Inchicore
    The guards came through the wagon door.
    John Maughan was arrested in the cold
    A travelling boy just ten years old.

    Mary Joyce was living at the side of the road
    No halting place and no fixed abode.

> The vigilantes came to the Darndale site
> And they shot her son in the middle of the night.

A purely textual reading of this song would, however, still ignore the physical experience of singing together, or of simply listening to a song, in building and shaping a sense of solidarity between people at Faslane. The composition of an extra final verse specific to the camp also destabilises any notion of an authentic community based purely on movement, as well as the notion of there being an authentic text on which to draw:

> Living on a Peace Camp at Faslane,
> Where the vibes are merry and the folk are free,
> We're making war a thing of the past,
> You can shove your missiles up your arse!
>
> Go serve your eviction on yourself
> Move along, get along, Move along, get along,
> Go! Move! Shift!

More than bringing together a number of essentialised categories, of eviction chaser, peace camper and anti-nuclear activist, it actually begins to destabilise the boundaries between them, and, I would suggest that as a result these terms cease to function as *distinct* discourses. In their place, discourses and action arise that are not solely hybrids of existing categories, but which actually radically restructure the terms on which these conflicts and tensions take place. In particular, the opposition between nomadism and sedentarism is replaced by a position that sees the impossibility of challenging Trident without challenging the eviction of the peace camp, and vice-versa. Through singing, and through *not moving* during a forced eviction, through constructing a terrain of resistance, activists can also begin to collectively "practically deconstruct" not only the hegemony of sedentarism, and the privileging of movement, but also the suggestion that this is the axis on which the camp revolves.

---

[1] These are temporary structures made from willow or hazel poles sunk into the ground that are lashed together to form a dome and covered with a tarpaulin.

[2] In a similar way, Deleuze and Guattari (1987) discuss the "nomadic war machine" in terms of its deterritorialization.

[3] A collection of all back issues is kept at the office of The Scottish Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, 15 Barrland Street, Glasgow, G41 1QH.

[4] A device employed by Bey, in part, to avoid any critical scrutiny of the more programmatic ideas that *are* included.

[5] This section draws on material presented at the *Movement in/and Identity* postgraduate conference, held 23rd to 25th March 2000, at Hull University (Heller, 2000). A number of the papers presented at the conference are published in a special double issue of the journal *Anthropology In Action*; and in Volume 1, #3, of iNtergraph: *journal of dialogic anthropology*, [published on the Internet at

www.intergraphjournal.com]. See also the more polemical editorial for each volume (Oliver, Jansen and Heller, 2000a, 2000b).

[6] The verb *to live* is replaced by *to stay* in the West Coast colloquial Scottish, as in "where do you stay?" perhaps relating home to fixity more clearly than in "English".

[7] John Vidal (1997) reports a similar dream, experienced by Muppet Dave one of the Fairmile tunnellers. More recently, *Do Or Die* (1999, pp 58-61) has drawn parallels between the tunnels used in ecological direct action, and the those used by the Viet Cong, and Eritrean guerrillas.

Direct Action

> "Precisely because I do not have the beautiful words I need I call upon my acts to speak to you" Daisy Zamora, Nicaraguan Sandinista.

> "I have already stated that some good is occasionally accomplished by political action – not necessarily working-class party action either. But I am abundantly convinced that the occasional good accomplished is more than counterbalanced by the evil; just as I am convinced that though there are occasional evils resulting through direct action, they are more than counterbalanced by the good." de Cleyre, *Direct Action*, 1912.

The clearest challenge to the dominating *power-over* of the Trident nuclear weapons system is provided by the various forms of direct action that are taken against Faslane Naval Base and the associated web of production, storage and transport of nuclear weapons. Specifically, I look at the practicalities of fence cutting, lock-ons and graffiti writing, as direct action tactics.[1] I mention these tactics not to provide a comprehensive analysis of all the forms of direct action used at Faslane, but to examine particular micro-geographical techniques.

In part this section is included in recognition of two quite distinct literatures that interest me and that have informed my position as an activist and a researcher. The first of these are the books that detail the practicalities of direct action tactics. These have been written primarily for activists and those considering the use of direct action in established campaigns. *Road Raging* (Road Alert!, 1996) is perhaps the most comprehensive. It comes out of the British experience of opposing road building in the early to mid 1990s. The book includes sections on a wide variety of elements of a campaign, from organising a "phone tree" to enable a large number of people to be contacted in as short a time as possible, to digging tunnels so that they don't collapse. Several well-thumbed copies were used at Faslane to inform the construction of lock-ons and other eviction defences. The North American Earth First! sabotage manual *Ecodefence: A field guide to monkeywrenching* (Foreman and Haywood, 1993) also contains advice on a wide variety of tactics, from blocking sewage outflow pipes, to the destruction of logging machinery. Again, copies of this book have been passed around activists at Faslane, if only for entertainment purposes in the case of the more extreme tactics, such as the instructions for felling electricity pylons. Although a number of the tactics in each

of these books have been adapted for use at the Peace Camp, many of the tactics are less suited to the disruption of a nuclear submarine base than halting road building or logging operations, or the more general destruction of corporate infrastructure.

More specific handbooks have also been produced by anti-nuclear direct action campaigns. The most widely used at Faslane is the *Tri-denting it Handbook* (1997), produced by the Trident Ploughshares campaign, which deals with gaining access access to and damaging/disarming Trident submarines, as well as offering a section on consensus decision-making which I discuss in more detail, below. *Peace News*, a quarterly journal read quite widely within the peace and environmental movements, also occasionally includes practical information on tactics. One issue included a 4-page guide produced by the Democratic Front for the removal of Obstacles In Our Way, (DFROIOW, 1999) on cutting and climbing fences.

The second set of sources that my work makes reference to deal with the significance of direct action, and have been produced from a variety of academic positions. In contrast to the activist handbooks, most of which are of some use if only for amusement, academic accounts of direct action have generally struck me as being almost entirely useless as anything other than incentive to write a better account. The Earth First! *Action Update* (1999b) provided a summary of recent academic accounts of opposition to road building, as well as accounts of the conflict between Earth First!, and more established environmental NGO's.[2] A problem common to many of the accounts is the tendency to ascribe a single and fixed meaning to actions and tactics that may well have a whole range of contested and fluid meanings for activists and their opponents. There is also an unwillingness to engage with the often sophisticated reflection and analysis that does take place within direct action campaigns, and in the pages of activist journals such as *Peace News* or *Do or Die*. As such, there is a tendency for the academic "invented" or "discovered" meaning to become totally separated from both the tactic and the conscious intentions of the activist.

<u>Embodied action</u>

The power that is gained through the vulnerability of "putting your body on the line" has been discussed by Doherty (1999), who describes the use of tripods, tunnels and lock-ons as a form of "manufactured vulnerability" (p 290). He suggests that "Whereas previously barricades provided protection for protesters now the tripod exposes the vulnerability of the protester. It does not oppose force with force, but places the responsibility for the protester's safety in the hands of the authorities." (Doherty, 1998, cited in Earth First!, 1999b). In many cases the body is one of the few resources available to the direct activist, and it stands in stark contrast to the social and political powers of multinationals and the state, and the physical power of nuclear weapons and earth moving machines. Doherty (1998) overstates the moralistic element of direct action, however, when he states that the question of "how ... protesters [can] resist in such a way that maximises their effectiveness but also exposes the contrast between the force used by the authorities and protesters' moral superiority" is central to activist concerns. While activists deciding tactics and strategy sometimes pose such questions, consciously and unconsciously, vulnerability and a morality that capitalises upon it are by no means ubiquitous. Indeed, there is a great deal of unease associated with actions that could be construed as martyrdom.

As well as this tactical position, between earth and mechanical digger, or between nuclear warhead convoy and nuclear submarine base, the body also occupies a fundamental place as a "hinge" (Grosz, 1995, p 33) between the self and society. Very powerful and visceral emotions can be involved in acts of resistance, a number of which I describe throughout this account. The introduction of this kind of passion to the political sphere, or more likely the recognition of these emotions in all forms of action, is an important dynamic in nonviolent direct action. Roseneil (1995) suggests that this distinguishes direct action from more conventional forms of lobbying or pressure group politics, and in terms of its cultural and spatial patterns and processes. As an example of this, Alison Young (1990), writing about Greenham, suggests a role for an *embodied* resistance in self definition and self determination- through the use of the naked female body as a political tool.

> "On 9th August 1984 (Nagasaki Day) women stripped naked,
> covered themselves and the ground with ashes and formed a
> blockade at the main gate. The army personnel were filled with

horror and seemed reluctant to touch the women (which was necessary to remove them). Eventually, protective clothing was worn to do so. The immediate, most obvious connection was with the victims and survivors of the bombing of Nagasaki, but the women were also presenting a challenge to the stereotype of the naked woman (that of pornography) in which the woman is conventionally attractive to men, disposable by them and powerless. These horrifying yet naked and vulnerable women were stating a right to self-determination and self-definition at the same time as they demonstrated the effects of nuclear warfare. In this, the power and strength of Greenham politics shows most strikingly: in their recuperation of the repressed body, and, specifically, in their redefinitions of the meaning of the female body, the Greenham protesters have found a form of political protest which is truly transformative." (A. Young, 1990, p 40)

Shirley Ardner (1974, 1975) provides an account of the place of female nudity and vulgarity in protests in both Western and African contexts. The use of supposedly degrading behaviour in order to attain status is identified in the "mooning" practiced by US college girls in the mid 1960s (Ardener, 1974). This is a form of behaviour that "faded away when students did take direct action" (p 705) against the Vietnam war. The suggestion here is that nudity represents a rather naïve form of protest, from which people graduate when they have the appropriate resources or tactical knowledge. However, nudity and embodied action more generally persist in direct action. This suggests that they have a power that cannot be reduced to a mere inversion of the structural "norm" of clothed and civilised demonstrations.

Routledge and Simons (1995) provide an account of the power of embodied resistance in an attempt to move beyond what they see as the overly-rational focus of much new social movement theorising. In their discussion of the importance of the spiritual in direct action and resistance more generally they state that "the will to resist is embodied in behaviour that cannot be explained by the Hobbesian model of fear, rational choice and social contract."(p 475). They hint at a danger of essentialism, however, when they suggest that the Western, white male academic has increasingly been forced to look towards the post-colonial world in order to find the expression of a spirit of resistance. In the case of Greenham this is a female and explicitly embodied resistance.

I hope it is possible to question the validity of this dichotomy, and the subsequent pejorative mapping of women=body=postcolonial=irrational. It is necessary, therefore, to point out that white, middle class, western men have bodies too, and

that we use them, often in very different ways, during direct action. Alongside the academic literature and practical guides that have been *written* about these tactics, my knowledge of direct action remains intimately tied up with my involvement in direct action as an activist. This has led to what Okely (1992) has termed "embodied knowledge". She states that

> "one example of embodied knowledge is physical labour. Fieldwork is so often among groups where manual labour is a significant part of production, in contrast to the anthropologists' sedentary milieu. Participant observation does not mean mere observation, but often shared labour...."

She continues

> "The fieldworker both consciously and unconsciously responds to certain rhythms and patterns as immersion proceeds.... In some... instances the anthropologist is drawn by the hosts into performative ritual and shared embodied knowledge. At key moments both Smith Bowen (1964) and Powdermaker (1967) were called upon to participate in dancing. Ignorance or unfamiliarity with the group's rules or rhythms brings key crises. These are also informative." (pp 16-17).

The attention to embodied experience, both of the fieldwork process and in those ritual and everyday practices being studied, led Jackson (1983, p 328) to reject what he felt to be an empirically untenable subjugation of the bodily to the semantic. As such, he has made a concerted attempt to rescue the inert body from its position as a mere conduit for the knowing mind (Jackson, 1983, 1998). Roseneil (1995), however, is more sceptical of the role of embodied knowledge in creating a royal road to understanding. She makes reference to the flaws in those forms of feminist theory, often rooted in "identity politics", which place an unquestioning emphasis on experience as the sole element of analysis. She favours the position of the Redstockings[3], for whom "experience was held to be that from which an analysis was to be *built*". Roseneil bemoans the fact that "unfortunately the subtlety of this position on experience has not always been carried forward by feminists." (1995, p 138, emphasis in original). She warns against the suggestion that embodied experiences can lead to some form of "authentic" or unmediated insight into the position of women, or antinuclear activists. This is a position that risks merely inverting the hierarchical division between mind and body.

Giving Up Activism

The focus on tactics and the actions in which they are used brings the danger of succumbing to the "mystique of action", (Oppenheimer, 1970, p 52). Oppenheimer (1970, p 53) suggests that this is a tendency that has long been problematic within those activist groups struggling for social change. He argues for a balance between attention to forms of action, and the development of an explicit *ideology*. This is, he suggests, one of the most difficult of problems for any radical group. Assessing the fortunes of various revolutionary groups, he states

> "Too much emphasis on the immediate, on practice, and the goals are lost sight of; the movement, because it has no programme, often becomes social democratic, liberal, a tool of the status quo, led by 'betrayers'. Too much emphasis on programme and the movement becomes isolated, sectarian, populated by adventurers, and profoundly élitist as it substitutes fancy blueprints for programmes that are developed in the course of interaction with the system, the problems it creates, and the people it affects." (p 52).

Andrew X (1999) also expresses grave concern in his discussion of the June 18th Carnival against Capitalism. He suggests a need to develop forms of opposition to capitalism that go beyond the current "activist mentality". This is a position that he juxtaposes with a fully developed "class consciousness". His argument draws heavily on the Situationist ideas of Vaneigem (1983), particularly the suggestion that activism as a strategy is based in a spurious division of labour within society between those who are active in struggle and those who are not.

> "We still think in terms of being 'activists' doing a 'campaign' on an 'issue', and because we are 'direct action' activists we will go and 'do an action' against our target. The method of campaigning against specific developments or single companies has been carried over into this new thing of taking on capitalism. We're attempting to take on capitalism and conceptualising what we're doing in completely inappropriate terms, utilising a method of operating appropriate to liberal reformism. So we have the bizarre spectacle of 'doing an action' against capitalism–an utterly inadequate practice.... The supposedly revolutionary activity of the activist is a dull and sterile routine– a constant repetition of a few actions with no potential for change." (Andrew X, 1999, p 3)

Although Andrew X (1999) and Oppenheimer (1970) both make important points, such a clear distinction between action and ideology may, however, be erroneous. I hope to show how the strategies of Faslane Peace Camp, and other campaigns that use direct action, are often worked out *through the use of* these tactics. The result is

not the monolithic programme of the Vanguardist political party, but a fluid and often contradictory set of contested positions. Yet, the mystique of action is often apparent at the Camp, not least in the unproblematic adoption of "activism" as a way of opposing nuclear weapons. Calls are no longer made to "ban the bomb", but rather to "*bin* the bomb", or to "Trash Trident" something that relies directly upon the agency of activists, rather than the legislation of politicians. Figure 7 is an image used to advertise a demonstration and blockade at Faslane naval base, on 15th June 1996. It was the first time I visited the base, and Faslane Peace Camp.

Figure 7: "Trash Trident" Steve Bell cartoon, used to advertise Faslane blockade.

This tendency toward "doing an action" can, in part, be linked to a desire to move beyond the "demonstrations" which characterised the resurgence of the peace movement in the 1980s. Throughout this period there was an antagonism between the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) and the growing number of Peace Camps. While CND organised annual anti-nuclear marches through London, culminating in ineffectual rallies in Trafalgar Square, Peace Camp activists were opposing nuclear weapons on a daily basis. Jones (1987) refers to the range of

negative images of Greenham Common that were invoked by CND. These were similar in many respects to those images identified by Cresswell (1996).

It is also possible to outline how *song* may potentially play an important part in the negotiation of these conflicts over appropriate forms of direct action. Leon Rosselson's *Word Market*, for example, calls into question the effectiveness of legal and officially sanctioned demonstrations.

> 'God Bless democracy' was my prayer,
> As I joined the the peaceful demonstration in Tragalgar Square
> Obeyed the maze of one-way signs,
> Wrote my usual letter to 'the Times'.
> Cast my vote for the pantomime dame,
> And took my partner for the no-change game.
>
> And there above, behind it all,
> Came the voice from the Law and Order Stall
> Where the man with velvet gloves declaimed:
> Law and order must be maintained...

Although there are no longer the number of peace camps, and the numbers of people attending demonstrations has fallen to a tiny proportion of those who would turn out in the 1980s, the antagonism remains. When I first visited Faslane I found a photo that had been cut from a CND leaflet and pinned to the wall of the Peace Camp office. It showed three stewards on a large CND demo some time in the late 1980, wearing matching CND tabards and "New Romantic" hairstyles. I vaguely recognised one of the three as a younger version of an activist that I had met on a few occasions. A caption had been added to the image, reading: "Campaign for Nice Demonstrations". A range of alternative phrases which match this acronym have developed. When demonstrations at the base were relatively frequent, both the MoD Plod and the Strathclyde police, who were ensured regular overtime payments, knew the organisation as "Cash Night and Day". In contrast, the Peace Camp takes on a role as the originator of successful, effective and often antagonistic direct action. For a while, a picture was pinned next to this photograph, with a line drawing of an equally stereotypical peace camper. Can of Special Brew in hand, and the rest of the four-pack empty and at his feet, the caption read: "Campaign for Non-stop Drinking".

Three years later, on another mass demonstration at Faslane, organised jointly by the Scottish Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and Trident Ploughshares, I spent

the day at the South Gate of the base, in the pouring rain. There were no arrests at that gate, as the police had decided to put all their energy into keeping the North Gate clear to allow traffic to get in and out. Most of the five hundred or so people who had travelled from across Britain and the rest of Europe to the demonstration were at the North Gate.

After it was clear that the traffic had started moving again on the main road again, and the blockade of the gates had been cleared, I headed back to the Glasgow Friends Meeting House, where the majority of the Ploughshares activists were staying. I spent the afternoon helping with the cooking and doing some of the legal support work, phoning the police stations to get updates on when people would be released, and trying to coordinate lifts back down south for people left behind by the coaches that had already left. Activists were returning from police stations the whole time, and members of the Trident Ploughshares media team were hanging around, waiting for phone calls. Despite talking to hundreds of people it took me several hours, until late in the evening, to find out how long the gates had been blocked for, and the effect that the blockade had had on the base that morning. All the talk at the Meeting House had been of the arrests.

Tommy Sheridan, Member of the Scottish Parliament for the Scottish Socialist Alliance, and Green Party MEP Caroline Lucas had both been arrested. They were the big news. The total number of arrests (189) was also news. Nuclear weapons were in second, or even third, place. It seemed fair enough, that if you're going to hold a demonstration, you probably want people to know about it. That's why you're demonstrating after all. But to suggest that the *biggest* prize is media coverage seems to miss the point a little. The blockade of a whatever-it-is (in this case it happened to be a nuclear submarine base) is reduced to a spectacular photo opportunity. The possibility of hampering a whatever-it-is going about its illegal/immoral/nasty work is not even discussed. Surely, I thought, isn't the *biggest* prize for those campaigning against Faslane to see the base close down, and to bring an end to all nuclear weapons? And/or the collapse of the current global economic and social order and it's replacement with a system that meets the needs of people not profit (blah blah blah)? Surely it's not a couple of column inches in the Glasgow Herald. "Attaining strategic goals" was mentioned, but in the meantime it seems that while there is all this *organising* to do, it is this that comes

to dominate. The growth of a protest industry is all-important, keeping NGO-istas in work.

Outlining the benefits of *direct* action over demonstrations in the civil rights struggle Oppenheimer and Lakey remark that "Demonstrations are primarily expressions of a point of view, and do not of themselves change the power structure as vigorously as non- cooperation or direct intervention might." (1964, p 73). The discussion of direct action as a *demonstration* or *manifestation* (the French term) of some already existing feeling also relegates the physicality of the tactic to a less important position in the process of resistance. While this is primarily a tactical point, it can be linked also to a desire to provoke an effect without the mediation of the mainstream media or government bureaucracy.

Do or Die (1998b), in their review of the Big Issue's *Gathering Force: DIY Culture- radical action for those tired of waiting*, (Brass and Poklewski Koziell, 1997) highlight the dangers of activism slipping into, or being placed in, a lobbying frame. They are adamant that

> "Direct action is not an elaborate form of political lobbying, and
> Earth First! is not, as someone once said, 'The Green Party with
> bolt cutters'. If direct action is about anything at all, it is about
> taking power away from the politicians and bureaucrats and
> seizing control over our own lives. As the [May '68] graffiti
> said: 'We are not going to demand anything. We are not going
> to ask for anything. We are going to take. We are going to
> occupy.'(*Do Or Die*, 1998b, p 143)

The almost wholesale rejection of the methods of those campaigns that do not use direct action has, however, led to a neglect of several important and useful, if more mundane, ways of gaining support, such as regular outreach work.

Several of us were sat in the communal. Mat brought in a pot of tea and put it down next to the milk, the sugar tin and the selection of chipped and slightly grubby cups on the carpet. "Your tea's mashed, and if anyone wants any o'that herbal shit, there's some water left in kettle". "I want to do an action!" It was the first thing Bill had said for about an hour. I felt a bit of a rant coming on. He carried on, talking to no one in particular. "I don't care what it is. I just want to get out there and *do* something, y'know. We sit around here all day, just doing nothing. We should get out there and actually *do* something. Get these bloody slackers out of their beds before midday and I dunno, do something. I don't care what it is. Anything. We could do something really different, you know. We could go out to Glasgow,

Argyle Street. Yeah. On Saturday when it's busy with shoppers. I don't know, we could stand there, and give out some leaflets, you know, let people know what's going on up here. Tell them about the nuclear weapons that are up here. Maybe get dressed up in those white paper suits. You know, the radiation suits. Have a bit of an action, you know." Absolute silence...

<u>Cutting fences</u>

> "24th January [1945]. Liberty. The breach in the barbed wire
> gave us a concrete image of it. To anyone who stopped to think,
> it signified no more Germans, no more selections, no work, no
> blows, no roll-calls, and perhaps, later, the return. But we had to
> make an effort to convince ourselves of it and no one had time
> to enjoy the thought. All around lay destruction and death."
> Primo Levi, 1996a, pp 174-5.

One of the conditions placed on the camp by Dumbarton District Council, in order to secure planning permission, was the erection of a fence between the camp and the busy A814. The book written by Members of Faslane Peace Camp gives an account of the council planning procedure, as it was experienced by the camp (1984, p 36). It also includes a picture of a camper "Building the 'council regulation' fence" (between pages 56-57). Over the years the fence has changed size, colour and height. The materials that it has been made out of have included railway sleepers, palette wood, donated wooden beams, tree branches, floorboards and planks rescued from skips and from derelict buildings.

This boundary making process is futile. The almost constant rain and poor quality of the wood, as well as the occasional vandalism of passing base workers and drunken campers means that maintaining the fence could easily become a full time job. On one visit to the camp, I spent a week replacing rotten wood, and broken slats. I also removed lengths of chicken wire and chipboard that had been nailed to the fence in the summer in order to keep four young puppies in the camp. Unfortunately, this had not prevented the death of one of the dogs (Spike) on the road, and now that one of the other dogs (Shola) had left the camp, and the other two (Coin and Raga) were large enough to climb over the fence, it was superfluous. Bethell (1984), however, highlights the power of the fence not only to exclude, but also to suggest an escape from what is beyond, maintaining a sense of security. His fictional character, W. Morgan Petty, attempts to avoid the effects of a nuclear war

by declaring his house and garden a nuclear free zone. The hero's diary entry records his optimism. "Saturday, 7th May [1983], I anticipate that in the event of a thermonuclear conflagration, we shall remain safe behind our privet hedge."(p 43) Not least, this is due to the precautions taken a few months earlier "Tuesday, 15th February. Roger has erected a sign at the end of the garden. It reads: 'NUCLEAR WAR- KEEP OUT' It is intended, so he tells me, to denote the point at which our garden begins and protagonists in a nuclear war should cease hostilities." (p 11) But, the "gaps in the map" can present an alternative image.

The fence at Faslane Naval Base is perhaps the most secure of any in Britain. It is certainly one of the most imposing. The fence as a whole is approximately 3 metres high, and forms the boundary of the base on three sides, running for a distance of about 4 miles, the majority of which is alongside the A814. The Gareloch provides the fourth side of the base to the West, where as well as that stretch of water, an inflatable boom surrounds the berths where the Trident submarines dock. Inside the base there are further fences. These include the fence that previously formed the northern perimeter of the base, prior to the expansion to accommodate Trident, effectively bisecting the base. There are a number of further fences surrounding the Trident area. Figure 8 shows the layout of the base, adapted from the Trident Ploughshares *Tri-Denting It Handbook* (1997).

The fence is constructed from a series of panels, each of which measures about three metres square, and is bolted to sturdy metal uprights. These panels extend up to a metre below ground level, preventing tunnelling into the base, and are constructed from plastic coated "weld mesh" wire, which forms a grid of holes about 1 cm high and 5 cm wide (see figure 9).

The entire length of the fence is topped with a coil of razor wire, which contains literally millions of razors. Although the length of the blades vary from section to section, and their sharpness decreases with the age of the fence, many of these razors are still capable of causing serious injury. It is also suspected that they are coated with some sort of anticoagulant, to prevent the blood from clotting. This outer fence is reinforced by up to eight further coils of razor wire, positioned a few metres inside the perimeter, again running for the entire length of the fence. This wire is normally arranged in one or two "pyramids" of three rolls, which stand up to 1 metre high, with a fourth roll next to them to prevent people jumping over.
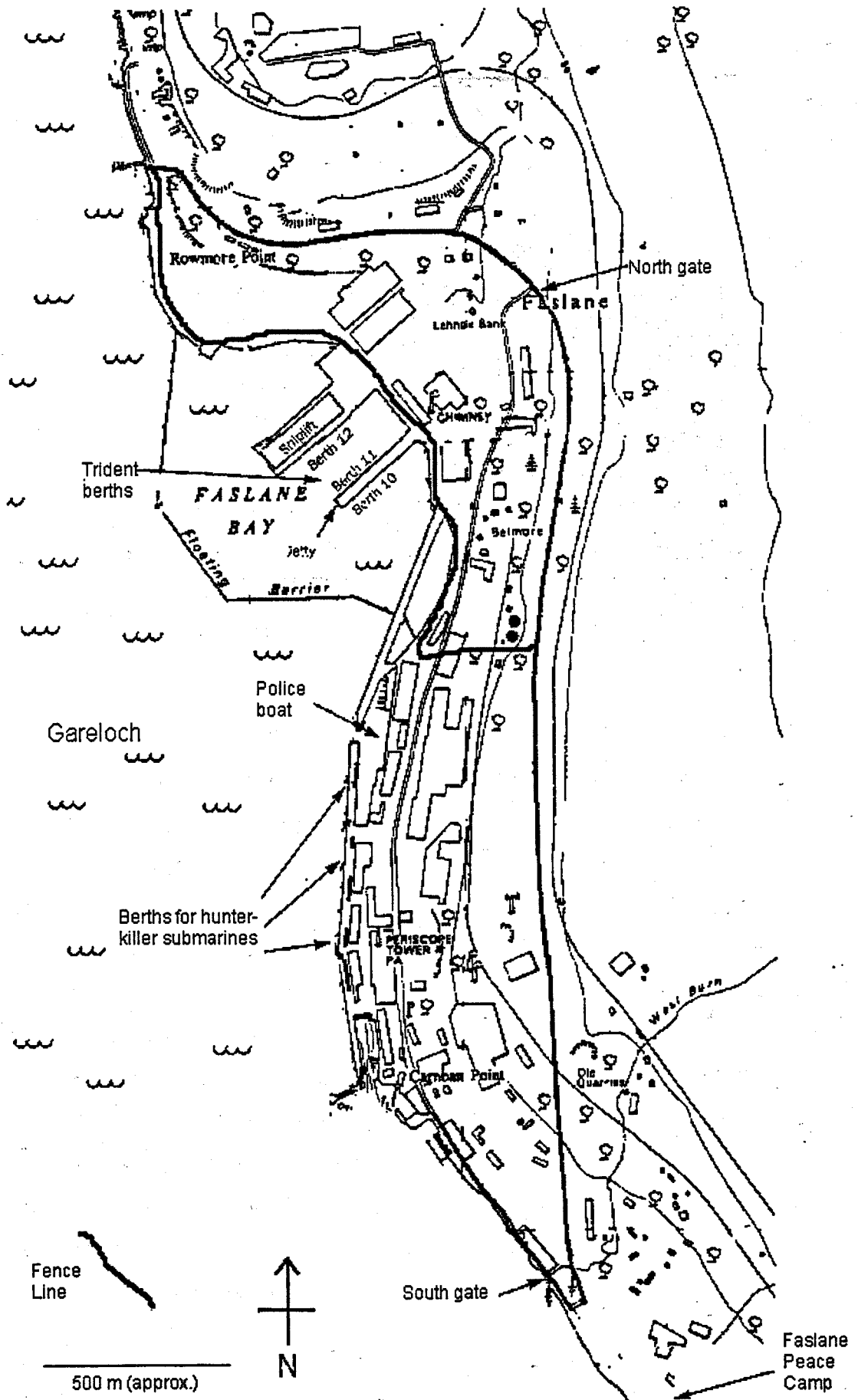
Figure 8: Faslane Naval Base, showing perimeter fence
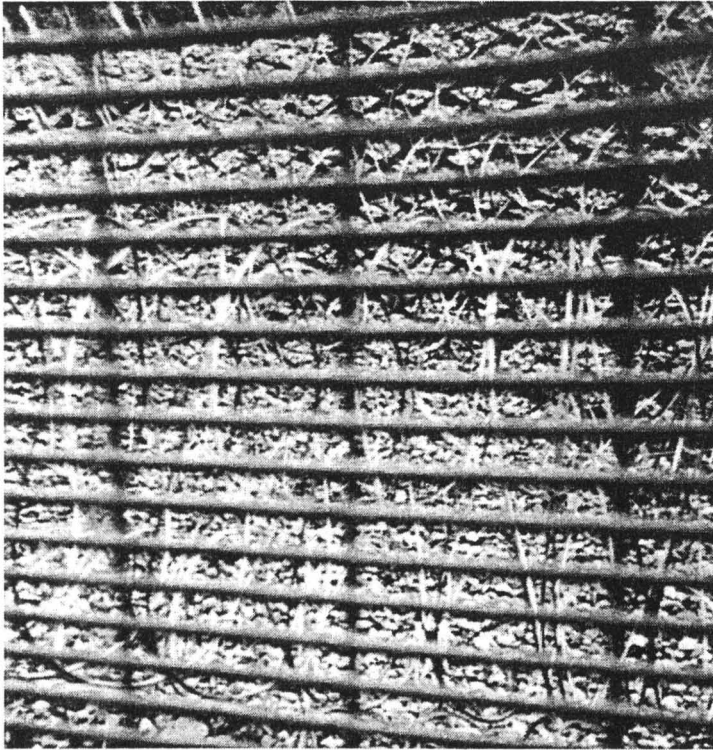
Figure 9: The fence at Faslane, weld mesh with coils of razor wire behind.

Motion sensors, attached to the fence, augment these physical structures. One of these sensors is attached to the fence at a height of about 1 metre from the ground, and detects vibrations in the fence. A further series of wires are attached to the top of the fence on a bracket that juts out from the inside of the fence at an angle of about 45°. These are triggered either when cut, or when a weight of more than 50 kilos lands on them, effectively preventing people from climbing over the fence without being detected. See figure 10 for a sketch of the fence, viewed from the side. "Pan, tilt, zoom", closed circuit television cameras, which use a high powered infra red light to provide clear pictures even at night, are positioned every hundred metres, or so, along the perimeter. There are also regular patrols along the line of the fence by dog handlers on the inside, and MoD police cars, minibuses and Range Rovers, on the outside. At Coulport, the MoD Plod ride quad bikes to negotiate the rough terrain that surrounds the base. When it was constructed in the mid 1980s the MoD declared the fence "activist proof"...

coil of
razor wire

weld mesh

motion
sensor wire

Figure 10: The fence at Faslane

When the security of base was upgraded, the residents of the hill opposite Faslane
apparently chose the dark brown of the fence as the "least visually intrusive" of a
range of colours on offer. Its uniform colour is, however, punctuated by patches of
up to a metre square, but mostly of only a few centimetres. These stand out from
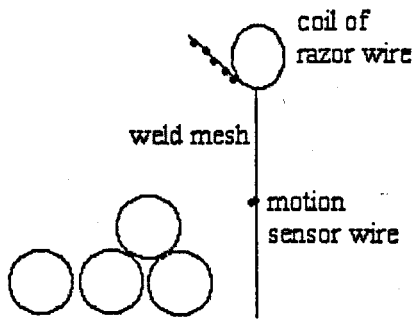the monotonous background of the fence, as they are each painted a slightly
different shade of brown and bolted on to the outside of the fence with shiny bolts
and washers. Unaware of the reason for these patches, on one of my first walks
along the fence, I asked Tam why they were there. "Look harder at the fence". He
went up to the fence, and pointed out the slightly bent strands of wire behind the
patch, and the few actually cut strands, with the exposed metal of the weld mesh
glinting in the sunlight. On closer inspection, each patch concealed a snipped wire,
or sometimes several, with the larger patches repairing cuts made right across
panels of the fence. Turning to me, and perhaps seeing that I was still puzzled, he
grinned slightly. A curiosity as to how the holes got there was born, which I got to
indulge the following summer...

Our original plan had been to combine land and sea actions, with split-second
timing. So it was a great disappointment that the only pair of bolt cutters that
Hanna had managed to find at the camp were useless, and broke when practicing
on a strand of wire much thinner than the weld-mesh of the fence. This gave us
another day to plan, relax, find out a bit more about each other, discuss nonviolence
and, importantly, find a decent pair of bolt cutters. The following evening we set
out to gain access to the Naval Base, by cutting a hole in the fence. Making our
way through the woods overlooking the base, we discussed our hopes and fears.
Hanna knew that it was possible that she would be on remand for a while after the

action. She was on bail for her earlier attempts at getting into the base. We waited across the road from the fence for a police patrol car to pass, and made a dash for it. The section of fence we had chosen was up a steep bank, adjacent to where the road ran through a cutting. As such, it was at the point on the fence furthest from the road. This, we thought, would give us a few extra seconds to cut while the police climbed up to us. I started cutting the fence, first cutting the vertical wires across the width of a panel. Hanna was making similar cuts a little below mine. These would form the top and bottom of the rectangle that we would remove. Those cuts complete, Hanna started cutting the leftmost vertical wire. I let her get on with it... When she had completed cutting between the two horizontal slits in the fence, she attempted to open the hole, but it wouldn't work. I realised, instead of cutting this single wire several times, each of the horizontal wires should have been severed. Vital minutes wasted... There was a police car on the horizon, and time was running out. The three closed circuit TV cameras closest to us were pointing in our direction, and it was obvious that we had been spotted. I was attempting to make the extra cuts in the fence, and I needed to cut each of the horizontal wires...

"Hey, smile!" Julie, who had accompanied us on the action, shouted for us both to face her camera. I was happy to oblige, taking a bit of a break from the cutting, which was starting to take its toll. My arms were getting more and more tired, and the bolt cutters were slowly getting worn out. When they were new they had closed with a resounding clunk around the strand of wire. Now, a couple of the bolts that were holding them together had worked loose. The blades had lost their edge. It was a real effort to cut each strand of the wire. My shoulders ached, and I was getting cramp in my fingers. Hanna's cuts had not, actually, been as useless as I feared. They made it much easier for the blades of the bolt cutters to get a grip on the fence.

There was always a dilemma in choosing bolt cutters for this sort of action. Getting a pair with blades small enough to fit the gaps in the fence but strong enough to do the job was difficult. Tent poles attached to the handles could give you extra leverage, but are less easy to carry.

The bolt cutters I was using originally had finally broken by this point. Hanna was too tired to continue. Taking her slightly more sturdy cutters, I was about five strands away from completing the hole. I saw a dog handler on the other side of the

fence. He shouted at me to stop. I carried on. After taking a while to scramble up the bank, a MoD Plod was running along the line of the fence towards us, on our side of the fence. "Hey, stop there!" I recognised his scouse accent from a few nights ago, when we had both been standing in the rain by the gates of the base. Making sure the other policeman was in sight (and able to corroborate), he arrested me. I reluctantly gave up the bolt cutters, and was led down the bank to the waiting police van.

The feeling of destroying property, which has as its sole purpose the protection of machines designed to kill, is simply amazing. But that feeling came later. There was not really time while cutting to consider the philosophical or political implications of what I was doing. Despite the idea that cutting the fence is an amazingly liberating experience, it is also bloody hard work when it is done in the heat of the evening sun with police closing in on you. What came immediately after the arrest was also less than celebratory. A gnawing frustration of being so close to the other side of the fence.

What if Hanna had cut the horizontal wires first?

Why hadn't I told her?

What was going to happen to Julie, detained under "Section 14" of some act or other for standing and watching us?

These thoughts kept going through my mind as I tried to get to sleep in the detention centre at Faslane. I was lying on my back on the hard wooden bench, staring up at the strip light on the ceiling of the cell. It was protected by a sort of wire cage. All I could see as I shut my eyes and tried to get some sleep was the swirling and psychedelic image burned temporarily onto my retina, of the regular grid-like pattern of the fence...

There is a long history, throughout the world, of direct action to resist the enclosure of land. In Britain, opposition to the enclosure to common land goes back as far as the processes of enclosure itself. I deal with a celebration of "The Diggers", a seventeenth century example of this resistance, in more depth below. However, the peace movement has come relatively lately to the destruction of property as a strategy, and the cutting of fences as a particular tactic. The past couple of decades have seen a major shift in attitudes towards the destruction of property.

Early on in my research I made the decision not to seek an academic "definition" of nonviolent direct action. I also tried to avoid becoming too caught up, academically, in debates that I had been part of, as an activist. The question of the destruction of property, however, has recurred throughout my research and my activism. Its use remains debated, both between activists and within campaigns. Unlike many other sterile debates,[4] it is bound up with the development of new forms of activism.

Roseneil (1995, pp 106-7) provides an account of the debate over fence cutting as it was played out at Greenham Common.

> "During the planning of the silos action, [on 1st January 1983, in which women danced on the top of silos that were built to house the cruise missiles], there was much discussion about the means by which women should enter the base. Some women suggested cutting the fence with boltcutters, so that everyone could just walk in, but consensus could not be reached about whether or not it fence-cutting was a violent act which contravened Greenham's ethos of non-violence. By July of that year, however, many more injuries from blockading later, and incursions into the base an established form of action at Greenham, there was a group of women who were committed to cutting the fence, even though not everyone agreed with it."

Members of Faslane Peace Camp, writing in 1984, described the role that such developments at Greenham had on their own decisions to use the tactic.

> "In November 1983, attention was turned once more [away from the Peace Camp's fence] to the more important fence, the one around the base. Attitudes with in the camp had changed. While most people had previously considered cutting the fence to be a violent act, through much discussion and talking to women from Greenham and people from the other camps who had actually taken part in it, most of the campers now agreed that it was a non-violent act, if approached in the right way.
> Early on the 3rd November, forty feet of the Faslane fence was removed. It took the MoD two and a half hours to discover the gap, which was along the main road..." (Members of Faslane Peace Camp, 1984, p 39)

Acceptance of the tactic was in fact to become so widespread within the peace movement that within a year of the first fence cutting action at Faslane the "Snowball Campaign" had been launched. This campaign was a direct challenge to the by-laws that had been put in force to protect nuclear and US Air Force bases across Britain. The campaign involved cutting a single strand of wire in the perimeter fence of a base, and giving oneself up to the police in order to force court cases in which the validity of the by-laws could be challenged. The "Snowball"

effect came from each person involved in the action bringing along more people to the next action. "Nearly 3,000 people took part at 42 different places during three years, and there were 2,419 arrests" (Trident Ploughshares 2000, 1997, §1.7). Just as the Committee of 100 mass sit-downs in the 1960s had had a radicalising effect on those involved, seeing the first mass arrests of middle class people in Britain, Snowball was also to fundamentally change the views of large numbers of activists to the destruction of property. Property damage had previously been a taboo within the peace movement, portrayed as the first step on a descent into chaos and violence. The calm, considered, even compassionate way in which the damage was done revealed the prohibition on the tactic as an obstacle to effective direct action. The Trident Ploughshares campaign builds explicitly on many of the same ideas, such as accountability to the criminal justice system, and only doing the minimum necessary damage. It has also mobilised many of the same activists, and again, it has altered the attitudes of many towards supporting and actively engaging in criminal damage. Again, there has been an attempt to "legalise" this form of criminal damage through appeals to international law. Perhaps the most significant link between the Trident Ploughshares and Snowball, however, is the guiding hand of Angie Zelter, responsible for dreaming up the idea for both of the campaigns... In contrast to the open and, arguably, legal attempts at gaining access to the base, such as the action I described above, and the actions of Snowball and Trident Ploughshares, the *covert* and often-nocturnal fence cutting activities of Peace Campers are often put down to the activities of "pixies". The etymology of this word is, not surprisingly, contested. I have been told on several occasions, always by those activists at Faslane who show a more acute awareness of a Scottish history of resistance, that the word, meaning a mischievous creature, is derived from "Pictish". This suggests a link, semantically at least, between the struggle at Faslane and the historic struggle of the Scottish people against the enclosure of their land by the Angles, Saxons and Romans. The fact that if pixies are caught, they are charged with "malicious mischief", the Scottish equivalent of "criminal damage", no doubt adds to their mystique.

Those involved in supporting the Wapping Print Workers dispute in 1986 had also used the term. "Pixies" would follow newspaper delivery vans around London, stealing the newspapers printed at the picketed print works as they were delivered to the newsagents. The use of the word in the context of ecological direct action to

describe covert sabotage of fences became widely adopted during opposition to the construction of the Newbury by-pass in 1995/6. The word had been used for a few years before that. Alex Plows (personal communication), one of the Donga Tribe who was involved in the opposition to the destruction of Twyford Down remembers the term being used in 1992:

> "It was when the words 'ELF' stood for Earth Liberation Fairies (rather than 'front' which was the result of a macho *coup d'état*). It fitted in very well with the whole magic realism trip which characterised the donga protests, yknow, earth dragons guarding the land and all that... I remember when the trig point wot the contractors were using to sight their markers disappeared from the top of the down. How? The pixies did it (snigger) it also helped the whole issue of property damage become less of a perceived act of aggression and macho hero behaviour (there were feminist principles overtly flagged here) and put it into perspective as something funny and surreal, that the land and it energy were on the side of protestors. And there was that sense of knowing what was going on without anyone compromising security."

Around the time of Newbury there was another addition to the ranks of phantom fence cutters, in the form of the Fence Liberation Front, or FLF. Figure 11 is a reproduction of a picture in the Faslane Peace Camp magazine, *Faslania*, and suggests less of an awareness of the feminist issues discussed by Alex.
Armed only with bolt cutters, these new age Superheroes are thought to be responsible for several acts of vandalism and malicious mischief at Faslane, Coulport and elsewhere around the world. This marked a shift in tactics that coincided with the influx of people to the camp from anti-road protest sites, in the same way that contact with Greenham had led to innovation a decade earlier.

AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE FENCE LIBERATION FRONT:
1) The removal of all unnatural fences, barriers and borders that restrict the free movement of life
2) To particularly target the fences of secretive and dangerous establishments
3) To dismantle any fences that keep us in or out
4) To respect life and not get caught
Who is the FLF? The FLF is you!

Figure 11: The FLF (Danny, 1996, p 13)

As well as there being historical precedents for fence cutting, through which a certain amount of tactical knowledge and cultural capital has been built up, there are also a number of more pragmatic reasons why the fence is a target for direct activists. In some cases fences are little more than an inconvenient barrier to be crossed before reaching the target of a particular action, whether it is a submarine or other piece of equipment to be damaged, or a building from which a banner is to be hung. During the Seeds Of Hope ploughshares action in 1997, where a British Aerospace Hawk jet bound for Indonesia was disarmed, cutting the fence was unavoidable. However, damaging the fence could have jeopardised the legal case.[5] The fence was cut by the women in order to gain access to the jet. But the hole was decorated with origami cranes, a symbol of peace, in order to indicate that it was seen as damage that was unfortunately necessary, rather than being mindless vandalism.

In the vast majority of cases, however, fences are destroyed because they are easy to destroy. It is a simple and effective way of inflicting economic damage upon the thing that you are resisting, whether that is a nuclear weapons system or the construction of a new road. As such, bolt cutters have come to occupy a place, alongside the monkey wrench, as a symbol of and practical tool in the low technology direct activist's battle against the billion pound arms race. The image in figure 12, for example, is taken from a leaflet for the Disgrace the Base action, which resulted in the court case in Derby and which I discuss above.

