

GREEN LINE

**Molesworth lives!
Action Directe - violent
or non violent?**

**India after Indira
The New Economics**

March 1985 No.30 40p



GREEN LINE

34 Cowley Road, Oxford
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The Co-op Idea

THE RESPONSE to the idea floated in the last issue that Green Line might be turned into a green publishing co-operative has been very encouraging. Several people with very relevant interests and talents have responded. Hopefully we can all get together in a couple of months and talk more about it; meanwhile, any readers who are interested in participating in any aspect of such a project should write to us as soon as possible.

Advertising

Advertising in Green Line reaches an audience of like-minded people in a way that no other magazine can do. Our rates are low: £45 for a full page, and pro rata for smaller sizes. (One third of a column on this page for only £5, for example!). Send camera-ready copy direct to us at 34 Cowley Road, Oxford; or for further information write to Green Line Advertising, Dove Workshops, Butleigh, Glastonbury, Somerset.

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We generally can't consider articles less than four weeks before publication - unless they're very urgent or topical. If you're thinking of sending something late, ring us first. Letters and news items can be taken up to the 15th.

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This issue comes to you through the efforts of Heather Acty, Patricia Ashmore, Jon Carpenter, Andrzej Kaye, George Oldham, Sarah Tyzack, and Patrick Whitefield.

COAL

AND
ECONOMIC
GROWTH



THE WALES ECOLOGY PARTY
20p

Full of background facts for the present dispute; an analysis of the strike and government policy in terms of economic demands; and a way forward for coal towards a sustainable energy future.

20p + 13p stamp from Green Line.

MOLESWORTH

RAINBOW FIELDS VILLAGE was encamped in caravans, vans, buses and tipis on the site of USAF Molesworth - Britain's second proposed Cruise Missile base. On the night of February 5th the village was evicted in an operation widely reported in the media. PATRICK WHITEFIELD talked to BRUCE GARRARD, one of the evicted villagers.



PW What was the first warning you had that you were about to be evicted?

BG We'd just had a sweat lodge and were sitting quietly round the fire, when someone came rushing up with the news that a huge military convoy had been seen on its way. A few minutes later we looked up to see lights of slow-moving vehicles in an enormous long line, right across the horizon. It looked like the Martians invading.

PW I understand it was the police who evicted you, that the army there were just engineers.

BG It's true there were 1,500 Royal Engineers there putting up a fence, and it was the civil police who had direct contact with us. But the legal situation was that the MoD were asking us to leave their private property - and there were two companies of infantry there ready to push us off "with minimum force" if necessary. If it had come to that the police would no longer have been directly involved.

PW Did you personally have any contact with the police?

BG Yes, all night, in different ways. Some of them were quite helpful. One told me it was "just like the miners: we're the ones who get caught in the middle." I think they were expecting more trouble than they got from us.

PW Was it just the local Cambridgeshire force?

BG No. There were police from many different forces including the Met. We do now have a national police force.

PW As the man said, just like the miners. But how did the villagers react in general?

BG After the initial shock, the village was calm throughout. We packed up in our own time, though we'd originally been given only an hour to get off. By that time the press and CND supporters had turned up in large numbers.

PW Did most of you manage to take your homes with you?

BG Yes, and most of the village is still together as a Rainbow Convoy. What we couldn't take we burned, because we couldn't bear to see the bulldozers destroy it. I feel we managed to leave with some dignity.

PW What was the most important aspect of Molesworth?

BG Rainbow Fields was a protest against Cruise Missiles, but it was never intended to be a 'peace camp' or a protest in the negative sense. It was also a land squat by people who had nowhere else to live, and it became an experiment in anarchist living - one which I believe will have many lessons to teach the green and 'alternative' movements in general. The contacts made there, on a personal level, between greens, 'hippies', travellers, 'Convoy', etc - the community spirit that was developed - was for me the most important aspect of it.

PW What were the lessons?

BG The village was a microcosm of the outside world. We had all the outside world's problems, but on a scale we could cope with. One lesson concerned organisational structure: when we stopped having meetings, things worked much better.

PW What do you think are political effects of it all?

BG Rainbow Fields was a community first and foremost. But almost by accident it worked as a piece of direct action. I mean this in the classic sense that it provoked the authorities into a gross over-reaction, and appears to have galvanised the peace movement.

PW Do you intend to return to Molesworth?