Figure 12: "Handbags Against Hypocrisy… Let's go disgrace the base"

Figure 13 is an image used in the call for activists to join the Trident Ploughshares affinity group based at Faslane Peace Camp, the full text of which is quoted below in a discussion of affinity groups. This advert also uses the household hammer, the tool with which the majority of Ploughshares actions have been undertaken. The bicycle D-lock is also commonly used during blockades, to lock-on to buses, gates and other people. Again, it is a cheap way of bringing about disruption. By placing her neck together with a bit of gate, fence or vehicle inside the "D" the direct activist ensures that she cannot be (safely) moved without cutting through the lock.
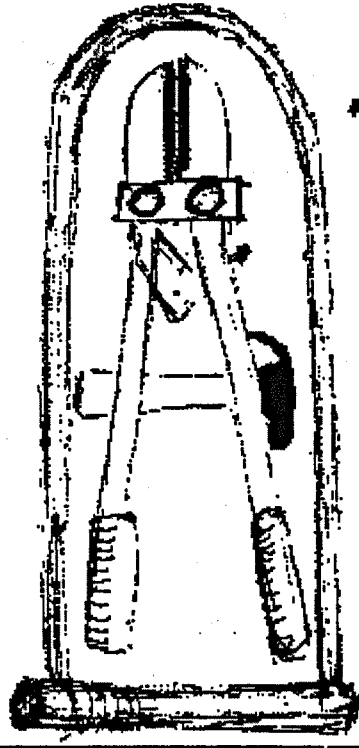
Figure 13: "You are Wanted…"Advert for Faslane Peace Camp Trident Ploughshares affinity group (Prof Dave, 1998).

The economic argument is, however, much stronger in the case of road building, than in opposition to nuclear weapons. The reality at Faslane is that you would probably have to destroy the whole fence before they felt the economic damage. In any case, G (1999) expresses concern at the tendency to reduce the value of an action to the amount of damage done, seeing it as another form of celebrating the "bottom line". In his criticism of the June 18th Carnival Against Capitalism, he argues "to make it worse we then congratulate ourselves through commodifying our resistance, 2 million quid of damage - good demo!" (G, 1999, p7)

At Faslane, however, simply gaining entry to the base can cause major disruption, as the account of the Peace Camp's first fence cutting action suggests:

> "On discovering [the forty feet of missing fence, the MoD] set
> off the "Bandit Alarm" just in time to greet all the workers
> arriving by the coachload into work. The setting off of the
> bandit alarm closes the base automatically while the grounds are
> searched for intruders and within less than half an hour there
> was a seven mile tailback of traffic." (Members of Faslane
> Peace Camp, 1984, p 39)

Although the fence has now been replaced with the much more secure weld mesh, it is still possible to gain access, with similar disruptive results. The internal MoD

document, *Base Emergencies- What To Do*, obtained by the Peace Camp, details the orders given to all personnel on hearing the bandit alarm.

> "BASE ALARMS
> In the unlikely event of a nuclear accident or in the event of an intruder, alarms will be sounded and action is to be taken as detailed below:-
> 1. Bandit Alarm
> A high pitched warble sounded over the Base main broadcast. All road traffic is to stop. Personnel on foot are to enter the nearest Shelter station.
> LISTEN FOR FURTHER BROADCASTS"

Accompanying this alarm, the tannoy system broadcasts a frantic announcement across the base *warning... warning... bandits in the base... do not panic... close all doors and windows... bandits in the base...*

Gaining entry to some of the most secure places in Britain is also of great symbolic value. Much of this symbolism comes from the ease with which the base security systems, the fence, the sensors and cameras, the constant MOD Plod patrols, can be transgressed. To a large degree, however, I would agree with Cresswell (1994) when he ponders the usefulness of transgression as both action and analytical devise.

> "The question remains though: to what degree can transgression provide a blue-print – a dress rehearsal – for radical change? Transgression depends on the pre-existence of some form of spatial ordering. Forms of transgression owe their efficacy to types of space, place and territory. Transgressions do not form their own orders. Boundaries are critiqued, not replaced. ...
> Resistance, deconstruction, criticism: all of these are reactions and hostages to wider events and topographies of power. Temporally they always come second or third." (p 56-7)

Indeed, transgression, the crossing of boundaries, can provide little by way of meaningful or lasting change. The idea and potential of transgression should probably not be rejected outright, and McKay (1996) urges us to *"celebrate the spark of transgression*, see in its spreading flash the ongoing possibility, even see *with* its spreading flash." (1996, p 9, emphasis in original).

Crossing the fence may reveal the Trident system as fallible, perhaps as a result of the incomplete disciplining of a guard falling asleep whilst forced to watch a bank of closed circuit television screens for hours on end. Highlighting these flaws raises important questions about the safety of Britain's nuclear arsenal. If peace campers

can break in using bolt cutters and tatty bits of carpet to protect us from the razor wire, think what some Russian/ Muslim/ IRA[6] terrorists could do....

The response to our incursions into the base is, as a result, a redoubled effort on the part of the MoD to keep activists out. A few extra metres of razor wire placed here or there. A more regular police patrol mounted. In short, an attempt to implement a more totalising regime of domination. While this increased security *is* actually reassuring, it also indicates the position of transgressive action as something that is as likely to result in the reinforcing of the barriers that have been crossed. However, by simply equating transgression with resistance, critique and deconstruction, Cresswell closes off (semantically at least) a range of more promising possibilities that go beyond the crossing of boundaries.

Cutting the fence opens the way for resistance, or a practical deconstruction of that boundary, that may occur within those spaces. It is possible to borrow from Hakim Bey's notion of the *Temporary Autonomous Zone* (1991) to suggest that making holes in the fence reveals the seeming monolith of the base to be penetrable, and actually permeated by fissures and interstitial spaces. At the smallest level, the holes that are already present within the fence, between the strands of the weld mesh, allow the use of bolt cutters to cut the fence. This would not be possible if the fence was made up of solid metal sheets. Rather than privilege a process of *crossing*, implicitly reinforcing the boundary by suggesting that there is something to cross, exploiting these gaps denies the power of the boundary to exclude. As such, the challenge to the boundary need not involve the physical destruction of the fence, although at Faslane it often does. Decorating the fence with banners or paint not only transgresses certain boundaries (discussed by Cresswell, 1996, pp 102, 125), but also gives an indication of the possibilities of creativity and colour that could replace the fence, what it stands for and what it protects.

Plants growing through the fence are also a potent reminder of the permeability of the fence. The brambles in figure 14, for example, provide a graphic challenge to supposedly impenetrable fence.
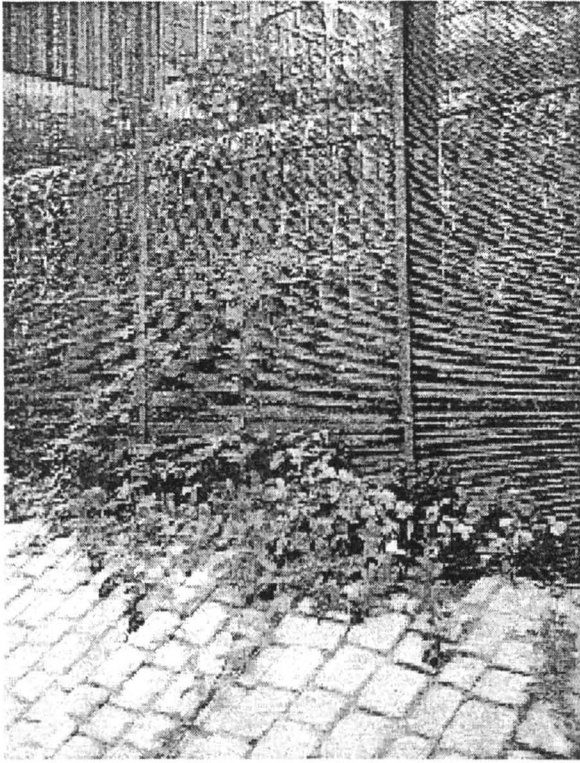
Figure 14: Brambles exploiting the interstices of the fence.

Sibley (1995, p xiii) hints at the anxiety that can be aroused by refusing to see the fence as a barrier. He discusses an "intolerance of ambiguity" as the reason for the reaction of a park guard to a bunch of hippies sitting on a wall. "At some point, a park guard started to order people off the wall on the grounds that it was *not* a place to sit. The wall, he asserted, was there to separate the path from the grass." (Sibley, 1995, p xiii, emphasis in original). The activity *is* undeniably transgressive, the hippies being "out of place" as far as the park keeper is concerned. However, it is not only the distinction between path and grass that is called into question. By introducing the use of the wall as a convenient seat the very capacity of the wall to *separate* is disturbed. Figure 15 shows an activist sitting in the coil of razor wire on top of the fence at Northwood air base, Middlesex, during a demonstration against the bombing of Iraq.

Figure 15: Activist at RAF Northwood, (Daily Telegraph, 17th February, 1998, p 14)

Graffiti

Painted slogans form a vital part of Faslane Peace Camp's terrain of resistance, as I suggested above. However, graffiti is also used more proactively, with activists regularly covering walls and rocks in the vicinity of the base with peace slogans and symbols, and occasionally painting the fences themselves. Ferrell (1996), writing about his experiences with graffiti artists in Denver is critical of the focus on the transgressive nature of graffiti, a position taken up by public officials and academics alike.[7] In particular he is keen to get beyond

> "the simplistic explanations of public officials—that this is a
> dog-like marking of territory—[which] miss the elegance and
> complexity of this sort of tagging....What is absent... from
> these accounts of tagging's supposedly calculable results—
> tagging marks territory, tagging establishes status—is a sense of
> tagging itself; that is of the incalculably rich experience of
> 'going out tagging,' especially with other writers." (p 71)

So, as well as an account of the reaction to graffiti, and interviews with the writers themselves, Ferrell (1996) provides a vivid discussion of the practice of graffiti writing.

> "Tagging down an alley bears little resemblance to walking
> down that same alley. On a quiet summers night, with house and
> apartment windows open, taggers must whisper their comments

on other writers' tags which they discover, and gesture warnings
of approaching dangers. They must also be ware of, and
concerned with, the rattle of the Krylon can and the hiss of the
spraying paint. No tagger, of course, would be stupid enough to
shake the can, as the directions recommend and as one would if
painting a piece of furniture; but the gentle and occasional rattle
of the spray ball while walking or tagging causes enough noise
for concern." (pp 71-72)

These descriptions of Ferrell's experience as a writer, and the internal dynamics
within the subculture, also differentiates it from the deconstructive reading of a
particular piece of graffiti provided by Nandrea (1999). Reflecting on the phrase
"Graffiti taught me everything I know about space", written on the outside wall of
a graveyard, she suggests "these walls are not simple horizonal borderlines dividing
up space; they are vertical planes that, through inscription, can be transformed into
unexplored and multidimensional spaces." (Nandrea, 1999, p 111). While she
suggests that graffiti writing is a form that "is intimately entwined with bodies,
with the travelling of a hand that holds a can of spray paint or [the movement of the
observer], with knowing that a body has been there, in this space where it is not
supposed to be" (p 114), the *textual* remains central to Nandrea's *reading*. She
writes that "the first spatial tier that occurred to me when confronted with 'Graffiti
taught me everything I know about space' was the space of writing—no doubt
because this is a space in which I feel intellectually at home." (p 111). As such, it is
easy to suggest that the removal of the graffiti through the weathering of the paint,
the defacing of the slogan by gang graffiti (less aesthetic, more political) and the
eventual sandblasting of the wall, represents the return of the wall to some silence,
or to a pre-existing order. This probably has much to do with a focus on the graffiti
as a "rhizomatic" space (after Deleuze and Guattari, 1987), written on an
"unstriated" plain.

There seems to be a danger here in ignoring the "multidimensional" reasons by
which the wall itself has come into being. This is related, in the case of the wall
discussed by Nandrea (1999), to the building of a graveyard; and in urban spaces in
general it remains inextricably linked to the production and maintenance of a
particular private property relationship (see, for example, Blomley, 1998; and
Lefebvre, 1991). The act of "erasing" the graffiti is not merely the *removal of*
something unproblematically "other" to the urban landscape, but represents the
attempted *imposition of* that order. Ferrell (1996) describes three distinct forms of

erasure of graffiti, each of which has its own significance for the graffiti writers, and each of which is clearly involved as much in the process of creation as of destruction. He explains that "a writer on occasion decides to 'go over' another writer's piece—that is to paint his piece so that it partly or completely covers the existing piece... This interplay of painted images cannot be reduced to simple notions of interpersonal hostility or aggressive territoriality." (p 87) Rather, according to Ferrell, it depends on available space for writing, judgements of aesthetic value and the status of writers, and the use of images deemed to be "appropriate" within that particular subcultural context. This stands in contrast to "dissin'", which involves a conflict between writers that is not evident in the act of "goin' over". Both of these actions, which are undertaken by writers themselves, are in turn distinguished from "the buff", a term used to refer to any removal of graffiti at the hands of the authorities. As such, the wall with no graffiti represents not the "silence that, deep down, had never stopped waiting" (Nandrea, 1999, p 115), but the deafening screams of a highly unjust capitalist system.

Alongside the chemical dissolving of paint, the construction of a regulated landscape is also achieved through the use of "official graffiti", of which the prohibition circle with its red line running through the middle: $\varnothing$ is emblematic (Hermer and Hunt 1996). Norris and Armstrong (1999, p 54) show a case in which these symbols are combined with the use of closed circuit television, to portray the existence of an ever-present gaze. Hermer and Hunt (1996), however, illustrate how, rather than representing a monolithic and necessarily oppressive system of control, such instances of official graffiti create a landscape that is open to constant challenge and resistance, through the defacing and evasion of such notices. Subvertising, altering advertising hoardings with meanings that negate the original text and images, has raised the activity of defacing to an art form.[8]

An article carried by *The Guardian* (1932) discussing a "War Of Symbols" between the Nazi's Swastika and the Iron Front's three arrows, shows that the conflict of political ideology and control of space through graffiti is clearly not a recent phenomenon. It also calls into question the unproblematic distinction between "official" and "resistance" graffiti.

The arrival of Spring in 1998 saw a crop of signs appear on the strip of MoD land opposite Faslane Peace Camp. They stood about a metre high, and had bright red

letters that read "Keep Out MOD Property". As with all moves made by the MoD, there was extensive debate amongst the campers over what the reason could be for erecting the signs. Rumours had been circulating for months about a possible expansion of the base. This was often given as a possible reason for the MoD wanting the peace camp to be evicted. If the base *was* going to be extended toward the camp, then the MoD might need to assert their ownership of the land more forcefully than they had done in the past. The eviction itself was another likely reason, as the signs provided a reminder that any move onto the opposite side of the road after the eviction would meet with a swift and hostile reaction. The advertised week of "greening" at the camp was also expected to attract visitors, who would need space to pitch tents. In the past space on the camp had not been a great problem for all but the largest of gatherings. The construction of eviction defences had reduced the amount of space available, and that stretch of MoD land was the most likely space for "overspill" camping. The MoD would be keen to let us know that any permanent use of the land would not be tolerated. The explanation that I considered most plausible, however, was that the end of the accounting year for the base works and maintenance unit meant that the budget had to be spent on relatively unimportant projects. A few thousand pounds spent on some signs and a fence would ensure that their budget was not cut for the following year...

Rather than solely representing a concerted effort at "government at a distance" (Hermer and Hunt, 1996, p 455), the signs became a convenient target for direct action. This was exacerbated by a lack of surveillance in that area, apart from the regular, but infrequent, police patrols.

The night after the signs appeared, there were several pixie missions across the road, people waiting for the police Land Rover to pass before jumping up from a seat round the fire to break a sign off its post or paint over the writing. One enterprising pixie used a hastily constructed cardboard template and sponge dipped in yellow gloss paint to add a radiation symbol to a couple of the signs closest to the road. Other signs had the last word obliterated so that they read "Keep Out MOD". There was some more discussion of a better slogan that could go in its place "Come on in, the kettle's on" or possibly "MoD property, All welcome". By the following morning, however, all of the signs had been removed. The sturdy wooden fence posts that had previously held the signs had also been taken, and had been sawn up to use for firewood or saved to shore up the tunnel...

Figure 16: The de-gaussing range, Cove.

Other parts of military-industrial infrastructure have been targeted, again simultaneously drawing attention to their presence and subverting their meaning. In the summer of 1999, during the Trident Ploughshares camp, I joined a group of activists on an action that targeted the onshore part of the Royal Navy "de-gaussing range", a small single story building situated in the village of Cove, about three miles from the Coulport Armaments Depot. The range is responsible for measuring the magnetic field of the nuclear submarines entering and leaving the base, to ensure that they cannot be detected while on patrol. As such, it is an integral part of the Trident system. Figure 16 shows the results of the action.

The nine of us piled into the back of the minibus, along with cans of paint, several brushes, tubes of superglue and a couple of pairs of bolt cutters. We took a bit of a detour to get to Cove, in an attempt to loose the police car that was following us. From the narrow road, which snaked its way across the hillside, we could see out over the River Clyde, to Greenock, and the hills beyond it. The minibus driver dropped us a few hundred metres from the building, and we dived out of the van, hurrying, whilst laden down with our baggage, but trying not to attract *too much* attention to ourselves. We scurried across a stretch of open ground, and into some gorse bushes. Peter had done a brief reconnoitre of the area earlier, and had decided that making our way along the shoreline to the building would attract less attention than walking along the road, especially as reaching the building would involve

cutting a hole in a chain link fence. Pushing our way through the gorse, I kept an eye out for people. There were a few sailing boats on the Loch, but other than that it was deserted. No police, no dog walkers.

Sylvie started cutting the fence as soon as we reached it. Starting at the bottom of the fence, she cut a single strand of the chain link several times, as it ran up the fence. The small sections of wire pinged away from the fence and flew into the long grass. In seconds, a large enough hole had been opened for a few of us to walk through, and seconds later, a few more of the strands had been cut to create a door shaped gap in the fence, allowing access for the less able members of our group. The bolt cutters safely stashed, we had a quick explore around the building. I pointed out a security light with motion sensor, although the bright afternoon sun made it redundant. The eight of us set about painting slogans on the building. It was a discrete, brick built structure, quite in keeping with Cove's "Conservation Village" status, with shuttered windows and a single door. Within minutes it was transformed into an "eyesore", quite in keeping with its role in the preparations for genocide.

Still no sign of the police, although a few cars had driven past and almost certainly spotted the bright white, red and yellow gloss paint being liberally applied to the building. We worked together on the larger slogans, "trident is illegal" running the entire length of one wall in slightly uneven yellow letters. "NO NUKES!" in block capitals on the wall facing out towards the Loch. "Nuremberg 4", referring to the Nuremberg principles under which all citizens are responsible for upholding international law, painted in cursive script on the short tarmac driveway leading up to the building. My hands covered in yellow gloss paint, and with a shortage of brushes, I made a few palm prints, a symbol that had been used in the campaign against uranium mining in Australia, on the door of the building.

I stood back to admire our work, when a shout went out. A police car had pulled up a couple of hundred yards down the road. We carried on painting. Most of the wall space, and almost all of the paint, had been used. There was still a bit of space left on the guttering, and a scraping of paint in one of the tins. Precariously balanced on a railing that ran around the building, and with a gesture towards the probable court case, I painted "Trident is danger, Trident is Illegal" along the gutter.

A larger number of police had begun to gather at the gate, unable to work out how we had got in to the compound. A couple of officers were instructed to inspect the

perimeter fence, which probably ran for two hundred meters in total, to see if there was a hole. After scrambling through the gorse they found the hole, and reported back to their boss over their crackly police radio. He had already sent for the key to the gate. When it arrived, he found the padlock smeared with paint, with superglue set solid in the keyhole. Another call, this time for the police's hydraulic bolt cutters, while the eight of us in the compound sat around in the evening sun, discussing their incompetence, and sharing our thoughts on how the camp was going. Eventually they got the gate open, and drove a police minibus in. Three activists stood up, and walked over to van, willing to co-operate with the police. The rest of us stayed sitting or lying on the ground, enjoying the sun, and waited to be carried to the van. A MoD Plod Superintendent, identifiable by the shiny crown on his epaulettes, was supervising the constables lifting me into the van. He looked me in the eye: "If you get any of that paint on the inside of our nice new van I'll get you for that as well..."

Lock-ons

The following paragraphs are based on a presentation made to the "National Petition Against Poverty" day school, Govan, Glasgow, July 1998. I had been invited along with other Faslane Peace Campers to speak to the group about the potential of direct action as a campaigning strategy.

Picture the scene: 35 people are dancing around a burning peace symbol on the road outside the A814 outside Faslane Peace Camp. Five people are lying in the road, locked together, and it takes the police two hours to clear the traffic that has built up. As a result, work is stopped for the day at Faslane Naval Base.

Meanwhile, disabled activists have chained themselves to the gates of Downing Street, covering themselves in fake blood, to protest against the Labour government's attacks on the welfare state. The issue is put firmly on the political agenda.

At the same time, activists from Greenpeace have boarded a ship carrying nuclear waste to be reprocessed in Britiain, slowing the journey, costing more money, and, again, highlighting Britain's place as the dustbin of Europe.

Across Britain, huge areas of land and hundreds of buildings are being squatted by anarchists, environmentalists and people with nowhere else to go.

All of these actions took place on one day towards the end of 1997, and indicate something of the breadth that direct action can take. All of them, however, use a simple tactic, known as the "lock-on", which uses a small amount of equipment to make the traditional sit-down protest, a favourite of the 1960s civil rights and peace movements, much, much more effective. It is a very cheap and easy tactic to use, requires very little training, and so, not surprisingly, it is used quite widely by direct activists. The lock-on normally consists of two or three pieces. First, you need something to lock yourself on with. This could be a bike lock around your neck. At Faslane we've used a loop of climbing tape, a bit of poly-prop (blue plastic rope, ubiquitous on protest sites) or a length of chain which fits around the wrist (see figure 17). This should be tight enough so that it can't come off over your hand when it is pulled. It should also be comfortable enough so that it doesn't hurt when someone's trying to pull it off over your hand. A bit of padding is useful for the tape or rope version, and almost essential for the chain version. Then you've got the clip, which is attached to the loop that goes around your wrist. A small chain snap-link is good, and they can be found in hardware shops. Or, failing that a climbing karabiner, but they are quite expensive, and you are likely to have it confiscated by the police. At worst, you could use a padlock, or even a pair of handcuffs, in which case you don't need the wrist loop. The trouble with either of these is, even though they are easier to find, you can't unclip yourself once you're clipped in. And that makes them much less safe to use.

The last bit of the lock-on is whatever you're going to lock on to. For the lock-ons that are used in eviction defences this tends to be a big lump of concrete. At Faslane, there are a couple of barrel lock-ons, made out of empty oil drums, filled up with concrete, bits of glass and metal, and old tyres to make cutting into them more difficult (see figure 17). Set into the concrete, and sticking out of the sides of the drum are a couple of lengths of drainpipe. At the bottom of each pipe is a metal bar, running across the diameter of the pipe. The idea is that when the bailiffs come onto the site to start the eviction, you grab a clip (or hopefully you'll be wearing one already) and then you stick your arm down the pipe. The clip goes onto the metal bar at the bottom of the pipe, and then the bailiffs can't get your arm out. But, if there is an emergency, or if you just get really cold and tired, you can unclip yourself.

Figure 17: "Find the links and understand them" lock-on clips (from Earth First! *Action Update*, 1997a), and one of the Faslane oil drum lock-ons.

There are three ways they can get you out. The first is to torture you out, using pressure points and psychological torture. This was done at the Brewery Fields protest in North Wales.

They could also use cutting gear to destroy the barrel of concrete. This is expensive, costing up to £1000 for the hire of the equipment, and the trained and insured people to do it, and it's also pretty time consuming for them, especially if it's not just concrete in the barrel, but a mixture of stuff.

They can also lift you and the barrel to somewhere where you are not in the way, and then there is no point in you being locked on any more. This can be quite dangerous, and is pretty scary to watch. You have got about half a ton of concrete attached to your arm, and if they drop it, or if they drop you, then you could get injured.

Similarly, locking on to any vehicle in the middle of the road, means that it can't be used and it also effectively blocks all the traffic behind that vehicle. This is a useful way of stopping people from getting into a particular factory or submarine base, or anywhere that there is a heavy flow of traffic. So, locking on to the underneath of a bus full of base workers heading in to Faslane at the shift change, not only holds up the thirty people on the bus, but also all the people stuck in the traffic jam that stretches back for several miles. Again, an oil drum in the middle of the road would do the same job. A tripod can be made out of scaffolding poles, lashed together, or joined with scaffolding clips. Having someone standing at the top of the tripod, or dangling from it in a climbing harness or even in a makeshift hammock, means that it can't be moved. They either have to get climbers in to get you down, or try to manoeuvre a vehicle underneath to take you down. I have also seen them build scaffolding towers alongside the tripod.

The same basic tactic of locking-on can also be used without anything heavy to attach yourself to. If you don't happen to have an empty oil drum kicking about, or if you don't want to climb all over some vehicles, you can lock-on to someone else. Again you use a bit of drainpipe to stop them getting access to the clips that are attached to your wrists. It can be made much more secure by using metal pipe, which is more difficult to cut. Attaching a metal bar across the inside of the pipe, and locking onto it, means that they can't pull your arm out so easily. Putting the first tube inside a second tube, and filling the gap with concrete makes it almost impossible to cut without a Stihl Saw. Once you've got a group of people linked together in a line or a circle, you are very difficult to move. A group of seven people is already getting on for the weight of an oil drum full of concrete. It is also more difficult to carry as you won't all fit on a forklift truck, and you might move about a little more than an oil drum. This technique was used at Faslane to block the traffic, and has also been used to prevent nuclear waste (CASTOR) transportation, by train, with the arm-tubes actually running under the train track, with an activist on either side.

There has been some debate recently, at the peace camp and elsewhere, over whether this sort of disruption is actually counter productive. There is certainly a danger of trapping innocent parties in their cars when you block a road, not to mention the need to keep a path clear for emergency vehicles. These are endlessly debatable points and things that should be considered before using these tactics. I

would like to suggest, however, that when the traffic that you are stopping from moving carries nuclear warheads, or is taking people to jobs that are environmentally damaging or ethically questionable, this is often a small price to pay. A Reclaim The Streets activist, discussing the potential of liberating space from cars, and for people, drew on a graffiti slogan from Paris May 1968, which I think is entirely fitting "The barricade blocks the road, but opens the way" (*Do Or Die*, 1997a, p 5).

The use of the lock-on is involved not only in the development of resistance, but also in bonds of solidarity between activists and between different campaigns and struggles. The bond that develops is, however, highly ambiguous. Winnicott (1971, pp 15-19) discusses the use of string as a transitional object by one of his young patients. He refers to the paradox of these objects as being simultaneously joined *and* separated by the string. The use of string, or more frequently a length of chain or rope, in a lock-on that joins activists together, can also be seen as a form of communication between distinct individuals. It also, however, begins to challenge the boundaries between people. The destruction, or at least the blurring, of the tight boundaries drawn around the sovereign ego, makes possible both co-operation and a shared understanding within the group. However, the process can lead to a great deal of anxiety, associated with the loss of the definite sense of self.

This tension is also played out between different groups involved in direct action. Tensions between Faslane Peace Camp and The National Petition Against Poverty were evident when activists from both groups came together to take part in an occupation of Keir Hardie House, the Scottish headquarters of the Labour Party. The need to make links was indicated in the report of the action in *Faslania*

> "It is important to be involved in other groups actions in
> recognition that this is more than a single issue campaign.
> Trident is part of the same system that creates poverty and
> alienation and it is the whole system that needs to be altered....
> If everyone held power equally there would be no need for
> bombs, and no cause for poverty." (Gaynor, 1998, p 17)

Yet, the significant differences in experience, ideology and expectations between the groups were barely masked.

> "The occupation ended when the police were accidentally let in
> by a confused activist but the petitions organisers demanded a
> meeting with MP Helen Liddel the next morning.... Reformist
> organisations will never achieve real change because it is the

nature of an oppressive economic situation to create these problems." (ibid.)

The role of links such as these between and within groups of activists in highlighting and overcoming divisions is discussed in more depth in the following sections that deal more explicitly with the construction of community and power-with.

---

[1] Due to the military connotations of the word, Roseneil (1995, p 190 n 9) prefers to refer to "actions", which is a term that she suggests is used by activists themselves. In fact, at Faslane, both words are used, with actions generally used to describe specific planned or unplanned events that might use a variety of different specific tactics.

[2] Examples of recent geographical accounts of direct action include Cresswell (1994, 1996) and Halfacree (1998, 1999). In contrast to these strictly academic analyses, Evans (1998) and Merrick (1996) both manage to create situated accounts of direct action. Evans (1998), in particular, combines personal and historical accounts with reflection, and tactical information.

[3] A women's liberation collective, founded in New York in 1969 (Blunt and Wills, 2000, p 103).

[4] For discussion of the semantic distinction between "nonviolent direct action" and "NVDA" see Marshall (1998). The Fluffy vs. Spikey debate is summarised by *Aufheben* (1995), and contributors to Zine (1995). These are just two of the many, largely inconsequential, debates that seem to recur almost endlessly within the direct action movement.

[5] A previous Ploughshares action against British Aerospace, where Chris Cole had damaged equipment that was not directly related to the production of the Hawk jets, had resulted in his conviction.

[6] Delete as applicable...

[7] See, for example, Cresswell (1996, ch 3)

[8] Examples can be found at *www.subvertise.org*.

Song

> "Some people talk about 'political songs' meaning 'protest songs' but there are also songs of solidarity, hope and bright prospects." Sheffield Socialist Choir, *With One Voice*, 1999.

The next section of the thesis deals in more detail with a number of aspects of the power of song. It begins from a view of song as a commonly used tactic, in a similar way to those tactics discussed above. However, song also provides a link between the purely oppositional use of tactics, and the role of direct action in overcoming individual, or psychological, exclusion, and in developing bonds of solidarity or affinity between activists. I continue to draw heavily on my experience at Faslane Peace Camp, and my involvement with the Trident Ploughshares campaign. I also focus on a separate campaign, the "Diggers350" occupation of St. George's Hill, Surrey, in the spring of 1998. Here, I refer to the use one particular song in the construction of community. I am also inspired in writing this account by all of the countless people I have sat with around campfires, and the many hours I that have spent listening to, watching, and singing along to, a wide variety of alternative/radical/protest musicians and singers. In particular I owe a debt to Billy Bragg, Leon Rosselson, Roy Bailey, the Sheffield Socialist Choir and Seize The Day; many of whose songs have informed my personal, and academic, views as much as any book.

Song as resistance

The most immediately obvious way in which songs are used in resistance is as an expression of some prior, existing, discourse. This might be an account of actions and campaigns that have taken place in the past, ideas about alternative (future) societies, or a call to arms for a particular struggle. In a similar way to the painted slogans discussed above, the use of song allows information about a campaign to be communicated in a simple and often particularly effective way. In this sense the use of song can be seen as a *demonstration*, rather than direct action in itself. It is not coincidental that both organised and spontaneous demonstrations at the gates of Faslane Naval Base, and elsewhere, often include songs.

In this context, expressions of resistance and opposition represent a form of mediation of that resistance, and one that does not necessarily depend upon the

medium of song. It would, for example, be possible to convey the same messages or histories through the written word, in the form of leaflets or placards.

Perhaps the simplest way in which songs are used as demonstration is in chanting slogans. One example is the traditional "call and response" of:

> What do we want?
>> No Nukes!
> When do we want it?
>> Now!

The basic form of is, of course, common to a huge range of campaigns. Other demands that I have chanted include the immediate ending of specific military campaigns (against Iraq, Serbia, Chechnya), an increase in teachers' pay and the equalisation of the age of consent for gay men.

These simple chants cut out what is deemed to be "unnecessary" information, often relating to the ways in which the aim is going to be achieved. It is arguable whether this brevity is necessarily a problem, however, especially as these more complex ideas might be conveyed in other songs or in different ways. If the purpose of singing (or chanting) is to reach a large number of people with an easily understood message, then fewer words are almost certainly preferable. The exclusion of these details is never, however, a politically or socially neutral process. The reasons why certain songs are *not* sung (and certain issues are not sung about) is often as significant as the reasons why certain songs *are* sung.

An email on the discussion list for the Mayday 2000 celebrations highlighted a more fundamental conflict over the use of such chants, in response to the suggestion that a mass demonstration would be a good way of organising:

> "Gosh! I thought all those 'what do we want?' 'whatever you want' 'when do we want it?' 'whenever it suits you' demos were really radical!"

This argument not only raises questions around how to discuss or represent resistance, but also about the meanings and effectiveness of particular actions. Rather than being a simple expression of some essential form of resistance (existing prior to the chant), it is possible that the form and content of the chant in themselves have an influence upon resistance.

The examination of the ways in which songs may represent a form of resistance necessitates a search for the significance of song, *as song*, rather than simply as a demonstration of something else. It is also not enough to simply analyse the lyrics of a song to determine whether or not it has a role to play in resistance. This is

especially the case where the use of the song in conveying information, or in motivation, depends on the simplification (or removal) of lyrics. It is also necessary to look at the practice of singing.

There may be a danger of drawing too neat a distinction between representation and resistance. The use of song in the (re)creation of particular histories blurs any such boundary between song as representation of resistance, and song as resistance in its own right.

Songs of resistance

The folk revival of the 1950's and 1960's saw its political mission not only to chart the lives and struggles of the working class, but also to recreate a particular form of music. From this era, the *Radio Ballads* of Ewan MacColl, Peggy Seeger and Dave Swarbrick stand out as innovations not only in the radio documentary format, but also in the creation of an anti-hegemonic history.[1] It is in this spirit, and often as a result of direct collaborations with these three individuals, that much contemporary political song writing has evolved in Britain and North America. The focus on the history of working class struggles remains. Alistair Hulett, for example, uses song to chart the history of the peasant's revolt, Red Clydeside and the Poll Tax riot. Questions have been raised, however, as to the entirely progressive nature of the folk revival. In particular the early twentieth century work of Cecil Sharp has been characterised as one of invention, rather than simple recreation, of a tradition (Harker, 1985). Sharp's was a deeply misogynistic vision, based on the subservience of the working class, and the close ties of citizen to the nation (Revill, 1997). There were conflicts between socialist and reactionary trends within the folk revival movement.

However, the celebration of an "authentic" history of the working class, which both factions held in common, created a particular patriotic and nationalistic trend which also ran through the Communist inspired folk revival of the 50's and 60's. This is clearly visible "policy decision" of Ewan MacColl, with respect to the *Ballads and Blues Club* that he ran. By the 1950s MacColl had "...decided on a policy: that from now on residents, guest singers and those who sang from the floor should limit themselves to songs which were in a language the singer spoke or understood. We became what began to be known as a 'policy club'."(MacColl, quoted in Brocken, 1998, ch 3) This policy had the effect of limiting the singer to

songs written in their particular geographical region, and also to songs that would have been "traditionally" performed by singers of their gender.

The "policy" also created a hierarchy within the club, intimately bound up with the architecture of the club itself, and in particular the distinction between audience/floor and stage/performer. Drawing on an interview with another member of the folk revival, Brocken explains:

> "Floor singing had become a salient feature of folk clubs by the end of the 1950s and usually involved members of the 'audience' being invited to stand up and sing unaccompanied. This was regarded by some as an essential and democratic feature of the folk club, however it was also seen by others such as MacColl as rather musically anarchic. Singer Fred McCormick remembers: 'He would allow only three floor singers and would cancel them all at a whim if he thought it was necessary. That's the real way he ran things… for himself.' It is hardly surprising that, following MacColl's intervention, the floor singing spot subsequently became the moment at which the same person usually stood up to sing the same song at the same time at every meeting; thus creating a vocal and visible display of hierarchy rather than democracy, via performance."
> (1998, ch 3)

The contradiction within this position, given the politically oppositional status of the folk revival at this stage is clear. While MacColl was supposedly championing the free-flow of 'workers' music, in a democratic and unmediated format, he was simultaneously reinforcing a form of cultural nationalism (Brocken, 1998).

In a satirical take on the subject, Leon Rosselson's *Sing A Song To Please Us*, deals with a similar problem in knowing where to pitch the final song on an LP. A series of voices appear in his head calling for the song to be in turn commercially viable, angst-ridden, "folky" and romantic. Rosselson also, however, takes a swipe at knowingly political songs, as well as a particular brand of socialism, when he hears

Stanza 3 …some voices on the sidelines,
Said they'd drawn up proper guidelines
To keep me on the right lines for the song I ought to sing.

Stanza 4 To the point, is our suggestion
So just ask yourself these questions-
Will it lead the masses to a final victory?
Would it be approved by Lenin?
Have heroic working men in?
And will it tell us when the revolution's going to be?

© Leon Rosselson, (reprinted in Rosselson, 1992)

A number of singers, songwriters, and activists from within the contemporary direct action movement have also attempted to chart the struggles with which they have been involved. They remain susceptible to a number of the same problems that faced the folk revivalists. Probably the best known of the groups performing within the direct action movement (over the past few years at least) is *Seize the Day*, many of whom met on a protest camp opposing the construction of the Newbury Bypass.

Their song *With My Hammer*, written about the "Seeds of Hope" Ploughshares action, has been central to the way in which this particular action is recounted within the direct action movement. Their website explains:

> "It tells the true story of 4 women who decided to take Non-Violent Direct Action against the UK Arms Trade by disarming a Hawk Jet. After damaging the Hawk Jet, the women handed themselves in for arrest so that the issue could be tried in Court. In an historic decision, a British Jury found them NOT GUILTY of "criminal damage" on the basis that the protesters were acting to prevent a greater crime!
> The fighter-plane had been produced by British Aerospace for export to Indonesia, where it would be used against the people of East Timor, whose country Indonesia has illegally occupied."
> (Seize the Day, no date, emphasis in original)

Angie Zelter, instigator of the Trident Ploughshares campaign, is one of the four women mentioned in the song. Although she did not actually hammer on the jet, she was arrested after making clear to the police her intention to disarm another jet. Along with the other three women, she was found not-guilty of a charge of conspiracy to cause criminal damage.

The song details the motivation for the Seeds of Hope action, as well as the lengthy preparation and six months spent on remand. It reaches a climax with the verdict. The song has played an important role in charting, and spreading, the history of this action, and it has been played at a huge number of demonstrations, meetings, benefit gigs and on the main stage at the Glastonbury festival in 1999. The song also appears on their CD *It's your Life, It's Our World*, and there is a promotional video for it at the end of the alternative news video, *Undercurrents 10*.

The song serves as a creation of a, self-consciously, particular history. However, despite an awareness of this partial position, it is portrayed as a "truth" to be measured against "the lies" which are disseminated by the mass media and multinational corporations. Although there may be several competing versions,

history can possibly be discriminated into the truthful and the fallacious. In the cases where the version of history presented by Seize The Day lyrics is revealed to be in the latter category, this is explained away.[2]

In part this ambiguous position with respect to the "truth" is a function of the role of song as a motivation to take direct action. Doubt, and the possibility of doubt, are erased in order to provide a more effective clarion call. Not only has the song served as a folk-history of the Seeds of Hope action, but it also provides a blueprint for future ploughshares actions. It was in this role that it was performed at the opening event of the 1998 Trident Ploughshares camp, at the main gates of Faslane Naval Base.

The opening ceremony of the Trident Ploughshares campaign provides me with one of my most vivid memories from my time at Faslane. Seize the Day, and SheBoom, a particularly loud drumming band, provide a sound track which structures the resistance.

I came down the hill from the camp, towards the main gates of the base, slightly behind the main body of the demonstration. The sight of people spilling out into the road brought back memories of my first visit to the base, in the Summer of 1996, which was the last time I had seen this many people protesting at the gates. Memories of the sun, which at that point I hadn't seen for a few weeks, memories of the fear at seeing the base for the first time. I had a feeling of seeing the base for the first time, again... Arriving at the gates of the base I saw three young men, from "Corpus Christi", one of the Swedish affinity groups, heads bowed, kneeling in prayer. The three of them still, silent, focussed, while around them, to one side, was a melee of action, shouting, discussion, nervous tension; and to the other side, a weapons system with the power of a thousand Hiroshimas. From behind me the thump, thump, thum-thump-thum-thump..., as Sheboom, women's drumming band from Glasgow, struck up; and launched into a blistering samba rhythm. Tchinga-tin-tching—th-th-thum-thump... The tinny repique, answered by the booming bass drums. Tchinga-tin—boomba-boom...A temporary stage had been erected on the roundabout, and the crowd in front of it completely blocked the slip road leading to the base. Behind the stage a banner hung, displaying the names, 98 in all, of those who had pledged to disarm the Trident submarines. Tching-tin-tching-tin--Boom-Boom-ba-Boom... News reached us that someone had been arrested already, over at Coulport, before the "official" start of the direct action phase of the campaign,

possibly overeager to get out of the rain, and away from the midges. Most people had decided to wait around to hear the musicians. Boom-Boom-Boom-thump--thump. The blacksmith with his portable forge, ready to beat a wrought iron "submarine" into a CND symbol. Tchinga-tching-tin-Bam-Bam-Bam... People I recognised, everywhere I looked, friends I hadn't seen for months. Bamba-bam-BAM----Bamba-bam-BAM---tinga-ting-tin...BAM, BAM, BAM. Applause as SheBoom finish their set, and Theo and Shannon, front-people of Seize the Day take to the stage. Behind me, an ironic discussion of the singers, "Theo and Shannon, yeah, of course I've seen them play, I've seen them loads of times before. Hasn't everyone. If there's an envelope to be opened, they'll be there." Actually, having heard them before was not all that unusual. It is more that likely if you had been to a big British demonstration in the two or three years leading up to their performance, no matter what the issue, you would have heard them at some point. They also play almost every night of the Glastonbury festival in some of the smaller stages and cafes frequented by activists. In the wider British environmental direct action movement, Theo and Shannon are perhaps the closest things to rock-stars.

Their song comes to an end.

> With my hammer I break the chain, I will not remain in silence
> I will stand and I will defend my right to fight against violence
> No prison can contain the freedom that we gain,
> When we move through fear...
> With my hammer I broke the chain, I did not remain in silence

Fired up, the two weeks of disarmament attempts began...

The role of the song, then, ceases to be one purely of recounting a history of struggles in which those singing the song may or may not have a part. Through providing a vision of the future, singing becomes a tactic in itself.

At a more visceral level, resistance might even be found in the presence of an unusual sound. The Super Sonic Samba School website provides a guide to the use of drums on demonstrations.

> "Drums can win our enemies over to our side, by showing them
> that this modern world has not dehumanized us. Or, the noise
> alone may give them headaches; hypnotic tight rhythms can
> cause seizures, and bring our enemies frothing to their knees.
> Drums are the quintessential tool for disrupting bureaucratic
> meetings when you can't, or don't want, to go inside. Chanting
> only gets so loud, and there are tighter restrictions on amplified
> sound then un-amplified sound." (no date)

<u>Songs as resistance</u>

The singing that is so prevalent on demonstrations often continues, on arrest, in police vans and police cells. The songs take on a different meaning, and literally a different acoustic *feeling*, in the confined circumstances of the police cell. They indicate a refusal to accept the change in social space to one that is explicitly restrictive. Singing can offer some resistance to the isolation imposed on those in custody. In such cases, song may be a significant tactic where there are few other material and social resources available.

Perhaps the most powerful image of the capacity of song to resist in this way is that of Víctor Jara, a singer-songwriter who was executed during the military coup in Chile. As well as an award winning theatre director, Jara had been a leading figure in the Chilean New Song movement, which has a number of parallels with the British folk revival. Jara succeeded in bringing together a wider range of people, including "students and unions, intellectuals and the illiterate" (Víctor Jara Foundation, 1999; Uribe, 1983, p 441). He had written a number of songs in support of the Allende government. When he was imprisoned with hundreds of others in a sports stadium in Santiago, he continued to write and perform songs literally until the end of his life:

Estadio Chile	Chile stadium
Cuanta humanidad	How much humanity
Con hambre, frio, panico, dolor	Exposed to hunger, cold, panic, pain
Presión moral, terror y locura!	Moral pressures, terror and insanity?
Seis de los nuestros se perdieron	Six of us were lost, as if into starry space,
En el espacio de las estrellas.	One dead, another beaten as I could never
Un muerto, un golpeado como jamás creí	have believed a human being could be
se podoria golpear un ser humano.	beaten

© Mighty Oak Music Ltd. (Reprinted with translation on sleeve notes of Victor Jara, *Manifesto*.)

Jara was singled out as a particularly influential individual and was tortured before being beaten to death. Under the Pinochet regime his songs were banned, and many of them had to be smuggled out of the country by his wife Joan. This harsh repression alone could stand as a measure of the power of his songs. But the resistance of his song should not depend solely upon the gaze of a military dictatorship. The power of the song is also to be found in the links made between people, and in particular the way his songs served as an inspiration for people

across the world to continue the struggle against the junta, and more recently to bring Pinochet to trial.

Within the police cells at Faslane song has a power that does not depend solely upon transgression, and the power to piss off a Ministry of Defence turnkey. Song can turn spaces of domination into spaces of resistance. The flat, square, walls of the cell and the *incessant* hummm,mmm,mmm,mmm of the air conditioning are drowned out, and replaced by a space filled with song. It almost doesn't matter what is being sung. It is the refusal to be crushed, and silenced, by the process of arrest and detention that is significant.

Routledge (1997b) suggests a key role for the use of poems in the creation of a "terrain of resistance" by the Naxalite movement.

> "Other poems spoke of repression, jail, and torture and were
> written more for the interned than the peasant masses in general.
> These songs were often the only means of communication
> among the prisoners, when, after dusk, they were locked up in
> separate wards, or put in solitary confinement." (p 2178)

Routledge continues, quoting from a book of Naxalite poetry. "Ripped out of the wall like a shower of sparks, the words of these songs were carried by the imprisoned voices across the courtyards to fellow prisoners lodged in distant cells or wards, who in their turn responded with the familiar refrains" (Banerjee, 1987, p 96; cited in Routledge 1997b, p 2178).[3]

Foucault's comment that "in the first instance, discipline proceeds from the distribution of individuals in space" (1977, p 141), has been largely interpreted by geographers to problematise the role of space in the process of disciplining (Philo, 1992). While this it certainly important, the quote also suggests that domination and power-over proceeds from individuation and separation.[4] As such it is possible to identify instances where, while a challenge to the distribution in space is not always possible, the process of separation can be challenged.

When I was arrested at NATO headquarters in Brussels, along with 120 other activists, we were placed in holding cells in one of the main city police stations. The cell, which had a floor area that could have been no bigger than 15 m^2 held thirty of us. Immediately adjacent, separated by bars, rather than a solid wall, was a similar sized cell where they were holding an equal number of women. This spell in custody had come after riot police had encircled a sunny, peaceful,

demonstration, and all those present had been arrested. We were loaded into metal police vans that in the summer heat began to resemble saunas (to the delight of Finnish comrades) as the numbers in each grew. In these vans it was too hot to sing, but I shared my skills in folding origami peace cranes, a symbol of the anti-nuclear movement. In the cells, however, the singing, chanting and humming begins, in English, French, Flemish, Finnish, Dutch, Russian, German. It is a way of supporting those who were not expecting to be arrested, those who have been arrested for the first time, and those who are upset, angry, confused.

This mingling of sweat, smells, and voices, this connection, is celebrated by Starhawk (1988, *passim*) in her account of a much longer detention as a result of Diabolo Canyon Nuclear Power Plant blockade. The way that this power *feels* cannot be explained purely at the level of the individual.

In the police cells used more commonly in England and Scotland, where all visual contact between prisoners is removed, singing with someone in an adjacent cell has the power to overcome the physically imposed isolation and can lift the spirits immeasurably. When faced with the bare walls and harsh lighting, it is the ability to link with other activists that gives song its greatest power. The power comes from rejecting the isolation that is imposed as a fundamental part of the regime of custody, and reaching out to people to build solidarity with them.[5]

In unfamiliar cells in Stirling nick, I hear the unmistakable, broad Glaswegian shout of "Yer Maaw", repeated over and over, interrupted only by the sound of other familiar voices joining the general din "Donald's Maaaw"; "Yer Maaw's Maaw"; "Oy, Coppa, …Get Tae Fuck". While I would have preferred a different soundtrack to my detention, the constant noise is strangely reassuring. It changes the nature of the space, filling a space of domination with the noises of resistance. At a concrete level, I know that I am not being kept longer than the rest of them and transport will be waiting for us when we get out; our spirits are not broken by a long drive in tight quickcuffs or the process of detention. In a more abstract way, the connection enabled through sound provides a challenge to the way in which we have been separated, each to our own cell, in order that we do not cause trouble, and that we are easier to control.

The ability to connect in this way depends, in part, on the architecture of the custody suite, and the physical proximity between cells. Where there is more distance between cells, I have spent hours with my ear to the cell door, waiting for

any sign that a fellow activist is being led past so that I can shout greetings, words of encouragement, or just shout. Where such "meetings" are not possible, it is possible to draw strength from the knowledge that those outside the police station will be singing the same songs that I am singing inside. This is a link that admittedly depends on flights of the imagination, but flights that remain grounded in the community of which I am part.

---

[1] In this respect they shared much with the history workshop of Raphael Samuel.

[2] For example, only three of the Seeds of Hope women actually hammered on the jet. A more stark example can be seen the notes that accompany the song *Only Doing My Job*, on the Seize the Day CD. The song contained factual inaccuracies of the events surrounding the death of an animal rights activist during a protest against live animal exports.

[3] The lyrics of songs may also be a useful resource, even when they are not sung. In 1998, a Trident Ploughshares activist was prosecuted for writing a song lyric on the wall of her cell, creating a physical, as well as auditory terrain of resistance. She had written the first line to *Stand Up*, a song that was repeatedly sung on the camp:

> "Margaret, who [was] accused of malicious mischief after decorating her cell with messages of peace said: 'One of my messages read: *Stand up, make your choice, create a world without nuclear death*. That sums it up for me. I work with women who have breast cancer and there is for me a vital link between that work, which is all about preserving and valuing life, and the work of challenging our country's plans for murder.' (Trident Ploughshares, 6th November 1998)

[4] A suggestion more clearly spelled out in his introduction to Deleuze and Guattari's *Anti-Oedipus* (Foucault, 1984).

[5] This is in contrast to an account that celebrates the *transgressive* nature of song. A focus on transgression in this context would seem to come close to romanticising separation, by focussing on the (crossing of) physical boundaries.

Song as power-from-within

Songs can also be used as a form of personal empowerment that also cannot be reduced solely to questions of an oppositional resistance. The use of song in this way is less tangible. Nevertheless, it provides a vital part of the power of song which can be thought of as "power-from-within" (Clark, 1998; Starhawk 1979, 1988).[1] I feel a certain unease dealing with this form of power. It leaves me feeling more vulnerable than my discussion of domination, resistance and the formation of community. I have tended to shy away from it in my research, and it receives less attention than the other forms of power that I discuss. I begin with a consideration of two of the more mundane elements of the power-from-within of song, catharsis and sustenance.

<u>Catharsis</u>

Standing at the main gates to Faslane Naval Base is a small group. It's made up, mainly, of peace campers. There are a few local stalwarts of the Scottish Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, and a couple who have come out from Glasgow for the hastily arranged demo. We're here to give the base a message that it is Trident that should be evicted, not the peace camp, and there're even a couple of banners that say so. Jack steps forward, and delivers a speech, aimed as much to the crowd as to the Ministry of Defence guards on the gate. "Can I speak to the base commander please?" he begins… "Oh, is that because he's not there, or because he doesn't want to debate the legality of nuclear weapons with us?" his request has obviously been turned down, but this is not really a surprise to anyone- "maybe I could speak to one of you then?" The guards, who are not paid extra to listen to ranting peace campers, look at each other. I can imagine them rolling their eyes- and attempting to disappear beneath their black peaked caps, emblazoned with the MOD Guard Service badge. It's a familiar sight when they're faced with this sort of question. Neither of them reply, but one of them steps forward shiftily, this is Jack's cue to continue. "Aaah, I thought I'd just let you know that we've come here to officially ask for entry to the base to carry out an inspection of your *illegal* nuclear weapon systems" There is still no audible reply from the guards, but Jack's on a roll "…this is a power that we have under the Geneva Convention. It's also set down in the nuclear non-proliferation treaty, and the Nuremberg Principles. Soooo, are you going to let us in, or not?" No reply, this time he addresses the guards personally,

attempting to make eye contact with each of them in turn, and reminds them of their individual responsibilities "Again, I've got to ask you, are you going to let us in? 'cause if you don't, that means that you are aiding and abetting preparations for genocide." Although he has his back to us, this is a statement aimed as much at us, as it is at the guards. "Aren't they being naughty boys and girls-not like us" is the implication. It's a guaranteed "crowd pleaser", not only because appeals to international law represents a powerful discursive device in the opposition to nuclear weapons, but also because it makes us feel *so much better*. We're here, on this side of the fence, not in our armchairs, on the moral high ground, fulfilling our obligations under this treaty or that one. They're over there, on the other side of the fence, if only they'd come and join us. But the *them*, who are separate from *us* are also in the high-rise tower blocks of Glasgow, and in front of the computer terminals, and in the boardrooms of companies up and down the country. Jack drops all pretence of addressing the guards "Well, you don't actually seem to have been all that successful, in keeping us out recently anyway, do you? We've had five people in there this week alone!!!" As he makes this allusion to the recent incursions into the base by peace campers he turns, slightly, and gestures towards the crowd. There are ululations of delight, applause, and we bask in the reflected glory of our comrades' cunning.

Tam steps forward with a saucepan he has brought from the camp, and begins banging the reflective strip that runs along the weld-mesh gate. It makes a reassuring, metallic, clunk-clunk clunk. The sound, perhaps, of important disarmament work being done. Others join in with cooking implements and scrap metal that they've brought from the camp; or picking up chucky-stanes (pebbles) from the side of the road. A chant starts, and the drumming falls into the staccato rhythm "No!More!Nukes! No!More!Nukes! Clunk.clunk.clunk No!More!Nukes!", Reassured that even in the face of the seemingly unconquerable, we are *at least* doing something. "Let!Us!In! No!More!Nukes Let!Us!In!" Stood here, chanting at three bored guards, this *is* very probably the least we could be doing.

Sustenance, or, "we're singing in the rain"
The power of song in motivation, and sustenance, particularly on long rainy vigils makes the tactic one of great strength in resisting not just the nuclear arms race, and the weather, but also despondency.

I'd been given the job of filming any arrests at the blockade of the South Gate. Arrests looked unlikely, as the police had very kindly blocked the road for us, and no traffic is coming in or going out. This allows them to concentrate on keeping just one gate clear. It also gives the press, who are out in abundance, a better photo opportunity. *Just in case* something happens, I feel compelled to stick around. In the pouring rain... Where I can't even get the camera out, in case it gets wet... And in any case it's too dark to do any filming... By the time it gets light enough to use the camera, most of the "blockade" has left, and gone to find themselves a nice dry police van, via the blockade outside at the North Gate. Why hang around here in the rain, when you might as well be a few minutes walk up the road, in the rain, doing your bit to save the planet. I have a quiet chuckle at the abandoning of the carefully scripted action that meant there would be equal numbers at each gate. I am glad, actually, that individuals and affinity groups felt they *could* move between gates. The consequence of having more bodies in the road up at the other gate is, however, a rapidly shrinking group at this gate. "Aah, well" I think, as another group of ten head off through the puddles "the hardships of dedication to The Cause" and another little chuckle to myself. Very soon it looks as if there will be no one left to chuckle to. Further down the long South Gate slip road, I can see a couple of cars heading towards us, and I wonder if this means that the road has been opened. They pull up a little way from the gate, and five women get out, with their drums. It's Sheboom, and some friends from another band. Suddenly, it feels worthwhile being at this gate...

They play through all the tunes they know in common, plastic bags protecting the most fragile drums from being damaged. I put down the camera bag, have a little dance, and chat to one of the women I recognise from the previous summer. After they have finished, a group of assorted clergy, who have come to Faslane to be arrested, form a circle. Led by one of their number they break into a, less than rousing, chorus of some-hymn-or-other. There is a lovely image as they stand holding soggy scraps of paper and umbrellas. After they have managed to separate the pages of their hastily constructed hymnals, they start what I consider to be an equally dismal tune. I should, perhaps be less critical, from the way they are attempting to sway in time to its faux-calypso rhythm, I can tell that it is doing *something* for them. Their faith restored by a good singsong, the group of greying

vicars and priests heads off up the road to the north gate, where they will momentarily sit down, only to be hauled into waiting police vans.

These two, related, ways in which songs are used are certainly powerful, and a range of other examples could be found to tell similar stories of the cathartic and sustaining effects of song. There remains, however, a power to song that cannot be reduced to such mundane and material notions, and which involves more complex forms of empowerment. In unearthing these forms of power, it is necessary to draw parallels between the physical forms of enclosure discussed in relation to the construction of fences, and the forms of psychic enclosure and impoverishment that are a potential barrier to personal empowerment.

Psychic Enclosure
The *Temporary Autonomous Zone*, for Bey (1991), represents the possibility of not only a physical but also a psychological liberation. Following the Situationists, and the writings of Debord (1983) and Vaneigem (1983) in particular, Bey challenges the Society of the Spectacle. This is one in which simulation has replaced genuine, or unmediated, interaction. Mediation in an individual's everyday life is to be found in a variety of forms, from impersonal telecommunications technology, to the recuperation and co-option of subversive desires, and their repackaging as consumable products. The lack of the *immediate* denies the possibility of the "seizure of presence", which forms the basis of the TAZ. Moreover, this mediation leaves the individual in an existentially bereft position. As a remedy, Bey seeks the revolution of everyday life, through the replacing of the spectacular experience with a genuine, unmediated, existence. This is an idea that is developed further in his *Immediatism* (Bey, 1992). In the same way as the physical form of the TAZ evades definition (for Bey such definitions are a form of mediation), he circles around the *psychic* potential of immediatism, never defining it, but lavishly illustrating the concept:

> "An obvious matrix for Immediatism is the party. Thus a good
> meal could be an Immediatist art project, especially if everyone
> present cooked as well as ate. Ancient Chinese & Japanese on
> misty autumn days would hold odor parties, where each guest
> would bring a homemade incense or perfume. At linked-verse
> parties a faulty couplet would entail the penalty of a glass of
> wine. Quilting bees, tableaux vivants exquisite corpses, rituals

> of conviviality like Fourier's 'Museum Orgy' (erotic costumes,
> poses, & skits), live music & dance--the past can be ransacked
> for appropriate forms, & imagination will supply more." (Bey,
> 1992, § xiii)

Music, chanting and singing, are indeed, central to the immediatist project, being a way into a form of "democratic shamanism".

With respect to song, Bey (1992) suggests that singing and music would be appropriate at such occasions, although recorded music would generally be taboo. However, he is more critical of the intervention of Capital than any specific form of technology. As such recorded music that is distributed free, via cassettes sent through the post, may be less "mediated" than spectacular arena shows, even though the listeners might be geographically distant and anonymous. Again, it is the social relationship that underpins the formation of the immediate.

In advocating the dinner party as an archetypal way of replacing mediation with the face to face and the immediate, Bey invokes the ideas of two possibly contradictory Anarchist histories, the anarcho-communism of Kropotkin, and the individual anarchism of Stirner.

> "The essence of the [dinner] party: face-to-face, a group of
> humans synergize their efforts to realise mutual desires, whether
> for good food and cheer, dance, conversation, the arts of life;
> perhaps even for erotic pleasure, or to create a communal
> artwork, or to attain the very transport of bliss—in short, a
> 'union of egoists' (as Stirner put it) in its simplest form—or
> else, in Kropotkin's terms, a basic biological drive to 'mutual
> aid.'" (Bey, 1991, Waiting for the revolution)

Bey proposes the indulgence and egoism of Striner, alongside the more altruistic and revolutionary ideals of mutual aid and struggle associated with Kropotkin. The conflicts that have historically marked the contact between these ideologies does not seem problematic for Bey, who is able to reconcile the two by suggesting that both represent "Anarchist" discourses, and are, therefore, compatible. It would be possible to suggest that Bey is producing a synthesis of these two ideas, forming part of a long line of American anarchists, who refuse to be limited to either of these positions. The rest of the text, however, gives a clearer indication of the tradition in which Bey sees the TAZ developing.

As well drawing a preface to the text from Neitzche's "last 'insane' letter to Cosima Wagner" (Bey, 1991), reference is made in a number of places to the ideas of Neitzche, himself influenced by Striner, particularly relating to the liberation of the self. Along with his Nietzchean and Stirnerite forebears, Bey views the psychic

(en)closure of the ego, or more generally the self, under capitalism, and all other *systems*, as the fundamental problem presented by physical enclosure. He suggests that as well as providing a material archetype for TAZs, "Croatan" is important psychologically.

> "As America came into being where once there had been 'Turtle Island,' Croatan remained *embedded in its collective psyche*. Out beyond the frontier, the state of Nature (i.e. no State) still prevailed—and within the consciousness of the settlers the option of wildness always lurked, the temptation to give up on Church, farmwork, literacy, taxes—all the burdens of civilization—and 'go to Croatan' in some way or another."
> (Bey, 1991, Gone to Croatan, emphasis added).

As such, the idea of the TAZ opens up the possibility of escape into an essentially *psychological* realm, based on morally and ethnographically questionable assertions about pre-Columbian America.

Bey (1991) also directs considerable venom towards the formation of the nuclear family as a specific form of psychological enclosure. The attendant misery and alienation of an existence shaped in this way is a further motivation for the creation of the TAZ. He sees the family unit as underpinning the enclosed and exclusionary contemporary American way of life, and in particular the associated "oedipal misery" (1991, The Will to Power as Disappearance). Bey locates it, historically, as a response to the Neolithic agricultural revolution, and in particular the scarcity that this change imposed.

In place of the nuclear family, Bey suggests a return to the Palaeolithic band, the product of more abundant times. This is a form of association created by affinity rather than by the (genetic) ownership by the father of the family. It is one that potentially allows a less hierarchical structuring of society and supposedly has the TAZ as a spatial expression of the dynamics of such groups. He goes as far as to suggest that: "We're not kidding or indulging in hyperbole when we insist that meeting face-to-face is already 'the revolution.'" (1992, Immediatism vs. Capitalism). But, it is important to note that this is a form of organisation that is as much a desire for a psychic freedom, as it is for a change in the social structure. I discuss below, the problems of a valorisation of the prelapsarian band as a blueprint for social structure, and in particular the way in which it represents an unobtainable desire for closure, often involving trading one form of exclusion for another (I. Young, 1990).

In his description of Fiume, now Rijeka in Croatia, as an archetypal TAZ, Bey (1991) provides an example of an entire society structured around music. It is partly through a critical engagement with this account, and its numerous omissions, that some of the problems and inconsistencies of Bey's work, and the conception of the TAZ can be discussed.

Fiume was liberated at the end of the First World War, from what was then Yugoslavia, by Gabriele d'Annuznzio. This charismatic character is described by Bey as "decadent poet, artist, musician, aesthete, womaniser, pioneer daredevil aeronautist, black magician, genius and cad"(Bey, 1991, Music as an organisational principle). His account of the city-state informs us that "the party never stopped. Every morning D'Annunzio read poetry and manifestos from his balcony; every evening a concert, then fireworks. This made up the entire activity of the government." (Bey, 1991, Music as an organising principle). Bey suggests that alongside the occupation of an autonomous *space*, the social relationships (and specifically the unmediated quality of interaction) within that space are fundamental to the emergence of the TAZ. Indeed, "immediate" art forms such as music were held to be conducive to the propagation of a particular social form in Fiume. The existence of music at such a fundamental level in the constitution of Fiume is enough to convince Bey that the experiment is one to be unambiguously celebrated.

However, Bey's, his account of the Republic of Fiume omits some fundamental problems, identified by other historians. For example, Bey begs us to believe that it was only *later* that "D'Annunzio, like many Italian anarchists, …veered toward fascism" and that it was "in fact, Mussolini (the ex-Syndicalist) himself [who] seduced the poet along that route."(1991, Music as an organisational principle). Rhodes (1959), however, sees forms such as d'Annunzio's daily orations, and the predilection for black shirts, as marking Fiume out as the first modern dictatorship, with d'Annunzio as the "lyric dictator". Here, d'Annunzio is seen in the mould of the Nietzchean "superman", with all the Fascistic overtones that this term has come to acquire. In this analysis, the chaos and disorder can be ascribed to d'Annunzio's ineptitude as a statesman, rather than there necessarily being any fluidity, drift or psychic nomadism in the plans for Fiume. The Republic, in fact, came to adopt highly autocratic structures after a relatively short period of autonomy (Jullian,

1972).

I have commented, above, on Bey's desire to propagate the TAZ through means other than the cataclysmic clash of revolutionary action, and state reaction. This is closely related to the desire for a temporary and disordered social structure. Bey makes assurances that "no-one was trying to impose yet another Revolutionary Dictatorship... at Fiume" (1991, Music as an organising principle), distinguishing Fiume not only from the social anarchy of Spain, but more specifically the Bolshevik revolution in Russia. Bey suggests that the levels of bureaucracy within the anarchist collectives of Spain, and the Ukrainian communes, preclude them from role models for the TAZ. Indeed the picture Bey provides of Fiume suggests a disordered and chaotic enclave, in great contrast to regimented life in revolutionary Spain (Leval, 1975). I must admit that the idea of a state with music as its organising principle, in which one of Italy's greatest poets gave daily readings, is a more appealing basis for society than the comits and councils established to replace the Spanish state. Yet, certain aspects of the social structure in Fiume do not ring true.

Bey's analysis of Fiume is noticeably lacking in any explicit discussion of the social structure of the enclave, beyond the suggestion of the immediate (and hence positive) nature of interaction. There is also very little mention of any contact with the world beyond the republic, except to suggest that Fiume was sustained through piracy, and had a generally parasitic relationship with the wider world. Bey does hint at the possible structure of gender relations within Fiume when describing d'Annunzio as a "womaniser", although no more is said about this aspect of life in the autonomous zone. The Statute of Carano, the constitution for the Republic, combined "liberalism, communism, fascism, together with parts of Plato's Republic, and clauses about equality for women..."(Rhodes, 1959, p 183). There was no evidence to suggest, however, that this was the case, *in practice*. Rather, it seems as if women generally reduced to a role as d'Annunzio's play things.

Bey argues that autonomy for Fiume was not meant to endure. Rhodes (1959) provides evidence to the contrary, however, in a biography of d'Annunzio. In a letter, written in the days shortly after Fiume was seized, d'Annunzio states that "...one thing is sure; I shall hold the city at all costs" (Rhodes, 1959, p 181). Furthermore, Jullian (1972) suggests that it was clear that the Republic was intended to be not only permanent, but also was designed as the springboard for a

proto-fascist revolution throughout Italy. Bey must surely have been aware of these perceptions of the republic amongst historians, yet he does little to counter, or even to acknowledge, them. The lack of discussion of social structure of Fiume is in part the result of the brevity of the account. But to choose it as a prototype TAZ over the communes of revolutionary Spain, for example, is more surprising.

Bey makes it clear that he is not attempting a comprehensive history of the antecedents of Autonomous Zones. Instead he prefers a scatter-shot approach to history. In this respect there seems to be a very worthwhile aim of bringing to the attention of his readership historical examples that have previously been marginalised. The history of the grey-eyed Indians, those settlers who went to Croatan, runs contrary to much of American elementary school history. Touching on many of the same themes, Bey's work on *Pirate Utopias, Moorish Corsairs & European Renegadoes*, published under his alias Peter Lamborn Wilson (1996), represents the first significant text on the topic. As a heterodox historian, Bey's accounts deserve a certain amount of credit. His claims to represent these forgotten or hidden histories sit uneasily, however, with his insistence that such endeavours should remain unmediated and unrepresented.

The histories that Bey provides have clearly been chosen from the vast number of possible archetypes for particular, pragmatic, poetic and political reasons. In making this point, I am by no means suggesting anything untoward in Bey's use of history, rather that his account is as subjective, situated, partial and political as any other social scientific research. Bey, like any social scientist or polemicist, has a position to advance, which fundamentally shapes the historical account that he gives. I have reservations about his position.

Recognition

I'm on my way into Helensburgh when Ben pops his head out of Floating Anarchy. "Wait on", he calls, softly. I stop and turn towards the caravan. Pulling on his boots he stumbles towards me, laces trailing in the mud. He holds out his hand, as if to shake it. "It's alright" I tell him, "I'll be back later this afternoon, I'm only going into town." I take his hand, and we shake hands. His hands are strong, but the grip is gentle.

He manoeuvres his thumb upwards, and I reciprocate, palms rotating past each other. Our hands have moved into the grip that I associate with being more

"comradely" with someone. Close friends, people that I've shared something special with. He is looking deep into my eyes. Nervously, I look away.

After what seems like ages, I glance back, and see that he is still looking intently at me. I return the gaze. His hand shifts again so, with my fingers held against each other, our hands are curled tightly together. Knuckles resting against the palm of each other's hands, finger nails digging slightly into the crook each other's fingers. He smiles at me, looking for any sign that I know what he is doing. And he slides his thumb towards mine, brushing against the knuckle of my first finger. "Do you know this one?" he says, curious. "Erm..." I hesitate, fumbling slightly, sliding my thumb about, as his thumb is seeking out mine. "Now we put our thumbs together," I do as he says. "And we look into each other's eyes- and say ———" He says something I don't remember. "It's Mayan. It's like 'Namaste'" (I find out later that this is a Hindi greeting of recognition.) I am returning his stare, intently. Part of me is enjoying the intimacy. Part of me is wondering what the fuck is going on. "It means 'I recognise the spirit that is in you, that is also in me.'" I mumble an approximation of what he has just said. He relaxes his thumb slightly, and slides it down to the side of my first finger. "Looooook!" He says, excitedly, as I reciprocate his action. "It's a mandala. You know, like the picture on my jacket." I look down at the double spiral of our hands. "Right..." I say, remembering the bright green and orange symbol stitched to his *baja* hooded top, thinking that the symbol of the double spiral has popped up again. He explains about the friend of his who gave him the patch with the swirling pattern on it, and that's why it means a lot to him. After what seems like half an hour (probably no more than a few seconds) of him staring into my eyes, again, while my mind races... do we really have a *oneness of spirit*? ...gotta get the shopping, mandala,.... bank, wholefood shop, try to *look* comfortable at least... Ben pulls me forwards, towards him; our hands still entwined, he gives me a big hug, rubbing my back with his free hand.

I turn and leave him to go for the bus.
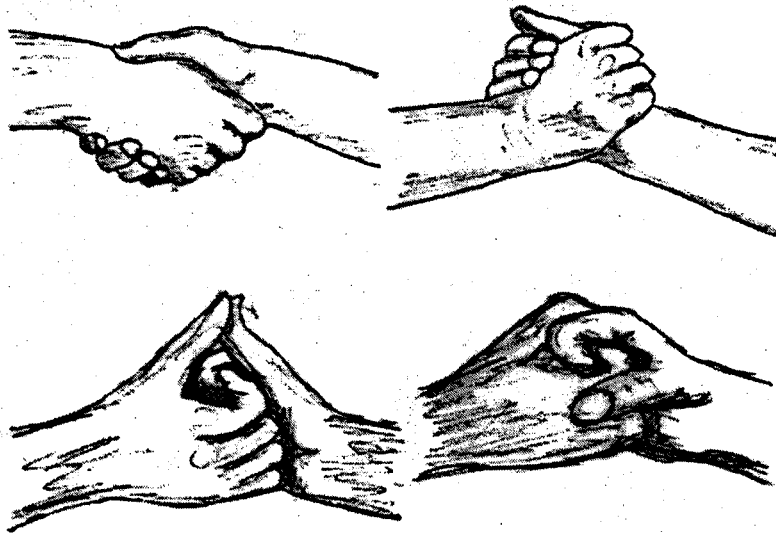
Figure 18: The "mandala" handshake

Jung describes a use of the mandala as a focal point for contemplation, a universal symbol lodged in the collective unconscious, that is both literally and figuratively central the process of individuation. For Powell (1994), however, it is the uses to which this collective unconscious is put *beyond the individual* that are important. There is a role for the symbol specifically in creating a *group* wholeness, or in-dividuality. Powell suggests "the mandala... has most likely been the archetype for wholeness since early man first sat around a fire, safe from wild animals and able to relax and reflect" (1994, p 17). As such he provides an image that would certainly not be out of place at Faslane. In so doing he also shifts the process of individuation from the single person to the group. Drawing on the group-analytic ideas of S.H. Foulkes, Elliot (1994) suggests that a delving into the collective unconscious may result in regression to a primitive state of communitas, which she associates with return to a neo-, or even pre-, natal state.

While there may be positive aspects to the construction of a secure "holding environment", the corollary of a strong bond of recognition within the group, is the exclusion of those outside of the group. When such a strongly bounded community *has* been formed at Faslane Peace Camp, for example, it is often the precursor to stagnation and eventual decline. The strong bonds within the camp lead to complacency over a reduction in the number of visitors, and a lack of willingness amongst those visitors to stay for any length of time. Far too often I have heard

visitors to the camp who are reluctant to stay comment on the feeling that they are intruding in the life of an established community...

Central to this process of exclusion, practiced very rarely at a conscious or intentional level, is the differentiation between that which can be recognised (as suitably similar to the individual or collective self) and that, which *is* not, or *can* not, be recognised as it is outside of the self. This is a process that seems not too dissimilar to the processes of the exclusion of the abject. Sibley (1995) draws attention to the exclusion associated with boundary formation at the level of the individual. A further set of problems arise when these processes are repeated by the group as a "whole".

Considering the narrative provided by Ben for his handshake, the boundedness and exclusion represented by the recognition of some universal spirit may *seem* less significant. The bond of humanity is, after all, one that is open to all those at the peace camp. There are, however, exclusionary facets to this form of "universal" bond.

Drawing on the feminist critique of liberal humanism provided by Rose (1993), the formation of a bond based on recognition of the whole of humanity (an idea implicit in both Jung's archetypes and Ben's handshake) can be questioned. She suggests that such universalist discourses are *necessarily* related to exclusionary practices, even if their ideal could be achieved.

It is not by chance, for example, that Powell (1994, quoted above) uses gendered language in describing the archetypical campfire scene. Rose comments on this practice amongst geographers: "The use of Man... makes men the baseline against which difference is spoken. Their Man is actually a man. The authority of humanistic geography is masculinist because it falsely assumes that the experience of men can represent all experiences." (Rose, 1993, p 53). Discussing the work of Relph (1976), Rose goes on to suggest that where women's experiences *are* explicitly discussed, they are often characterised as "inauthentic", a difference based on crude biological determinism. In a context where a collectivity as sameness is paramount, the marking of "female" as the possessor of "difference" becomes highly significant.

I only *saw* Ben shake hands with other men on the camp. This is not to suggest that women were not recognised in this way by Ben. Yet, it is important in that I did not witness it. The fact that there is almost always a much higher proportion of men

than women on the camp is likely to be significant here, and not only because it limits the number of women with whom Ben could shake hands. The lack of recognition of women when they *do* come to the camp may be significant in ensuring that this disparity in number (as well as the length of stay, and the roles that are performed) is perpetuated. This is a sentiment that has been expressed, both in camp meetings, and to me individually, on numerous occasions. Certain *forms* of recognition, such as the handshake, supposedly humorous criticism, or the offer of a beer, are highly gendered, and culturally specific.

Power-from-within

Within the peace movement, those positions that have engaged explicitly with the physical, and embodied, forms of empowerment that go beyond the purely individual, and the masculinist assumptions of humanism, have tended to be associated with eco-feminism and paganism. These perspectives attempt to (re)create a holism that not only encompasses both body and mind, but also seeks to deny the existence of this division. There is a tendency, however, in recapturing the physical, to reduce this experience to an outcome of essentialised, biological, and very often gendered, forms of power.

Starhawk (1988), in her description of the various forms of power-over identifies a consciousness of "estrangement" as one of the most fundamental aspects of domination. She expands the term beyond the strictly political-economic reading provided by Marx (1963b), from whose theory of the alienation of labour it is borrowed. For Starhawk, estrangement is responsible for the feeling of being

> "strangers to nature, to other human beings, to parts of
> ourselves. We see the world as made up of separate, isolated,
> nonliving, parts that have no inherent value. (They are not even
> dead – because death implies life.) Among things inherently
> separate and lifeless, the only power relationships possible are
> those of manipulation and domination." (1988, p 5)

As a way of overcoming estrangement, and developing this bond between people Starhawk (1988) outlines a practical guide to the performance of a ritual process, into which songs and chants are often worked. The challenge to alienation is provided by a power-from-within that Starhawk calls "immanence". This is in preference to any mention of "the goddess", a term that causes unease amongst both political and religious people (ibid., p 4). Significantly, all the magic work

documented in her book begins and ends with a process of grounding. This is the connection with the earth, with each other.

> "Several of us began a chant. Nobody could hear us because we were not using a sound system, but we started dancing... somehow, a few of us raised enough power so that it caught the assembled crowd. Suddenly, people were chanting sounds together. As one, everybody threw their arms above their heads and turned towards the sun. The chant went on for a long, long time. It was smooth, peaceful, strong. Thousands of people became, for a moment, one voice. The chanted ended all at once. When some of us sat down and grounded the power the rest followed suit. The day ended with small groups picknicking..." (ibid., p 171)

Alongside more general instructions for structuring rituals and group process, *Dreaming the Dark* contains an appendix which lists the words for a number of "traditional", more recently devised, and improvised, songs and chants. One of these is *The Goddess Chant*, which consists solely of various names for the Goddess, drawn from a variety of cultures. "Isis, Astarte, Diana, Hecate/ Demeter, Kali, Inanna" (Deena Metzger, reprinted in Starhawk, 1988, p 227).

There is a danger, however, of losing something in the translation of "alienation" from the political-economic roots of the term. Less attention is paid to the outcome of the bonds created between feminine bodies, that create the conditions for immanence. There is a problem of celebrating the power of personal empowerment, and bonds between people *per se*, rather than from the extent to which they form a radically different set of social relations. Their role in the possible reinscription of domination is ignored. Robinson (2000), for example, refers to the bonds of friendship between housing managers and tenants in South Africa, that were used to enforce surveillance and domination in housing schemes. It is clear, also, that egalitarian bonds exist between people in a variety of circumstances, often relating to the formation of highly exclusionary, or dominating, groups. The bonds between those chanting Nazi slogans during the Nuremberg rallies certainly summon up many of the same embodied, visceral, forms of power that are exhibited in Starhawk's coven. There is a need to look critically, therefore, at the ways in which these forms of power-from-within, and power-with, are used, both intentionally and unintentionally.

Such criticisms aside, Starhawk's involvement in the peace movement does provide an engagement with, and resistance to, domination. While this is not the case in all forms of ecofeminism, it is crucial to the approach to power-from-within that she outlines. In drawing on economic and political theory, as well as pagan and Hindu spirituality, immanence is consciously located as a particularly inclusive notion. It is one which could be adopted by a wider range of activists and theorists, beyond the pagan, anti-nuclear, eco-feminist communities of which she is a part. There are restrictions, however, on those individuals and groups who are able to benefit from this form of power; it is clear from her writings that an adoption of the *rhetoric* of immanence is not sufficient for its realisation. Specifically, various tactics such as the singing and chanting discussed above, as well as dancing, meditating, and specific forms of group process based around active listening and consensus are also necessary. The situating of immanence in this way as a form of power that is *practiced*, rather than being held "as one holds a knife" (The Handbook Collective, no date, p 45; cited in Starhawk, 1988, p 12) means that it is incompatible with, and actually antithetical to, certain hierarchical institutions. By implication, this notion of hierarchy is extended to a critique those anti-nuclear or feminist groups not following these particular practices. This is not solely because they may be purposefully bound up with the retention and propagation of power-over and estrangement, but because *de facto* they are incapable of the practice of immanence. There is certainly room for spontaneity and creativity within these tactics; and the practices detailed in Starhawk's books, and her other writing (for example her experiences in the Seattle riots, 1999a, 1999b) come out of shared experiences.

However, the publishing of texts such as *The Spiral Dance* (Starhawk, 1979) and *Dreaming The Dark* (Starhawk, 1988) inevitably positions Starhawk as an "authority" on the ways in which power-from-within are developed. Ironically, · despite her insistence that Goddess worship does not rely on the worship of some external (alien) authority, her books may, in fact, fulfil this alienating and estranging role for the practicing, or aspiring, pagan or activist. In this context, the tracing of an "authentic" Wiccan or pagan tradition, into which these texts fit, can be seen (in part) as a further trope in the construction of authority.

There is also, as is often the case, a tension between the individualistic, and claims to the priority of the collective. The focus on a particularly individual salvation is

revealed when Starhawk addresses the pagan community on her experiences in the Seattle. She declares that

> "Magic works. So many people were sending me protection that
> I had some very surreal experiences. Just one example: When
> we got arrested, clubs were smashing down on people to the left
> and right of me. Cops were throwing protestors to the ground,
> smashing their faces in the concrete, splitting a head or two.
> And I was arrested by a reluctant young man who I could tell
> picked me especially so he could be sure I wouldn't be
> brutalised and asked me politely after I was handcuffed if I
> would like to sit on the curb." (1999a)

It seems from this quote that the functionality of magic extends solely to her own personal safety, above that of her comrades...

Many within Earth First! have also been critical of the New Ageism of sections of the environmental movement. In particular, they have targeted the use of crystals, both on the basis of opposition to mystification (seeing crystals as alienating hippy bullshit), as well as on the grounds of the continued environmental destruction associated with their extraction by multinational mining corporations. On at least two occasions at The Big Green Gathering, a festival that attracts a mixture of radical and more spiritually inclined environmentalists, the Earth First! area has featured a "crystal amnesty". This consists of a pit dug in the ground, providing the opportunity for anyone with a guilty conscience to return their crystals to the earth. The back cover of the Earth First! *Action Update* (1999a) included the following bastardisation of the oft-quoted Cree prophecy[2] to highlight the simultaneous cultural plundering involved in certain forms of Paganism: "Only when the last Camden market stall has sold the last crystal from the last RTZ mine/ only then will we realise that we won't sort the world out by selling indigenous cultures".

Such problems are also shared with certain contemporary Druidic practices, which depend upon the use of specific, potentially exclusionary, images and practices. Standing underneath the Granny Oak, we took up our positions for the first "Gorsehead of Cair Faslania". We welcomed the four directions, North, East, South, and West, with a "hail, and well met", each of us held one of Kreb's objects, a goblet, his wand, a crystal. In turn we repeated the chants that he told us were vital to the correct functioning of the gathering. The directions greeted, and various other prayers and vows repeated, with varying levels of enthusiasm, the five of us were told more about the history and spirituality of Druidism, and given a brief

opportunity to explain what interested us in following this particular path. We heard stories of the battles between King Arthur (a fat biker from Guildford), and Rollo Maufling for control of the British Druidic scene. Rollo was an apparently an imposter, whereas this fat bloke from Surrey really was King of the ancient Britons...

We sang songs, chanted chants, joined hands and recited the Druid's prayer. Kreb explained the meanings of each, and said a little more about the meaning of the symbols he was using. He found some sticks and pebbles on the ground. These, he used to mark out an "awenn" like three adjacent letter "i"s, the ones to the left and right leaning inwards so that the dots were closer together. "This", he said, is what you should visualise whilst chanting aaaaaaaaaiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiuuuuuuuuuu." He demonstrated briefly "It stands for the mother earth spreading her legs, and welcoming the phallus, and the birth of all life." I looked around the group, slightly uneasily. Jo was rolling her eyes, and Claire let out an exasperated "tut", loud enough for all of us, except the severely deaf Kreb, to hear. We chanted, taking a single breath to make the extended vowel sound.

I could tell that Jo and Claire were less enthusiastic about the whole idea. For the rest of the ceremony they mumbled their words, as if it didn't really mean compromising their feminism if they didn't enunciate properly. They were less willing to step forward and join in when Kreb asked for volunteers. At the end, they reluctantly took a stone each, from Kreb' bag, but declined the opportunity to become initiated as bards into the Dragon Order of Druids. I thought about the potential dodgyness of the awenn, the bullshit arguments that seemed to splinter the Druidic movement, certainly in the upper echelons. The fact that it was a movement with clearly identified leaders at all. Possibly much less problematic than many elements of the Peace Camp more generally. I became a bard, said goodbye to the four directions, and Granny oak, and went back to the Camp.

The creation of a hierarchy, and the use of exclusionary symbolism and practices are certainly not confined to Paganism, or even to religion more generally, and I discuss in more depth, below, the ways in which such authority stratifies many communities. What *can* be taken from this form of power-from-within, in contrast to some others is the focus upon the importance of various notions of *community* that enable, sustain and amplify the development of empowerment. Taking insights from such pagan/religious ideas, and applying them to a body of tactics that may be

practiced in ways which are *not explicitly ritualised* it is possible to make more general comments about the power of song. In particular I would suggest that the most striking way in which song represents a form of power-from-within is not through psychological flight, or through the maintenance of individual boundedness, but through the crossing of socially and physically constructed boundaries to create a sense of community. There is, I would suggest, a significant element of the power of song that cannot be reduced to either resistance, or a purely individual form of empowerment. At least as I have discussed them above. Returning to the distinction discussed by Howard Clark (1998), it is possible to account for this missing element in terms of "power-with".

---

[1] A focus on power-from-within can be contrasted with the cognitivist, symbolic, approach to song, typified by Lévi-Strauss' (1963, pp 186-205). Lévi-Strauss provides an account of the Cuna medicine song, to illustrate the effectiveness of symbols in facilitating a difficult childbirth. He reduces the role of song to the purely individual, cognitive, interpretation of universal structural patterns. Essentially, song is a way of making sense of the experience of childbirth, thus facilitating its safe and hasty resolution. This reduction to the cognitive results in the almost total neglect of bodily experiences as anything other than the effects of these structural factors. The exclusion of the visceral, and the embodied, may in itself be a further form of domination (Grosz, 1995).

I am also sceptical of the claims to resistance through psychological escape. Singing in police cells has been likened to the child in the playground shutting her eyes, sticking her fingers in her ears, and screaming "blah, blah, blah". The effect is to reinforce the boundary around the individual, as a way to escape the present situation. I find the focus on individual existential transcendence, which is often associated with personal empowerment, a potentially reactionary practice, leaving the conditions of domination relatively unaltered. It also reinscribes many of the forms of domination based on the separation of individuals. As such, I also pay less attention to questions of empowerment in my activism.

I feel that what I term power-from-within depends on physical processes, intimately entangled with processes of resistance, and the creation of bonds between people.

[2] Only after the last tree has been cut down/ Only after the last river has been poisoned/ Only after the last fish has been caught/ Only then will you find that money cannot be eaten.

Power-With

Song as power-with

Recent literature within geography has focussed upon the role of song, and of music more generally, in the construction of community. In particular, Leyshon, Matless, and Revill (1998), make this a major theme in their contribution to the interdisciplinary debate on *The place of music*. It is also the concern of contributors to both their edited volume, and elsewhere within the literature (for example contributors to the special issue of *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 1995). It is possible to draw critically upon a number of the ideas that they develop, as well as the wider literature, to produce an account of the power (-with) of song. I deal with song as a text, as it is sung in community, and as playing a part in the sonorous construction *of* community. I end by drawing together elements from these various readings to produce an account of the power-with of song that leads to the construction of fractured and contested communities. The account also goes some way to presenting various, conflicting, views of the sonorous construction of "history", as well as specific histories, of the peace and environmental movements. This is done, primarily, through a number of alternate "readings" of Leon Rosselson's *The World Turned Upside Down*. The song has become widely known within, and beyond, the contemporary direct action movement. It tells the story of a commune established at the end of the English Civil War, to resist the enclosure of common land, and to complete the revolution that had been betrayed by Cromwell.

As well as drawing on material relating to Faslane Peace Camp, I also refer to the two-week occupation of a plot of land on St. George's Hill (or George Hill as the Diggers are thought to have referred to it) in the spring of 1998. This was part of the "Diggers350" celebrations, an event directly inspired by the song. Although the song has been part of my motivation to political action for at least a decade, it was during the George hill occupation that I developed my (exceptionally partial) understanding of the lives and times of the original Diggers.

It perhaps goes without saying that many of the ideas in this chapter can be extended, beyond the use of song, to deal with more general questions of solidarity and community.

Text

The World Turned Upside Down

Stanza 1:   In sixteen forty-nine, to St. George's Hill
            A ragged band they called the Diggers came to show the people's will,
            They defied the landlords, they defied the laws,
            They were the dispossessed, reclaiming what was theirs.

Stanza 2:   We come in peace, they said, to dig and sow,
            We come to work the land in common and to make the waste ground grow,
            This earth divided, we will make whole,
            So it will be a common treasury for all.

Stanza 3:   The sin of property we do disdain,
            No man has any right to buy and sell the earth for private gain,
            By theft and murder, they took the land,
            Now everywhere the walls spring up at their command.

Stanza 4:   They make the laws to chain us well,
            The clergy dazzle us with heaven or they damn us into hell,
            We will not worship the god they serve,
            The god of greed who feeds the rich while poor folk starve.

Stanza 5:   We work, we eat together, we need no swords,
            We will not bow to the masters, or pay rent to the lords,
            Still we are free, though we are poor,
            You Diggers all stand up for glory, stand up now.

Stanza 6:   From the men of property, the orders came,
            They sent the hired men and troopers to wipe out the Diggers' claim
            Tear down their cottages, destroy their corn,
            They were dispersed, but still the vision lingers on:

Stanza 7:   You poor take courage, you rich take care,
            This earth was made a common treasury for everyone to share,
            All things in common, all people one,
            We come in peace - the orders came to cut them down.

© Leon Rosselson, (reprinted in Rosselson, 1992)

It is possible to look to the text of the song, for an initial indication of its potential

power (-with). This is the power of the lyrical description of the formation of one

particular community, the Diggers, to serve as prototype for contemporary

communities. Alongside the descriptive dimension to the text, Rosselson employs

specifically linguistic devices, such as the constant repetition of the collective

"we", to reinforce the communal aspects to the Digger's endeavour. The word

"they" is also used throughout, as a plural pronoun. In this case, it refers not only to

the Diggers, but also to the land owning classes, and to the clergy. This suggests,

amongst a great deal of other things, that such collective endeavours are not limited

to those engaged in resistance, with networks of landowners being central to the

struggle that the Diggers were engaged in. The existence of solidarity within and

between those groups and individuals that I have characterised as exhibiting

domination remains an ambiguity that runs through much of the description I provide. It introduces the need, in discussing power-with, to look beyond the *form* of those relationships, and to specifically the other forms of power that this solidarity is intended to serve.