BG I shall certainly be there for the Easter demo, but otherwise I'm not sure. In spite of all the positive aspects, the overriding thing for me is a tremendous sense of loss. I don't think I could cope with living with all that razor wire and arc lights when I'd known it as Rainbow Fields village.

UP-TO-DATE INFORMATION on Molesworth should be available through your local CND group. There is an info point on the Brampton roundabout (junction of A 604 and A 1); this may move to a lay-by nearer the base, with 24hr staffing. As we go to press, cars are not being allowed up the B 660 to Peace Corner, though coaches are being allowed to drop passengers there. Cars may use the B662 to the north of the base, but may not park on it: parking is in the lane between Old Weston and Leighton Bromswold (one mile east of Peace Corner).

Message from the RAINBOW VILLAGE -
- Andy, Fennel, Keith, Anne, Liz, Monica, Tony.

Eviction hearing 21.2.85...

RAINBOW VILLAGE is alive and well and living at Grafham Water. We are totally committed to the non-violent peace movement.

Despite the eviction we shall continue to oppose cruise missiles and militarism. You help is needed to extend the growing support. Last weekend over a thousand people gathered outside USAF Molesworth. There is a constant vigil. Many people have arrived despite a heavy police presence. Film crews have experienced major difficulties.

Everyone here is under great pressure, especially the Rainbow Village at Grafham Water, the original three-year old peace camp near Clopton, and Molesworth Ploughshares at Old School House, Clopton.

The following donations are urgently needed: money, food, diesel, petrol, tow-bars, oil lamps, CB radios, gas cylinders plus regulators, gas fires, paraffin, wood, coal, tarps, plastic sheeting, hay and straw, candles, pet food, blankets, love, and support.

Jennifer, Ian and Nick are still living in Peace Lane outside the main gate close to the fenced-in peace chapel. Please remember them.



photographs - DAVID NELSON, 334 Cowley Rd, Oxford
prints - (inc pop) 6x4 - 60p, 10x8 - £1.20

RICH WORLD POOR WORLD



CONNECTIONS ARE gradually being made between poverty and deprivation in the Third World and our well-being and affluence in the 'North'. It is intellectually respectable in 'progressive' and/or green circles to recognise these links - and to bemoan them. But we've hardly begun to face up to the consequences in a practical way.

Joyce Mumford suggested in her letter last month that our diet would be 'sadly monotonous and unappetising' if we stopped importing grains and beans from Third World countries. If it is true that people starve to death and suffer in other ways as a direct (or even indirect?) result of what we eat and the way we live, then we might prefer a monotonous or unappetising diet if that were to change the situation. Surely the question to be addressed is whether the case is proven, not whether our diet is tasty enough.

Although no one can prove that any single bag of beans has starved any particular person to death, it is true that the cash cropping of the best and most fertile land in the Third World in general does exploit the labour of local people, leads directly to reduced availability of food in the countries in question, and converts peasant agricultural economies into cash economies - where the peasants have little or no money and all wealth gravitates to the towns and thence overseas.

Our involvement in this is very direct. There is evidence on every kitchen shelf, including mine. How

we reduce this involvement is a considerable personal and political challenge. Fortunately, despite what Joyce Mumford suggests, there is an increasing amount of fresh produce available in this country which is grown here or in other 'Northern' countries: even in the depth of winter variety remains the spice of life. And if the state were prepared to invest in organic and alternative agricultural production (new seed varieties better suited to our climate and bred for nutrition rather than looks, for example) to the same degree that it subsidises grain and dairy mountains, there would be no problems at all!

But the relation between rich world and poor world is reflected within our own country too. Almost entirely deprived of access to land - which is ultimately our only means of subsistence - most of us sell our labour to buy food, warmth and shelter. We have no say in the price paid, and no alternative but to accept the offer. In the longer term our position is no more secure than that of the Third World peasant, though we derive temporary security from the fact that we are dependent on vast areas of land overseas - for food, fertilisers, animal feeds, clothing materials, fuel, timber and so on. It is politically unreal to think that this arrangement can continue indefinitely, or that the transition to a sustainable economy in this country, if it takes place at all, will take place before incredible levels of suffering have been reached.

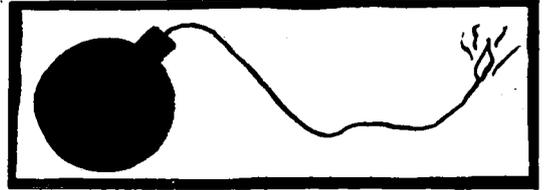
Incredible, that is, to us proud Northerners. Quite understandable to the average resident of the rest of world, however, where it's an everyday experience already.