Much of the collective, or communal, nature of life on St. George's Hill can be traced to the writings of Gerrard Winstanley, a Digger, and prolific pamphleteer. As well as outlining the actions of the Diggers, the song draws explicitly on Winstanley's philosophy, to portray a highly principled group. Of particular relevance is the belief that "This earth was made a common treasury for everyone to share/ All things in common, all people one", a position informed by a millenarian Christianity. In stanza 3, for example, Winstanley's belief in the abolition of private property is made clear: "The sin of property we do disdain/ No man has any right to buy and sell the earth for private gain". This religiosity is not immediately obvious from the text, as Rosselson is eager to portray the clergy as an enemy of Diggers. For Winstanley, like the majority of those in England at the time, God made the earth. The need to remove the sin of property, and make it whole again was a condition for the return of Christ. It was possible for Winstanley, therefore, to separate this biblical imagery from the role of the clergy as functionaries of organised and corrupt religion. Such a separation was plainly necessary as the clergy, in league with the landowners, the lawyers, and previously the crown, represented a form of domination that was both symbolic and material. The collectivist sentiment is repeated throughout the text, and made more explicit through focussing on specific elements of this belief, and the particular ways in which it was practiced. The fact that they came to George Hill, as an expression of popular will, makes it clear that these were a group who were willing to take action. Indeed, Winstanley's philosophy explicitly depended upon action to achieve the desired ends. Winstanley outlined the centrality of action to the Diggers' vision:

> "...yet my mind was not at rest, because nothing was acted, and
> thoughts ran into me, that words and writings were all nothing,
> and must die, for action is the life of all, and if thou dost not act,
> thou dost nothing," (Winstanley, 1649).

The opposition to private property is translated into more specific tactics. In stanza 5: "We will not bow to the masters, or pay rent to the lords". Other aspects of life within the Diggers' community are indicated, all of which serve to mark the community as specifically one of active resistance to the enclosures of common

land being enforced at that time. Within this context, the fact that they came "to work the land in common and to make the waste ground grow" was not only a highly rebellious act. It was also one that allowed the community to meet the basic human needs of feeding themselves, through the cultivation of land from which commoners were being excluded.

As a further illustration of the importance placed on action, there are certain lines that stand out as describing elements of the community that Winstanley and others had created. Of these "We work, we eat together," is perhaps the most obvious. Both working and eating remain central to the lives of many experiments in collective living, and they play an important role in the creation and development of solidarity at Faslane Peace Camp. Mention is also made in the text of the ability of the group to house themselves on this common land, although only in relation to the destruction of cottages. Local landowners employed demobilised members of Cromwell's New Model Army to undertake this task.

Beyond acting as a community of resistance, or one purely meeting their basic human needs, the description of the Diggers as a specifically *ragged* band, marks them out as a distinct community in more visible, and perhaps even structural, ways (although see the discussion of structuralism, above).

Looking to the text for a specific indication of the ways in which it may represent the impetus to form communities, using the Diggers as a blueprint, attention turns to the final stanza, and in particular the line which instructs: "You poor take courage, you rich take care". In one reading of the text, this is the point from which the listener, or reader, will be inspired to establish a commune, to bring about the overthrow of the continuing inequities of private property, and the established church, and will probably never eat a meal alone again. It is in this context that the song seeks to provide tactical or strategic advice. There are several other songs that perform this role.

In 1985, *The World Turned Upside Down* reached number 15 in the UK singles chart, on Billy Bragg's *Between The Wars* E.P. As such, many more people will have heard the song, or read its lyrics, than are taking part in the sort of communities that it espouses. There is, therefore, clearly not a direct, or simple, relationship between reading hearing the song, or reading the lyrics to a song, and taking a particular action. The reasons for this are manifold. A charitable analysis

would ascribe this to ambiguity within the *content* of the lyrics, and suggest that the line quoted has inspired people to different, possibly individual, acts of defiance. A less charitable reading might pass unfavourable comment on its *form*, or even its tunefulness, in an attempt to account for the relative powerlessness of the song. Any satisfactory attempt to discuss the power-with of song, I would suggest, needs to look beyond the lyrics and in particular to examine the context of the song, particularly in relation to the way it impacts on existing communities.

I begin with an examination of the ways in which this song is listened to.

Singing in community

There are a variety of ways in which I have engaged with, and continue to engage with, *The World Turned Upside Down*. Any one of which would illustrate this use of the song. The catalogue of versions I could draw on reads like a list of mid 1990s British protest singers. I could have looked at my well-played tape of *Back to Basics* by Billy Bragg, from where I got my first real taste for the song. Or to my slightly less well-played, but still enjoyed, tape of *Rosselsongs*, a compilation of some of Leon Rosselson's best known tunes, where it appears in a much more down-beat form. I could have focussed on Attila the Stockbroker's version, performed with his punk/early music band Barnstormer, where it forms a medley with *The Digger's* Song, written by Gerrard Winstanley himself, and arranged by Chumbawamba. Alternatively, Bey's comments on the mediation of music notwithstanding (Bey, 1992), I could have focussed on the written representation, and consumption, of Rosselson's song on the Internet. I could have sought out a copy Dick Gaughan's *Handful of Earth*, voted best folk album of the 80's by readers of Folk Roots magazine. I could have thought back to one of the many times that I have heard Billy Bragg play the song live. These are events normally marked for me by a rendition of the song in various dubious states of tunefulness. I could have looked at the way in which the song was adopted as the unofficial anthem of the second Raise Your Banners Festival, Sheffield, in November 1997, where I heard it sung by bands including the Tofu Love Frogs, where it certainly lived up to their slogan of "Keep music crap".

Instead, I focus on a public meeting held on April 1st 1999, at Weybridge Library, Surrey, which marked the beginning of a weekend of events in the vicinity of St. George's Hill, exactly 350 years after the original Diggers occupied it. The Land Is

Ours, and a number of other groups involved in land rights, had organised the event, under the banner of Diggers350. It included the public meeting and the subsequent occupation of a plot of land on the hill.

There were several speakers at the meeting, including Alastair MacIntosh, who spoke movingly on the history of land rights struggles in Scotland. Miles Halliwell, who played Winstanley, in the 1975 film of that name, read passages from the Digger's pamphlets. There were also speakers on behalf of a French land rights campaign. Andrew Bradstock, an academic historian who had convened a conference dealing with the life and work of the Diggers, and in particular Winstanley for the following weekend spoke on the continuing relevance of the ideas of the Diggers.

The public meeting gains its immediate significance to the current discussion due to the inclusion of two of Britain's foremost socialist entertainers: Ian Saville the "socialist magician" (a concept worthy of investigation in its own right) and Leon Rosselson. Leon sang *The World Turned Upside Down*, as well as *The Digger's Song*, and a number of his other "hits". He was singing to an audience who, although they did not necessarily know each other, mainly considered themselves as either land rights activists, or else interested in the history of the Diggers or Winstanley. As such, there was an existing community within which the song was being performed.

In physical, and social terms, however, the relationship between the speakers and the entertainers on the one hand, and the audience on the other, was certainly not egalitarian. The relationship of performer to audience was much more important than the relationship between members of the audience. As such, those of us who turned up early spent an hour before the meeting moving the chairs that sat around the room into formal rows of chairs, facing a table behind which the speakers were seated. This recreation of a panoptic architecture, of a pretty minor sort, is fundamental to the experience of the song within this context. Our roles as audience members were reduced to that of largely passive spectators. The music was good, but we there wasn't any space in which to dance, so we remain sat in the chairs. Even during the break, no one wanted to move the furniture about. So, I had a couple of uncomfortable conversations, body contorted in an attempt to face people sat in chairs behind me. Throughout the meeting, there was little if any conflict or debate. The tension between Christianity in Winstanley's ideas, and the

obviously anti-authoritarian stance of the audience, as well as the original Diggers, was not discussed in any way. It was not really a subject that I thought I could bring up, even during informal discussion after the meeting.

The context of the other speakers on the bill, unwilling to question their academic authority, placed the song as something of an historical truth, casting the lyrics in the same frame as the words of Gerrard Winstanley himself, alongside the musings of academic experts. Outside of the meeting hall, lines from the song accompanied quotes from Winstanley's pamphlets on display boards.[1] In a similar way, the key text on the period written by Christopher Hill (1972), from which Rosselson's song gets its name, was raised to unassailable status by a couple of the historians. This book was waved about in the same way that a preacher would wave the gospel from the pulpit. This creation of a body of historical fact, based upon a few key texts written by Winstanley, Rosselson and Hill (in that order) constructs the identity of the Diggers in 1649, as something to be "revealed" and conveyed as a historically verifiable truth. By implication, this is the same idea underpinning the identity of the new Diggers of 1999, with Rosselson's song being seen as merely an unproblematic expression of that community identity.

This singular, static, and somewhat monolithic, conception of community finds a great deal of resonance with the cruder readings of subcultural theory (Clarke, 1990, p 82). This is the body of work that has represented a significant engagement for the social sciences with music and song. Closely related to the literature on deviance and transgression, this approach (of which I inevitably produce a straw man here) sees songs, and music more generally, as the expression of an already determined, fixed identity. Cohen (1980) in his overview of subcultural studies, positions it as the "offspring of two oddly matched but conventional strands of American sociology- functionalist anomie theory and the Chicago School" (Cohen, 1980; p iii). Inheriting the flaws of both of its parents, studies dwelling on the subcultural aspects of, primarily, youth music "scenes" are characterised by an entirely distanced view of the individuals involved (see Sibley, 1995, for a discussion of the Chicago School). Of primary concern is the link between this "other" group and the equally monolithic, mainstream, culture. It is possible to draw something of an analogy with the hierarchical structure of the panoptic auditorium.

This relationship can be seen in terms the importance of the (often reactive) relationship with the working class communities from which the mods, rockers, or whoever, are drawn. It is also evident in the panoptic gaze of the subcultural theorist. Both of these serve to reduce the importance of the internal structures of the subculture to little more than caricatures. Where tentative links *are* drawn between members of the group, these are cast in purely functionalist terms, and often reinforce the relationship with the mainstream as the single most important factor of the lives of the individual.[2] Songs do not represent any extension of human agency, or the way in which the community is actually formed. Rather, they could be replaced with almost any cultural form, so marginal are they to the substantive construction of a common bond.

An almost random example of this approach comes from the work of Michael Brake, sometime *academic* collaborator with Roy Bailey:

> "Glamrock gave way swiftly to punk which became popular in Britain after 1976, after somewhat unsuccessful promotion by the trade papers several months earlier... Punk bands were amateurs, using verve and rawness common to British rock, whilst the only category in the United States were the garage bands of California, most American musicians being more technically competent than their British counterparts." (Brake, 1985, pp 76-7)

While statements may be historically "correct", it is the desire to reach a level of objective truth that is particularly problematic.

In accounts of the Diggers, this distanced view, and the spurious claims to objectivity, are exacerbated by the unreconstructed *historical* focus of much writing. Rather than representing a living tradition, or a history that is actively constructed by late 20th/ early 21st Century activists and academics, the lapsing of 350 years allows a further objectivity to be claimed.

As well as reducing the construction of community to structural functionalist reaction to the mainstream, subcultural accounts often marginalise the role of resistance within these communities. Certain subcultural studies *do* give a hint of this resistance, however. Valentine (1995) describes the ways in which the music of k.d. lang is given significance by young lesbians in their creation of transgressive spaces. In particular, there is a sense in which songs may be used as a way of opening up spaces through which alternative identities may be negotiated.

Valentine locates these women solely as listeners, with the exception of lang herself. They exist in the account to engage with music produced by others, most notably by lang. As such, their power comes explicitly through an act of consumption, and often a material consumption in terms of purchasing music.

This focus on consumption is common to many subcultural studies. It is, perhaps, a fundamental difference between Valentine's article, and those of the other contributions to the *Transactions* (1995) issue in which it appears, and many of the contributors to Leyshon *et al* (1998). While listening could be represented as an act of production, certainly in terms of the production of space, this remains an implicit element, if not actively denied.

Even in those situations where singing is seen as both materially and symbolically produced by the agency of the community the community is placed prior to the song. It is in this sense that I describe the *song in community*.

This is the approach that Leyshon *et al* (1998) come close to advocating when they suggest that "… Colin Ward has discerned anarchist principles of mutual aid, and 'a remarkable social fact: that music-making is, more than anything else you can think of quickly, the cement of society'" (p 24, quoting Ward, 1992, p 120). In focussing on the "cementing" aspect of music, within a pre-existing society based on anarchist principles, the central argument of Ward's article (1992) is obscured. Rather than being a bond by which these principles and relationships are held together, music is the very stuff of which they are made. To quote more of the paragraph, Ward suggests that

> "…music-making is… the most immediate and accessible
> example of Kropotkin's vision of the highest development of
> voluntary association in all its aspects, in all possible degrees,
> for all imaginable aims; ever changing, ever modified
> associations which carry in themselves the elements of their
> durability and constantly assume new forms which answer
> best to the multiple aspirations of all." (Ward, 1992, p 120)

In fact Ward explicitly progresses from a subcultural perspective towards seeing a community shaped, and actively constructed, by music.

Singing of community: The Ideal-I-Sing of community
The song at the Weybridge library managed to provoke an appreciative response from the audience, and undoubtedly provided a rousing start to the week of action. I would argue, however, that the potential remains, not only for a more powerful

impact of song, but a more powerful (and power-aware) reading of the nature of community. So, I move forward, by a few days, to consider one of the many times it was sung on St. George's Hill, by the "new Diggers", at their land-squat.

We had arrived at the Hill, after a pageant-like procession from Weybridge, singing the song a number of times along the way. Daily life at the camp continued to be punctuated by the singing of *The World Turned Upside Down*, whether alone or in groups, while cooking or building benders. The hundred-foot tall pine trees, and the dense undergrowth of brambles and rhododendrons that covered the site, rang out to its sound. In particular the song was sung around the camp fire.

Imagine...

The sun is rapidly setting over the roofs of some of the most expensive, and well protected, mock-Tudor houses in the country, and there are fifty smiling faces visible around a blazing fire. Two guitars, drums and a penny whistle accompany the singing of *The World Turned Upside Down*. In turn, faces light up, as they reach a line that has particular significance for them "We come in peace..." someone shouts, "...to dig and sow" hollers another with an interest in permaculture gardening. The hairs on the back of my neck stand up- and my pulse quickens, as always, when we reach the line about the hired men and troopers being sent to wipe out the Diggers' claim. It has particular relevance tonight. North Surrey Water, owners of the land we are squatting served an eviction order this morning, and I know a prior engagement with a magistrate means that I have to leave before the high-court hearing will determine the fate of this creative, diverse, embryonic, community. This is an intensely moving, and above all incredibly corporeal, experience. The heat of the fire on my front does little to remove the chill from the evening air on my back. The taste of hot cross buns from the local Marks and Spencer skip still in my mouth, and the smell of wood smoke mingling with the tang of cheap cider, and lilt of expensive spliff, that I am passed, and quickly pass on.

If the Weybridge library represented a hierarchical, or panoptic, architecture, then the campfire represents its polar opposite. We sit in a circle so that we can all see each other, and contact (both physical, and emotional) between each other is expected. In many cases it is actively encouraged. In this context *The World Turned Upside Down* is not just an expression of an existing community, but it is what has brought us together. More than that, it has been an active part of the

shaping and strengthening of our community, the singing *of* community. For those who had never heard the song a week ago, singing the song has led onto a deeper understanding of the history of the 1649 Diggers, both through the lyrics, and in conversations with those more versed in land-rights history. For those who knew the song, or a version of the history, this has been combined with experiences as a Digger in 1999– singing around the fire like this, digging vegetable plots, eating communal meals– and has renewed the strength and feeling with which the song is sung.

I look around the fire, and think back to a week ago, as I sat listening to Leon Rosselson, still pondering how Ian Saville got the silk hankies out of the box, and precisely what that has to say about Marx's theories on alienation. I knew none of these people then. Now I count some of them as friends, and know that I have a common cause with all of them...

The article by Ward (1992), mentioned by Leyshon *et al* (1998), seeks to unpack a number of the links between people and groups involved in the making of music in Milton Keynes, that have been documented by Ruth Finnegan (1989). Ward suggests that these follow the model of "mutual aid" proposed by Kropotkin (1905, 1915).[3] Specific forms of such mutual aid can be identified within the music scene in the networks which put on gigs, book venues, buy and share music, and welcome music lovers from other areas of the town, or from further afield. These anarchistic relationships can also be seen in the *performance* of music. Ward comments specifically on the ability to create a musical harmony as one element of the mutual aid between musicians, and in doing so he positions it as a central metaphor. It should be remembered, however, that just as harmony in its musical sense is socially constructed, so any metaphor based upon harmony is open to multiple, conflicting readings.

Referring to the synergistic effects of playing in a well rehearsed band, Finnegan quotes one of her informants as saying that "2+2=5...by playing with other people you get another dimension to performance" (1989, p 65).

This is an effect recognised in the song, *Step by Step*, sung by the Sheffield Socialist Choir,

> Step by step the longest march can be won, can be won.
> Many stones to form an arch, singly none, singly none.
> And by union what we will can be accomplished still.
> Drops of water turn a mill, singly none, singly none.

Anon, © Public Domain, (reprinted in Sheffield Socialist Choir, 1999)

Seeing singing as fundamental to the construction of community allows a space for history to be seen as something explicitly contested and constructed through reference to particular songs. Singing *The World Turned Upside Down*, for example, prioritises an oft-neglected, and particularly rosy, history of the Diggers above all other elements of Civil War history.

This is a role for the song that the organisers of the Diggers350 action, and a number of the participants were aware of.[4] It was because the song represents a powerful tool in the struggle to reclaim this history that Leon Rosselson was invited to the public meeting. It is also the reason why the lyrics from the song are used in publicity for the action, on press releases. The Diggers350 web sites also include quotes from the song, and extracts from Winstanley's pamphlets. A significant section of one web site is given over to drawing parallels between the history of the Diggers, and that of the contemporary direct action movement. The site seeks to draw attention to the similarities between those who might be referred to as "Lunch outs & kettle-watchers" at the new Diggers camp, and the problems faced by Winstanley:

> " 'Some hearing of this Common Freedom think there must be a
> community of all the fruits of the earth whether they work or no,
> therefore strive to live idle on other men's labours.' [from]
> Gerrard Winstanley *The Law of Freedom in a Platform*, 1652."
> (Tony, 1999)

There is a quote pertinent to the perceived problem of "Bullshitters, mystics & gurus", also designed to propagate a particular form of community, from the same Winstanley pamphlet:

> "Everyone who speaks of any Herb, Plant, Art or Nature of
> Mankind is required to speak nothing by imagination, but what
> he hath found out by his own industry and observation in tryal."
> (ibid.)

A number of people took on the role, both formally and informally, of sharing the history of the Diggers with other people at the camp. The explanations would often proceed from those elements of the history made clear in the song, such as the digging, the eating together, and the destruction of the property. In the case of those who were less familiar with the history, and I would include myself within this

category, the song acted as a valuable aid to remembering what were considered to be the salient points. For those who did not necessarily depend upon the song, it was often the case that they would refer to the song for the benefit of those they were talking to, possibly humming a few bars as a reminder. The song was, therefore, a particular history to be embodied and recreated in the construction of the new Digger community.

This history was often openly contested. There were arguments over the precise location of the original Diggers colony "somewhere on the hill". The life of Winstanley both before and after his relatively brief flirtation with the Diggers cause was also brought into question. In more subtle ways, when other arguments around the history of the Diggers arose, these were often resolved with recourse to the song as the final arbiter of the dispute. For example, there was debate around the relative importance given to Christian theology in Winstanley's philosophy. The position of women in the Digger colony was also questioned. In many cases, such arguments were a substitute for, or an adjunct to, debates over the way in which contemporary society, and the new Diggers community in particularly, should be ordered.

So, while the constructed, and contested, nature of the song-as-history were recognised by many of those present, I would suggest that the possibility of an "authentic history" remained a goal in the ways in which the song, and history more generally, are used. There are parallels here with the songs of Seize The Day, and the *Radio Ballads*, mentioned above, and in particular their role of creating a particular, singular, history of/for the contemporary direct action movement and the working class, respectively.

The mutual constitution of song and community, in a more dialectical relationship, shares much with the position advanced by Leyshon *et al* (1998) with respect to the relationship between music and *space*. They suggest, correctly, that by seeing music as an active agent in the construction of space, and more specifically the geographical imagination, a more nuanced view of "the place of music" can be developed. This stands in contrast to the position of music as solely the outcome of space, as illustrated for the "Madchester" scene by Halfacree and Kitchin (1996). However, there is the danger that the role of song and music is still marginalised. In suggesting that music has the power to shape space, it is reduced to playing out this

role. The spatial context is the starting point, and the construction of space becomes the end point.

Not only is there a relegation of the musical beneath the spatial, but the role of the social (and specifically the collective) is also marginalised in this way.[5] Community becomes little more than a marginal, local, specific, reaction against the global centre.

Attempts to stress the importance of the spatial also prove problematic where comments are made regarding the specifically local nature of resistance. A homogenous notion of an "authentic" community of resistance, rooted in a particular marginal geographical space is maintained. Examples of this can be found at the national scale in the discussion of Welsh band *Anhrefn* (Leyshon *et al*, 1998, p 21) or in the account by Sweeney-Turner (1998) of bilingual lyrics in Scottish songs. Yet, the international, and supposedly universal, common bonds made through song are often the most powerfully felt. There is, however, a danger that these are simply ignored. A member of Sheffield Socialist Choir suggests that they

> "can still remember the shivers down my spine as we sang
> [*Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika*, the A.N.C. anthem, now part of the
> South African National anthem] in Sheffield Cathedral (of all
> places) the day Mandela was released, and still feel a special
> thrill every time we sing this extraordinary anthem to the power
> of human belief and the struggle for freedom"(Sheffield
> Socialist Choir, 1999, p 42).

Comments of this sort can be seen to disrupt not only the global = commercial: local/particular = resistance dichotomy that Leyshon *et al* (1998, *passim*) propose, but also the exploitative, commercial, relationship between Western consumers, and African producers of "World" music of which they are also rightly critical (pp 17-18). This is further destabilised through the singing of people's choirs, and individual singers, from Britain with those from South Africa, and elsewhere. The Raise Your Banners festival has included singers and choirs from all continents, and members of the Sheffield Socialist Choir have both "hosted" singers from South Africa and Zimbabwe; and have visited South Africa, Northern Ireland and Australia, in order to sing with other choirs or on demonstrations.

Although Leyshon *et al* (1998) recognise the importance of resistance in music, specifically in music's role as a carrier of cultural values, such resistance depends

for "it's very importance... [on] attempts at it's regulation, as the work of McKay [1996] and others show." (p 24).

Inter-war jazz music is heard through the ears of Cyril Joad, a vigorous opponent of the music . This is in place of any suggestion that it could be a form of explicit resistance to the views of Joad and his class. It also ignores any value for the music in the construction of community, separate from an engagement with the upper classes. The accounts provided of more "mainstream" music is infinitely more sympathetic than that presented for music of resistance. This is a trend that runs through much of Matless's work, and is particularly evident in his account of Ewan MacColl's *Manchester Hiker's Song* (Matless, 1998, p 72). He focuses discussion of the Kinder Scout mass trespasses on the negative reaction to this song, by those who sought to create and defend a particular landscape idyll. As a result it fails to engage with the creativity or struggle of the excluded working class involved in the trespass.

By revealing (Joad's) readings of "song", "landscape" and "nationalism" as partial and constructed, the "place of music" could potentially become one of destabilising nationalist and cultural essentialisms. This is, however, rarely done explicitly in either an academic or practical sense. Instead the chapter, and many of the other contributions to the book, (re)produce a solidification of these, slightly decentred, categories.

The social terrain, over which the process of resistance takes place, often remains fixed. Resistance takes place in recognisable places such as "the pub", "a club", or "a mountaintop". Even when there is physical movement between these spaces, and some active creation or transformation of material space exists, such spaces remain bounded according to existing categories of public/private, leisure/industry, male/female. It is in this sense that Gibson (1998) suggests that the rave scene in Sydney is able to turn *industrial* spaces (primarily warehouses and factories) into *leisure* spaces. No matter how socially fluid the appropriation of space, it appears that the ravers are only able to temporarily move these locations from one existing category of space to another. Lefebvre (1991, p 58) comments on the reactionary nature of mistaking these leisure spaces, a necessary part of the economic order, for revolutionary change.

<u>Singing of multiple, fractured, communities</u>

Rather than arguing for a different combination, or prioritising, of these "authentic" and neatly bound, elements of song, space, history, society, or resistance, I suggest the need to look for more subtle relationships. These are relationships that maintain the linkages between these terms, but also seek to radically destabilise them. This is something that I have sought to do for the *spatial* in relation to the landscape of Faslane Peace Camp. Of particular interest in producing a working account of power-with is the destabilising of the notion of community as a bounded, coherent, whole. Rather, it seems to be based on a series of fractured, multiple, contingent, exclusionary, open, contested, mediated, multiple, reflexive social spaces. To this end, I provide a reading of *The World Turned Upside Down* based on a number of "takes" on the same song.

Sat in his house, 25 miles from St. George's Hill, a young man switches on his television. It's the local news. Normally he would turn it off, or turn over, but on this particular afternoon his attention is caught by the lyrics to a distantly remembered song, and the sight of happy, smiling, faces. The image seems out of place, not just for the local news, but because this is a group of people who have taken over a plot of land in *the* most upmarket part of Surrey. Save, perhaps, for the nearby Wentworth Estate where, it appears from the next news item, General Pinochet is being held. This incongruous image, of hippies in the woods, soon fades from the screen. But, the germ of an idea has been planted. Packing a few items into a rucksack, he sets out towards the hill.

Imagine... The anxiety seems to surge through every fibre of Sam's body as the camera turns to face her; again. Sitting, singing, like this, brings memories of school assemblies flooding back, leaving her sick in the stomach. Being told to stop singing and mime the words, because she was "distracting the rest of the class" had left her unable to memorise lyrics. Even after hearing this particular song what seems like hundreds of times over the past week and a half, she can't remember any more than a few of the words. So, she sits mouthing what she guesses might be the right sort of shapes...

Tony takes a step back, from his position next to the camera crew, and asks the group sitting around the fire to skip to the final section of the song. "You know, the bit about, about, the vision lingering on." After all, if you're going to appear on the television, you might as well give them what they want.

Earlier that morning, Tony had greeted the camera crew as they arrived at the entrance to the camp. Some of the new Diggers were beginning to make a number of less than favourable comparisons between Tony (and less frequently the rest of the media team), and Winstanley. For the past few months he had been involved in planning this occupation, and for the week that the camp had been established, he had been heavily involved in developing the media strategy. He had established exactly what this particular TV crew wanted, which was not too different from all the other journalists who had come to the camp. Some establishing shots of the St. George's Hill estate, and footage of the camp with not too many cans of special brew in shot, some pictures of the stone that had been brought to the hill to commemorate Winstanley, and some nice singing, to provide a bit of human interest. He didn't know how they would edit it, but by removing anything too controversial at this stage, he could be pretty sure that they'd put together something favourable.

Some distance from the fire pit sits a lone figure. The sounds of the song drift over to her perch in the bows of a mighty pine tree, as she sits reading a book. It is a silhouette that I don't recognise. She glances down at the scene and possibly notices the cameras, the singers, the mobile phones, and then returns to her book. I can't tell what she's thinking, and from this distance I can't even tell what she's reading.

At the base of her tree sit a group of activists who came to the new Diggers colony tired from life, and more recently evictions, at a variety of protest camps in the South of England. Used to working, physically, from dawn to dusk, they had grown weary of the seemingly endless rounds of meetings on the camp, and of the equally endless rounds of *The World Turned Upside Down*. After the flurry of activity in the first few days of the camp, there was a feeling that, for some, the meetings and the singing had become a much less energetic substitute for actually digging the earth. They had given up going to the morning meetings that seemed to take hours

to reach consensus on whether or not a five minute task need doing. It had, indeed, become easier, to do the job and then face the consequences if anyone complained. This was the attitude that they took to digging, where the digging they had come to value was not solely the planting of carrots and peas, but also the construction of tunnels to defend the camp from eviction. The brevity of the camp prevented the *intensity* of conflict often exposed at Faslane (discussed above) from appearing on the new Digger colony, but this did not prevent the conflict from taking on a specifically musical turn.

Within a week, this group of Diggers-as-Tunnelers had consciously positioned themselves in opposition to the puritanical streak of the (new) Diggers. Instead, they saw themselves as more akin to the dissident group of Seventeenth Century proto-anarchists, the Ranters, as documented in another of Rosselson's songs; *Abiezer Coppe*:

Verse 1:	Abiezer Coppe did away with sin, 'My body is my church' he said 'God's dwelling is within. All I do is holy,' Abiezer cried, Gave his loving freely, a Ranter till he died.
Chorus:	So drink a loving cup to Abiezer, Abiezer, He's a drinking, dancing, roaring Ranter, Abiezer Coppe, Abiezer Coppe.

By the seventh verse of this sort of behaviour, the consequences become clear...

Verse 7:	Accused by church and Parliament, attacked on every side, They banned his books and burned them, and he was seized and tried. The magistrates condemned him for vile blasphemy, He pelted them with nutshells, crying 'will you my judges be?'
Verse 8:	To Newgate jail they took him, the Ranters' dream was dead. He had no taste for martyrdom 'I will recant,' he said. 'I banished sin but I have erred, it cannot be denied That these are sins,- greed, tyranny, hypocrisy and pride.'
Verse 9:	Abiezer Coppe did away with sin, 'My body is my church,' he said, 'God's dwelling is within.' History disowned him, his ghost they cannot kill, Haunts the rich and righteous, drunk and dancing still.

© Leon Rosselson, (reprinted in Rosselson 1992)

So, as the majority of those at the camp sat singing, these tunnelers and Ranters sat drinking special brew, discussing common friends and acquaintances, and taking it in turns to descend into the ten-foot deep shaft which they planned would serve as the entrance to the network of tunnels. It, unfortunately, began to take on a curious similarity to a well as it slowly filled with water...

It is interesting, given the emphasis placed on the recovery of forgotten histories, that the irreverent, nutshell throwing, beer drinking, Ranters remained largely ignored in the "official" celebrations of Diggers 350. There is, undoubtedly, much that the contemporary direct action scene has in common with this more free-spirited figure, but the emphasis on media coverage, and fear of conflict within an (imagined) ideal community remained higher priorities than the resurrection of the unruly ghost of Coppe. In this respect, it represented a withdrawal of one particularly important means by which certain activities, construed as "deviant" by those who had assumed positions of authority within the camp, could be legitimated. This erasure, through the omission of the song from the "campfire canon" is, of course, the other side of the contested, and relative, construction of the history of the events of 1649.

It was almost certainly *not* a conscious strategy on the part of those with power in the camp. Yet, there was undoubtedly a large coincidence between those who were in a position to shape what was sung at the camp, and those who were opposed to the geographical imagination engendered both by Coppe, and by the song written about him.

Where the choice of song is fundamental to shaping the extent and form of a common bond, the question of who chooses the songs to be sung is important. There is an issue here as to why, even though Rosselson sang both songs at the meeting in Weybridge, *Abiezer Coppe* was not adopted as ubiquitously. As such it was less powerful in shaping, "the community" at the camp than *The World Turned Upside Down*. Most obviously, the song was just not as well as known before the camp. It was certainly not taught as widely by those who were better acquainted with Leon Rosselson's catalogue. Vocally it is a more complex piece. The desire to ensure that a significant number of people could sing the majority of songs sung round the camp fire in the evening further reinforced the pre-eminent position that had been granted to *The World Turned Upside Down* as the official history of the period. Each of these factors acted to obscure not only *Abiezer Coppe*, but also a great number of other songs, and histories, for which there was not enough time or space around the fire.

Tony asked us to sing that bloody song again. It's funny, because when the media aren't around it's not normally people who can't sing or play musical instruments who choose what to sing. If it's not Alan with his guitar, it's Emma, who'll start

singing a song, in the right key, so that everyone can join in. Or it's someone who's well known enough as a performer, a bit of a show off anyway, for people to have half an ear open for what they're saying. I guess Alan gets practice at that being a drama student and playing in a band. It seems like the more often he starts a song, the more people ask him to. Not that I'm complaining. He's got a good voice. And he knows it.

But, there are times when other songs are sung. Having said that, for anyone else to suggest a song that goes against the grain, goes against people's expectations of what we should be singing here, causes a bit of a stir. In a way, it just serves to remind us what the community's meant to be about. The Ranters wind people up. People go away from the main fire pit to sing in small groups, or they sing while working in small groups, and people sing a wider range of songs when there are fewer people around the fire. And not only because they are part of a smaller, possibly more homogenous group. Also because these groups mean you're not depending on that same ethos of the "new Diggers" as a whole.

When someone does suggest an alternative song, it tends to be a funny one. Particularly if they're no good at singing. When I suggested singing *On Ilkley Moor*, I knew I could get away with putting on a comedy baritone until other people took up the tune. But the best example of this was *Cows With Guns,* a song that became an unofficial anthem of the Diggers camp, as well as being sung at Faslane on numerous occasions.[6] Contrary to a functionalist perspective, these are differences that do not necessarily serve solely to reinforce an ideal; rather, they can endanger the very existence of that particular group. The instances where people attempted to change the musical taste of the camp were occasionally part of larger attempts to disrupt the camp. Like when Jimmy Pursey, lead singer with Sham 69, and now professional ageing punk, turned up and insisted, mainly, that we should all listen to *his* music. The arguments that ensued, about the exclusion of individuals, violence on site, and structures of decision-making more generally, came dangerously close to persuading a large number of the camp to leave. Those of us with a greater investment in the community, and in particular those of us without a home nearby, would have been unlikely to consciously risk this level of disruption. But there remains the possibility of the entire basis of the common bond being dissolved or violently shattered.

The threat of eviction, for example, beyond the immediate influence of the group, highlights vividly the unstable nature of community, through a daily confrontation with the possibility of the group's total destruction.

There are, however, a huge array of infinitely more subtle ways in which the group is revealed as less than monolithic or homogenous, and importantly contingent upon the active participation of those involved. The choice to sing, or to teach, a particular song cannot be tied to a set of structural rules, but neither can it be reduced to the entirely subjective whim of individuals free of any sort of constraint. The effect, in terms of altering the basis of a particular bond can, however, be huge. Equally the choice not to sing can be important.

I've spent entire evening at Faslane singing songs, or listening to copies of copies of crap punk tapes, to avoid talking. Sometimes it's because you don't need to talk. When the camp feels really together, and its running smoothly, food cooked early in the evening, washing up done, firewood chopped and ready to go on the fire nothing is nicer than sitting around the fire singing songs. But. Sometimes it's to avoid talking. If something needs to be said, or if something really shouldn't be said, it's a great way to avoid it. No eye contact, stare into the fire, sing, anything. It's funny, but it's almost like sometimes all of these reasons get mixed together, but no one's really sure what the real reason is. Should I say something, break the spell, or maybe nothing is up at all. After a really nice night singing, you can feel the least connected to other people. At least during a big slagging match you can connect with people...

Such a reading of power-with shows it as a more complex entity than the previous readings would have suggested. This is power-with that celebrates the open or the fractured circle. It celebrates the disruption potentially caused by leaving an empty seat round the fire for someone that isn't necessarily a friend. It is a power that is, however, not reducible to the actions of the sovereign individual writ large, not least because it resists the notion of the sovereign individual. More than this, activists who could initially seem to be sharing some form of common experience also experience it in a variety of, often conflicting, ways. It *simultaneously* excludes, empowers, constrains, chokes, and gives strength. It is clear that such a multiple reading of power-with depends, in part at least, on the faces of power-with addressed in the first three readings of *The World Turned Upside Down*. Of these, it

is particularly the idealised view of solidarity and mutual aid that is most crucial to the building of common-bonds. This is not least because it is the search for this ideal, expressed politically, spiritually or practically, that continues to drive many people.

Multiple texts: The Reggae Band They Called the Diggers

Combined with the more explicitly embodied conflicts over the significance of *The World Turned Upside Down*, there remain a number of conflicts over the meaning, and content, of the lyrics. This destabilises the notion of the bounded community created by an authentic text, free from mediation at the hands of performers.

It is possible to compare the text of the song as published by Rosselson (1992, reproduced in full, above), with that sung by Dick Gaughan.

Of these differences, the most significant is probably the substitution of the lines:

> "No *man* has any right..."
> "...poor *folk* starve"
> "Still we are free, though we are poor",

in the Rosselson version, for:

> "No *one* has any right..."
> "... poor *men* starve"
> "we are free *men*, though we are poor"

in the Gaughan version (stanzas 3,4,5 respectively, emphasis added).

This has the effect of simultaneously gendering the Diggers, as male, and removing the gender specificity of those being opposed. While there are clearly problems with assuming the gender neutrality, or inclusivity, of such terms as "folk", when placed in the context of the clearly gender specific language of the third stanza, Rosselson's version portrays an ideology informed by an opposition to patriarchy as well as simply property relations.

This is missing (or possibly actively opposed) in the other version, and although the opposition to "masters" and "lords" remains, this could be as much a marker of social class as of gender. Other ideological distinctions can be found in the first stanza, where the Rosselson version "...they defied the *laws*" is changed to "...they defied the *law*" in the singular (emphasis added). While it is potentially stretching the point, it could be suggested that the latter represents a much more radical opposition to the *law*, taken to stand for the legal system, rather than merely opposition to a specific set of unjust *laws*.

It would be possible to argue that these mutable parts of the song represent ideological distinctions, in contrast to the static elements of the song that can be taken to stand for the structural elements. Such structural elements include, possibly, the building of walls, and the depiction of the Diggers as a particularly "ragged" band. There are problems with this approach; however, as Gammon and Stallybrass (1984) suggest in their discussion of the "Long Lankin" ballads:

> "...the different written notations of the phonologically identical 'Lamkin' and 'Lambkin' suggests the complex interrelation of structure and ideology. A folklore collector [and presumably a member of the audience] who hears 'Lambkin' rather than 'Lamkin' connects the villain, whether consciously or not, to the proverbial meekest of creatures" (pp 3-4).

In this context, the misheard lyric: "In 1649, to St. George's Hill/A *reggae* band they called the Diggers/ Came to show the people's will"[7] would seem to suggest that in this case also, even the structural element of any song may be misconstrued.

It is not clear, moreover, that there is even such a thing as an "original" text of *The World Turned Upside Down*. I am still unclear, for example, which version was written first. There are several reasons why I chose to reproduce that particular text, which are almost certainly related to the reasons why it was also the version sung most often at the Diggers camp. It gains a certain amount of authority as it is published in paper form, by the songwriter's current publishing company. In a more practical sense, it was available in a book that I had access to. It is also the version that I know best, from Billy Bragg's recording and live performances. It is also the version that I consider to be the most "politically correct". It is clear, however, that neither version can be read as the "unmarked" text against which the other can be measured.[8]

The way in which performers talk and write about their songs is also important in unpicking these differences. On Dick Gaughan's website, for example, a note that distances him from more pacifistic interpretations of the final verse of *The World Turned Upside Down* accompanies the lyrics for the song:

> "...The Diggers were Christian, pacifist and could be described as primitive communists. The conclusion of the song, in my interpretation, is that, as they were not prepared to defend themselves, they were annihilated. The evidence of history is that revolutions are usually peaceful - but the resulting counter-revolution is usually extremely bloody and ruthless. Anyone who believes that any ruling class will give

up power without extreme resistance is living in a different dimension." (Gaughan, 2000)

As well as expressing an explicitly political ideology, the choice of words may serve to situate activists in more personal ways. It is in this sense that *any* song that is sung may serve as a non-didactic marker of position. The negotiation of these positions between (and within) groups is an important part of the construction of community, or solidarity. While this process does not necessarily depend on an opposition with an alternative set of lyrics, it is more obvious when there *are* a variety of lyrics from which to choose. The choice of lyrics takes on an even greater significance on the occasions when two or more versions of the "same" song are sung against each other, the words clashing, overlapping, reinforcing each other, or cancelling each other out. It is for this reason that I discuss a song that has a wide scope for a variety of obvious changes to be made to the lyrics.

> Stand Up
> Stand up, {women/people/...} make your choice,
> Create a world without nuclear {threat/war},
> For together we are strong,
> Break the nuclear chain.

(Traditional ?)

This song was sung regularly throughout the Trident Ploughshares camps at Coulport in the summers of 1998 and 1999, often at times when people were being arrested, or when they were arriving at court. The choice of words in the first line, (either women, people, or the omission of this word altogether) depended clearly upon the personal/political position of the singer(s), audience(s), and the communities of which they are part.

On one morning during the camp, I passed the Helensburgh District court building. About half a dozen women, were standing outside. They were predominantly from one of the all women, and explicitly feminist, affinity groups. They were waiting for three women to appear in court, and when the police van turned up, and the women were led up the steps to the court, the crowd sang: "Stand up, women make your choice". I sang with them, it just seemed to make sense. A couple of days later, a larger number of activists (roughly equal numbers of men and women) were appearing in court. The same group of women stood outside the court, waiting for the police vans to arrive with the prisoners. But they were joined by a bigger group of people, including many more men. Two different versions of the song were sung *against* each other. The women continued to sing "Stand up, women make your

choice", but I could also pick out a few, exclusively male, voices singing "Stand up, *people* make your choice". In most songs where such a difference in words occurs, the result is an almost instantaneous recognition of the conflict, normally combined with a subtle attempt to negotiate, and alter, the rhythm of the following lines to regain a single "voice". Particularly because this song sung more frequently, and often repeated *ad infinitum*, or sung as a round, there is scope for this form of negotiation between the different versions to occur.

These conflicts often embody, or vocalise, conflicts that may also be given expression in more formal physical settings, such as in meetings or on the pages of newsletters. Most noticeable, in this case, is the role of a variety of implicitly masculinist positions that will not even accommodate, let alone actively support, any feminist position within the Trident Ploughshares campaign. These come into contact with a variety of feminist perspectives, including those of a significant number of separatist lesbian feminists. These conflicts over song could be seen as a conscious or unconscious expression of already existing, and more intellectualised, debates.

I would suggest, however, that these conflicts over words in songs are the very stuff of which such debates are made. This is not only a cognitive process, with a challenge between meanings, but also the struggle to ensure that the words fit together, perhaps at the level of the physical vibrations of the sound waves. The particularly creative element of singing not only gives these debates a different form, but the ability to introduce subtleties that actually have an affect on the substance of the debate. The turn of a head, the raised voice or lowered pitch, the slight increase in tempo, are fundamental to the content of the conflict. Although these aspects are still present in speech or the written word, they are not so evident, as the consideration of the purely rational aspects of verbal or printed debate tends to outweigh these nuances. Song also allows certain practical and innovative resolutions to these debates, resolutions that would not necessarily arise in a formal meeting.

In this particular instance, once the conflict was recognised, there was a certain entrenchment of both positions. The sound of the words "people" and "women" jarred as they were sung in competition with each other. The jarring of the words, in this case, not only represents an ongoing conflict within the peace movement that needs to be addressed rather than being hidden. Along with a few other men, I

found myself changing the words that I sang, in order to give explicit support to the "women" appearing in court. Not only was I was more friendly with these particular activists, but felt a need to consciously support those women, ostensibly in a support role themselves, who were in danger of being shouted down. A few exchanged glances followed amongst the singing crowd, and within a few verses there was a change in rhythm amongst both sides, so that the words were sung in such a way that they fitted with each other more neatly. A possible resolution of the difference. A tacit agreement between those singing that there is a possibility of accommodating a plurality of views within the campaign, without resorting to the universalistic "people".

The conflict, or fracture, between the Trident Ploughshares activists and Faslane Peace Camp, ostensibly part of the same "peace movement" was given expression in, and deepened by, the use of a particular song, *We Shall Overcome*. The song was sung on one of the demonstrations held at the main gates to Faslane naval base, towards the end of the fortnight long Ploughshares camp, in the August of 1998. It was a time when the focus of the Ploughshares activists seemed to be drifting, and the camp was lacking momentum. With four of the most active activists on remand, (Angie, Rachael, Sylvia, Jens) the need was felt for something to push us onwards for the last few days, something which would kick-start the actions again. No-one had been arrested for the previous couple of days. Getting arrested on a Friday or Saturday meant spending most of the weekend in Clydebank or Maryhill police station, or if you were particularly unlucky in Dumbarton, waiting for court on Monday morning. Endless meetings had been held to plan the "mass action", which meant large groups of people sitting under damp, dark, canvas, listening to the same few voices again and again. Sunday came, and standing in a howling gale, at the North Gate to Faslane, we sang songs and blocked the road, for about half an hour. This didn't amount to a huge amount of traffic on a Sunday afternoon... Before walking back to Faslane Peace Camp, we all held hands and sang *We Shall Overcome*. For the first time in days, it felt as if the campaign had a focus, and that there was a purpose to being there. For the first time in nearly two weeks we felt, or at least I felt, like part of a community. Somewhere around 50 men and women, children, parents, grandparents, gay, straight, all of us singing together. The

moment was beautiful, even if the singing was appalling. It felt like we could change things, but more importantly, it felt like we could change things together. Back at the camp at Faslane, however, the criticism of the day's events soon started. Jim kicked it off, joined by Disco. They had been stood on the other side of the road, watching "them", the ploughshares activists, standing around singing songs from the 60's and 80's peace movements. "So, you're one of 'them' now Prof, I saw you holding hands, and singing". At this point he mimicked the high pitched, old women who made up the majority of group "We shall over come some daaaa-a-aaay". "Very radical, Dave, you've deserted us, haven't you" More military analogies from Disco. "That's why I never joined up". John joins in: "Yeah, and they're all bloody white, middle class, teachers and social workers, and none of them have to overcome nowt". I'm waiting for more recriminations about the "action" that followed, which involved us walking along the fence with banners. None comes. The Faslane campers had joined with the Ploughshares people, getting rained on, on the walk back from the North Gate.

We had sung in a circle with hands held, conjuring up images of the 1980s, Greenham, hippies, with the effect of excluding some of those within the group that it is meant to be bringing together. As well as highlighting power relationships and conflicts that existed already, in a tangible way, the reference to these divisions by activists, within such a fragile, and often superficial, community, undoubtedly led to a deepening of the conflict, and an observable deterioration of the links between Faslane and Trident Ploughshares activists. Over the next few weeks at the Peace Camp, the singing incident became a cipher for these divisions, indicating clearly that while it had brought one group of activists together, it had excluded a different group. It was not just the divisions along lines of social position (age, class, occupation, race). Those of us who were part of the Trident Ploughshares campaign were more familiar with, or had cultivated a liking for, certain types of music as we sat around the campfire, with no amplified music.

It also highlighted more acutely the uneasy position of those of us who had attempted, often-unsuccessfully, to negotiate membership of both of these groups. The frequency of meetings at both camps meant a tiring series of bus journeys backwards and forwards between the camp at Falsane and Peaton Glen Wood, where the Ploughshares camp was held. After taking on a role of liasing between the two camps, I was put in the position of travelling up to four times a day

between the camp some 10 miles apart, in order to relay messages. This time spent in neither camp meant that rather than being seen as part of *both*, I often felt like part of neither. I was not alone. John, for example, who had been a regular visitor to Faslane, but had joined the Ploughshare campaign, stood out at Peaton Glen, not least because of his broad Brummy accent. Increasingly disenchanted with what he felt was a liberal, and middle class, attitude of many of those involved in the campaign, over a couple of years he became less closely involved in the running of the Ploughshares campaign, and became a permanent resident at Faslane.

In a similar way as the singing of songs increases tensions, the tensions were often expressed through, and exacerbated by a self-conscious distancing from certain songs.

Although the use of song by those in police-cells can be an empowering, and liberating tactic, the 16th chorus of Leon Rosselson's *Trident, Trident*

> Trident, Trident, money down the drain,
> It can kill all living creatures, and then kill them all again.
> It's time to get together, it's time to make a fuss,
> So that we can bury Trident, before it buries us.

was too much for Jane, a normally quite restrained peace camper, to cope with. When released from Clydebank police station, she threatened to highlight, in a very vivid and violent way, the process by which the appropriateness of particular tactics are contested within activist communities. Having heard the song performed at the opening of the Ploughshares camp, it is easy to appreciate how the saccharine quality with which the topic is treated could drive an entirely nonviolent activist to threats of violence. A similar story could probably be told about any activist's least favourite song. The Super Sonic Samba School are also aware of the need for sensitivity to the differences between forms of drumming, when they suggest: "[Samba] drums tend to overwhelm most instruments... always ask before playing along with other musicians, unless of course, you intentionally want to disrupt them... don't jam along with Native Americans, or chanting monks." (no date) Jane's visceral dislike for the song *Trident, Trident* was in part a largely physical reaction to hearing the same set of noises repeated whilst being held in a confined space, but it also served to establish a cultural distance from the Ploughshares campaign (for whom it was written) and, by implication, a closeness to Faslane Peace Camp. The song also came under attack on account of the incredibly simplistic, and somewhat naïve way in which it treated the subject of nuclear

weapons. For those who took it seriously, there was fault to be found in the opening line, described nuclear weapons as "... money down the drain". Leading one activist to question whether they would then be acceptable if they "came free with a tube of Smarties".

It is necessary, therefore, to take seriously the impacts of song, as an active part of the physical construction and destruction of community, as well as an important way of conveying and negotiating meanings in a context that tends to avoid any explicit theorising. Song doesn't necessarily have purely positive impacts, either in terms of the dynamics of the community that is created, or the way in which the effects of these bonds spin off into domination and resistance. While it has a power to overcome certain barriers, it may well put others in their place. Such a reading of songs in particular, and power-with in general, undoubtedly raises more questions than it directly answers.

---

[1] They also form the basis of a number of Diggers 350 web sites and sites dedicated to the Diggers of 1649 (these include www.oneworld.org/tlio/diggers/, www.bilderberg.org/diggers.htm and www.diggers.org, an archive of the San Francisco Diggers of the late 1960s).

[2] Developing part of this argument, Hollows and Milestone (1998) follow McRobbie (1990) in discussing the problems of viewing "Northern Soulers" *solely* as part of a distinct subculture. This approach has the effect of neglecting the variety of other groups and categories of which these people are part. Not the least of the problems being the relative ignorance of the ways in which gender divisions may structure subcultures. While these are undoubtedly flaws in any academic discussion it should be noted that members of a "subculture" may themselves hold such reified, idealised, concept of the bond within that group. Again these can tend to obscure gender relations. In seeking to expose such complexities there is a danger of recreating a different form of academic abstraction, which denies the perceptions and lived experience of the members of the group. An understanding of the way in which these idealised notions, *and the conflict between them*, are created and mobilised is fundamental to understanding the creation of that community, however fractured and contested it may be.

[3] There are problems with relying on a century old social analysis, not least of which is the creation of canonical anarchistic texts. But, the *ideals* proposed by Kropotkin, and given contemporary form by Ward and others, still resonate, and are of some relevance, today.

[4] Attila the Stockbrocker's version of the song explicitly recognises this role, by introducing a short historical essay between the 5th and 6th stanzas:
"At the end of the English Civil War when the New Model Army made the law,
A host of radical movements grew, Levellers, Diggers, Ranters too.
They wanted a republic and much, much more, freedom, equality, votes for the poor.
Community of land and bread for all, a new age dawning at Charles' fall,
But Cromwell, and his propertied friends, had taken power for their own ends,
Cromwell was just a king in disguise, his talk of reform was a pack of lies,
When the radicals saw they'd been betrayed, a brave and gallant stand they made,
But Cromwell's grandees, squire and lord, smashed them down with fire and sword."

[5] I would argue that this has not a little to do with the construction of disciplinary boundaries by geographers. Despite claims to the transdisciplinary (p ix) nature of the collection, Leyshon *et al* (1998, p 4) draw upon a seemingly unnecessary quote by David Harvey (1984, p 8) to justify the power of geography, and the priority of the spatial.

[6] www.cowswithguns.com

[7] Quoted at www.mindspring.com/~usul/billy-bragg.html

[8] This discussion is somewhat separate from the instances in which the lyrics of the song have been changed in a more systematic fashion. On example is Attila the Stockbroker's *The Ligger's Song*:

Stanza 1:   Without backstage passes, but with no fear,
A bunch of piss heads called the liggers came to drink all the free beer.
We defied the bouncers, we ignored the bars,
We were the drunken hoards just nicking what weren't ours.

Group process

The search for democratic structures to replace parliamentary and representative democracy is part of the work of many groups involved in direct action. These structures, often involving face-to-face contact, serve as a way of organising effective resistance, as well as prefiguring their use in a post-revolutionary society. They are also an important way in which communities involved in direct action are structured.[1]

Affinity groups and consensus decision-making
The use of affinity groups can be traced to the Spanish Civil War, where they provided a non-hierarchical way of organising groups of people. They enabled effective decision-making, and prevented infiltration. They are often used with direct action campaigns for the same reasons.

The Trident Ploughshares campaign is based around a collection of "affinity groups". The structure of these groups is spelled out in the Trident Ploughshares handbook (Trident Ploughshares 2000, 1997), where it is suggested that they will consist of between three and ten activists. They will undertake the majority of the decision-making, support and campaigning work. The handbook also provides a rationale for their use:

> "Each affinity group for Trident Ploughshares 2000 will consist
> of between three and ten Ploughshares activists, who will sign
> the Pledge to Prevent Nuclear Crime and engage in the
> disarmament work. The affinity group is small so that discussion
> can flow more easily. Larger groups tend to be dominated by
> just a few people, and the ones left out often do not have a
> chance to have their needs met or to contribute equally.
> The structure of affinity groups also allows a wide diversity of
> styles, beliefs and cultures to flower." (Trident Ploughshares
> 2000, 1997 § 2.5.1)

Alongside the affinity groups is the core group. This is the group that initially produced the campaign handbook and other publicity material including leaflets and a video. The group also set up the nonviolence and safety workshops, which all affinity group members have to attend before they can be formally accepted into the campaign. They also devised the nonviolence and safety guidelines, which all members of the campaign have to sign. As such, the "People who subsequently came into TP2000 were presented with a coherent and fairly well-thought out project where many of the major decisions had already been made, and informed of

those decisions that were not negotiable..." (Trident Ploughshares 2000, 1998 §
2.1.2) The less formally constituted "media group" and "legal support group" also
play important roles within the campaign.

The ways in which these groups function is however often at odds with the theory
as it is outlined in the Ploughshares handbook and in the Peace News guide. An
understanding of how these groups are actually used, both on specific actions and
in formal and informal decision-making is central to an understanding of their
power.

After letting the kitchen know that we probably wouldn't be wanting an evening
meal, the three of us left the camp and walked along the footpath that ran up the
side of the river. We passed the rope swing where Jon and Chris were taking it in
turns to dive from the steeply sloping bank, and across the gorge that opened up
beneath their feet. "Where are youse goin'?" Jon shouted from the bank as he
waited for Chris to return with the knotted end of the rope. "For a walk!" "Aaaaah,
I know!" he shouted back. So much for keeping this little expedition quiet...

Out of sight of the camp we stopped for our druidic ceremony, including the
casting of a spell of protection, and divided up the equipment between the
rucksacks: one pair of bolt-cutters each, a few scraps of carpet, the ploughshares
handbook with its map of Coulport, a padlock, and a pair of razor-wire-proof
gloves, a pair of goggles to protect eyes from springing bits of wire. A bit of a
delay while Kreb donned his robes and removed his trousers, and we were ready to
go...

The sun was beginning to set as we emerged from the woods. We stood at the top
of the cutting. The new military road to Coulport was a few metres below us. The
traffic had slowed to the occasional local resident and, of course the MoD and
Strathclyde police transit vans, land rovers and cars that had been brought in to deal
with the Trident Ploughshares camp. Waiting for a police van to pass, the three of
us lay flat against the ground, using rudimentary sign language to communicate
with each other. Although we all used these signs (for police man, sergeant, stop,
follow me, I can hear a car, and they've seen us), keeping our noise to a minimum,
they were particularly useful for Kreb, as he couldn't hear the cars approaching,
nor the sounds of feet on gravel. We slowly crawled to the edge of the rocks and,
looking left, right, and left again, signalled that it was all clear, got up and ran
across the road. Pausing only slightly to catch our breaths, we dived into the ditch

that ran along the road, screened from any passing traffic by the conifers that had been planted on the top of the bank. A bit of a disagreement, in hushed voices and angry signs. Which way was north? The sun setting in the west finally settled the argument. We set out across the rough and boggy ground towards the fence.

After a few minutes waiting for a police patrol car to move from its vantage point overlooking the section of fence we had picked to cut, we ran across the stretch of open ground, ducked under the single strand of barbed wire and began to cut our hole. Using the smaller set of the three bolt cutters, I cut a horizontal line about two feet from the ground, and Kreb cut a similar line a foot below it. In the distance I could hear an engine revving, and the third member of our group shouted that the police were on their way. I continued to enlarge the hole, beginning the more difficult task of cutting the vertical line, the third side of the square.

YET AGAIN, the cutting was not complete before the police arrived, and although Kreb made an attempt to shield me and my bolt cutters from the leather clad hands of the MoD Plod, he managed to grab the cutters. Kreb had decided not to walk to the police van that was waiting a few hundred metres away at the nearest road, and was being carried down the hill, his druid's robes flapping in the breeze. As a show of solidarity, the two of us left at the fence also decided to passively resist, and went limp when asked to stand. By the time the police returned for me, after having carried two people down the hill already, they were exhausted. In the police van commiserations were exchanged for having failed in the task, and we resigned ourselves to a night in the cells...

However, it is not only due to the efforts of the police that the affinity group structure often fails to live up to its potential. While being part of the large campaign opens up numerous possibilities for more powerful forms of resistance to nuclear weapons, the incorporation of these groups within the wider structures of the campaign also creates difficulties. Amongst these structures, it is possible to identify the process of decision-making, as particularly problematic.[2]

<u>The importance of a "grammar of forms"</u>
The Trident Ploughshares campaign uses a form of consensus decision-making, shown schematically in figure 19. This chart is provided in the handbook that is given to all members of the campaign. As with the affinity group structure, the reason for using this process is explained.

"Making decisions is crucial and it would be good if every group worked by consensus. Decision making by voting leaves a minority dissatisfied and feeling it has lost, and compromise can leave everyone dissatisfied, because no one gets what s/he wants. Decision making by consensus, on the other hand, should encourage a synthesis of everyone's ideas, incorporating everyone's best thinking." (Trident Ploughshares 2000, 1997, §2.5.4)
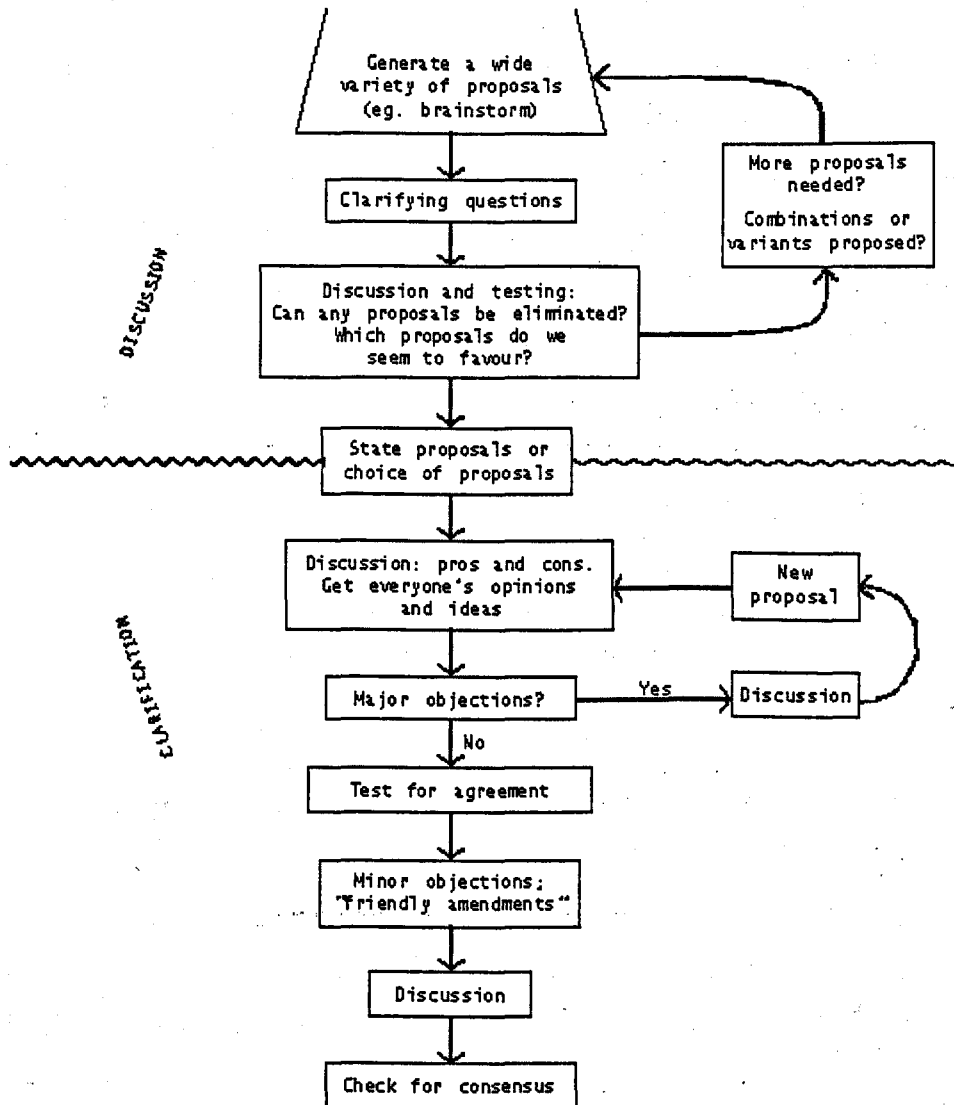
Figure 19: A process for consensus decision-making (from Coover *et al*, 1981, cited in Trident Ploughshares 2000, § 2.7)

For some of those within the Trident Ploughshares campaign and the wider anti-nuclear movement it is clear that the institutionalisation of these structures can become somewhat debilitating. There is a danger that they may come to directly obstruct the role of these groups in both material and symbolic resistance. Schlosberg (1995) identifies an emphasis on "the grammar of forms" (p 304) in many new social movements. Drawing on Habermas, he suggests that these

movements have put in place democratic structures in a drive to create an ideal speech situation. While these structures are evident in the Ploughshares campaign, and to a lesser extent at Faslane Peace Camp, it would be difficult to state as categorically as Schlosberg seems to that this concern is directly inspired by Habermas. I would also question his assumption that this "grammar" is necessarily *more* important to any campaign than material goals. Trident Ploughshares affinity groups, for example, clearly exist *primarily to resist* the Trident nuclear weapons system. While the majority of the twenty-six groups that now make up the campaign have not achieved any significant criminal damage (most being content to take part in largely symbolic blockades), this focus on resistance helps to mitigate some of the problems that might be associated with an excessive concern with the structure and maintenance of the group itself.

Warning against this possibility, Stephen Hancock reminds those searching for a universally applicable consensus decision-making structure that

> "there is a great danger that consensus gets portrayed as the be all and end all of democratic evolution, and so escapes necessary criticism and development. It is actually a very problematic system. After all, consensus represents a significant technical, psychological and cultural shift from many other forms of decision making...Groups need to make decision-making processes fit their needs, rather than the other way round. People shouldn't be afraid of making modifications — some groups even allow the possibility, after several consensus attempts, of falling back on an overwhelming majority vote"
> (*Peace News*, 1998, p 14)

The importance of the "grammar" to individual activists is clear. This might be due to power that can be gained through manipulating the structures, but it is equally likely to be related to feelings of insecurity if the structure is not made explicit. One incident, from the Peace Walk in the summer of 1999 remains lodged in my mind. After a day spent walking in the boiling heat, we had already had an hour of meetings concerned with the minutiae of the walk, and the practical arrangements for that night's camp. "Who will walk at the back of the walk?" "...Can people make sure that the signs showing the way are nice and clear...", "...we should enter all the towns in one big group..." I was sat with about thirty other people in a my third meeting of the day. We were all people who had volunteered our various skills (workshop facilitation, experience of activism, youth work) to work out a programme for the nonviolence training that was going to be delivered to the rest of

the walkers in a couple of days time. Given the circumstances, it was surprising that the meeting was as well conducted and productive as it was. It was certainly the most relaxed meeting that I had been in all week. There was no facilitator and no sign of the anxieties (over the pace of the walk, or the length of each day, the lack of people volunteering to leaflet those that we passed by, or to hold the banners) that had persistently dogged the whole group meetings each morning and evening. We were well on the way to deciding a plan of action for devising the training, with the areas that needed to be covered identified, and the rough timetable set out. A couple of people began talking over each other, and a bloke who had said very little throughout the meeting stood up. This was a bit of a shock, with everyone else either sitting or lying on the grass. Most of us were actually unable to stand at this point. "Look!" He was obviously quite anxious, "all I want to know is, is this meeting in 'process' or not?" He didn't get a reply. He sat down on his haunches and after a couple of minutes of the meeting continuing in the same general tone as before he got up and left. He didn't come back to the group. We *were* using a pretty eclectic form of consensus, but by the end of the walk we'd managed to plan and deliver the training without ever feeling the need for adherence to a dogmatic "process". This was made all the more ironic as a large section of the training sessions revolved around discussions of the consensus decision-making techniques that were in use during the meetings on the walk, and the ways in which these might be used in the action when we reached the NATO headquarters...

I thought to myself that it was pretty unusual for this guy to feel himself excluded on the basis of his desire for an excessive *adherence* to "process". More commonly, exclusion, either overtly or unwittingly, is based on the rejection of those people who don't or won't adhere to the "process".

This is most obvious in the context of a formal meeting, but it might also occur when people step outside of other processes that have been established. During the Ploughshares campaign this has included a refusal to work in an affinity group or to *sign* the nonviolence and safety guidelines. On numerous occasions this has led to the marginalisation of activists from Faslane Peace Camp within the Ploughshares campaign.

An article that I wrote for *Faslania* (the Faslane Peace Camp newsletter), discusses the effect of the Trident Ploughshares campaign on the permanent peace camp at

Faslane. After detailing the successes of the fortnight long camp in August 1998, I suggest that there were numerous positive aspects to the arrival of the Ploughshares activists.[3] Not least of these was that "the camp's arrogant assumption that it holds monopoly on actions at 'our' base has been challenged." (Prof Dave, 1998, p7)

I continued by providing a note of caution regarding the ways in which the camp as a whole, and some individual activists in particular, had faced exclusion because of the prejudices and bureaucracy of the campaign:

> "The danger exists, however, for this arrogance to swing the other way. The Ploughshares campaign may be beginning to exhibit a similar territoriality, and a frightening moral superiority over the methods and strategy that is being used. The proclaimed adherence to nonviolence, safety, accountability, and the rules prohibiting drug and alcohol use have created a snobbishness amongst some ploughshares activists. On more than one occasion I have heard the assumption that without these guidelines other Peace activists, including Faslane Campers, are incapable of living up to the high standards demanded by the campaign. Anyone not signing the pledge is, to some, a bunch of violent, drug crazed, hippies intent on doing large amounts of criminal damage in a dangerous way, and then running off without getting caught. (I wonder what gives them that idea?)." (ibid.)

Blatant conflicts between the camps were fortunately relatively infrequent. Most of those unable or unwilling to adhere to the various processes and ground rules simply did not join the campaign. Several kept contact with the temporary camp to a minimum. There is a perception amongst the wider peace and environmental movement of the Ploughshares campaign being rule bound. This is perhaps the single greatest reason why the campaign has not grown to a larger size.

My article also alluded to an admittedly caricatured, yet quite widely held set of beliefs about the make up of the Ploughshares campaign:

> "The well focussed media strategy allows a "spin" to be put on the actions. A not-guilty plea is normally entered, even in the face of overwhelming evidence that they-done-the-blag...Discussions at the Ploughshares camp involved a variety of coherent articulations of the reasons for attempting disarmament. Whether or not this is due to having a more middle-class and academically aware group of activists is open to debate [but] there is a danger of indulging in too much hypothesising and navel gazing." (ibid., p 8)

However, amongst those who had joined the campaign there were still barriers to achieving the ideal of consensus. This was not based on, or even presented as a conflict over, the suitability of consensus as a process. On this matter there was

almost universal agreement. Rather, conflict has arisen when the variety of different forms of "consensus", and different "processes" (or different expectations of the process) have become entangled with unequal power relations. In these instances a policing of the process, often making reference to documents such as the handbook or some supposed set of "rules" of consensus, became a way of playing out these power relations.

There was a conflict within the campaign as the "Bread not Bombs" affinity group (made up of Swedish activists) insisted on using a particularly "continental" vision of consensus, with much more emphasis placed on the ability of individuals and groups to block the actions of others in the campaign.[4] This was always contrasted with the "correct" version of consensus. The "correct" version is practiced by English Quakers, a group well represented in the core group. Once this process had been set down, it became impossible to make the quantum leap necessary to change the process. This suggests that, in effect, everything is up for question, except the decision-making process. As appeals to this "process" can be used to steer debate or even enforce an outcome, consensus can be seen as a highly conservative device that becomes a way of perpetuating inequalities and sectional interests.

> "In all my experience of working with consensus, I have not seen a single occurrence in which a non-assertive, timid individual has had the gall to block an otherwise consensual decision of the group. In all instances, the individuals who have used blocking either had strong personalities, had powerful positions within the group, or represented powerful interests outside the group. Instead of serving to equalise power amongst individuals within a group, [the individuals right to block] gives more power to powerful individuals." (Elaine, 1981, cited in *Peace News*, 1998, p 14)

The effect is not only to exclude those suggesting changes to the process, but also those making radical proposals that do not fit within the rational framework provided by the consensus process.

The exclusion of the counter-rational has been identified by Featherstone (1999), McGuirk (1999) and Petts (2000), specifically in relation to the adoption of the ideas of communicative action and deliberative democracy in the urban planning process. Even within the "process" meeting, physical experience is important. A set of hand signals are often used to provide feedback to either facilitator or speaker, and in order to prevent repetition and overcome language barriers. One hand raised, to indicate a request to speak. Two hands raised, to request to speak immediately,

on a closely linked subject. Fingers wiggled in front of the eyes "I don't understand". Hands making the letter "T"- translation, or technical clarification, needed. Hands rolling over each other, wrap up, you're repeating yourself. A hand, palm up, moving up and down lets the speaker know they should speak louder. With palm down, they should speak softer. Fingers pointing away from you, and wiggling up and down, show that you agree. The more frenzied the wiggling, the greater the agreement. A raised fist is the block, or veto, if it's used. Pictographic representations of these signals were placed in the main meeting tent at the Ploughshares camp, and provoked reactions ranging from interest and amusement to outright hostility in those Faslane campers not used to the system. A number of the longer-term campers had actually come across a similar system used at the Ecotopia camp, an annual event bringing together young environmental activists from across Europe, held in Scotland in the summer of 1997. The hand signals come to stand for the bureaucratic and authoritarian nature of the event, when contrasted with Faslane, and the re-emergence of these signals at the Ploughshares camp did nothing to dispel the similar arguments against the Ploughshares campaign.

While they introduce a dimension beyond the purely oral, it is not clear whether they represent anything more than an analogy with spoken language, recreating Schlosberg's assumption that "The idea of communicative action is based in the structure of language" (1995, p 293). Certainly, all the problems identified with respect to ideal *speech* could be exacerbated by, and replicated through the use of these signals. Indeed, from within the rational/ideal speech context, the element of *irrationality* found in the ambiguous or unconscious movements of a hand, combined perhaps with a rolling of the eyes, or the shake of a head, introduces a further complexity and messiness into the deliberation. This is a complexity that certain forms of "process" would seek to remove. We all have muscles that occasionally need to be stretched, bowels and bladders that need to be emptied, or body language that might be less than conscious or perhaps deemed "inappropriate" by some in the group. Perhaps most importantly, there are prejudices, desires, dishonesties and conflicts that are brought into meetings by participants which resist all attempts at reduction to rational forms of discourse. People lie, get angry, keep quiet or talk bullshit in meetings, not for rational reasons such as "a lack of trust" nor "for personal gain", but often just because.

These are all factors that play a vital part in the practice of meetings, as they do in the practice of other parts of life, although they are largely neglected in the literature on consensus decision-making.

Thrift (1997), calls attention to "the fact that [dance] lives beyond the rational auspices of Western societies."(p 145). Upstairs in the Glasgow Friends Meeting House, where we were staying for the weekend, The Porridge Stoats were playing their particular brand of ceilidh music, a mixture of Irish, Scottish, pan-Celtic folk with electric guitar and bass. Although they are one of the many affinity groups who are simultaneously an established group of musicians, they had been unable to find a "caller" for the evening. A few people, mainly middle aged members of the "core group" and media group, had pushed the bedding and baggage to the sides of the large meeting room, and were in the process of cautiously improvising a dance. I looked around the room, and seated on the benches that ran around the room were a few younger activists, darning socks, reading trashy novels, anti-nuclear literature of various sorts, and the *Glasgow Herald*. Joel, an Earth First!er from the American Mid-West, studying in London for the year and on a tour of protests around the country, was the only spectator. I sat down next to him, and he asked me what the hell was going on. He had seen the ceilidh advertised in the programme for the weekend and had come along to check it out, thinking that it might make a nice alternative to the pub. I explained, using my limited knowledge of Scottish folk dancing, what a ceilidh was, and reassured him that the steps that people were dancing were almost certainly a clumsy mixture of the English and Scottish country dancing, rather than an intricately planned or contrived clumsiness. These were steps that people had been taught at school, or had learned at dances like this. He thanked me for the explanation and told me why he was reluctant to join in. It was not only the cultural specificity of this sort of dancing, but that he was also faintly disturbed both by the music and by the homogeneity of the group that were taking the lead. Totally unaware of the "process" under which the dance was taking place, lacking any formal or informal training in these sorts of steps, and with no obvious instructions as to how to participate, he was left looking puzzled, and feeling totally excluded. He left, and went off to the pub to find the other twenty-something activists he had met earlier in the day...

I stayed behind, enjoying the music and unwilling to brave the chill of the Glasgow winter's night. I was literally dragged in to the dancing throng by Sally, one of the

core-group with whom I had been locked in argument earlier in the day. An attempt at reconciliation, I guessed. We fell into step with the other couples and sort of skipped and walked around the circle in what I remembered, from my infrequent forays into folk dancing of one sort or another, was a "promenade". The tempo of the music changed, speeding up slightly, and the promenade stopped. Glancing over my shoulder to take a cue from someone else, I saw a couple beginning to spin each other round the circle. Clap-clap-clap-clap-clap-clap-clap-clap (Ah, I thought to myself, I can do this clapping thing) a th-thud-th-thud-th-thud-th-thud-th-thud-th-thud-th-thud on the carpeted wooden floor, as Angie and David spun past my ears. Clap-clap-clap-clap-clap-clap-clap—Jane grabbed my hands, and began to spin me around the circle....ththud-ththud-ththud-ththud-ththud-ththud-ththud-ththud, the 19th century floorboards beginning to feel rather less stable, and as if the next ththud could send us plummeting to the kitchen below. Back to where we started, and the next couple started off... The spinning finished and with the music, clapping and foot tapping continuing, I looked uneasily about to see what the next move would be. I readied myself to launch into it in a "spontaneous" way. I was probably alone out of those who were dancing in not having the expertise which would have let me prompt a move. Everyone else was standing around looking, although (I suspected) not as uneasily as I was. Perhaps I needn't have worried about relying on the shared and orthodox repertoire of dance steps, as Angie stopped clapping, made a slight shuffle back from the rest of the circle and launched into a forward roll across the circle. A bit more looking shiftily round the circle, and the dance continued with another promenade...

At the time, that somersault really said everything that I needed to hear about the interplay between an appearance of, and assumptions about the existence of rules or grammar governing interactions within the campaign. We were expected to agree to this grammar, to the exclusion of those to whom it was alien. It was the instigator of the campaign, however who reinforced her relatively powerful position by stepping outside of these rules. Furthermore, there was something important about the fact that it was through dance and not through a conscious and rational articulation that this had been made clear. Behaviour in meetings could almost be expected to contain this level of complexity and duplicity. We could be expected to be alert to it become aware of it and oppose it. There was something more insidious about the practicing of power through dance, all the more so, as

there seemed to be an attempt to limit recognition of these conflicts to precisely those rational forums within which they could be dealt with using the established set of linguistic and procedural tactics.

But, the attempt to reduce the incident to an analogy with the sorts of conflicts carried by speech must be resisted. This was not simply a spilling over into dance of some conflict normally expressed in words. It can't be explained in terms of the *instrumental* fashioning of community, if it can be explained at all. Like some elements of song discussed above, it can't adequately be explained in terms of the acting out of some prior conflict or community. Rather, the physical experience of dancing, or not dancing played an active role in structuring these forms.

Having identified consensus as a partial, rather than universal tactic, mobilised to support various interest groups, the circumstances in which consensus decision-making is *not* appropriate need examination. In this context, however it is possible that a decision *not* to use consensus will become little more than a further expression of division within a group, and become a tactic of the relatively powerful.

From a "grammar of forms" to a "cyborg society"

Towards the end of 1998, after the Bread not Bombs group left the campaign, a second version of the Trident Ploughshares handbook was issued (Trident Ploughshares 2000, 1998). It was slightly revised to take account of various developments within the campaign, particularly in terms of the police and court reactions to the direct action that had taken place.

It also contained a section on "When not to use consensus" (§ 2.6.3).

> "When not to use consensus:
> When there is no *group mind*.
> A group thinking process cannot work effectively unless the group is cohesive enough to generate shared attitudes and perceptions. When deep divisions exist within a group, or when members don't value the group's bonding over their individual desires, consensus becomes an exercise in frustration." (Trident Ploughshares 2000, 1998 §2.6.3, emphasis added)

There may be times where personal conflict or the provocative, stubborn, arrogant or manipulative use of consensus process prevents the formation of this group mind (*Peace News*, 1998, p 14). There are thankfully relatively few cases of this sort of personal animosity in the Ploughshares campaign. This is largely a result of the formal gatekeeping that is enacted through a strict set of ground rules. Exclusion

also occurs in a myriad of informal ways. As a result, it is a variety of *political* ideas that provides the most forceful challenge to the idea and practice of a group mind within the campaign.

I have outlined above the conflict over the idea of taking direct action specifically against the court system in order to prevent it functioning. The assumption that there was a relatively easy-to-reach consensus between those supporting and opposing the suggestion ignored the significant political differences between the anarchist and more reformist currents within the campaign.

Schlosberg (1995) makes a similar mistake in his description of those involved in the 1980's anti-nuclear movement

> "Most, if not all, of the individuals participating in these actions subscribe to the principles of Gandhi and M. L. King Jr., make decisions based on an other-regarding process of consensus, and act within 'affinity groups' of close confidants modelled after the Spanish anarchists of the 1930's." (p 304)

This assumption of a common heritage is evident in the peace movement generally, and specifically in the Trident Ploughshares campaign. It is closely related to the maintenance of the authority of these Father figures, enabling the campaign that invokes them to share some of their reflected glory. More problematic is the way in which the self proclaimed "experts" on the philosophy of Gandhi or King, or the approved history of direct action can not only maintain their own authority, but also proscribe certain actions by suggesting that "Gandhi wouldn't have done that" or "That's not quite what we did in the 1980s".

While Schlosberg (1995) suggests that at the LAG actions, there *were* "anarchists, hippies, New leftists, scientists, Christian housewives, radical feminists, Quakers, legal professionals, pagans" (p 306), he assures us that it is possible for all these positions to reach some sort of consensus over effective action. The reasons why this action is necessary are not always to be agreed upon, yet the different motivations could all be "expressed, recognized, and respected" (ibid.). However, despite suggestions of the universality of process, there would seem to be sizeable conflicts of both ideas and practice between a variety of anarchist and radical feminist positions, on the one hand, and those of Gandhi and Martin Luther King, on the other. This is not to mention conflicts between the anarchists and the radical feminists.

These conflicts are likely to be exhibited not only in terms of philosophy, but also the construction and exclusion of various histories. More significantly, there are likely to be radically different boundaries regarding legitimate forms of action. The introduction to a briefing before the Feb 14th Trident Ploughshares mass blockade of Faslane naval base, for example, set out a linear and largely monovocal history of direct action. "The audience" contained a number of experienced environmental and anarchist activists, preparing for their first Trident Ploughshares action. The fact that these activists were present was largely a result of attempts to reach out to the wider activist movements. Their calls to include the poll tax riot, the Newbury "reunion rampage" and other notorious examples of property damage were ignored. The result was not an outright rejection of these dissident histories, but rather their incorporation (as embodied in these activists) into the confines of the relatively safe orthodox history of direct action.

An attempt to reach consensus in the situations where these different views are held would undoubtedly act to limit the actions to a lowest common denominator, likely to constrain the spirituality of the Gandhi-ites and the spontaneity and anger of the anarchists. An adherence to an "authentically" anarchistic history of the Spanish civil war, in structuring affinity groups would also be problematic. However, in a situation where "all, of the individuals participating in these actions [are assumed to] subscribe to the principles of Gandhi and M. L. King Jr." (Schlosberg, 1995, p304) I could almost certainly guess whose actions are likely to be deemed illegitimate. Moreover, it is unreasonable and unrealistic to expect those who hold deeply antagonistic views towards certain groups and philosophies, often for good reason, to suddenly jettison them. Such a situation seems almost inevitable while the *rational* ideal of communicative action is maintained.

There are, however a number of celebrated instances of activists using potentially conflicting tactics and holding mutually antagonistic political views, managing to work effectively together without compromise of views or actions. The massive protest against the CASTOR (Cask for Transport and Storage of Radioactive Materials) shipments of nuclear waste to Gorleben, Germany, in March 1997 provides one such example that has passed into activist lore (*Do or Die*, 1997c, p 113-115). The possibility of action that includes radically different approaches, but denies the need to foster the sort of "unity" that would lead to the exclusion of the

more radical views is suggested by "Agit-Wank" (1998). Their critique of gentiX snowball, a campaign against genetic engineering that draws in large part on the same ideas as Trident Ploughshares, ends by discussing the possibility of future actions against genetically engineered crops

> "Such action could include marches on, and rallies at test sites (which might, we feel, result in site trashings), as well as occupations of offices and laboratories. Actions such as these allow the involvement of a large number of people and to simultaneously allow those people to have a real effect through their involvement. Action like this would not rely on moderate tactics and demands.... participants would be free to choose whether or not to be responsible to the state for their actions." (p 13)

Central to the argument is the claim that the insistence of accountability to the legal system makes lengthy court cases and prison sentences more likely. This means that activists with children, those with outstanding bail conditions or other commitments are effectively excluded from involvement in the genetiX snowball campaign. While there was hostility to the article when it was published, "Agit-Wank"'s suggestion prefigured the mass trespassing onto, and subsequent destruction of the farm scale genetics test site at Watlington, Oxfordshire on 18th July 1999 (*The Guardian*, 1999).

In theorising such collective action, it possible to take a cue from a reading of Donna Haraway's *Cyborg Manifesto* (1991a).[5] "The cyborg does not dream of community on the model of the organic family, this time without the oedipal project.... They are wary of holism, but needy for connection- they seem to have a natural feel for united front politics, but without the vanguard party." (Haraway, 1991a, p 151). This is a vision directly inspired by Haraway's experience as an anti-nuclear activist. As well as the web-weaving Greenham women, she suggests:

> "I like to imagine LAG, the Livermore Action Group, as a kind of cyborg society, dedicated to realistically converting the laboratories that most fiercely embody and spew out the tools of technological apocalypse, and committed to building a political form that actually manages to hold together witches, engineers, elders, perverts, Christians, mothers, and Leninists long enough to disarm the state." (ibid., pp 154-155)

She contrasts blood relations with her "Fission Impossible" affinity group "related by... choice, the appeal of one chemical nuclear group for another, avidity" (ibid., p 155). Affinity is also positioned as providing an alternative to the "search for a new essential unity... [amongst] much of the US left and US feminism" (ibid.).

Both consanguinity and strategic essentialism represent unnecessary constraints on the fluidity of the "cyborg society".
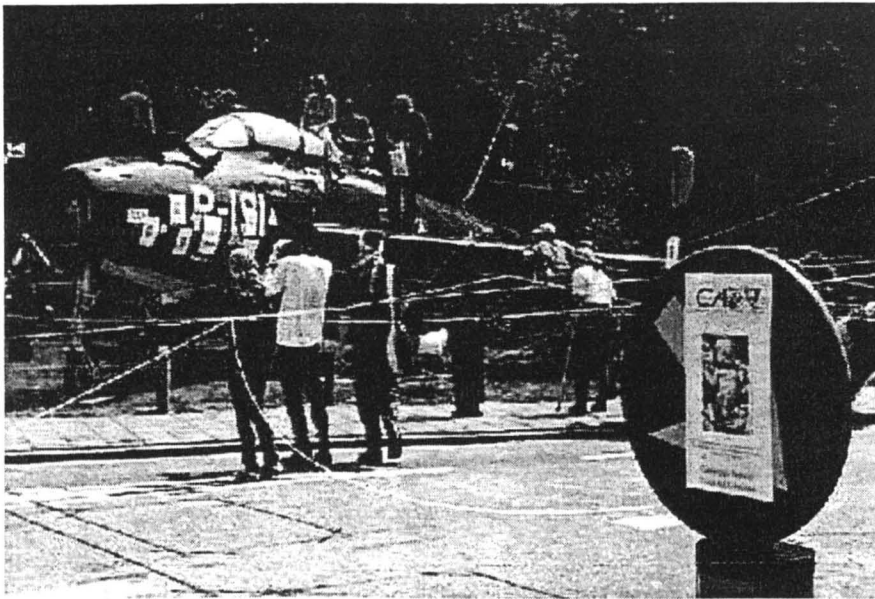

Figure 20: Demonstration at Gilze-Rijen, Dutch NATO base, symbolically blocked with a web of string, to protest against the use of depleted uranium shells in Yugoslavia. (Photo: Aungiira Aurel Dutá, 1999)

Iris Young (1990) outlines, with respect to feminist groups, how the desire for the ideal of community, as a mutual recognition of sameness, helps reproduce their homogeneity. In place of the totalising discourse of unity, which will always involve the exclusion of the "other", she proposes a norm of "the unoppressive city", based on an "openness to unassimilated otherness" (p 301). She draws on Adorno's critique of "the logic of identity", what Derrida calls "the metaphysics of presence", to suggest that this ideal is both an impossible goal, as well as being politically undesirable if it could ever be reached. While it is not necessarily racist, in and of itself, Young writes that "within the context of a racist and chauvinistic society [such ideals] can validate the impulses that reproduce racist and ethnically chauvinistic identification" (1990, p 312). As such, Young (1990) provides a forceful challenge to the drive for closure found in consensus process, and the suggestion that unmediated social relations exist in face-to-face groups. This is a suggestion that underlies Hakim Bey's notion of the *TAZ* (1991), and is more fully outlined in his *Immediatism* (1992). Young asserts that this is dangerously utopian, ignoring the fact "that alienation and violence... can and do exist in face-to-face groups." (1990, p 302). Moreover, it is based on a number of false premises, most importantly the neat distinction between individual and community, and the

possibility that the self can understand the other as it understands itself. Both of these ideas are based on the enlightenment concept of the self-knowing, unified, subject. This is brought into question, for Young, by the work of Derrida, Adorno, and in particular Julia Kristeva (1977).

Oppenheimer (1970) is also critical of those revolutionary theories and practices that romanticise the social structure of peasant societies, a tendency which he traces to use of the concept of *Gemeinschaft* in the description of both peasant communities and the urban underclass. This romantic vision is held by middle class suburbanites, rather than by "peasants or ghetto dwellers, who have no romantic illusions about their miserable conditions.... If there is a sense of community in the peasant village, the price for it is abject poverty and the kind of alienation that comes of being a victim of climate and landlords." (1970, pp 47-48). He also suggests that *Gemeinschaft* is a vision that has much in common with Hitler's Stormtroopers and the Nazi literature that celebrated the comradeship of the fighting front.

These problems are found particularly in the less critical strands of green-primitivism that would propose a return to pre-industrial society, without problematising the inequalities and environmental damage present under a feudal or tribal system (Ellen, 1986). Bey, for example, proposes a return to the pre-lapsarian band, an elective group similar in many ways to the concept of the "Bund", used by Hetherington (1994) to describe the Greenham Common Women's Peace Camp.[6]

Associated with the romanticised notion of peasantry, is the idea that physical proximity, and the concomitant physical bounding, of community are important for mutual aid. This is a position criticised by Ward (1992). Taking the example of amateur musicians in Milton Keynes, he distinguishes between the links made between people who share a common purpose, and those links that are often assumed to exist between people who merely happen to live close to each other. Ward provides the example of those community development workers who base strategies on the spurious notion that neighbours and people living on the same estate will necessarily have something in common. The difference between communities based on physical propinquity and those born out of common interest can be seen in the tendency of the latter to engage in forms of mutual aid (Ward, .

1992). Similar arguments have been made by a number of Trident Ploughshares activists about the ways in which membership of affinity groups has been decided. Like a number of other activists who had links with the peace camp at Faslane which went back to well before the start of the Trident Ploughshares campaign, Clive had come to the peace camp to complain about the way he saw the Ploughshares Campaign heading. In particular, he was upset at being lumped into the "Woodwoses" affinity group. This was based in Norwich, and he was put in touch with the group after expressing an interest in the campaign, solely on the grounds that he lived near the other members of the group. At one level, this was a disagreement with the structures that allowed certain members of the core group to *assign* people to groups in this way, but more importantly, it was a dissatisfaction with the group he was in. "I'm meant to have an *affinity* with these people, but in reality we're just in a *proximity group*." Another peace camper chipped in: "Yeah, a proximity group. I like that one. Who's to say that we're going to work together better, just because we live near each other? Why can't I go on actions with people from other parts of the country, other parts of the world for that matter?" Since Clive made this comment, I've heard several people refer to his term "proximity group", as a way of expressing dissatisfaction with the assumption that geographical proximity is a necessary prerequisite for affinity. More importantly, perhaps, it is possible to trace the fracturing of the original proximity groups, established when the campaign began. The proximity groups have, in part, been replaced or at least supplemented by the development of groups based on affinities that have built up during the course of the campaign. This process of breaking down the supposedly objectively definable groups based on proximity and simplistic localism, is not related to the entirely subjective process of electing to join another group. It involves the growth of intersubjective bonds of interest (Webber, 1964, p 108), or *inter-est*, to use Jackson's term (1998, p 3).