Jon Carpenter

★ Some of the themes raised here will be looked at in greater detail during a weekend at Seniors Farmhouse from April 19 - 21. Participants will look at the implications for their own lifestyles and expectations of this understanding of Third World dependence, and look at ways in which we have created our own 'Third World' within the countries of the North. There will also be an examination of what is

meant by racism awareness, and what our own prejudices may mean in practice. The sessions will be introduced by Jon Carpenter (editor of Green Line) and Caroline Beatty (who works for the Campaign for Racial Equality). For details, send a sae to Seniors Farmhouse, Semley, Shaftesbury, Dorset; or phone 0747 3961.

Action Directe: Violent or Nonviolent?



WE HAVE A new problem on our hands - frustration. What do people do when they have campaigned for years and seem to be going backwards rather than forwards? We have seen the result in the animal rights movement - a turn towards violence - and read Nelson Mandela's restatement of his formula: "We go for hard targets only, military installations and the symbols of apartheid. Civilians must not be touched."

In January this year Germany's Red Army Faction merged with France's Action Directe and promised attacks "against the multinational structure of NATO, its military leaders, its plans and its propaganda." They have links with the Belgian Fighting Communist Cells, the Italian Red Brigades, and an as yet unnamed group in Greece whose first bomb attack on US troops is the latest news at the time of writing.

It is not very clear yet exactly what the intention is. Is it an expressly marxist attack on 'the West'? Is it an attack on militarism as such - and if so where do they stand on Soviet militarism? Or are they frustrated peaceniks who can't see any other way forward and are looking for instant action and results? Moscow backing is most unlikely.

Britain is not immune, and unless something is said and done pretty quickly one can expect "action directe" to cross the Channel - when, as Walter Schwarz has put it in the Guardian (30.1.85), "the frustrated fringe of the peace movement could be tempted to join the violence."

A lot of young people (and not all just young people by any means) are very fed up. We have gone into steep decline since Mrs Thatcher's landslide victory in 1983 and the successful deployment of Cruise missiles shortly thereafter in the face of a self-paralysed movement. Activity today is about a quarter of what it was two years ago (so one is assured by local activists).

This is neither the time nor the place for a post-mortem. Suffice it to say that the leadership failed and the rank and file let them fail. Grasping at straws, the drift is back to Kinnock - a failed option if ever there was one. Two other things are happening. The bad one is the move towards what they call in the US a 'mail-order movement', a large passive membership who pay subs, read Sanity and/or local newsletters and wear the badge. The good one is the autonomous multiplication of endless small actions all over the country - a needling campaign, which is excellent.

But nothing in any of these pipelines is going to reverse the Cold War and put us on the path to peace.

There Is an Answer

But there is an answer. Tito began to suggest it back in 1961 when he, Nehru, Nkrumah and others got 25 non-aligned governments together to sell the third force idea to the world. That number rose over the years to 101, its present figure. But the troubles accumulated at least as fast as the numbers. They were all deep in political and financial problems and they needed the help of one, or both of, the superpowers. They got it. Non-alignment became a token thing. It reached its ultimate absurdity

with both the USSR and the USA supporting non-aligned Iraq at war with non-aligned Iran.

So last year six of them broke away to launch the Four Continents Initiative; this January they issued their Delhi Declaration against the drift to nuclear war from the heads of state of India, Mexico, Sweden, Tanzania, Greece and Argentina. Excellent! But with the possible exception of India (whose arms come from the Soviet Union) none are even middle-weights; and in these matters it is unfortunately weight that counts, at least in the shorter term, and time is not on our side.

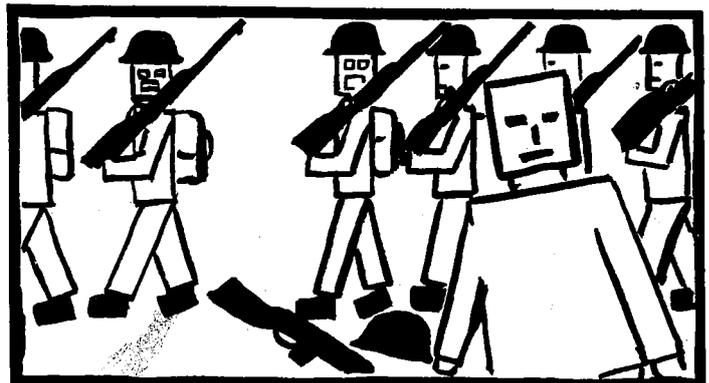
How to put the weight into non-alignment - that is the problem. The answer is in our hands: viz., that Britain should go non-aligned, neutral. There has of course been a debate for years about the pros and cons of leaving NATO, but it has never been worked out as a serious foreign and defence policy and as part of our becoming a third-force power making for the reversal and defeat of the Cold War.