These are not the "neo-tribes" described by Bauman (1992, pp 136-137), which depend on the rational choices of sovereign individuals. The lack of an external or overriding logic distinguishes them from the structural-functionalist model of the tribe. It would be naïve to suggest that there were not questions of power involved in the decision to make, and perhaps more importantly to break these bonds. Again, it is possible to turn to the distinction between the chain and the web. While each link of a "chain" represents a strong and bounded whole, the return to a pre-oedipal

oneness, a "web" represents a succession of fragile, temporary and multidimensional threads. This web-like structure is much more akin to the ways in which affinity groups have been formed, dissolved and reformed at Faslane. Some groups, such as "Faslania All-Stars", "The Druidic affinity group", "Wo/men from UNCLE" and "Cormorants", have been formed specifically for the Trident Ploughshares campaign. In these circumstances they have had to follow certain conditions, such as the registration of all members with the campaign and the completion of group registration forms. Even within these conditions there has been a huge amount of fluidity, with people leaving and joining the group at a much more rapid rate than in other groups. In particular, this has been related to people arriving at the camp and then leaving (often without warning). The existence of more than one group at the camp also allows a movement between the groups, and the participation in the direct actions of more than one group. This is a flexibility that is almost invisible to the core group of the campaign, as each pledger can "officially" only belong to one group at any one time.

It has also been possible to use movement between groups to resolve clashes of personality, without permanently excluding people from the campaign. With the camp serving as the base for two or three affinity groups, operating simultaneously, people who feel they can't work together are not expected to take part in the same action. This was one reason for the setting up of the Druidic group, where the recognition of a personal antagonism within the Peace Camp allowed a couple of people who couldn't get on, to take part in direct action. The group was also founded on the need to accommodate a particular interest in Druidism. We undertook an action as part of a Druidic rite, something that would have been impossible, and actually inappropriate within the Faslania All-Stars group, regardless of the conflict within the camp.

This tendency towards affinity and away from proximity is perhaps most noticeable for those affinity groups that form for specific actions, rather than existing over a greater length of time. The group with whom I painted the de-gaussing range at Cove, for example, formed specifically for that reason. It did not suffer any great problems as a result of it being a temporary arrangement, and in fact many of the problems of excessive bureaucracy associated with Trident Ploughshares actions were actually removed. Indeed, the most "successful" groups in terms of cost of criminal damage inflicted on Trident, the "Pheasant's Union", and "Aldermaston

Women Trash Trident", were both made up of geographically disparate groups of women. The Aldermaston Women Trash Trident group was made up of a group of women from across Britain, brought together through their longer-term opposition to Aldermaston Atomic Weapons Establishment, and in particular through their involvement in Aldermaston Women's Peace Camp. The Pheasant's Union was responsible for the "disarming" of *Maytime*, a Defense Evaluation Research Agency (DERA) barge that is involved in the testing of Trident submarines. The group was formed specifically for the action, bringing together three women from Scotland, England and Denmark. Two of the women involved were, simultaneously, members of other Trident Ploughshares affinity groups. It is not a coincidence, in the light of their transgression of the "official" rubric, that each member of the campaign should be a member of a single affinity group with which they undertake disarmament work and participate in the democracy of the campaign, that these two women were also members of the core group.

In less instrumental terms, those groups that appear to be most successful in terms of effective decision-making, as well as those that appear to be having most fun, are also generally made up of people who have recognised during an involvement in the campaign a common bond with others.

Outside of the Trident Ploughshares campaign the bonds of an affinity group can be even more fleeting, and might even change during the course of a single action. On numerous occasions I have taken part in actions with people that I had never met before, and, after sharing extremely intense feelings of affinity with them, have never met again. Stronger bonds *were* formed as a result of the Derby court-case. A group of people who had agreed to take part in a single action together, with very little in common beyond opposition to anti-nuclear activism, were thrown together to mount a joint defence against criminal damage charges. While the bond during the court case was certainly strong, and I'm still in regular contact with some of those who I shared a fortnight of my life with, I haven't seen the majority of my co-defendants since the end of the case.

Enacting solidarity

As well as being an outcome of solidarity, direct action plays an important role in the production of bonds between activists. A couple of examples serve to illustrate this role.

Gartocher terrace is a short cul-de-sac in the East End of Glasgow. Since May 1999 the residents of the terrace have been involved in a dispute with Mr. Coombe, the boss of a local skip hire firm who bought a plot of land at the end of the road. A number of the Gartocher Terrace residents went to the Glasgow June 18th Carnival Against Capitalism to spread information about their campaign. They were keen to make links with other groups and to emphasise that this was not *solely* a "not in my back yard" campaign.[7] At the street party they met up with some of the Faslane Peace Campers. Over the next few weeks an action was planned which involved Faslane activists using tactics developed at the Peace Camp to prevent the movement of skip lorries on the road.

We arrived at the Terrace late on the evening before the action, and were immediately bundled into one of the houses. We were told that it was so that the police who were keeping a watch on the street from a patrol car would not be aware of our presence. We sat down, were given cups of tea and watched home videos of the campaign. The residents explained their suspicions that, although Coombe had not obtained planning permission for the land, he intended to extend his skip hire business into the area, using the land as either a storage site for the skips or as a tip for the waste. Coombe claims that he is building a garage for his mobile home. In any case, there is now an almost daily movement of skip lorries up and down the formerly quiet residential street. All of the trees on the patch of land have been chopped down, and a couple of small brick buildings have been built. Coombe, who supervises work at the site most days, has also been photographed moving several stainless steel sinks up to the site. These would presumably be used in a washroom for skip lorry divers. We saw videos of the sinks arriving at the site, the skip lorries travelling at high speeds up and down the street, often with their chains swinging wildly from side to side. There were also numerous clips of confrontations that residents had had with Mr. Coombe, a well-built man with what was often described by the residents as a "medicine ball head".

Pride of place in the collection was the footage of the attempts that had already been made to prevent the entry of skips to the site. These included residents tying their wheely-bins together with rope and leaving them in the middle of the street, the use of garden furniture and, most spectacularly, a fridge full of concrete set solid in the middle of the road. While these had all been successful tactics, and the energy of those most heavily involved in the campaign was phenomenal, they had

felt the need to try something a little different, involving people from outside the Terrace. This, they said, was in order to show Coombe that the campaign was growing.

On the morning of the action, before the first skip lorry arrived, two Faslanians locked themselves to the gate of the yard using bicycle D-locks, and a third blocked the path leading to the gate using a barrel lock-on. Super-glue was put in the padlock of the gate, and a small hole was opened up in the chain link fence to enable residents to gain access to the site in order to inspect it for evidence of Coombe's real intentions. Over the next couple of hours several police vans arrived at the road, along with an ambulance, who's driver had been told by the policeman in charge of the operation to "wait here, I'm sure we'll need you in a bit". Mugs of tea and coffee were brought up to those locked on at the gate, and cushions and chairs were brought out into the street to make them more comfortable.

After sending Mr. Coombe's skip lorry away, in order to prevent a physical confrontation, the police decided to attempt to open access to the site. Seeing the police move into position around the people who were locked on, I made my way through the hole in the fence, and climbed on top of a cargo container that was sitting in the yard. From my vantage point I could see them cut the D-locks from round the necks of the people locked to the gates. I could hear the children, who had gathered around to gawp at the hippies, screaming and crying at the sight of arms being yanked from barrels. Later, on video, I saw the police attempts to "free" the activist locked into the barrel of concrete. When they realised that it was going to be a more difficult task than they had originally realised they wheeled him and the barrel to one side of the road. This was clearly done with very little, if any, concern for his safety and the pain he was obviously in.

After cutting through the padlock on the gate the police drove a transit van in to site and parked it next to the cargo container. In a couple of seconds they had found the ladder that I had used to climb onto the container, and a couple of officers had joined me on the top of the metal box. After I explained that I was not going to go down the ladder, and had been arrested for breach of the peace, I was lowered to the ground and into the arms of a couple of waiting police officers... The lorry was driven up the road, into the site, but it had been delayed by five or six hours. After a day and a half in police cells I was released on bail, on condition not to return to the Terrace. There were a few false starts to the case wrought by missing police

witnesses and the Sheriff's illness, but eventually the case was heard, resulting in a not-guilty verdict on the grounds that the procurator fiscal had failed to show any evidence that anyone's peace had been breached....

Through the action and the court case the bond between Gartocher and Faslane grew stronger. Gartocher residents have been on demonstrations at Faslane and have chased convoys of nuclear warheads with us across Scotland. Faslane campers have returned periodically to the Terrace for actions against the skip lorries and for parties in the street. Details of Coombe's address and phone numbers have found their way into *SchNews* and the Earth First! *Action Update*, as well as *Faslania*.

It is naïve to think that Faslane Peace Camp will disarm Trident on it's own. There is clearly a need to involve a wider section of the population in the struggle. In the vast majority of cases there is an assumption that this will involve largely passive support through signing petitions, or perhaps through people taking part in demonstrations. While this is a concrete way of showing support for nuclear disarmament, it maintains the distinction between those who are active on a full time basis, organising these events, printing the petitions and so on, and those who are often cast in the role of spectators or consumers. There is also the tendency in struggles where a local community has called on the help of experienced activists to see that community as little more than support for the more experienced activists. Engaging with the residents of Gartocher Terrace, to learn as much as to teach, with both groups playing the role of activists, seemed to be a much more positive, and empowering, way to make these links. This is a relationship that has also thrown up conflicts between Faslane and Gartocher over lifestyles (diet, washing, accommodation) and strategy (the use of violence, the need to situate these specific campaigns as part of wider issues and struggles), which would remain largely absent in a relationship between activist and consumer or supporter.

After a fairly successful attempt by three of the Titanic Trident affinity group to gain access to Faslane, which had involved them swimming for over an hour across the Gareloch to within five metres of a Trident submarine, the group had decided to have another attempt, (see Vidal, 1998a, 1998b). I was invited to join them in another swimming action. This was pretty sensitive information at the time that I was told, although to anyone who knew the group it would have appeared very strange if they had responded to their capture by armed marines during their first

attempt by giving up and going back to Belgium. Krista, one of the swimmers, invited me to go for a walk with her up the secluded and quiet country road that led from the Ploughshares camp site. She had something to tell me... After explaining her plans to attempt another swim, I was invited onto the action, another attempt by herself and Katri to swim to the subs. Fleetingly, I considered that most ethnographers must spend months waiting for just such a conversation. I still regarded it as a fantastic opportunity. But it was one that had more to do with the chance of getting close to the action *as an activist*, because I shared a belief in what these people were doing by attempting to disarm a nuclear submarine. It was not about being able to analyse the behaviour of these people from a new insider/participative position. It was also because I was seen as an activist, and not an academic that this opportunity was opened up to me.

By the time I returned to the campsite with Krista, I had decided that my less than Olympic swimming ability would hold her and Katri back, and that a land based action was probably more suitable. So, I was given an opportunity to join Hanna, another of the Titanic Trident group, on her third attempt to gain access to the base by land. This was the action that I describe above in the section detailing the cutting of fences as a tactic.

The discussion that I had with Krista came a few days after the first time I had been arrested, during a blockade of Coulport. Five of us were lying on our backs, locked together with five of these things, in front of the main gates of Coulport. It was pouring with rain, and we were already literally soaked to the skin. Jon arrived with a bit of tarpaulin to cover us, and the rest of the Trident Ploughshare people stood around and held it. But every time the wind it lifted up we got covered in the rain that had collected in the folds. I was wondering why I had volunteered to replace Alan in the circle. He had been unable to carry on, and had unclipped himself. A swift switch, right under the noses of the police, had got me into place, with the loops of thin climbing rope not very securely tied around my wrists. I had begun to wish for the police to come and try to get us out. Penny had spent about 90 minutes rubbing my knees, and I think that's all that kept the circulation going. A Policeman arrived and asked us whether we were going to move. At last... he gives us a minute to decide. This was a real test of consensus-decision making on actions. The wind and the rain blowing on the tarp meant that each of us who were locked on couldn't hear what the others were saying, and we had to have "interpreters" to

speak for us. A quick "go round" of all the locked-on people, asking what we wanted to do. We decide to stay. We haven't been lying in the pissing rain for a hour and a half (longer for those who were there from the start) just to get up when we're asked to. It is unanimous...

Unceremoniously Barbara (and wheelchair) is lifted out from the centre of the circle. We were counting on her disability to make the police act in a less cavalier fashion. Actually, they don't seem to let political correctness get in the way of a swift eviction...

I hear a scream from behind me, "Fuck fuck FUCK, get off my fucking arm, you're breaking my fucking arm." Shit, it's Joh. Did they reckon she was a weak link in the chain? I look over to Sam. She looks as scared as I feel. Pushing my hand further down into the tube, I am able to hold her fingers. She grabs back. And a smile flickers over her face. The Strathclyde police grip my arm and attempt to pull it out of the tube. I feel the strap slip over my hand. I grab the bar in the tube and hold on. I am arrested. "Can you unclip?" "No." "What do you mean, No?" "My political principles don't allow me to." They pull again. They mean it. I realise that my arm has gone numb, and they pull again. This time my fingers relax, and let go of the bar. My left arm is out. They start on the right arm. ...they have worked out that they can torture us out. ...A sharp tug and the other arm is free. I'm half dragged, half carried to the waiting van. It takes four policemen to carry me. I still can't feel my thumb. Inside the van, warm, dry, smiling faces, Peter lends me his jumper. Outside in the rain I hear the Gareloch Horties, one of the Trident Ploughshares affinity groups singing: "It doesn't matter if you should jail us/ we are free and kept alive by hope."

As well as being about resistance, there is an important element of this action that was to do with the development of power-with. This is most obviously present for the duration of the action, where it not only serves as a powerful form of resistance, five people chained together being more difficult to shift than a solitary activist, and also in terms of the development of bonds between activists.

As the conversation with Krista was to reveal, such activism is also important in terms of the development of bonds within the campaign. Having been *literally* bound to other activists by way of lock-on tubes, I was invited to take part in the fence cutting action.

On numerous occasions I have had an almost tangible sense of the development of these bonds during an action. Indeed, it is through taking direct action with the various affinity groups of which I have been part, rather than through more formal processes of planning, discussion and decision-making that the *affinity* has actually developed.

Nevertheless, in the Trident Ploughshares campaign, limitations are put on groups to refrain from taking direct action as a group, before everyone in the group has undertaken the full two day training workshop, and signed up to the group. This seems to be part of the assumption that compatibility or affinity is based on the functioning of groups in situations largely divorced from practice. At the risk of reducing this development of bonds of solidarity to a role in the formal democratic process, there is also much to be said for the working out of conflicts through action.

The Tyranny of Action

Experimentation is possibly a fundamental part of life, without which I suspect we would remain trapped in entirely inactive deliberation. It cannot generally be reduced to rational decision-making process, being based in a mixture of impulses, desires, chance, prejudices and accident. Such experimentation is implicit in numerous instances that I have discussed above, in particular the construction of eviction defences. There are, however, examples of the use of action as a conscious strategy to bypass the established and conventional decision-making processes.

It is normally the person with responsibility for collecting kitty money (currently £12.50 per week or £2 per night) from those at Faslane Peace Camp that makes the decisions on a day-to-day basis about what to buy with the money. In general, the kitty is spent on providing food for the communal evening meal, as well as on the food for people to make their own breakfast, lunch, cups of tea and coffee, etc. Through a combination of prudent expenditure and forceful collection, particularly when there are a larger number of people at the camp, it is not unusual for there to be over £150 in the kitty. This offers on individual the potential to hold a considerable power over both the diet and the finances of campers. While this responsibility is meant to rotate on a monthly basis, there is flexibility of tenure, with resistance to replacing those who are able to maintain a relatively flush kitty, while still managing to supply a decent quantity and quality of food. A gesture is

made towards the formal democratisation of the significant decisions that need to be made regarding the kitty through taking these decisions to the camp meetings. A change in the daily or weekly rate, or "policy" changes in the expenditure, which would affect everyone at the camp are likely to be dealt with in this way.

The relative infrequency of the meetings means that such formal decisions are rare, and even at the meetings that *do* happen the reality is often less than democratic. Although they are theoretically meant to happen every week, it is very rare in my experience for meetings at Faslane to happen more than once a month. In large part, this explains why people are so bad at consensus decision-making processes, and other forms of (bourgeois) meeting etiquette. One such meeting took place when a particularly militant Vegan was in charge of the kitty. She had spent the previous couple of weeks complaining about the high cost of providing milk for the vegetarians and omnivores at the camp. Although "Soya alternative to dairy milk" is normally twice the price of cow's milk, everyone at the camp can consume it. When it's bought in bulk it works out as being much more economical, although still more expensive than cow's milk. As usual, there was little hope of achieving complete agreement over any item at the meeting. It began with a dispute over who would chair the meeting, swiftly followed by a row over whether the agenda should be passed around to allow people to add items, or whether people had had plenty of opportunity to decide on items over the previous few days. We were getting towards the end of a heated meeting, which had done little more than provide an opportunity for people to let off steam.

The almost traditional complaint about people not returning tools to the tool shed was followed by a brief discussion about only purchasing communal food for the camp that was completely Vegan. It was no surprise that agreement was not reached, and the meeting closed. The milk drinkers were shocked and the Vegans delighted when in the following week milk stopped being delivered. A couple of days after the meeting the milkman had arrived at the camp to collect his money, and had apparently, been told that the camp had decided to return to its Vegan past, and would no longer be requiring his services...

There is a danger, however, in proposing this form of experimentation, of imposing a "tyranny of the active". Put simply, those who are physically able to carry out their favoured course of action are also most likely to be able to demonstrate its effectiveness. It perhaps goes without saying that taking a particular course of

action does not necessarily result in an outcome that is viewed as positive, even by those pressing for action.

I had returned to the peace camp to take part in the "Shut It!" action. It was my first time back at the camp after having spent a few weeks there earlier in the year. I was experiencing what were to become familiar sensations, firstly of being the only straight camper during magic mushroom season, and secondly of trying to (re)establish my place within the camp. I was, simultaneously, quite well known to some of the campers, but had never met others. Some of the more recent arrivals were understandably suspicious of the familiarity I showed to those I had been living with only a matter of weeks previously. In particular there was a group of four young members of the "Rainbow Tribe" on a tour of Scotland who had arrived at the camp just before I returned. This immediately put them on an uneasy footing with those who had come across the tribe before. In particular their pastimes of crystal worship and the cultivation of infected flesh wounds sustained whilst chopping wood were looked upon with suspicion.

In manner and appearance this group reminded me of the characters from a "dungeons and dragons" type role-play game, each seeming to possess a particular skill or physical attribute. It has since occurred to me that perhaps some of the magic mushrooms *did* get into my tea.... Chris was built like a giant, or possibly an ogre. He certainly seemed as strong. While the rest of us sat in the communal caravan preparing for the action in the evening, or wandered the hills above the camp collecting yet more mushrooms to brew up, Chris had decided to rearrange the fire pit single-handedly. He carried earth from the mounds outside the tunnel entrances, and constructed a volcano like mound in which the fire now sat. There had previously been a couple of concrete slabs set at either end of the fire. These were used to support a large metal grille on which pans were sat when the fire was needed to cook food. The slabs had been removed, and there was now an almost perfect circle, supposedly necessary to ensure the proper spiritual functioning of the fire. This was enhanced by the removal of the, far too straight, benches that had previously surrounded the fire. They were put in the wood shed that was, typically, devoid of wood.

As the communal caravan began to fill with people I moved out to the wood shed with some of the longer-term residents to bitch about what Chris had done. Although all of us were concerned about the alteration to the fire pit, the symbolic

heart of the camp, our criticism revolved around a number of different ideas about just *why* it was wrong. These included displeasure at having to sit in the damp and cold wood shed, the impossibility of cooking on the fire without the stones to support the grille, the possibility of the whole area turning to mud when it rained, and the fact that he was forcing his "fucking rainbow hippy bollocks" onto the camp also cropped up a number of times in the conversation. Central to our concerns, however, was the fact that he hadn't lived at the camp for any real length of time, and had failed to ask anyone before he undertook the job. Unaware of the way in which the fire functioned, he had changed not only the physical environment, but by his actions and his association with the Rainbow Tribe, had disrupted the established and fiercely defended social structure of the camp. The dispute rattled on for a few days until Chris and his friends left...

Work as worship

Work, more generally, is intimately bound up with the structuring of conflicts. A comment made by a Peace Camper in 1983 is still as relevant today:

> "At the camp there are two sorts of people. There are the people
> who sit around all day talking, eating and drinking. Then there
> are the people who do the things that need doing.
> Now the people who sit around all day do not necessarily do
> nothing because they are lazy. It is just that it is not immediately
> obvious (unless you're very eager or you've been at the camp a
> long time) what exactly there is to do, for instance. There are
> daily chores, but unless you get up first, they'll be done.
> Chopping wood, doing the dishes and tidying up the communal
> caravan are usually done by the people who get up first.
> Other than these factors, there are ongoing projects. Work to be
> done on these things is sometimes jealously guarded by the
> people who've been at the camp longer than most. It has been
> known for these people to be evasive in order to protect their
> work on projects such as the convoy, the next action or
> community education. I cannot really understand this. Perhaps
> they do not trust the camp's newer members to accept
> responsibility for these things. I feel that this creates lots of rifts
> and cliques and prevents the camp from being a real community.
> It might appear to visitors that we are very together but that's
> only on a cosmetic level. I do not say this out of bitterness or
> resentment. It is merely an observation of the truth.
> I've found it very hard to get involved with the really important
> things that need doing and I know that some people might resent
> me trying to share their work. It is our work though and the
> peace camp will not be at peace until there are no cliques."
> Dolly (1984, p 59)

16 years later, the development of activist expertise is still not open to all, and knowledge of tactics remains vital to the creation and maintenance of divisions at the Peace Camp. The unequal gendered division of labour continues to be problematic, with those who have certain skills or expertise often unwilling to share them with others. There is often a corresponding unwillingness to learn. The camp tends to attract a greater number of female visitors than male. In large part this is due to the state of the environmental and anti-nuclear direct action scene in Britain and Europe. When visitors arrive at the camp there is a tendency for them to fall back into a set of accepted and highly gender specific roles. Despite attempts to challenge these patterns and individual exceptions, the gendered division of *expertise* remains a feature of protest camp life. It is, therefore, not uncommon to find that while the men on the camp are mixing concrete for lock-ons, the women are painting banners, looking after their own or other children, or doing the cooking and cleaning, purely because these are the skills that they have brought to the camp. The result is a bunch of women getting rapidly more and more pissed off, and eventually leaving before they have either acquired other skills, or been given the opportunity to use the skills they already have. In fact, much of the impetus behind the establishment and continued existence of women only peace camps (currently Sellafield, Burghfield and Aldermaston have regular temporary camps) comes from the recognition of the need for women to develop skills in an environment in which men do not dominate. Such a division is more prevalent in road protest tree-camps, perhaps because they have not had a history of dedicated women's camps. In contrast with Faslane they have not tended to draw women from women's Peace Camps. Waite (1996) provides a first hand account of gender divisions at the Stanworth Valley protest. Similar points are raised by Routledge, in his discussion of the Pollok Free State (1997a), and an anonymous author in *Do or Die* (1998a, pp 10-13), talking about Earth First! and protest sites more generally.

Moreover, divisions of labour and prestige are often more complex than a simple gender hierarchy. This was clear during the construction of defences at Faslane, with those activists who had expertise and experience in the construction of eviction defences gaining automatic authority amongst others struggling to build effective structures. This expertise, often embodied through practical demonstrations of skill in mixing concrete to the right ratios, building tree houses and so on, gets its value precisely through this usefulness, and the ability to put it to

immediate effective use. Within this realm of practical expertise, a hierarchy of knowledge extends to all elements of camp life. Expertise in cooking, gardening and art is, for example, valued less highly than building defences. This is not only an abstract structure, but is worked out in the purchase of expensive tools and material for defences, while the stocks of paint, flowers and seeds, and often food, remain low. As suggested above, with respect to the decision to cancel the milk, decisions regarding the purchase of materials can often be circumvented by an individual or particular sectional interest, whether they be a group of gardeners, chefs or carpenters. Also at the day-to-day level, time and effort spent on each task is an indication of an individual's own assessment of relative importance. At the times when I have felt the camp to be close to eviction, I have put effort into building defences. At the times when I have felt the camp was looking a mess, often as a result of building work, I have spend time tidying up. But, spending time doing a particular task may in turn, through an inevitable territoriality and the routine of moving your body in certain ways, inform decisions about what "needs to be done."

Many of the conflicts that revolve around work can be, and often are, explained in terms of such differing priorities. Although it does not always happen, they can often be resolved through an explanation of the relative merits of each task, perhaps involving some suggestion that all those at the camp prioritise certain tasks. Such a decision was made in the late spring of 1998. Most of us knew that the day of the eviction was getting closer. We were billing it as the next big eviction in the activist and mainstream media, but the camp was nowhere near ready to face the bailiffs and police. It was all hands to the building of defences. In a single day, with an early start and clear skies, we managed to dismantle the stage, where bands had played at countless parties. We carried the timber, tarpaulins, old doors and pallets to the other end of the camp, where the "fort" was emerging. We encircled the scaffolding tower, which had been standing unprotected for a few weeks, with an eight-foot high rampart. It was mainly made up of the doors that had previously been the walls of the stage. It also included other assorted bits of driftwood, timber taken from skips, metal sheeting and fishing nets. The camp took on a different shape that day. The centre of gravity shifted away from the communal caravan and the fire pit, and away from cooking, cleaning and gardening. We moved towards the more heavily defended part of the camp, and to an emphasis on building

defences. As we worked we talked about the structures we were building. These evolved as our imaginations ran wild, and we enclosed an ever-larger area of the camp within the fort. We talked about our fears of the eviction, and what we hoped to do after it. Some claimed, and we all hoped, that putting energy into the defences might force the council to back down... We got used to the feeling of spending all day in the fort, with high walls, topped with barbed wire around us... that night I slept in a tree house, suspended precariously above a nest of barbed wire, and woke up feeling damp and stiff. I poked my head out from behind the canvas flap of a door, and looked down at the ground. Four kilometres of barbed wire snaking its way around the trees, rusty iron bars sticking out of the ground at nasty looking angles. I decided that eviction or not, it was no way to live. I could have got a much higher paid job at the Naval Base if I had wanted to spend my time surrounded by barbed wire. So I moved my stuff back into the caravan at the other end of the camp, and went out to buy some cans of brightly coloured paint.

Despite the hostility shown to them, the people who carried on with the gardening during the building work were still felt to be "doing things", even if they were judged to be undesirable, or unnecessary. On other occasions, however, certain individuals are judged to be just sitting around all day "doing fuck all". On one occasion in particular, there was a sustained campaign of bitching, gossiping and general disparagement about one particular camper. This lasted for several months. The rest of us were relying on the individual concerned to take the none-too-subtle hints. We waited for him either to start to pull his weight or to leave. As might have been expected, this was largely shrugged off, as he was marginalised within the camp already for a variety of reasons, making these sanctions less effective. Realising that this approach had failed, a list of "camp tasks" was drawn up and placed in the communal caravan. The idea was that everyone would sign their name against a particular task after they had completed it. So, on the days when you tidied the communal spaces, collected firewood, washed up or cooked your name would appear on the board. When you sat around watching the kettle boil your name would be missing. The suggestion was that seeing everyone else's names appearing much more regularly than their own, the work-shy bloke would at least make a gesture towards working. Again, he was able to avoid the work, retreating even further into himself and spending most of his days in bed in an attempt to avoid communal spaces entirely. The attempts to get him to work had pushed him

further from the rest of the camp, destroying any affinity that he felt to others, and thus any incentive to work at all. The episode culminated in issuing him a straightforward ultimatum: "pull your weight or fuck off". In other situations, this has been enough to make people realise that they are *not* actually working as hard as other people, and they have radically altered their behaviour, at least for a time. In this particular case, however, it led to him leaving the camp.

---

[1] *Peace News* (1998) has published a collection of articles outlining the processes of consensus decision making, and the use of "affinity groups". Similar articles have appeared in the Earth First! *Action Update* (1997b).

[2] As well as the less formal hierarchies that represent something of a "tyranny of structurelessness" (Freeman, 1972/3).

[3] This was the first camp held by the Trident Ploughshares campaign at a site near to Coulport, approximately 10 miles from Faslane. Camps are held every three months, and attract activists from around the world. Numbers have varied, but have reached several hundred on mass blockades of the base. The newsletter also included a more light-hearted attempt to poke fun at the pretensions of the campaign, under the title "Timeshares 2000":

> "On the 30th September 1998 Club 18-30 will issue an ultimatum to the British government. That unless they remove the generic Trident base and built generic time share flats instead, then they would begin a continuous campaign of NVDA (Nightly Vodka during Agadoo) against the base. "Few people realise that the area the naval base now occupies was once a health spa". says campaign spokes person Sharon Spice... Timeshares 2000 intend to mount a fully open and topless campaign, with protestors declaring that they will be fully bank accountable for their actions. Anyone wishing to join must complete a two day training workshop on sunbed use and abuse... Elton John will begin the two weeks of actions with a song at the North gate."
> (Disco Dave, 1998, p 12)

[4] However, as well as suggesting a difference in the meaning of consensus, the conflict could also be read as a conflict over the suitability of various *actions*, perhaps giving lie to Schlosberg's attempt (1995) to entirely separate the "grammar" of a campaign from its material content. The issue of the form of consensus proposed by Bread not Bombs often became confused with, or at least linked to, the relative merits of the action they had taken. A general feeling seemed to be that their attempt to disarm the submarine in the Barrow dockyard had been a little heavy on the overt (particularly Christian) symbolism, and martyrdom.

[5] Schlosberg (1995) also makes reference to this manifesto, but he places it within a rationalist frame that strips it of much of its innovative nature.

[6] It is also used by Hollows and Milestone (1998) in their discussion of the Northern Soul scene. It has much in common with the concept of communitas, used by Turner (1969). Roseneil (1995), comments unfavourably on the applicability of the notion of the Bund at Greenham, as used by Hetherington (1994). She states that "[Hetherington] is wrong in its application to Greenham if central to the concept is his assertion that 'the maintenance of the Bund as a group (was) paramount and individual wishes secondary to that', as at Greenham individuals tended to be given priority over and above the needs of the collectivity." (p 189 n 9). Roseneil's experience of Greenham leads her to invert the priority given to each term, but her comments serve to reinforce the binary distinction between individual and collective.

[7] It is impossible, however, to avoid the fact that this is a strong element of this in their reasoning for opposing the development of the site. Leaflets that the residents have produced have included pictures of dead rats juxtaposed with images of smiling children playing in the street (Gartocher Terrace, 1999).

Practicing Internationalism

In the previous chapters I have discussed the formation of community at Faslane Peace Camp, George Hill, and in the Trident Ploughshares campaign. This chapter is an attempt to examine the ways in which the peace movement makes appeals to, positions itself as part of, and hence creates, the "international community". It is also an attempt to unpack some of the assumptions underlying liberal humanitarian internationalism more generally. I also discuss some of the ways in which sections of the peace movement have attempted to practice different forms of internationalism.

I begin with a discussion of the ways in which international humanitarian law, and the laws of war, are used within the peace movement. While there is the possibility to use these discursive practices tactically, to constrain the worst excesses of the nation state militarism and, in particular nuclear weapons, these laws remain marginalised within the British judicial system. More significantly, their use risks reinforcing a number of deeply problematic aspects of liberal morality. In a similar way, while the supposedly universal ideals of "humanitarianism" and "humanism" more generally can provide challenges to nuclear colonialism that do not invoke various forms of nationalism, these discourses themselves often remain problematic.

The notion of the "international community" has emerged as a significant part of post-cold war geopolitical discourse. Talk of the "international community" played an important role in legitimating NATO's bombing of FR Yugoslavia in 1999 (Chomsky, 1999). The concept was also invoked in the cruise missile strikes against Sudan and Afghanistan in August 1998. It is an important part of the justification of both the continued use of air strikes and the economic sanctions against the people of Iraq. At the heart of these discursive practices is the idea that in the "new world order" there is a relatively stable ideological consensus to be maintained, often involving the use of massive force against those that threaten this stability. Following Klare (1995) it is possible to suggest that these moves are underpinned by the "rogue state" doctrine, an attempt to further United States foreign policy and legitimate continued defence expenditure.

However, despite the advances that have been made within the social sciences in theorising local and national "communities", there is a temptation to discuss the "international community" in relatively simplistic terms, or else to dismiss the idea entirely.[1] Even those who engage critically with the actions of the international community assume that there is something relatively unproblematic to engage with. For example, Ó Tuathail (1999) provides an analysis of the construction of "Bosnia" as a strategic sign, necessitating and legitimating military intervention by "the international community". However, the extent to which this "community" is also a discursive construction, employed to serve particular ends, remains relatively unproblematised. Moreover, there is a danger of the reification of the term, locating it as separate from those specific institutions that make it up. When Ó Tuathail states, for example, that "The Bosnian war had become a worldwide story of negative images for the European Union, NATO, the United States, the West and the international community" (1999, p 530) the assumption must be that the international community is made up of something *external to* these national and international structures. Similarly, Malkki's accounts of the response of the "international community" to refugee crises (1995, 1997) are also in danger of presenting something of an essentialising, monolithic view of the NGO's involved.

Practicing international law

The threat or use of nuclear weapons is clearly illegal under international humanitarian law and the laws of war. This was made clear by the International Court of Justice (ICJ) advisory opinion on the Threat or Use of Nuclear Weapons, issued 8th July 1996.[2] This judgement forms the definitive statement on the state of international law with respect to nuclear weapons. As such, it often plays a major part in the evidence, and legal submissions, of anti-nuclear activists who draw on international law in their defence of anti-nuclear direct action. A list of the relevant International Law statutes is included in figure 21. The legal argument is largely confined to endnotes.

There also exists an obligation under the UN Declaration of human rights and the Nuremberg Charter for citizens to act to uphold international law, and to prevent crimes against humanity. The Tokyo War Crimes Tribunal went so far as to declare that: "Anyone with knowledge of illegal activity and an opportunity to do something about it is a potential criminal under international law unless the person

takes affirmative measures to prevent the commission of crimes." (cited in Zelter, 1998) There is arguably, therefore, an obligation to prevent the deployment of Trident nuclear weapons. Such an obligation represents a "lawful excuse" to act in a way that might, otherwise, be deemed illegal. In Greenock Sheriffs Court, October 1999, 3 women were acquitted after admitting destroying electrical equipment used in the testing of Trident submarines. They successfully argued that their actions were lawful, as they were upholding international law, and were acting out of the necessity to prevent the loss of life.

Declaration of St. Petersburg, 1868.
Avoidance and, in any event minimising, incidental loss of civilian life.
Not causing unnecessary suffering.

Hague Convention, 1907.
Not causing unnecessary suffering.
Inviolability of neutral nations.
Applications of the provisions to new technologies (Martens Clause)

Nuremberg principles, 1946.
Personal culpability of individuals, including heads of state, for crimes against the peace, war crimes and crimes against humanity.

Genocide Convention, 1948. (incorporated into UK law through Genocide Act 1949)
Prohibition of Genocide

Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948.
Right to life and health

Geneva Conventions, 1949. (incorporated into UK law through Geneva Conventions Act 1949)
Protection of the wounded, sick, the infirm, expectant mothers, civilian hospitals and health workers.

European convention on Human Rights, 1950. (incorporated into UK law through the Scotland Act 1998, the Government of Wales Act 1998, the Northern Ireland Act 1998 and the Human Rights Act 1998)
Right to life and health
Right to family life

Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), 1968.
Immunity of non-nuclear nations from nuclear attack.
Obligation to pursue, in good faith, disarmament negotiations (Article VI).

Protocols Additional to the Geneva Conventions, 1977.
Compliance of armed forces with international law.

Figure 21: Statutory International Law relevant to nuclear weapons (based on Trident Ploughshares 2000, 1997, § 4.6)

Yet, in the Scottish District Courts, the arguments have been much less successful. I have suggested above that the pre-eminence given to the rational over the moral is a significant element of the British legal system. As these laws represent little more than the codification of liberal *morality*, largely in the post-Nuremberg climate, this may account for their marginalisation.

The more *political* nature of international humanitarian law is, almost paradoxically, a source of their further exclusion from the courts. This is in line with the ambiguous division between the individual and the political/collective within civil society that Pateman (1989) argues is the corollary of the separation of the public from the private. In this further division it is the private (property) that has the upper hand. It occupies a position superior to the public (and the humanitarian).[3] In cases of a political nature, therefore, the reductionism is extended to an obstruction of the *political*.

Angie Zelter pre-empted a decision to rule political questions inadmissible in the preamble to her lengthy submission for a case relating to an action at Faslane:

> "I ... ask that justice is seen to be done in this court today, and ask that I am not directed to stop giving evidence that is of a legal nature, because the prosecution think it is of a political nature. The ICJ had a similar problem and it may be of use to quote their response to it, 'The fact that this question also has political aspects, as, in the nature of things, is the case with so many questions which arise in international life, does not suffice to deprive it of its character as a legal question'. (ICJ Opinion, para. [13])" (Zelter, 1998, §0.5).

Not only are the abstract structures of the legal system, and the liberal democratic state, not predisposed to accepting the implications of international law, but the way in which these legal arguments are played out in courts across Britain shows the lack of esteem in which international law is held. The J.P.s [4] who sit in Helensburgh District Court, where the majority of the Trident Ploughshares trials are held, have often categorically denied that the various international statutes governing the use of nuclear weapons even apply in Scotland. As such, the court has routinely refused to hear complex legal arguments dealing with international law, and has found activists guilty without listening to their evidence. These individuals, as well as the logic of the legal system, introduce a significant limitation on those activists who attempt to win legal arguments according to principles of international law.

If these arguments were listened to, and it must be stressed that in these particular circumstances they are not, serious problems remain with the use of international law. Rather than challenging the domination that is inherent in the rule of law (Bankowski and Mungham, 1976), the invocation of international law makes an appeal to the sanctity, and impartiality, of the Scottish legal system as enforcers of that law. The courts, as an arm of the state, have an intimate connection with the armed forces that maintain nuclear weapons. Indeed, the role of the courts is vital in maintaining that arsenal. Any appeal to these courts merely strengthens their position, and effectively disempowers activists. It is for this reason that the courts should be as much of a target as the other parts of the nuclear weapons system. Even in those cases where international law arguments *are* accepted by the Scottish courts, any victory would still be premised on the right of the court to inscribe innocence and guilt, and the power of the nation state more generally. The fact remains that with few exceptions it is national courts that are charged with enacting international law. It is also national governments that sign and ratify the statutes. The focus on the particular form of internationalism as embodied in international law risks legitimating and reinforcing the system of nation states, rather than weakening it.

Indeed, the links between the sovereign nation state, and liberal forms of internationalism, have existed throughout the development of the nation state. This has often been in rejection of the absolutist forms of internationalism such as the Holy Roman Empire (Calhoun, 1995). In the current global political order,

> "diplomats and analysts fail to see the connections between the
> structuring of the international community [increasingly dressed
> in humanitarian clothing] as a world system of putative nation
> states, of making adaptation to the rhetoric of nationalism a
> condition of entrance to the United Nations, and the pernicious
> forms of nationalism they decry" (Calhoun, 1995, p xii).

Shore (1993, p 784) suggests that European Community (Now the EU) cultural policy is based explicitly on the recognition of national identity *alongside* the European. Ishay (1995) argues that the focus on the specifically national community in the social sciences has exacerbated this process, tending to marginalise consideration of the alternative scales at which community is practiced. Within this context, it is impossible to conceive of an internationalism that is anything other than subsequent to the national.

Rapport (1999) also draws attention to the ways in which the discourses of international law are bound up with the constitution of the humanist, sovereign, liberal, *individual* subject. This is most obvious in those international treaties dealing with human rights, such as the United Nations International Bill of Rights. I have discussed, above, the problematic nature of these ideas, and the exclusion that is inherent in such universalisms. Rapport (1999) recognises the partiality of this position, and in particular the fact that it has developed from a particular form of Western liberalism. He states categorically, however, that we must *accept* that priority is granted to individuals, over and above cultural groups. In this context, international law is the best available basis for international (humanitarian) intervention. His is a position, however, that seems to abrogate responsibility for individual and collective action, in favour of the NATO cruise missiles, and the threats of tactical nuclear weapons (Heller, 1999).

Concern over the potentially damaging effects of granting legitimacy to the United Nations, and by implication to the nation, (and to a lesser extent the individual), extends throughout the more radical parts of the peace movement. Many anti-nuclear NGO's occupy an ambiguous position in this regard. Umbrella organisations such as Abolition 2000 allow local and national groups and networks to carve out a position for themselves as part of some nebulous "international community", appealing to international law, reform of the UN, and making links at an international scale between other similar groups. Yet, they simultaneously oppose what are seen as the damaging visions of the "international community" proposed by Blair and Clinton.

A number of these issues were raised on the Peace Walk in 1999 from the Peace Palace, home of the ICJ in The Hague, to NATO headquarters in Brussels. The publicity and campaigning material talked of taking international law to NATO, who were flouting it by their bombing of Belgrade and their ongoing preparations for the use of nuclear weapons. The first day of the walk took us from the gates of ICJ to a statue of Hugo Grotius (father of international law) in Delft. -

Opposition to the UN and international law was most obviously provoked when a UN flag headed the walk. The flag also contained images of the national flags of all member states of the United Nations, at least seven of which are declared nuclear powers. However, the UN symbol itself, the white palm leaves and globe on a pale

blue background, also provoked concern from some walkers. These issues are touched on and challenged in the diary of Jim, a participant in the peace walk:

> "It is with considerable excitement--greatly augmented by our non-violence training sessions yesterday--that I pick up our United Nations flag and head off with my by-now precious community for Antwerp, tonight's destination.
> It isn't long before someone comes alongside to ask how I can comfortable carry the flag of such a, well, deeply compromised organization as the U.N.? It takes me two or three kilometres to convince her, I suppose, but I emphasize how, as the representative of an international NGO there, I work always to strengthen its potential. And I point out that in most underdeveloped countries the U.N. provides much of whatever social, economic and political support there is through UNESCO, UNIFEM, WHO, UNDP and so on, a benefit that we in the North--because we don't need such help--can easily ignore." (Jim, 1999)

It seems imperative that an alternative to the present liberal conception of nationalism and inter-nationalism is found. The notion of international solidarity is one way in which this is attempted.

FOUN (2000) are uncompromising in their attack on this prioritisation of international law, the United Nations, and the "democratic" nation state. They are particularly scathing in their attack on those parts of the direct action movement that tacitly support this system. A leaflet entitled *Fuck the U.N.* was distributed at the "Brighton Peace 2000" festival (May 29th 2000). It was aimed at those, particularly within the peace movement, who view the UN as an institution with a role to play in bringing about peace. They propose a way of conceiving of and practically building solidarity across national boundaries. Their vision is of a solidarity that would neither perpetuate the exclusivity of humanism, nor reintroduce the bounded nation as a fundamental marker of difference. The leaflet suggests:

> "The United Nations is an organisation routinely used by the world's powers to give them a veneer of respectability in their murderous wars. Today peace groups in Brighton are celebrating *'our status as a United Nations Peace Messenger City'*. This is just sick. It's a bit like slapping yourself on the back for getting an anti-racist award from the BNP. This must be stated very clearly. **No major UN intervention, peace keeping mission or aid programme has been carried out against the wishes or interests of the US elite.**
> Democratic government and military government are two sides of the same coin- the nation state. The role of the state since its

inception has been to manage society through coercion and cooption in the interests of the dominant class. The UN is merely the place where representatives of the world's nation states meet and bicker. **The UN is, to put it simply- a big room full of bastards**" (FOUN, 2000, emphasis in original)

Having said this, attempts to structure international solidarity in radically different ways often fall back on the same problematic concepts of humanitarianism.

International solidarity

The history of the development of nuclear weapons has been intimately intertwined with the exploitation of colonial territories by the nuclear powers to facilitate the development of this technology. Aboriginal populations occupy much of the land where uranium is mined, and tests carried out. The populations particularly affected include the Western Shoshone (Nevada), the Mirrar (Northern Australia) and numerous groups across the Pacific. As well as bringing countless deaths, this largely hidden form of colonialism has led to birth defects, major social upheavals, forced migration and damage to the environment. The response to this has often been in the form of appeals to nationalism and anti-colonialism by and on behalf of those groups subject to exploitation.

It is often with reference to this global context of colonialism that Scottish nationalism is invoked in the opposition to Trident, and in particular the positioning of all of Britain's nuclear weapons at Faslane and Coulport. What might be called the Scottish Nationalist element of opposition to Trident involves a number of particular, and interrelated discourses. In recent times, these have been geared largely towards a strategy of influencing and legitimating the newly reestablished Scottish parliament. Similar nationalist opposition was central to the campaign in the 1980s against the deployment of United States Air Force decision to station Cruise Missiles at Greenham Common and Molesworth in England. The construction of a myth of a pastoral Englishness to which Cruise was foreign became central to the strategy of British CND (Matless, 1998).

Returning to Burnett's "propaganda cartographies" (1985), there is a distinct set of what he terms "maps for disarmament" concerned with representing the effects of nuclear weapons. Such maps continue to be produced, and one example, shown in figure 22, shows the possible extent to which radiation could be carried in the event of a nuclear accident at Rosyth, north of Edinburgh, where nuclear powered submarines are berthed while undergoing refitting. It is just one of a range of

similar maps that has been produced by the Scottish Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (SCND).[5]

Figure 22: Possible effects of a reactor accident at Rosyth (SCND, 2000)

Burnett (1985) is primarily concerned with the objectivity, or otherwise, of such maps. I have no reason to doubt that these maps are based on the best information available to the SCND campaign workers, which often involves previously classified US military software (Ainslie, 1999). Alongside concerns over the veracity of their reproduction of a supposedly objective, although hypothetical scenario, the productive effect of these maps is also of interest.

The proliferation of these maps of Scotland in a post-devolution climate raises a number of issues. Not only do they show the encircling of Scotland with nuclear installations (as shown in figure 23), but the erasure of England from the map serves an important role in the construction of Scotland as an "imagined community" (Anderson, 1991). In addition to maps, SCND and the Scottish National Party (SNP) use the results of opinion polls that tend, generally, to show overwhelming opposition to Trident amongst the Scottish public. A recent poll, for example, showed 70% of the Scottish population opposed Trident (SCND, 1999), significantly, this figure is contrasted with a figure of 55% for England and Wales. Shore has problematised the use of such opinion polls, not just for their spurious claims to objectivity, but also for their role in the construction of a particular political identity (1995, p 230). Within the context of the new Scottish parliament the search for a national identity capable of exhibiting political agency takes on a

new significance. The commissioning of opinion polls and the use of political maps can be seen, in this respect, to be part of this identity building and legitimating project, as well as serving a more pragmatic political task of attempting to influence Members of the Scottish Parliament.

Figure 23: Trident in Scotland (SCND, 1999)

It is, therefore, not as simple as suggesting that the peace movement is involved in the creation of subjective maps to be measured against some fictional objectivity. Neither can the maps be reduced to a place in the cognitive processes of an individual or set of individuals. The imagination of a Scottish nation, associated with these maps, is important, but so is the materiality of the way in which these maps are produced and reproduced *between* specific anti-nuclear activists, campaigns and networks. In this context, these material and discursive networks become an alternative way of engaging within devolution.

Conscious of the problematic role of these discourses within the Scottish peace movement, one blockade of the main gates of Coulport during the Trident Ploughshares camp in the summer of 1999 sought to disrupt this nationalism. It was discussed as an attempt to make links with other (nationalist) anti-nuclear struggles around the world. The press release, for example, was headlined "8 Arrested in Nuclear Base Blockade as Ploughshares Members Act in Solidarity with Nuclear Victims". The action raises issues regarding the development of solidarity, humanitarianism and power-with more generally.

We gathered at the gates for a service by the Glasgow Unitarian church, or some similar happy-clappy bunch of Christians. They seemed to be making a real attempt to reach out to other cultures, faiths, and spiritual beliefs, but the message seemed to be "aren't they all really just a variation on the basic teachings of Christianity...". If that's the "diversity" they're after, you can count me out. After that, the Local Heroes did their bit. Very powerful. They stood in a circle, and each of them read out a passage written by, or in memory of some group that has been a victim of the nuclear chain. A statement on behalf of Seiko Ikeda, who was a 12 year old schoolgirl in Hiroshima in 1945:

> "A strong flash pierced my eyes, and everything went black.
> There were dead bodies all around as I tried to escape. There
> were so many people bleeding and dying and I had to walk
> stepping over all those dying people........ I cannot forget their
> faces distorted in agony."

In other cases the testimony came from the victims of Uranium mining, weapons tests or the storage and production of the nuclear weapons, and from people who had lost members of their family to nuclear weapons. Accounts came from Australia, the Marshall Islands, Nevada and the former Soviet Union. The accounts

were made more poignant as the Local Heroes group itself consists primarily of activists living within a few miles of the bases at Faslane and Coulport...

Jo was choking back the tears as she described the impact of Uranium mining and British weapons tests on the Dreamtime landscape of Australia. I remembered Bruce Chatwin's description of how the songline of one particular hill now involved swarms of poisonous flies. It was now the site of a uranium mine (Chatwin, 1988).

The testimony showed the international impact of these weapons. We were taken beyond the localist, and potentially nationalist, "not in my back yard" approach that often characterises Scottish opposition to nuclear weapons. But I wondered about the extent to which any *meaningful* solidarity with nuclear victims was generated by this action...

In particular, I would suggest that there are processes of exclusion at work in locating Hibakusha (H-bomb survivor) and other nuclear victim experience as the testimony of an "objectified other". Following the argument proposed by Sibley (1995, pp 3-13), it is possible to identify the process of exclusion is the splitting, at the intrapsychic level, of the image of the "other" into "negative" and "romantic" stereotypes. The position of the Japanese, and latterly Russian, Iraqi and Serbian peoples as occupying abhorrent racial categories is perhaps the most obvious of these negative images, that are constantly recreated both implicitly and explicitly by powerful individuals and groups (Ó Tuathail, 1994, p 231). As well as serving a psychological function, the reduction of the civilian populations of target countries to the status of an inhuman "other" is also central to the legitimation of the threat and potential use of nuclear weapons. A portrayal of the humanity of these "other" people has, therefore, become central to the ways in which the legitimacy of nuclear weapons is challenged.

Yet, there are problems with the way in which humanitarianism is practiced that may locate it as little more than the "romantic" stereotype of the negative/romantic diad. Although the romantic image may be superficially benign, *both* of these images are damaging, and fundamental to the process of exclusion.

Malkki (1997) suggests that the alternatives to humanitarianism are indifference or totalitarianism. Indeed, supposedly objective accounts of the effects of nuclear weapons can be implicated in the promotion of totalitarian forms of knowledge, excluding the lived experiences of the victims. As such, forms of knowledge that

attempt to capture some of this lived experience are potentially a welcome corrective. This is, however, very rarely the way in which humanitarianism is employed. More typical is a process, described by Malkki (1997), of depoliticization and dehistoricization, leading to the effective silencing of subjects, in a "'sea' or 'blur of humanity,'" (Lamb, 1994, H5; cited in Malkki, 1997 p 235). A specifically racialised element is often introduced, with the typically black victims contrasted with the, typically white, anti-nuclear activists or aid workers. Discussing Zairian refugee camps, Malkki suggest that the silencing of refugees takes place through the discursive displacement of Hutu narratives, which are seen as the result of trauma and generally thought of as dishonest. They are replaced with the supposedly objective medical discourses where "wounds speak louder than words" (1997, p 232). Stripped of any historical or political context, this construction of refugees leaves only "shared humanity" as the basis for commonality.

Central to the development of this shared humanity within the peace movement is the suggestion of the universal effects of nuclear weapons on *children*. This is a group that can most easily be cast in the role of the exemplary victim, and thus deserving of most help. Estimates of child casualties are often included alongside total numbers in forecasts of the effects of nuclear weapons. A Scottish CND report on the effects of the use of Trident on Russian cities suggests, for example, that "The total number of people who would die within 12 weeks... would be around 3 million, including around 750,000 children." (Ainslie, 1999, p 10).

The mode of clinical humanitarianism, described by Malkki (1997), is also employed to describe the effects of radiation on the unborn child: "In Japan the social problem of hibakusha covers ... also ... those exposed to the nuclear explosions, who are thought to have defective genes which transmit deformities to their children." (Trident Ploughshares 2000, 1998, §4.5).

In more poetic form, Dick Gaughan's *Think Again*, inspired by the poem by Yevgeny Yevtushenko, "Do you think the Russians stand for war?" also performs this humanising role, urging a consideration of the humanity of the Russian targets of nuclear weapons. It uses the image of the unborn child in a less clinical manner:

Chorus: In the name of humanity,
               Bitterly torn
               In the name of our children
               As yet to be born
               Before we do that which can
               Never be undone I beg of you
               Think, think again,
               And again and again and again and again

© Dick Gaughan, (reprinted in Gaughan, 1983).

Yet, the outcome may be equally essentialising.

There were clearly attempts made during the Coulport action to place the testimony within particular political and historical contexts, specifically the Cold War neo-colonialism of both NATO and the Warsaw Pact. The use of the testimony of identifiable individuals in the Local Heroes' action certainly distinguished it from the humanitarianism discussed by Malkki (1997).

The outcome was, however, a similar reduction of "nuclear victim experience" to a common, supposedly universal, humanity. Of particular concern, here, is the production of romanticised images of the "victim" and the reduction of experience to only those elements of interest and value to the Western anti-nuclear movement. The often-intense nationalism of these struggles is conveniently ignored. Moreover, while it was certainly a powerful image for those who witnessed it, those involved in the action could not claim to have had any direct effect, material or otherwise, on the people whose stories were told during the action. Neither these individuals, nor other members of their communities, were informed of the action, nor was their opinion sought about the actions that were being taken in their name. It is arguable whether the action had any material effect in terms of the Ploughshares campaign of which it was a part; as it took place on a Sunday afternoon very few cars were prevented from entering the base.

The ways in which it did further the campaign were in boosting the number of arrests, creating a media spectacle and reinforcing the bond between the affinity group that took the action. It is in this way that solidarity can be found in the action. This is, however, a very different process from the development of any tangible support for, or solidarity with, those whose experiences were invoked. In this context, the action could actually be seen to recreate the distinction between activists as active subjects, and those who are the objects, or victims, of

humanitarian discourse. The fact that such accounts amount to little more than the recreation of a "romantic" view of the victims of nuclear weapons makes ⋯ ⋯ challenging them more important. It also makes challenging them more difficult, as they are not obviously discriminatory discourses of "the evil empire" or inhuman savages.[6]

These are issues that have been repeatedly problematised by peace movement activists. The distinction has been drawn between those actions taken (in solidarity) *with* another person or group and those taken *for* an "other" which tend to both disempower and belittle. It has recently led to debate in articles and letters submitted to *Peace News* around the "Jabiluka Ploughshares" action, a "solidarity action", which took place in Jabiluka, Australia. The action damaged/disarmed a large amount of uranium mining equipment, at a mine that has been developed on land traditionally owned by the Mirrar, an aboriginal tribe who now number around 30.[7] In raising issues about the creation of the "other" as a homogenous cultural whole, this argument contributes to the debate on the ways in which localised communities in the West, and the "international community", should be theorised and represented.

A campaign drawing support from a number of Australian anti-nuclear, environmental and aboriginal rights groups was organised in the Australian Northern Territories to oppose the construction of the Jabiluka uranium mine. It established a camp close to the mine, and took direct action specifically at the invitation of, and with the permission of, the Mirrar. A condition for this permission was the agreement of activists with a set of ground rules laid down by the Mirrar. The group were represented in these matters by the Gundjhemi Corporation. The rules included an adherence to the principles of nonviolence, a prohibition on the use of drugs and alcohol and the clearing of all proposals for direct actions with the traditional "owners" of the land on which the camp was based. This last ground rule was broken by the Ploughshares action, as it went against what was constructed as the will of the aboriginal population. It took place after the Corporation had raised concerns about the action, although the specific nature of these concerns remains unclear.

The action broke with the pattern of largely unconfrontational trespasses and blockades that had characterised the campaign. Possible reasons for objection include the large amount of physical damage done to the mining equipment, the

reprisals that such an action might provoke, the covering of the machinery in the blood of one of the Ploughshares activists, or the overtly Christian symbolism. These are all objections that have been raised to the Jabiluka Ploughshares action, or other ploughshares action, by Western activists...

The Ploughshares activists were clear, however, that their actions were still intended to be in solidarity with the Mirrar, but that they had chosen to "respectfully disagree" with the traditional "owners" of the land. They placed the action within the wider context of a global struggle against nuclear weapons, which should not be held back by such localised concerns. In an indication of the substance to claims of a global struggle, one of the activists has been involved in anti-nuclear resistance on at least four continents.

In one sense, the refusal to entertain the romantic view of the Mirrar as an organic whole has allowed a challenge of the extent to which "native" people have the sovereignty to challenge the use of "their" land. As a result, the action has also opened up a conflict that has split opposition to the Jabiluka mine. The pair of Ploughshares activists have been accused of (neo)colonialism, in opposing the wishes of the Mirrar. Those opposing the action have invoked, as inviolable, the rights of aboriginal peoples to control those actions which take place on their land. This is both in terms of an opposition to mining and a possible opposition to certain forms of direct action that take place there. While it is undeniable that they are greatly affected by the development, the protests against the uranium mine are portrayed as something to which the Mirrar have a particular and unique claim. It is rather perversely assumed that the Mirrar posses a monopoly over the domination by the uranium mine, an idea which depends on a perverse form of territoriality, which may be entirely alien to the "traditional culture of the Mirrar". The *opposite*, of course, would be a position which views Mirrar rights as worthless, both in the face of their domination by the military-industrial complex, and when faced by those Western activists with access to a larger store of symbolic and material capital who would seek to oppose it. The conflict is, therefore, ostensibly between the identification of the Uranium mine as a "local" issue related to the right of the Mirrar to define suitable action on a specific piece of land, and the recognition that the mine occupies a place in a *global* web of nuclear weapons and nuclear power, with global consequences. It has, however, also raised a number of related questions, including the continuing colonial relationship with the Mirrar, and

specifically the extent to which questioning self-governance inevitably recreates colonialism.

In response, the Ploughshares activists have mounted a defence of their actions in peace movement publications, on the Internet and through the production and distribution of a video outlining their reasons for taking the action. One of the Ploughshares activists quoted an aboriginal woman:

> "If you have come to help me, you are wasting your time. If you
> have come because you liberation is bound up with mine then
> let us work together." (O'Reilly, 1999)

While the global context for their action was central to the reasoning, the activists also engage with the particular local context by arguing that there is a danger in romanticising the colonised "other" as a victim. In particular, O'Reilly questions the economic benefits that could come, along with the mine, to certain sections of the Corporation:

> "Indigenous politics in the Northern Territories are like politics
> everywhere– there's a lot of corruption, careerism, opportunism
> and selling-out." (ibid.)

It is clear that a position such as this contains both progressive and potentially reactionary elements. It opens up the possibility of an engagement between the aboriginal and settler populations based upon a shared understanding of some of the inter-subjective practices of aboriginal life. In terms of campaign strategy, it seeks to build coalitions not based solely upon patronising, and potentially conservative, notions of the "authentic" culture and ownership of land, but amongst those who have a common interest in preventing uranium mining. It highlights the danger of making essentialist statements in favour of an autochthonous population, without grasping the conflicts of interest within the group. It comes dangerously close, however, to a reinscription of colonial prejudice, on the grounds of supposed corruption within the community (Lewis, 1975).

It is clear that whatever the rights and wrongs of the Ploughshares action viewing the Mirrar or Aboriginal as representing some essential category or community is problematic. This is a point that has been made by most anthropological writing over the past twenty years. It is also clear, however, that despite its deconstruction within the social sciences, there are still often tactical benefits to be gained from employing certain concepts of community, even if they bring with them the necessity of negotiating the complex issues of essentialism (Tsing, 1993, p 16).

These comments are also pertinent for those activists looking to build communities of resistance. There are certainly dangers in romanticising historical or geographical "others" in the search for models of community. It is also unwise to assume the development of community based on a predetermined "process" or theory, on physical proximity, or on any other "objective" criteria. Lived communities are always in excess of these models. It is clearly dangerous, however, to abandon the search for community entirely, not least because the alternative seems to be a debilitating individualism or nihilism. The arguments made by Haraway (1991a) and Iris Young (1990) among others, and the strength that I have suggested comes from singing or taking direct action together, highlight the benefits to be gained from living, working, playing and struggling in communities. It would be naïve to suggest the possibility of entirely eradicating processes of disciplining, or exclusion, from any community. It is, however, the mistrust of holism as a goal, rather than embarking on ever more totalising attempts to reach it, that is the best insurance against the domination that can arise in the name of the organic community. This is a process that begins with a rejection of the notion of a sovereign individual ego.

Just as it is problematic to reify the local or face-to-face community, there are also problems with viewing the "international community" as a holistic entity. The assumption of structural logic beyond the politicians, nations, NGO's, corporations and so on, that make "it" up, or otherwise engage with "it" is in need of careful examination. In beginning a discussion of the ways in which peace activists have variously positioned themselves within, or outside of this "community", I have sought to reveal it as just as multiple, fractured, partial and contingent as any other community in the ways in which it is practiced.

---

[1] More critical studies have been undertaken, although not necessarily from a geographical or anthropological position. Boyle (1999), for example, details the role of the United States in the establishment of forerunners to the International Court of Justice (ICJ) and the UN, as a fundamental part of the constitution of the present World Order. From a more anthropological perspective, Shore (1993, 1995) has begun the task of examining the ways in which the European Community (EC) is imagined. In contrast to the EC, however, the "international community" is not simply embodied in a single institution. The concept is clearly not synonymous with NATO, or the UN.

[2] The ICJ concluded "The threat or use of nuclear weapons would *generally* be contrary to International law applicable in armed conflict, and in particular the principles and rules of humanitarian law; However, in view of the current state of international law, and of the elements of fact at its disposal, the Court cannot conclude definitively whether the threat or use of nuclear weapons would be lawful or unlawful in an extreme circumstance of self-defence, in which the very

survival of a State would be at stake" (ICJ, 1998, para 105 (1) E, emphasis added). The declaration of Judge Bedjaoui, president of the court, stated "I cannot insist strongly enough that the inability of the Court to go further...cannot in any way be interpreted as itself evidence of a half-open door for the recognition of the legal permissibility of using nuclear weapons." The Court placed the onus on the nuclear States to prove that a specific use of nuclear weapons would not flout its conclusion that threat or use would generally be illegal.

[3] The incorporation of the European Convention on Human Rights into British law, during devolution in Scotland, and in the Human Rights Act 1999 in England and Wales, has explicitly introduced this liberal framework into the courts. There is an argument to be made that certain rights (to freedom of thought, conscience, expression, peaceful assembly and association with others), as set down in the convention would be infringed if direct action were prevented. It could also be argued that direct action prevents the contravention of to the right to life, and family and private life, threatened by nuclear weapons. Contrary to everyday liberal rhetoric, while these rights might be universal, they are not absolute rights. The right to freedom of expression, for example, "may be subject to such formalities, conditions, restrictions or penalties as are prescribed by law and are necessary in a democratic society, in the interests of national security, territorial integrity or public safety, for the prevention of disorder or crime, for the protection of health or morals, for the protection of the reputation or rights of others" (ECHR, Article 9). In particular, I would suggest that it is the right to "protection of property" detailed in Article 1of the First Protocol to the Convention, which is most clearly under threat during a range of direct actions. The other exceptions, however, are also so broad as to make the right almost meaningless, in the context of a challenge to the state.

[4] Scottish equivalent of a stipendiary magistrate.

[5] The following text accompanied the diagram in a press release, 6th March, 2000: "The main concentration of radiation would be likely to be within 30 kms downwind of the accident. The inner circle shows those places within 30 kms of Rosyth. The wind would determine the exact area affected. Within 30kms the whole body dose of radiation could be over 30 mSv. At this level safety instructions say that everyone should be told to take shelter and the authorities should consider evacuation.

The outer circle shows 120 kms from Rosyth. Within 120 km downwind the whole body dose could be higher than 3 mSv and the authorities should consider asking people to take shelter. In addition within 100 km the thyroid dose could be greater than 50 mSv. At this level potassium iodate tablets should be distributed to the public." (SCND, 2000).

[6] While Malkki proposes a "radically *historicizing humanism* [as] it is obviously neither logically nor practically necessary that humanitarian intervention should in and of itself dehistoricize or depoliticize" (1997, p 248, emphasis in original), I would argue that the enlightenment origin of such humanitarianism (and humanism more generally) remains highly problematic.

[7] Much of the material in this section is based on correspondence and articles contained in *Peace News*, the Jabiluka ploughshares web site (www.powerup.com.au/~legoullon/plowshares.htm), as well as conversations with Australian, and other, anti-nuclear activists, including one of the Jabiluka Ploughshares activists. This Ploughshares action was not formally related to the Trident Ploughshares campaign, the name is used to denote a range of actions that have involved symbolic or practical disarmament of weapons or associated infrastructure.

Conclusion: Some more thoughts on webs

There are not necessarily any coherent "conclusions" to be drawn from this thesis. To search for conclusions would give a dangerously neat image of direct action and obscure the power that comes from unpredictability, incoherence and fluidity. It would also risk suggesting an artificial end to my engagement with direct action.[1] However, my aim is not to create a "postmodern" confusion out of which no action is possible. That would probably be more damaging, both practically and theoretically.

Instead, I focus on a number of the conflicts, tensions and ambiguities involved in direct action, and the ways in which they give rise to challenges and opportunities. If this thesis has brought anything into focus, and if this concluding chapter crystalises anything, I hope it is the extent to which these ambiguities must be recognised and worked through in practice.

Much of the ambiguity involved in the practice of direct action can be related to an engagement with the complex interconnectedness of webs. The distinction between "chains" and "webs" recurs throughout the thesis. To repeat: chains are made up of discrete links. Individually, each of these links is strong yet when one link is broken the whole chain fails. In contrast a web is made up of strands that are joined in complex and subtle ways to such an extent that they cease to function as discrete elements. Each strand is weak but when taken together the web is strong.

There is obviously a danger here of describing a meta-narrative that creates more problems than it addresses satisfactorily. It might be the case, for example, that talk of "chains" automatically conjure up images of hierarchy and domination while webs suggest co-operation. Haraway, problematising the shift to webbedness in thought and practice, warns against such simplistic reasoning. "Webs are hardly innocent of power and violence; hierarchy is not power's only shape – for aliens or humans" (1991b, p 228). This statement notwithstanding, being shackled in chains feels very different from being caught in a web. Of course, a fly might have a different perspective...

I began the discussion of the Trident nuclear weapons system by making the distinction between simplistic discussions of a "nuclear chain" and more "web-like" relationships between production, storage, deployment, C3I, testing and so

on. The view of the Trident system as a "chain" suggests a simple and identifiable link between these parts. The identification of "chains" may be a powerful discourse in the mobilisation of resistance, often involving technologies of mapping (see figures 1, 22 and 23). The metaphor certainly represents an improvement on the ignorance of any form of connectedness or the view of the nuclear system as a monolithic structure. But, in order to provide an effective challenge to nuclear weapons, it is also necessary to explore the complex and changing physical and discursive structures that constitute them.

The *physical* system of Trident includes a vast sprawling infrastructure that stretches across England, Scotland and Wales, as well as various berths for the submarines around the world, mainly in (former) British colonies such as Gibraltar. It involves literally thousands of sites involved in the manufacturing, servicing, financing and protection of both these weapons and the submarines on which they are based. This infrastructure is intimately entangled with the police and the courts. It also includes the global network of satellites and communications systems used in submarine navigation and missile targeting. It is in this sharing of technology that the closest links to the US military-industrial complex can be identified. Exploring the weak points of this infrastructure is central to providing an effective challenge to these weapons of mass destruction. Gaps exist in the fences and in base security systems. The trucks that make up the warhead convoys can be stopped for hours by a few activists. Thousands of pounds worth of "criminal damage" have been done to the less well guarded parts of the systems used for testing submarines.

As well as challenging these physical structures, there is also a need to debunk some of the *discourses* that legitimate and perpetuate the Trident system. In the early 1980s, when it was proposed, Trident had as its sole (declared) purpose the massive retaliation against a potential nuclear attack from the Soviet Union. With the end of the Cold War this doctrine of Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD) no longer serves a clear purpose as either defence posture or foreign policy. Yet, large sections of the peace movement have not altered their arguments to take account of the post Cold War geopolitics. Anti-nuclear literature still continues to challenge MAD as a dangerous and politically dubious policy (Ainslie, 1999; SCND, 1999). To these longstanding criticisms, they now add that the policy is outdated and that Trident is redundant.

But, to dismiss British nuclear weapons as "useless" without the "threat" from the Soviet Union ignores Trident's new tactical, or "sub-strategic", role. Rather than acting as a second strike weapon, Trident now has a "use" in defending Britain's vital economic interests abroad. This is outlined in the Rifkind Doctrine (Rifkind, 1995, p 21; Rai, 1995). The highly precarious, yet relatively consistent, conflict between two mutually antagonistic blocs has been replaced with a geopolitical situation in which "threats" to stability are much less certain. The circumstances in which nuclear weapons might be used are now less predictable, mainly because the threshold at which they could be used in this sub-strategic role is much lower. In adopting the Rifkind Doctrine, there are obvious dangers of provoking nuclear proliferation, as "rogue states" hope to deter a British nuclear attack.

In this context, it is not enough to fall back on simplistic explanations of the redundancy of Mutually Assured Destruction. The potential devastation that could be caused by nuclear weapons is well known, and there is evidence that British nuclear weapons remain targeted on Russia (Ainslie, 1999). The ability to destroy Moscow (the so-called Moscow criterion) remains the basis by which the effectiveness of the nuclear system is judged (ibid.). It is clear that the use of nuclear weapons in this way would be as devastating as if it had taken place in the 1980s. Additionally, "the 'sub-strategic' role is additional to, and not a replacement for the strategic role." (ibid., p 21). But, there is a problem in ignoring the ways in which these weapons are currently being deployed, in order to tell a simple story about their dangers.

Perhaps the most damaging outcome of viewing nuclear weapon systems as a chain of discrete events, ideas and structures, is the isolation of these systems from the global political, economic and social inequalities that they support, and are in turn supported by. The focus on a few key establishments in Britain such as Faslane, Coulport and Aldermaston ignores the global structures that support nuclear weapons. The simplistic rhetoric of Scottish nationalism and the attempts to get nuclear weapons out of Scottish waters potentially deflects attention from the international impact of these weapons. In particular the ways in which the testing, construction and storage of nuclear weapons have been responsible for a form of nuclear colonialism and continue to affect millions of people around the world.

It would be tempting to think of the introduction of this physical and discursive complexity in terms of a transition from the Cold War, to the US dominated New

World Order. However, even at the height of the Cold War, with the arrival of American Cruise missiles at Greenham Common, the peace movement had a sensitivity to complexity and interconnectedness that seems lacking in much current anti-nuclear direct action and literature.[2] In particular, strategies of resistance that rely on legal victories often depend on highly problematic discourses of international law and the processes of visual reductionism made necessary by the courts. This tends to reduce the complexity of the situation to a series of supposedly objective *facts* detailing the domination that we face.

As such, the facts that "Trident is illegal", "Trident =3000 Hiroshimas", "My *individual* actions against Trident had this effect...", have become a simple way to claim authority within the peace movement and beyond. These simplifications operate at a variety of scales, from the accounts of global nuclear-related infrastructure, undertaken by Campbell (1986), to the ability to provide a legal briefing on the ways in which the micro-sociology of the police regime "works". These tasks are certainly important. It is vital that we know what forms of domination we are opposing. But, there are also problems with relying too heavily on rational discourses. The web-like structures of domination are too numerous, too complex and change too rapidly for any degree of certainty.

Moreover, the valuing of rational, objective, knowledge can itself become a powerful form of domination. Haraway (1988) proposes "local knowledges" and "webbed accounts", in contrast to the "god-trick of a Star Wars paradigm of rational knowledge" (pp 588-590). This web/chain distinction is, therefore, as epistemological as it is ontological and empirical. Besides providing accounts of the complex interconnectedness of domination (and resistance, as I will suggest below) it is also important to be aware of the ways in which this *knowledge* is itself situated within webs and flows. There is a need to be conscious of the limitations and fallibility of the knowledge that we have.

Following this path I have (hopefully) produced an account that is sensitive to my various positionalities and in particular the extent to which my account depends on particular embodied experiences of challenging nuclear weapons. As well as avoiding the "god-trick" of objective knowledge, I have also purposefully steered away from the second "god-trick" of solipsistic and often debilitating relativism.[3] Instead, I have produced an account that focuses more on the links between myself and other activists and academics.

But, it is not always so easy to adopt this situated position. The myth of disembodied vision has emerged as a central part of the visual reductionism of the criminal justice system. As such, it comes as little surprise that those activists intimately involved in the production of webbed and embodied accounts of the domination of the nuclear weapons systems get little joy from the courts when "webbed" accounts are presented. Any sign of uncertainty, ambiguity, or emotion, can be exploited by the prosecution. As such, as a defendant, I have often been forced to make a tactical decision to adopt certain trappings of rationalism in order to avoid the equally problematic martyrdom that comes from the outright rejection of the legal "game". I am, perhaps, more than qualified to adopt this position, as a young, white, Western, male, educated, middle-class, academic...

The web-like nature of domination also extends to policing regimes and the criminal justice regime, as particular physical architectures. These regimes are complex in themselves, but they are also intimately entangled with the protection of nuclear weapons.

In place of the harsh constraining logic of the panoptican, I have described a system of control that is always uneven and often comically so. It possesses a bureaucratic rationality that resembles "not so much the cold efficiency envisioned by Weber... as the confused, often contradictory, organisation of a corporation as designed by Kafka" (Keith, 1993, p 206). This unevenness provides "gaps in the map" that can be exploited for resistance. But, the unevenness can also give rise to a harsher regime of domination based on disorientation, dishonesty and an irrational brutality.

Rather than maintaining some already-existing liberal order, the police are involved in the creation and inscription of a web of control. This web extends across space, as well as over the bodies of direct activists. This web can be maintained as long as a bourgeois consensus about the appropriate use of space is maintained (Lefebvre, 1991). In this context, it is naïve to make appeals to the accountability of the police, or to fairness (based on either the British spirit of fair play, or "universal" structures of human rights), as these are both partial concepts mobilised in the support of this regime. Cooper (1998, p 169) suggests that *ultra vires* action is a necessary part of all liberal institutions.

In the face of these complex and fractured forms of domination, it seems nonsensical to follow a strategy of resistance based on the overturning of some essential and monolithic form of domination. In practical terms, hierarchical or totalising forms of resistance present too easy a target for massive and violent reaction on the part of the state. State controlled weapons of mass destruction remain the ultimate sanction against insurrection. (Oppenheimer, 1970, p 105). The occupation of "gaps in the map" is one alternative way of viewing and practicing resistance, avoiding this apocalyptic clashing of action and state re-action. Bey (1991) describes the liberation of these gaps in terms of the creation of *Temporary Autonomous Zones* (TAZs). This is a form of resistance that exploits the web-like structures of domination and is necessarily web-like itself, depending on the links between people and between numerous autonomous zones.

Operating at the (physical) scale of a few hundred squares metres, Faslane Peace Camp is one such TAZ. The camp has colonised an area of council land, and exists under threat of eviction with no tenancy agreement, paying no rent. From this camp activists take part in direct action and campaigning work against the bases at Faslane, Coulport and other parts of the military-industrial complex. At a smaller physical scale, the gaps in the fence between the strands of wire make cutting the fence possible. In more abstract terms, the "gaps" between the Stratchclyde and MoD Police forces can be exploited to allow more effective forms of direct action.

It is also possible to open up *discursive* spaces that do not depend on the use of discourses of domination. This is in contrast to the position held by Foucault, who sees the only possibility for resistance in terms of the tactical, polyvalent, use of dominant discourses, often at the expense of (re)inscribing further forms domination (Sharp *et al*, 2000).

This is, however, unlikely to ever be a "clean escape" (Tsing, 1993, p 27). For example, Rifkind suggests that "NATO has endured because it is founded on the rock of shared beliefs- beliefs in *freedom, democracy*, the *rule of law*, and *political change without violence*" (1995, p 43, emphasis added). Each of these beliefs are shared and espoused by sections of the peace movement.

The use of discourses of nationalism within the peace movement highlights some of the complexities of this position. Scottish Nationalism is abundantly evident in the Saltires that fly around Faslane Peace Camp, as well as in the rhetoric and publicity material of Scottish CND (see, for example, SCND, 1999). In addition

devolution has shifted the focus of many Scottish activists towards lobbying the new parliament, often at the expense of more *direct* forms of action. This is perhaps the aspect of the (Scottish) anti-nuclear movement that I find the most difficult to deal with, as an activist *and* as an academic. This is not only because it has forced me to face up to my English/colonising position. It also seems to be entirely ineffective and a waste of energy. It is possibly as a result of this unease that I have touched on it throughout the thesis, without ever exploring it fully. Yet, those seeking to avoid any form of nationalism, may get caught up in an equally problematic form of liberal internationalism, which is based on the links between sovereign nation-states.

Anti-nuclear resistance is also often involved in the (re)creation of a geopolitical territoriality, at a much smaller scale. Routledge (1997b, p 2167) discusses the difference between packs that are related to the process of deterritorialisation, and swarms that are involved in the processes of physical, symbolic, political and cultural territorialisation. It is clear, however, that the processes of territorialisation and deterritorialisation are not mutually exclusive. Indeed, they often operate simultaneously. Neither can one be simply defined as "good" and the other "bad". I suggest that the razor wire and concrete warhead bunkers, set deep into the earth at Coulport represent a form of ultra-territoriality. However, the Trident submarines themselves might stand as nomads. Atkinson (2000) and Okely (2000) highlight the dangers of valorising nomadism without paying attention to the reality of nomadic existence. Moreover, Okely (2000) suggests that Deleuze and Guatrari's "rhizome", central to their project of nomadology, is inappropriate to describe nomadic strategies, as it implies "roots" as much as "routes". She prefers Rimbaud's image of *Le Bateau Ivre*, the drunken boat. Reports of the high levels of drug use on board Trident submarines would suggest that this might also be a fitting metaphor for Trident...

In contrast to an overly simplistic, structural, logic, the "practical deconstruction" (Emberley and Landry, 1989, p 491) of these terms as binary opposites can lead to more complex and often contradictory practices. I describe this process more fully in terms of the public/private and movement/fixity divisions. It marks a displacement of these terms, rather than their complete inversion (Spivak, 1987, p 103).

The opening up, unfolding, splaying out and unhinging of practical deconstruction also threatens the ontological stability of the individual, sovereign, self. To the extent that the myth of the sovereign individual is implicated in regimes of domination, this is welcome. But, there is also a danger that the destabilising process results in too forceful a challenge and destroys any form of agency. The result of too thorough a deconstruction of the self is the nihilism of "the Dead-heads that populate most versions of the postmodern dead end" (Doel, 1999, p 111). As such, there is a need to search out a position from which the subject can speak. It seems, however, that all subject positions (and more fundamentally the concept of the subject position itself), are intimately entangled in exclusionary discourses.

One approach to this problem is to move "beyond" discourse entirely, into the visceral realm, where the stability of the body can act as a place from which to resist. Barker (1998) provides a contrast between the intellectual and cognitive forms of resistance presented by conscientious objectors, and the ways in which the psychologically damaged soldiers resisted by retreating into themselves. Pile (1997) also draws a similar distinction between psychological and social forms of resistance. This role for the body places it simultaneously as vital to resistance, *and* as the locus of domination-through-inscription. Grosz (1995) has identified the body as forming "a kind of *hinge* or threshold: it is placed between a psychic or lived interiority [traditionally the subject of psychoanalysis] and a more sociopolitical exteriority that produces interiority through the *inscriptions* of the body's outer surface [as elucidated by Kafka, Foucault, Derrida]." (Grosz, 1995, p 33, emphasis in original).

But escaping domination through retreating into the body may involve slipping into silence, as Hastrup (1995) suggests. The role of the body should not be so much to do with attempts to create a biologically and ontologically secure individual, as with the fostering of bonds between people. In addition, the fallibility of the body, with shoulders that ache after a relatively short amount of time cutting fences and farts that can disrupt even the most important of consensus decisions, means that the body cannot be unequivocally celebrated as a medium for resistance.

I discussed the role of song, as a form of resistance that captures some of these ambiguities. The ability of song to connect people in bodily and visceral ways is one of the most powerful feelings that I have ever experienced. An appreciation of

the role of song in direct action must move beyond the purely discursive and the purely oppositional. It has the capacity to make links between people that are not purely cognitive and has a meaning that goes beyond simple textual analysis. It is this role of song as embodied experience that I have experienced the webs of community between people most clearly.

Yet, I cannot entirely escape the fact that songs *are* primarily made up of words. They do not float entirely free of any significance prior to the act of singing. The ways in which the songs, chants and music more generally are *discussed* are also important. This again positions their use as inherently tied to often problematic discursive practices.

The non-hierarchical web of interaction between singers, listeners, drummers, chanters, serves as an ideal that drives many within the direct action movement (Ward, 1992). The ideal has found more systematic expression in Gerrard Winstanley's "Commonwealth" (1652) and Kropotkin's *Mutual Aid* (1915). But it is clear that we are rarely offered more than a fleeting glimpse of the possibilities. In many cases the ideal community cannot be recreated due to very practical problems, often beyond the control of those people that make up the community. Communities of direct activists that have come together in protest camps are shattered by eviction. Reclaim the Streets parties are often broken up by massive levels of police brutality. Rather less spectacularly the clashing egos and personal baggage that people bring to the community can also be highly problematic. The reinforcing of the nihilistic ego, in those forms of Anarchism following Stirner (1963), seems to rule out any meaningful links between people. It is likely that some challenge to the individual sovereign ego is necessary for the functioning of non-hierarchical communities, something that is undermined by a focus on transcendence (Heller, 1999).

This is perhaps one of the major conflicts between the various form of individualism and the positions of Kropotkin and other social anarchists. The attempt that Bey (1991) makes to bring together the individual anarchism of Stirner, with the social anarchism of Kropotkin, is indicative of a particular trend in American anarchist and libertarian writing. I would suggest, however, that in doing so he remains most closely tied to an individualist position. Yet, Bey's position ignores the very real conflicts that can arise between different ideals, or different interpretations of the same ideal.[4]

Even within those ideals that I find less objectionable as an activist, there is disciplining, surveillance, exclusion of all that is outside of the "common bond". Denying these forms of domination and exclusion would also be problematic, possibly falling back on some spurious idea of "human nature".

Drawing on the critique of community provided by Iris Young (1990) and the idea of the cyborg society provided by Haraway (1991a), it is possible to describe (and promote) the formation of community that is based on more complex, partial and fractured webs of interdependence. In particular, I discuss the role of affinity groups and various forms of consensus decision-making as conscious attempts to structure communities of resistance in particular ways. I also discuss the ways in which sections of the peace movement have engaged with the notion of the "international community". There are certain common themes that arise from the consideration of the construction of community at the local and the international scale.[5]

The role of boundaries in the formation of community has been well rehearsed elsewhere (Barth, 1969; Cohen, 1989). At Faslane Peace Camp, it is primarily an external threat, in the form of Trident nuclear weapons, which is responsible for bringing together activists. There is a more general tendency to base membership of the Peace camp "community" on factors *outside* of the camp, such as the number of times that an activist has been arrested. The creation of boundaries has involved the erection of a fence surrounding the camp, as well as more symbolic boundaries that mark the camp as an alternative to Trident and to "everyday life". These boundaries are there in part to enable the functioning of the community. The result, however, is that activists who do not "fit in" are often excluded, physically or socially, from the community. There are clearly processes of disciplining taking place, even (or especially) in the most non-hierarchical communities.

Similarly, the concept of the "international community", which is far from non-hierarchical, becomes most apparent in rhetorical opposition to the threat from "rogue states", such as North Korea, Iraq, Libya and Serbia. Klare (1995) highlights the way in which this threat has been manufactured in order to promote US defence and foreign policy and particularly to legitimate continued defence expenditure.

Anderson (1991) develops the argument that it is the community itself that constructs these boundaries. He suggests that "all communities larger than

primordial communities of face-to-face contact (and perhaps even these) are imagined. Communities are to be distinguished, not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined" (p 6). This is in contrast to the structural-functionalist position that would see the community as based on objective criteria, such as ethnicity or location. However, these imaginations are often grounded in simple, structuralist models of self and other. In the case of the "international community" this is often an explicit part of the process (Wight, 1991). Taking a prompt from Anderson, it is possible to look to the construction of particular histories in the community building project at Faslane.

Around the camp itself, stone and wooden carvings are testament to the history of the camp. The artefacts shown in figures 5 and 6, for example, are used as resources by campers to tell stories about the camp and in particular about its longevity. Some of the trees planted at the camp also played this role. One was a Eucalyptus tree, planted in 1983 to mark the birth of the first child at the camp. It had grown to a height of about 12 metres before it fell in a storm at the end of 1998. It used to a bear a sign reading "…the height of this tree is testament to the longevity of the camp." Two cherry trees were planted on 8th August 1985 by Hibakusha (A-Bomb survivors), to mark the 40th anniversary of the bombing of Hiroshima. Again notices at the bottom of the trees told this story. One of the trees was killed after being sat on by a drunken camper. It was after this incident that he was asked to leave. The two incidents, about 6 months apart, mark a particularly difficult period in the camp's history.

There are, however, aspects of the Peace Camp that are potentially obscured by heeding Barth's call to focus on the "boundary that defines the group, not the cultural stuff that it encloses" (1969, p 15) and by prioritising the individual and cognitive processes involved in the imagination of community.

These embodied and collective aspects to the community could be thought of as the ways in which the community is *practiced*. In order to do justice to this practice, I have focussed on the constant making and remaking of community, not in the academic texts of Anderson or Cohen, or the idealistic texts of Kropotkin or Winstanley, but in the mundane and often beautiful parts of camp life. Singing together, eating together, taking direct action together, arguing and falling out, separately.

This is not to deny the prevalence, or the power, of the ways in which community is imagined. It is by no means an attempt to suggest a return to a simple structural logic that denies the agency of those who make up the community. But, the complexity, counter-rationality and fragility of life at Faslane Peace Camp, and the practice of direct action more generally, means that it has much more in common with a web, than with a chain of knowable events, or individuals. As an activist it is possible to identify problems when the community is imagined or practiced according to the model of an organic whole, made up of sovereign egos. Similarly, as academics we should not recreate these problems by placing the community solely in the hands or minds of individuals. Rather, community, as it is imagined, practiced and theorised should be a way of encouraging links between people that break down the organic and bounded model of community and the similarly damaging model of the bounded individual.

---

[1] I have continued my involvement with direct action, and the anti-nuclear movement, after the end of any formal fieldwork. I am currently preparing for a year long European Voluntary Service placement with the anti-nuclear campaign of For Mother Earth in Belgium. As I suggested previously, my involvement in direct action also preceded my decision to do a PhD.

[2] Just as it is wrong to suggest a definite historical shift in the forms of domination that we are facing, it is also questionable whether knowledge of these structures was necessarily different in the 1980s. I make this point due to my own frustrations at current peace movement theory and practice. My view of the peace movement in which I spent my early childhood is undoubtedly a rosy one.

[3] In a similar metaphor, Doel (1999, pp 108-109) traces the development of knowledge from the absolutism of the "God-head", to the modernism of what he terms "Probe-heads". This form of knowledge is represented as a double helix. One arm of the spiral is the search for objective knowledge, circling ever outwards, and engulfing everything in its path. The other arm spirals ever inwards, in the search for the liberal, humanist, self. It is this spiral that has become the post-modern tendency towards nihilism, in the form of "Eraser-heads" and "Dead-heads"(ibid.). In holding a view of knowledge that sees only the possibility of an extension of either direction of the Probe-heads' double spiral, those forms of knowledge (including situated knowledge) that refuse these trajectories are ignored.

[4] There are also, obviously, conflicts between the atheism of Kropotkin, and the religious sentiments in Winstanley's millenarianism.

[5] It is not my intention to produce axiomatic statements about "the nature of community", but simply to draw some interesting parallels. This section is based on a series of discussions during the anthropology post-graduate seminar series at the University of Hull.

References

Ackroyd, Carol, Karen Margolis, Jonathon Rosenhead and Tim Shallice 1980 *The Technology of Political Control*, London: Pluto Press.

ACME Collective, 1999 *N30 Black Bloc Communique*. [Published on the Internet at www.infoshop.org/octo/wto_blackbloc.html[1]]

"Agit-Wank" 1998 "A critique of genetiX snowball" *Peace News*, November, pp 10, 12-13.

Ainslie, John 1999 *Trident: Britain's weapon of mass destruction*, Glasgow: Scottish CND.

Allen, James, P. and Eugene Turner 1997 *The Ethnic Quilt: Population Diversity In Southern California*, Northridge, CA: California State University, Northridge.

An Old Hack 1999 "Old hacks (it) Apart, Earth First! Winter Moot 1999, Nottingham" [paper circulated prior to Earth First! Winter Moot]

Anderson, Benedict 1991 *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London: Verso.

Andrew X 1999 "Give Up Activism" In: *Reflections on June 18th* London: Reclaim the Streets, pp 2-6. [Published on the Internet at www.infoshop.org/octo/j18_rts1.html#give_up]

Anarchy: A Journal of Desire Armed 1997 Spring /Summer No. 43.

Ardener, Shirley 1974 "Nudity, vulgarity and protest" *New Society*, 24th March, pp 704-705.

Ardener, Shirley 1975 "Sexual insult and female militancy" In: Shirley Ardener (ed.) *Perceiving Women*, London: Malaby Press, pp 29-53.

Area 1999 Special issue on "Research, Action and 'Critical' Geography" Vol.31, No.3, pp 195- 246.

Atkinson, David 2000 "Nomadic Strategies And Colonial Governance: Domination and Resistance in Cyrenaica, 1923-1932" In: Joanne P. Sharp, Paul Routledge, Chris Philo and Ronan Paddison (eds.) *Entanglements Of Power: Geographies Of Domination And Resistance*, London: Routledge, pp 93-121.

Atkinson, David and Eric Laurier 1998 "A sanitised city? Social exclusion at Bristol's 1996 International Festival of the Sea" *Geoforum*, Vol 29, pp 199-206.

Aufheben 1995 "Kill or Chill? Analysis of the Opposition to the Criminal Justice Bill Part One: Sign of the Times", Number 4. [Published on the Internet at lists.village.virginia.edu/spoons/aut_html/Aufheben/auf4cjball.htm]

Banerjee, Sumanta 1987 *Thema Book of Naxalite Poetry*, Calcutta: Thema.

---

[1] All Internet references accessed 1st October, 2000.

Bankowski, Zenon and Geoff Mungham 1976 *Images of Law*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Barker, Pat 1998 "The Eye In The Door" In: *The Regeneration Trilogy*, London: Penguin.

Barth, Fredrik 1969 "Introduction" In: Fredrik Barth (ed.) *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: the social organisation of culture difference*, Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, pp 9-38.

Bauman, Zygmunt 1992 *Intimations of Postmodernity*, London: Routledge.

Becker, Howard Saul 1966 *Outsiders: studies in the sociology of deviance*, New York: Free Press.

Betsch, David F. 1994 *DNA Fingerprinting in Human Health and Society*, Iowa State University.

Bethell, Brian (ed.) 1984 *The Defence Diaries of W. Morgan Petty*, Harmondsworth: Viking.

Bey, Hakim 1991 *Temporary Autonomous Zones*, New York: Semiotext(e). [Published on the Internet at www.t0.or.at/hakimbey/taz/taz.htm]

Bey, Hakim 1992 *Immediatism*, New York: Semiotext(e). [Published as "Radio Sermonettes" on the Internet at www.t0.or.at/hakimbey/radio.htm]

Bey, Hakim 1993 *Permanent TAZs*. [Published on the Internet at www.t0.or.at/hakimbey/paz.htm]

Blackwood, Caroline 1984 *On the Perimeter*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Blomley, Nicholas K. 1994 *Law, Space and the Geographies of Power*, London: The Guilford Press.

Blomley, Nicholas 1998 "Landscapes of property" *Law and Society Review*, Vol. 32, pp 567-612.

Blunt, Alison and Jane Wills 2000 *Dissident Geographies: An Introduction to Radical Ideas and Practice*, Harlow: Pearson Education.

Boyle, Francis Anthony 1999 *Foundations of World Order: The legalist approach to International relations, 1898-1922*, London: Duke University Press.

Brake, Michael 1985 *Comparative Youth culture: The Sociology of Youth Cultures and Subcultures in America, Britain and Canada*, London: Routledge.

Brass, Elaine and Sophie Poklewski Koziell 1997 *Gathering Force: DIY Culture- radical action for those tired of waiting* (Edited by Denise Searle), London: The Big Issue.

Brecht, Bertolt 1980 "Mother Courage And Her Children" In: *Collected Plays*. Vol. 5, ii, (Translated by John Willett), London: Methuen & Co.

Brocken, Mike 1998 *The British Folk Revival*. [PhD thesis, Published on the Internet at www.mustrad.org.uk/articles/broc_ndx.htm]

Brunt, Rosalind 1989 "The politics of identity" In: Stuart Hall and Martin Jacques (eds.) *New Times: The changing face of politics in the 1990s*, London: Lawrence and Wishart in association with Marxism Today, pp 150-159.

Burnett, Alan 1985 "Propaganda cartography" In: David Pepper and A. Jenkins (eds.) *The Geography of Peace and War*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, pp 60- 89.

Burrell, Kate 1997 *The Geography of Road Protest: Strategies of spatial control and resistance in the struggle against A30 expansion*, Unpublished undergraduate dissertation, Cambridge University.

Butler, Lee 1998 *The risks of nuclear deterrence*, National Press Club.

CND 2000 "A history of the CND logo" [Published on the Internet at www.cnduk.org/inform~1/symbol.htm]

Calhoun, Craig 1995 "Foreword" In: Micheline R. Ishay, *Internationalism and its Betrayal*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, pp ix-xiv.

Campbell, Duncan 1986 *The Unsinkable Aircraft Carrier: American Military Power in Britain* London: Paladin.

de Certeau, Michel 1984 *The practice of everyday life*, Berkeley: University of California Press.

Chatwin, Bruce 1988 *The Songlines*, London: Picador.

Chomsky, Noam 1999 *The New Military Humanism: Lessons from Kosovo* London: Pluto Press.

Chouinard, Vera 1996 "Blomley, N.K. Law, Space and the Geographies of Power" *Antipode*, Vol. 28, pp 210-212.

de Cleyre, Voltairine 1912 *Direct Action*, New York: Mother Earth Publishing.

Clark, Howard, 1998 "More power than we know" In: John Brierley *et al* (eds.) *Gathering Visions, Gathering Strength*, Bradford and London: GVGS organising group/Peace News, pp16-19.

Clarke, Gary, 1990, "Defending ski-jumpers: a critique of theories of youth subcultures" In: Frith, Simon and Andrew Goodwin (eds.) *On record: rock, pop and the written word* London, Routledge, pp 81-96.

Clifford, James 1992 "Travelling Cultures" In: Paula A. Treichler, Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg (eds.) *Cultural Studies*, New York: Routledge, pp 96-116.

Clifford, James and George E. Marcus (eds.) 1986 *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, Berkeley: University of California Press.

Cohen, Anthony P. 1989 *The Symbolic Construction of Community*, London: Routledge.

Cohen, Saul 1980 *Folk Devils and Moral Panics: The Creation of the Mods and the Rockers*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Cooper, Davina 1998 *Governing Out Of Order: Space, Law and Politics of Belonging*, London: Rivers Oram.

Coover, Virginia, Charles Esser, Ellen Deacon and Christopher Moore 1981 *A Resource Manual For a Living Revolution*, Philadelphia: New Society Publishers.

Corbin, Alain 1996 *The Foul and the Fragrant: Odour and the Social Imagination*, London: Macmillan.

Cosgrove, Denis 1985 "Prospect, perspective and the evolution of the landscape idea" *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, Vol. 10, pp 45-62.

Cresswell, Tim 1994 "Putting women in their place: the carnival at Greenham Common" *Antipode*, Vol. 26, pp 35-58.

Cresswell, Tim 1996 *In Place/Out of Place: Geography, Ideology, and Transgression*, University of Minnesota Press.

Danny 1996 "F.L.F." *Faslania*, Winter Solstice, p 13.

Datan, Merav 2001 "Nuclear Weapons and International Law" *Science for Democratic Action*, Vol. 9, No. 3, pp 2-5.[Published on the Internet at www.ieer.org/sdafiles/vol_9/9-3/law.html]

Dawson, Andrew and Nigel Rapport 1998 "Home and Movement: A Polemic" In: Andrew Dawson and Nigel Rapport (eds.) *Migrants of Identity: Perceptions of Home in a World of Movement*, Oxford: Berg, pp 19-38.

Debord, Guy 1983 *Society of the spectacle*, Detroit, Mich.: Black and Red.

Deleuze, Felix and Felix Guattari 1987 *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, (Translated by Brian Massumi), Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota.

Dewar, John, Abdul Paliwala, Sol Picciotto and Matthias Ruete (eds.) 1986 *Nuclear Weapons, The Peace Movement and The Law*, Macmillan, Basingstoke.

DFROIOW 1999 "Fences: the definitive illustrated guide..." *Peace News*, May-August, pp 34-38.

Disco Dave 1998 "Timeshares 2000" *Faslania*, October, p 12.

Ditton, Jason 2000 *Surveillance of the Body: the case of hair testing*, Paper presented to Surveillance and Society, ESRC Funded Seminar, Hull University, 15th March 2000.

Do Or Die 1997a "Reclaim the Streets!" *Do Or Die #6: Voices from Earth First!* Brighton: The Do or DTP Collective, pp 1-10.

Do Or Die 1997b "Earth First! But what next?" *Do or Die #6: Voices from Earth First!* Brighton: The Do or DTP Collective, pp 18-21.

Do or Die 1997c "Go Gorleben! Word up from the anti-nuke massive" *Do or Die #6: Voices from Earth First!* Brighton: The Do or DTP Collective, pp 112-115.

Do or Die 1998a "No Escape from Patriarchy: Male Dominance on Site" *Do Or Die #7: Voices from Earth First!* Brighton: The Do or DTP Collective, pp 10-13. [Published on the Internet at www.eco-action.org/dod/no7/10-13.html]

Do Or Die 1998b "Gathering Force: DIY Culture- radical action for those tired of waiting, by Elaine Brass and Sophie Poklewski Koziell, Edited by Denise Searle" *Do or Die #7: Voices From Earth First!* Brighton: The Do or DTP Collective, pp 139-144 [Published on the Internet at www.eco-action.org/dod/no7/139-148.html]

Do Or Die 1999 "Tunnels of the world/ Going underground" *Do or Die #8*, Brighton: Do or DTP Collective, pp 58-61.

Doel, Marcus 1993 "Proverbs For Paranoids - Writing Geography On Hollowed Ground" *Transactions of the Institute Of British Geographers*, Vol.18, pp 377-394.

Doel, Marcus 1999 *Poststructuralist Geographies: The Diabolical Arts of Spatial Science*, Edinburgh University Press.

Doherty, Brian 1998 "Opposition to Road-Building" *Parliamentary Affairs*, Vol. 51, pp 170-183.

Doherty, Brian 1999 "Paving the Way: the Rise of Direct Action against Road-building and the Changing Character of British Environmentalism" *Political Studies*, Vol. 47, pp 275-291.

Dolly 1984 Comments made in Faslane Peace Camp diary, Reprinted in: Members of Faslane Peace Camp 1984 *Faslane: Diary of a Peace Camp*, Edinburgh: Polygon Books, p 59.

Douglas, Mary 1966 *Purity and danger: an analysis of concepts of pollution and taboo*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Durie, Sheila and Rob Edwards 1982 *Fuelling the Nuclear Arms Race: The links between nuclear power and nuclear weapons*, London: Pluto Press

Earth First! 1997a "Find the links and understand them" *Action Update*, June 1997, Manchester Earth First! c/o Dept 29, 1 Newton Street, Manchester.

Earth First! 1997b "Feature: Affinity Groups" *Action Update*, September 1997, Manchester Earth First! c/o Dept 29, 1 Newton Street, Manchester. [Published on the Internet at www.eco-action.org/efau/issues/1997/efau1997_09.html#FEATURE]

Earth First! 1999a *Action Update*, June 1999, Earth First! c/o Cornerstone Resource Centre, Leeds.

Earth First! 1999b "Feature: What they say about us" *Action Update*, December 1999, Earth First! c/o Cornerstone Resource Centre, Leeds. [Published on the Internet at www.eco-action.org/efau/issues/1999/efau1999_12.html#FEAT02]

Elaine, 1981 "The 'block' as power-enhancer" In: Brian Auvine, Michel Avery, Barbara Streibel and Lonnie Weiss (eds.) *Building United Judgement: a handbook for consensus decision making*, Madison, WI: Center for Conflict Resolution.

Ellen, Roy F. 1986 "What Black Elk left unsaid: the illusory images of Green primitivism" *Anthropology Today*, Vol. 2, No. 6, pp 8-12.

Elliot, Barbara, 1994 "The womb and gender identity" In: Dennis Brown and Louis Zinkin (eds.) *The Psyche and the Social World: Developments in Group-Analytic Theory*, London: Routledge, pp 118-128.

Emberley, Julia and Donna Landry 1989 "Coverage Of Greenham And Greenham As Coverage" *Feminist Studies*, Vol.15, pp 485-498.

Evans, Kate 1998 *Copse: The cartoon book of tree protesting*, Wiltshire: Orange Dog.

FOUN 2000 *Fuck the U.N.* [leaflet distributed at Brighton Peace 2000 festival, 29th May. FOUN c/o Box B, 21 Little Preston Street, Brighton, BN1 2HQ]

Featherstone, Dave 1999 "Radical Democracy And The Environmentalism of the Poor" Paper presented at the RGS-IBG Annual Conference, Leicester, 5th January.

Feldman, Allen 1991 *Formations of violence: the narrative of the body and political terror in Northern Ireland*, University of Chicago Press.

Ferrell, Jeff 1996 *Crimes of Style: Urban Graffiti and the Politics of Criminality*, Boston: Northeastern University Press.

Fine, Bob and Robert Millar (eds.) 1985 *Policing the Miner's Strike*, London: Lawrence and Wishart.

Finnegan, Ruth 1989 *The Hidden Musicians: Music-Making in an English Town*, Cambridge University Press.

Freeman, 1972/3 "The Tyranny of Structurelessness" *Berkeley Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 17, pp 151-64. [Published on the Internet at www.spunk.org/texts/consensu/sp000760.html]

For Mother Earth 1999 *Citizens Inspections continue to win momentum*, Press release 14th June 1999 [Published on the Internet at www.motherearth.org/archive/archive/walk99/140699e.htm]

Foreman, Dave and Bill Haywood (eds.) 1993 *Ecodefence: A Field Guide to Monkeywrenching*, California: Abbzug Press.

Foucault, Michel 1977 *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, (Translated by Alan Sheridan), Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Foucault, Michel 1984 "Preface" In: Gilles Deleuze and Felix *Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, London: Athlone Press, pp xi-xiv.

Foucault, Michel 1986 *The History of Sexuality, Volume 3: The Care of the Self*, Harmondsworth, Penguin.

Fungus, 1999 "Sunflowers" *Faslania*, p 7.

G [Lancaster J-18 Collective] 1999 "June 18th - If I Can Dance It's Not My Revolution?" In: *Reflections on June 18th* London: Reclaim the Streets, pp 6-9. [Published on the Internet at www.infoshop.org/octo/j18_rts1.html#dance]

Gammon, Vic and Peter Stallybrass 1984 "Structure and ideology in the ballad: An analysis of 'Long Lankin'" *Criticism: A Quarterly for Literature and the Arts*, Vol. 26, pp 1-20.

Gartocher Terrace 1999 *East End Fight The Tip*, Volume 1, issue 2, May 1999 [leaflet produced by Gartocher Terrace residents]

Gaughan, Dick 1983 *A Different Kind of Love Song*, Appleseed Recordings, West Chester PA.

Gaughan, Dick 2000 "Handful of Earth" *Dick Gaughan's Website* [Published on the Internet at www.dickalba.demon.co.uk/discog/dsc_hoe.htm]

Gaynor 1998 "Office Occupation" *Faslania*, October, p 17.

Geary, Roger 1985 *Policing industrial disputes: 1893 to 1985*, Cambridge University Press.

German, Ed 2000 *Problem Idents: The Danger of Ignoring Science in Favour of Counting Points*. [Published on the Internet at onin.com/fp/problemidents.html]

Gibson, Chris 1998 "Subversive sites: rave culture, spatial politics and the internet in Sydney, Australia" *Area*, Vol. 31, pp 19-33.

Goodman, Paul, 1968 *The Black Flag of Anarchism*, Vermont: Black Mountain Press. [pamphlet reprinted from The New York Times Magazine, July 14th 1968]

Gudeman, Stephen and Alberto Rivera 1990 *Conversations in Columbia: The domestic economy in life and text*, Cambridge University Press.

Gregory, Derek 1994 *Geographical Imaginations* Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell.

Grosz, Elizabeth 1994 *Volatile Bodies: Towards a corporeal feminism*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Grosz, Elizabeth 1995 *Space, Time, and Perversion: Essays on the Politics of Bodies*, New York: Routledge.

The Guardian 1932 "War of Symbols in Germany: The Nazis' Swastika v. the Iron Front's Three Arrows", July 11th.

The Guardian 1999 "Three held over GM crop attack: Protesters trample field after peaceful demo", July 19th. [Published on the Internet at www.guardianunlimited.co.uk/Archive/Article/0,4273,3884402,00.html]

HMSO 1986 Public Order Act 1986, London: HMSO

Halfacree, Keith 1996 "Out of place in the country: Travellers and the 'rural idyll'" *Antipode*, Vol. 28, pp 42-73.

Halfacree, Keith 1998 "Theory into practice within radical social struggles: something of an example..." Paper presented at Theory into Practice, Practice into Theory, Conference of the Critical Geography Forum with the Social and Cultural Geography Research Group, Coventry, 16th September.

Halfacree, Keith 1999 " 'Anarchy doesn't work unless you think about it': intellectual interpretation and DIY culture" *Area,* Vol. 31, pp 209-220.

Halfacree, Keith and Rob Kitchin 1996 "'Madchester rave on': Placing the fragments of popular music" *Area,* Vol. 28, pp 47-55.

Hall, Stuart 1988 "Brave New World" *Marxism Today,* October, pp 24-29.

Hall, Stuart and Tony Jefferson (eds.) 1976 *Resistance Through Rituals: Youth Subcultures in Post-War Britain,* London: HarperCollins.

The Handbook Collective, no date, *The Diablo Canyon Blockade Encampment Handbook,* Santa Cruz: Abalone Alliance.

Hannerz, Ulf 1992 *Cultural Complexity: Studies in the Social Organization of Meaning,* New York: Columbia University Press.

Haraway, Donna, 1988 "Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of the Partial Perspective" *Feminist Studies,* Vol. 14, pp 575-599.

Haraway, Donna 1991a "A Cyborg Manifesto: Science, Technology, and Socialist-Feminism in the Late Twentieth Century," In: *Simians, Cyborgs and Women: The Reinvention of Nature,* London: Free Association Books, pp149-181.

Haraway, Donna 1991b "Biopolitics of Postmodern Bodies: Constitutions of Self in Immune System Discourse" In: *Simians, Cyborgs, Women: The Reinvention of Nature,* London: Free Association Books, pp 203-230.

Harford, Barbara and Sarah Hopkins 1984 *Greenham Common: women at the wire,* London: Women's Press Ltd.

Harker, Dave 1985 *Fakesong: The Manufacture of British "Folksong", 1700 to the present day,* Milton Keynes: Open University Press.

Harvey, David 1974 "What kind of geography for what kind of social policy?" *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers,* Vol. 63, pp 18-24.

Harvey, David 1984 "On The History And Present Condition Of Geography: An Historical Materialist Manifesto" *The Professional Geographer: Journal of the Association of American Geographers,* Vol. 36, pp 1-11.

Hastrup, Kirsten 1995 "The inarticulate mind: the place of awareness in social action" In: Anthony P. Cohen and Nigel Rapport (eds.) *Questions of consciousness,* London: Routledge, pp 181-197.

Heller, Steven [David] 1998 "Treasure hunt with a difference" *Peace News,* September/October, p 9.

Heller, David 1999 "Transcendent Individual: Towards a literary and liberal anthropology, Rapport, N" *Anthropology In Action,* Vol. 6, No.1, pp 37-38.

Heller, David 2000 "Go, Move, Shift....: Resistance to eviction at Faslane Peace Camp" *Anthropology In Action,* Vol. 7, Nos. 1&2, pp 58-66.

Hermer, Joe and Alan Hunt 1996 "Official graffiti of the everyday" *Law and Society Review*, Vol. 30, pp 455-480.

Hetherington, Kevin 1994 "The contemporary significance of Schmalenbach's concept of the bund" *Sociological Review*, Vol. 42, pp 1-25.

Hill, Christopher 1972 *The world turned upside down: Radical ideas during the English Revolution*, London: Temple Smith.

Hillier, Bill and Julienne Hanson 1984 *The social logic of space*, Cambridge University Press.

Hollows, Joanne and Katie Milestone 1998 "Welcome to Dreamsville: A History and Geography of Northern Soul" In: Andrew Leyshon, David Matless and George Revill (eds.) *The Place Of Music*, London: The Guildford Press, pp 83-103.

hooks, bell 1990 *Yearning: Race, Gender, and Cultural Politics* Boston: South End Press.

Hunt, Alan 1980 "The radical critique of law: An assessment" *International Journal of the Sociology of Law*, Vol. 8, pp 33-46.

Ingold, Tim (ed.) 1991 *Human worlds are culturally constructed: a debate held in the Muriel Stott Centre, John Rylands University Library of Manchester on 27th October 1990*, University of Manchester, Department of Social Anthropology.

International Court of Justice 1996 *Advisory opinion on the Threat or Use of Nuclear Weapons*, The Hague: ICJ.

Ishay, Micheline, R. 1995 *Internationalism and its Betrayal*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Jackson, Bernard 1986 *The Battle for Orgreave*, Brighton: Vanson Wardle.

Jackson, Michael 1983 "Knowledge of the body" *Man*, Vol. 18, pp 327-45.

Jackson, Michael 1998 *Minima Ethnographica: Intersubjectivity and the Anthropological Project*, The University of Chicago Press.

Jane 1997 "Anti-nuclear anarchy in action" *Faslania*, Summer, p 12.

Jefferson, Tony 1987 "Beyond Paramilitarism" *British Journal Of Criminology*, Vol. 27, pp 47-53.

Jefferson, Tony 1990 *The Case Against Paramilitary Policing*, Milton Keynes: Open University Press.

Jim 1999 "Day 9- 24 May- Wuustwezel /Antwerp" In: *Walkers Diary*. [Published on the Internet at www.motherearth.org/archive/archive/walk99/diary99.htm#day9]

Johnson, Rebecca 1986 "Alice through the fence: Greenham Women and the Law" In: John Dewar, Abdul Paliwala, Sol Picciotto and Matthias Ruete (eds.) *Nuclear weapons, the Peace Movement, and The Law*, Macmillan: Basingstoke, pp 158-177.

Jones, Lynne 1987 "Perceptions of 'Peace Women' at Greenham Common 1981-5: A participant's View" In: Sharon Macdonald, Pat Holden and Shirley Ardener (eds.) *Images*

of Women in Peace and War: Cross-Cultural and Historical Perspectives, Macmillan: Basingstoke, pp 179-204.

Jordan, John 1995 untitled quote, In: Zine, Claire (ed.) *The end of the beginning, Claremont Road E11 not M11*, self published pamphlet, p 32.

Jullian, Phillipe 1972 *D'Annunzio*, London: Pall Hall.

Kafka, Franz 1981 "In the Penal Colony" In: *Franz Kafka: Stories 1904-1924*, (Translated by J.A. Underwood), London: Macdonald & Co. [Published on the Internet at www.fortunecity.com/victorian/dadd/92/penalcolony.txt]

Kapferer, Bruce 1995 "From the edge of death: Sorcery and the motion of consciousness" In: Anthony P. Cohen and Nigel Rapport (eds.) *Questions of Consciousness*, London, Routledge, pp 134-152.

Keith, Michael 1992 "Angry writing: (re)presenting the unethical world of the ethnographer" *Environment and Planning D: Society & Space*, Vol. 10, pp 551-568.

Keith, Michael 1993 *Race, Riots and Policing: Lore and Disorder in a Multi-racist Society*, London: UCL Press.

Klare, Michael T. 1995 *Rogue states and nuclear outlaws: America's search for a new foreign policy*, New York: Hill and Wang.

Kristeva, Julia 1977 *Polylogue*, Paris: Editions du Seuil.

Kropotkin, Peter A. 1905 "Anarchism" *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (11th edition).

Kropotkin, Peter A. 1915 *Mutual Aid: A factor of evolution*, London: William Heinemann.

Lamb, David 1994 "Threading Through a Surreal World on the Way to Tragedy in Rwanda" *Los Angeles Times*, 14th June, H1, H5.

Lefebvre, Henri 1991 *The Production of Space*, Translated by Donald Nicholson-Smith, Oxford: Blackwell.

Lennox Herald 1997 "Peace Camp Comment", August.

Leslie, Deborah and Suzanne Reimer 1999 "Spatializing commodity chains" *Progress in Human Geography*, Vol. 23, pp 401-420.

Leval, Gaston 1975 *Collectives in the Spanish Revolution*, London: Freedom Press.

Levi, Primo 1996a *If This is a Man/ The Truce*, (Translated by Stuart Woolf), London: Vintage.

Lévi-Strauss, Claude 1963 *Structural Anthropology*, (Translated by Claire Jacobson and Brooke Grundfest Schoepf), New York: Basic Books.

Leyshon, Andrew, David Matless and George Revill (eds.) 1998 *The Place Of Music*, London: The Guildford Press.

London, Jack 1915 *The Star Rover*. [Published on the Internet at sunsite.berkeley.edu/London/Writings/StarRover/]

Lyotard, Jean-François 1984 *Driftworks* New York: Semiotext(e)

Malkki, Liisa H. 1995 *Purity and Exile: Violence, Memory, And National Cosmology Among Hutu Refugees In Tanzania*, University of Chicago Press.

Malkki, Liisa H. 1997 "Speechless emissaries: refugees, humanitarianism, and dehistoricization" In: Karen Fog Olwig and Kirsten Hastrup (eds.) *Siting culture: The Shifting Anthropological Object*, London, Routledge, pp 223-254.

Manchester Earth First! 1999 *Guide To Public Order Situations*, Manchester Earth First! [leaflet, available by sending s.a.e. to 'Public Order guide' c/o Manchester Earth First!, Dept. 29, 255 Wilmslow Road, Manchester M14 5LW]

Marshall, George 1998 "A mixture of approaches" In: John Brierley *et al* (eds.) *Gathering Visions, Gathering Strength*, Bradford and London: GVGS organising group/Peace News, pp 29-31.

Marx, Karl [1852] 1963a *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, New York: International Publishers.

Marx, Karl 1963b "Private property and Alienated labour" In: Howard Selsam and Harry Martel (eds.) *Reader in Marxist Philosophy* New York: International Publishers, pp 296-303.

Matless, David 1998 *Landscape and Englishness*, London: Reaktion Books.

McDowell, Linda 1993 "Space, Place And Gender Relations 2: Identity, difference, feminist geometries and geographies" *Progress In Human Geography*, Vol.17, pp 305-318.

McGuirk, Pauline 1999 *Negotiating Urban Planning: Participation and the Communicative Planning Process*, Paper presented in the Department of Geography, University of Hull, 11th November.

McKay, George 1996 *Senseless Acts of Beauty*, London: Verso.

McNay, Lois 1992 *Foucault and Feminism*, Cambridge: Polity Press.

McRobbie, Angela 1990 "Settling account with subcultures: a feminist critique" In: Simon Frith and Andrew Goodwin (eds.) *On record: rock, pop and the written word* London: Routledge, pp 68-69.

Meek, James 1999 "Asian crime conundrum" *The Guardian*, September 8th, p 12.

Melucci, Alberto 1996 *Challenging Codes: Collective Action In the Information Age*, Cambridge University Press.

Members of Faslane Peace Camp 1994 *Faslane: Diary of a Peace Camp*, Edinburgh: Polygon Books.

Merrick 1996 *Battle for the trees: three months of responsible ancestry*, Leeds: Godhaven Ink.

Merrick 1997 *There's a Riot Going On*, Leeds: Godhaven Ink.

Mike 1998 untitled poem, *Faslania*, October, p 12.

Moore, Christy 1994 "Go, Move, Shift" *Christy Moore Live at the Point*, London: The Grapevine Label.

Moore, Gary, no date, *History of Fingerprints*. [Published on the Internet at onin.com/fp/fphistory.html]

Morag 1996, "United Front" *Faslania*, Winter Solstice, p 14.

nato 1999, *northern anarchist terrorist organization* [leaflet distributed at Raise Your Banners festival, Sheffield, 1999]

Nakhleh, Khalil 1979 "On Being a Native Anthropologist" In: Gerrit Huizer and Bruce Mannheim (eds.) *The Politics of Anthropology*, The Hague: Mouton, pp 343-352.

Nandrea, Lorri 1999 "'Graffiti Taught Me Everything I Know about Space': Urban Fronts and Borders" *Antipode*, Vol. 31, pp 110-116.

National Council for Civil Liberties 1986 *No Way in Wapping: The effect of the policing of the News International dispute on Wapping residents*, London: NCCL.

Norris, Clive and Gary Armstrong 1999 *The maximum surveillance society: the rise of CCTV*, Oxford: Berg.

O'Reilly, Ciarron 1999 Letter, *Peace News*, September-November, p 45.

Ó Tuathail, Gearóid 1994 "Critical Geopolitics and Development Theory: Intensifying the Dialogue" *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, Vol. 19, pp 228-233.

Ó Tuathail, Gearóid 1996 *Critical geopolitics: The Politics of Writing Global Space*, Routledge, London.

Ó Tuathail, Gearóid 1999 "A strategic sign: The Geopolitical Significance of 'Bosnia' in U.S. Foreign Policy" *Environment and Planning D: Society & Space*, Vol. 17, pp 515-533.

Okely, Judith 1983 *The Traveller-Gypsies*, Cambridge University Press.

Okely, Judith 1992 "Anthropology and Autobiography: Participatory experience and embodied knowledge" In: Judith Okely and Helen Callaway (eds.) *Anthropology and Autobiography*, London: Routledge, pp 1-28.

Okely, Judith 2000 *Rootlessness against spatial fixing: Gypsies, border intellectuals and 'others'* Keynote paper presented at Identity and/in movement conference, University of Hull 24th March.

Oliver, Caroline, Stef Jansen, and David Heller 2000a "Up-routing: a critical engagement with identity and/in movement" *Anthropology In Action*, Vol. 7, Nos.1&2, pp 2-10.

Oliver, Caroline, Stef Jansen and David Heller 2000b "In Search of Cool Grounds: Movement and Identity" *iNtergraph*, Vol. 1, No. 3 [Published on the Internet at www.intergraphjournal.com]

OMEGA Foundation 2000 *Crowd Control Technologies (An appraisal of technologies of political control)* Luxembourg: European Parliament.

Oppenheimer, Martin 1970 *Urban Guerrilla*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Oppenheimer, Martin, and George Lakey (eds.) 1964 *A manual for direct action: Strategy and tactics for civil rights and all other nonviolent protest movements*, Chicago: Quadrangle Books.

Pateman, Carole 1989 *The Disorder of Women: Democracy, Feminism and Political Theory*, Cambridge: Polity Press.

Peace, Adrian 1993 "Environmental protest, bureaucratic closure; the politics of discourse in rural Ireland" Kay Milton (ed.) *Environmentalism: The View from Anthropology*, London: Routledge, pp 189-204.

Peace News 1988 "Is everybody happy? In which Peace News explores some of the pros, cons and practicalities of consensus decision-making." *Peace News*, June 1998, pp 12-16, [pages 12-15 Published on the Internet at www.gn.apc.org/pmhp/gs/handbook/condecis.htm]

Petts, Judith 2000 "Public Involvement in Environmental Decision Making: Barriers and opportunities" Paper presented in the Department of Geography, University of Hull, 11th April.

Philo, Chris 1992 "Foucault Geography" *Environment And Planning D: Society & Space*, Vol. 10, pp 137-161.

Pile, Steve 1996 *The Body and the City: Psychoanalysis, Space, and Subjectivity*, London: Routledge.

Pile, Steve 1997 "Introduction" In: Steve Pile and Michael Keith (eds.) *Geographies of Resistance*, London: Routledge, pp 1-32.

Pile, Steve and Michael Keith (eds.) 1997 *Geographies of Resistance*, London: Routledge.

Porteous, J. Douglas 1994 "Not Saussure" *Transactions of the Institute Of British Geographers*, Vol.19, p 239.

Powdermaker, Hortense 1967 *Stranger and Friend: The Way of an Anthropologist*, London: Secker & Warburg.

Powell, Andrew 1994 "Towards a unifying concept of the group matrix" In: Dennis Brown and Louis Zinkin (eds.) *The Psyche and the Social World: Developments in Group-Analytic Theory*, London: Routledge, pp11-26.

Prof Dave 1998 "Ploughshares 2000" *Faslania*, October, pp 7-9.

Rai, Milan 1995 *Tactical Trident: The Rifkind Doctrine and the Third World*, London: Drava Papers.

Rapport, Nigel 1997 *Transcendent Individual: Towards a Literary and Liberal Anthropology*, London: Routledge.

Rapport, Nigel 1999 *Post-Cultural Anthropology: The Ironicization of Values in A World of Movement*, Paper Presented at Hull University Anthropology Department.

Relph, Edward 1976 *Place and Placelessness*, London: Pion Press.

Revill, George 1997 "The imagined village: Culture, ideology and the English folk revival - Boyes, G" *Journal of Historical Geography*, Vol. 23, pp 215-217.

Rhodes, Anthony 1959 *The poet as superman: A life of Gabriele D'Annunzio*, London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson.

Rifkind, Malcolm 1995 *The framework of United Kingdom defence policy: key speeches on defence policy*, London: Brassey's/Centre for Defence Studies.

Road Alert! 1996 *Road Raging: Top tips for wrecking road building*, Road Alert! Newbury [Published on the Internet at www.eco-action.org/rr/]

Roberts, Elizabeth 1999 'D-5 Nine Not Guilty!' *Pathfinder*, Summer.
[Published on the Internet at www.serve.com/gvaughn/nukewatch/summer99/f99d59.html]

Robinson, Jennifer 2000 "Power as friendship: Spatiality, femininity and 'noisy' surveillance" In: Joanne P. Sharp, Paul Routledge, Chris Philo and Ronan Paddison (eds.) *Entanglements Of Power: Geographies Of Domination And Resistance*, London: Routledge, pp 67-92.

Rogers, Paul 1996 *Sub-strategic Trident: a slow burning fuse* London: Brassey's for the Centre for Defence Studies.

Rose, Gillian 1993 *Feminism And Geography: The Limits Of Geographical Knowledge*, Cambridge: Polity Press.

Roseneil, Sasha 1995 *Disarming Patriarchy: Feminism And Political Action At Greenham*, Buckingham: Open University Press.

Roseneil, Sasha 2000 *Social Movements and Political Activism*, Paper presented at The University of East London's MA in Political Activism and Social Movements Dayschool, 4th January.

Roseneil, Sasha and Julie Seymour (eds.) 1999 *Practising Identities: Power and Resistance*, Basingstoke: Macmillan.

Rossellson, Leon 1992 *Bringing the News From Nowhere: 125 songs by Leon Rosselson*, Fuse Records, Middlesex.

Rouse, Roger 1995 "Questions of identity: Personhood and collectivity in transnational migration to the United States" *Critique of Anthropology*, Vol. 15, pp351-380.

Routledge, Paul 1992 "Putting Politics In Its Place - Baliapal, India, As A Terrain Of Resistance" *Political Geography*, Vol. 11, pp 588-611.

Routledge, Paul 1994 "Backstreets, Barricades, And Blackouts - Urban Terrains Of Resistance In Nepal" *Environment And Planning D: Society & Space*, Vol. 12, pp 559-578.

Routledge, Paul 1996a "Critical geopolitics and terrains of resistance" *Political Geography*, Vol. 15, pp 509-531.

Routledge, Paul 1996b "The thirdspace as critical engagement" *Antipode*, Vol. 28, pp 399-419.

Routledge, Paul 1997a "The imagineering of resistance: Pollok Free State and the practice of postmodernism" *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, Vol. 22, pp 359-376.

Routledge, Paul 1997b "Space, mobility, and collective action: India's Naxalite movement" *Environment and Planning A*, Vol. 29, pp 2165- 2189.

Routledge, Paul and Jon Simons 1995 "Embodying Spirits Of Resistance" *Environment And Planning D: Society & Space*, Vol. 13, pp 471-498.

SCND 1999 *Taking on Trident*, Glasgow: Scottish CND.

SCND 2000 *Scottish CND* [Published on the Internet at ds.dial.pipex.com/cndscot]

Saara 1997 "Peace and Harmony" *Faslania*, Winter Solstice, p 15.

Sangren, P. Steven 1988 "Rhetoric and the authority of ethnography: 'postmodernism' and the social reproduction of texts" *Current Anthropology*, Vol. 29, pp 405-435.

Schlosberg, David 1995 "Communicative action in practice: intersubjectivity and new social movements" *Political Studies*, Vol. XLIII, pp 291-311.

SchNews: The weekly newsletter from Justice? - Brighton's Direct Action collective. [Published on the Internet at www.schnews.org.uk]

Seize the Day, no date *With My Hammer*. [Published on the Internet at www.seizetheday.org/hammer.htm]

Sharp, Gene 1973 *The Politics of Nonviolent Action*, (With the editorial assistance of M. Finkelstein), Boston: Porter Sargent.

Sharp, Joanne P., Paul Routledge, Chris Philo and Ronan Paddison 2000 "Introduction: Entanglements of power In: Joanne P. Sharp, Paul Routledge, Chris Philo and Ronan Paddison (eds.) *Entanglements Of Power: Geographies Of Domination And Resistance*, London: Routledge, pp 1-42.

Sheffield Socialist Choir, 1999 *With One Voice: Sheffield Socialist Choir 10th Anniversary Songbook*, Sheffield Socialist Choir.

Shiva, Vandana 1997 *Biopiracy: The Plunder of Nature and Knowledge*, Boston, Mass.: South End Press.

Shore, Cris 1993 "Inventing 'The Peoples Europe': Critical Approaches to European Community Cultural Policy" *Man*, Vol. 28, pp 779-800.

Shore, Cris 1995 "Usurpers or pioneers? European Commission bureaucrats and the question of 'European consciousness' " In: Anthony P. Cohen and Nigel Rapport (eds.) *Questions of consciousness*, London: Routledge, pp 217-236.

Short, John R. 1991 *Imagined Country: Society, Culture and Environment*, London: Routledge.

Sibley, David 1994 "The Sin of Transgression" *Area*, Vol. 26, pp 300-303.

Sibley, David 1995 *Geographies of Exclusion: Society and Difference in the West*, London: Routledge.

Simon 1997 "The Green Man" *Faslania*, Summer, p 9.

Sivanandan, Ambalavaner 1990 *Communities of resistance: Writings on Black struggles for socialism*, London: Verso.

Smith Bowen, Elenore 1964 *Return to laughter*, New York: Doubleday.

Soja, Edward W. 2000 *Postmetropolis: Critical Studies Of Cities And Regions*, Oxford: Blackwell.

Spencer, Sarah 1985 "The Eclipse of the Police Authority" In: Bob Fine and Robert Millar (eds.) *Policing the Miner's Strike*, London: Lawrence and Wishart, pp 34-53.

Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty 1987 *In other worlds: essays in cultural politics*, New York: Methuen.

Starhawk 1979 *The Spiral dance: A Rebirth of the Ancient religion of the Great Goddess*, San Francisco: Harper & Row.

Starhawk 1988 *Dreaming The Dark: Magic, Sex And Politics*, Boston: Beacon Press.

Starhawk 1990 *Truth Or Dare: Encounters With Power, Authority And Mystery*, San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco.

Starhawk 1999a *An Open Letter to the Pagan Community*. [Published on the Internet at www.reclaiming.org/starhawk/wto.html#one]

Starhawk 1999b *How We Really Shut Down the WTO*. [Published on the Internet at www.reclaiming.org/starhawk/wto.html#two]

Still, Judith 1994 " 'What Foucault fails to acknowledge...': feminists and *The History Of Sexuality*" *History Of The Human Sciences*, Vol. 7, pp 150-157.

Stirner, Max 1963 *The Ego and His Own: The Case of the Individual Against Authority*, New York: Libertarian Book Club.

The Super Sonic Samba School, no date, "Drums & Demonstrations", San Diego: SSSS. [Published on the Internet at ssss.console.net/drum&dem.html]

Sweeney-Turner, Steve 1998 "Borderlines: Bilingual terrain in Scottish song" In: Andrew Leyshon, David Matless and George Revill (eds.) *The Place Of Music*, London: The Guildford Press, pp 151-175.

Testa, Andrew, no date, "Account of the 'Cakehole', Manchester Airport" *One World Gallery*. [Published on the Internet at www.oneworld.org/media/gallery/testa/1.html]

Thrift, Nigel 1997 "The still point: Resistance, expressive embodiment and dance" In: Steve Pile and Michael Keith (eds.) *Geographies of Resistance*, London: Routledge, pp 124-151.

Tony 1999 "Then and Now" [Published on the Internet at www.bilderberg.org/diggers.htm#NOW]

Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers 1995 Special issue on "The Place of Music" Vol. 20, No. 4, pp 423-485.

Trident Ploughshares 1998 "Press Release" 6th November.

Trident Ploughshares 2000, 1997 *Tri-denting It Handbook: An Open Guide to Trident Ploughshares 2000*, Norwich: Angie Zelter/Trident Ploughshares 2000.

Trident Ploughshares 2000, 1998 *Tri-denting It Handbook: An Open Guide to Trident Ploughshares 2000*, Second Edition, Norwich: Angie Zelter/Trident Ploughshares 2000. [Published on the Internet at www.gn.apc.org/tp2000/handbook/index.html].

Tsing, Anna 1993 *In the Realm of the Diamond Queen*, Princeton University Press.

Turner, Victor W. 1964 "Betwixt and between: The liminal period in 'rites de passage'." In: J. Helm (ed.) *Symposium on new approaches to the study of religion, Proceedings of the 1964 Annual Spring Meeting of the American Ethnological Society*, Seattle: American Ethnological Society, pp 4-20.

Turner, Victor W. 1969 *The Ritual Process, Structure And Anti-Structure*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Tyler, Stephen, A. 1986 "Post-Modern ethnography: from Document of the Occult to Occult Document" In: James Clifford and George E. Marcus (eds.) *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, Berkeley: University of California Press, pp 122-140.

Uribe, E. 1983 "Victor: An Unfinished Song- Jara, Joan" *New Society*, Vol. 65, p 441.

Valentine, Gill 1995 "Creating Transgressive Space: The Music of kd lang" *Transactions of the Institute Of British Geographers*, Vol. 20, pp 474-485.

Vaneigem, Raoul 1983 *The Revolution of Everyday Life*, (Translated by Donald Nicholson-Smith), London: Left Bank Books.

Vicky 1997 "Your Very Own Cut Out And Keepsake Crustie" *Faslania*, Summer, p 13.

Victor Jara Foundation 1999 *Victor Jara Foundation UK*. [leaflet]

Vidal, John 1997 "Gone to ground" *The Guardian*, February 22nd, p 30.

Vidal, John 1998a "Trident activists 'breach' barriers" *The Guardian*, August 26th, p 7.

Vidal, John 1998b "Can this little lot really beat Britain's nuclear giant?" *The Guardian*, August 26th, G2 pp 1-3.

Vogler, Richard 1986 "Anti-Nuclear defences: Aspects of legality and the peace movement in England" In: John Dewar, Abdul Paliwala, Sol Picciotto and Matthias Ruéte (eds.) *Nuclear weapons, the Peace Movement, and The Law*, Macmillan, Basingstoke, pp 112-133.

Waddington, Peter A.J. 1987 "Towards Paramilitarism - Dilemmas In Policing Civil Disorder" *British Journal Of Criminology* Vol. 27, pp 37-46.

Waddington, Peter A.J. 1993 "'The Case Against Paramilitary Policing' Considered" *British Journal Of Criminology* Vol. 33, pp 353-373.

Waite, Mike 1996 "To Stanworth and Beyond" *Soundings*, Vol. 3, pp 27-38.

Ward, Colin 1978 *The Child in the City*, London: Architectural Press.

Ward, Colin 1992 "Anarchy in Milton Keynes" *The Raven*, Vol. 18, pp 116-131. [Published on the Internet at www.ecn.org/freedom/Raven/18.html]

Webber, Melvin 1964 *Explorations Into Urban Structure*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Wight, Martin 1991 *International Theory: The three traditions*, London: Leicester University Press.

Wilson, Peter Lamborn 1996 *Pirate utopias: Moorish corsairs & European renegadoes*, New York: Autonomedia.

Winnicott, Donald, W. 1971 *Playing and Reality*, London: Routledge.

Winstaley, Gerrard 1649 *A Watch-Word to the City of London and the Armie*.

Winstanley, Gerrard 1652 *The Law of Freedom in a Platform*.

Young, Alison 1990 *Femininity in Dissent*, London: Routledge.

Young, Iris, M. 1990 "The ideal of community and the politics of difference" In: Linda J. Nicholson (ed.) *Feminism/Postmodernism*, Routledge, London, pp 300-323.

Zelter, Angie 1998, *Defence of Angie Zelter on 22/9/98, Argyll & Bute District Court, Victoria Halls, Helensburgh*. [Published on the Internet at www.gn.apc.org/tp2000/legal/dzelter.html]

Zine, Claire (ed.) 1995 *The end of the beginning, Claremont Road E11 not M11*, self published pamphlet.