It is time for the change. Present policies from Yalta to NATO were formed in the 1945/50 period when we lived in a quite different era. Our world has since been transformed. The empire has gone. The economy has sunk to the extraordinary extent that current manufactured imports (in the workshop of the world!) exceed manufactured exports. Germany is now number one in western Europe. NATO has ceased to be a defensive alliance (the Warsaw Pact likewise), and both are just Cold War agencies of the superpowers. British nuclear weapons are targetted from Utah, and we are an occupied country.

We need an entirely new foreign and defence policy that corresponds to present realities. Under the conditions of non-alignment we would:

- (1) give two years' notice of withdrawal from NATO and withdraw all forces from Germany;
- (2) close all US bases in Britain;
- (3) recast the three services for the defence of these islands only;
- (4) declare ourselves against the Cold War, for the repatriation of all American and Soviet troops everywhere, and for the rallying of all the forces of non-alignment: governments, peoples, movements and the rest to bring the Cold War to an end.

How long would NATO and the Warsaw Pact last if there was a major and continuing defection of allies and clients?



It is a pre-condition of this policy that NATO and the Warsaw Pact have to be in considerable internal disarray. It is beyond reasonable doubt that this condition has now arrived. This was not true five years ago, but things have been breaking up pretty quickly since December 1979. Even governments in Eastern Europe are making awkward noises. And how would a Red Army fare with a hostile Polish people right across its supply lines?

The Moscow Group for Mutual Trust has publicly issued a statement as follows; "that the governments of both countries (USA and USSR) enter into talks on the removal of their armed forces from the territories of all other countries." The attempt made to suppress them has failed. In June 1982 they were 14 strong in one city; now they are 2000 strong in many cities. That may not seem many to us, but we have to remember that in terms of impact one activist in the Soviet Union equals 10,000 in the West.

So this is not really an argument for unilateralism, though it can be read that way. To take steps expressly aimed at the dissolution of both military alliances is an authentic international position, in the context of which we have then to work out what to do for the best so far as our specifically British responsibility is concerned. The two things go together.

All the political parties are dithering hopelessly over foreign policy and defence. Even the Daily Telegraph has published a major feature indicting the cost of Trident and suggesting Cruise instead. The Observer has followed suit. Military opinion is with them - the Establishment is all set to defeat Trident. But for what? Unless informed opinion gets on to this

one we shall end up with just a cheaper way to be a tail-end charlie to Uncle Sam and his Cold War. The rethinking has to go to the root of the matter.

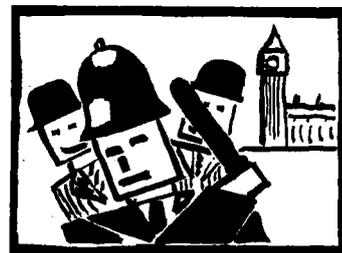
It is interesting that the pioneering book urging British neutrality should come not from the peace movement or from the left, but from Group Captain Peter Johnson DSO, DFC, AFC, an ex-Lancaster and Pathfinder Commander. The book is called 'Neutrality; a Policy for Britain' (Temple Smith, £3.95). Real change is promised when the professionals produce alternatives up to and including confrontation with the policies of the existing establishment.

This brings me back to the beginning. There is no stopping the tide of the movement. Last time we went into decline, in 1963 and for over sixteen years, it was the time of the Test Ban Treaty, the thaw, MAD, and impending detente. There was a respite built into the conditions of the period. There is no such respite now. The question today is rather, "Is the impending crisis to be a military one in Central America or elsewhere, or is it to be a financial one brought on by the cost of the military (US deficit, etc.)?" Either way it promises to be traumatic and to belong to this decade. Thus the desire to get into action to stop the escalation, whatever form it takes.

If we in the movement take a firm hold on militant non-alignment involving the two critical issues of self-determination and the defeat of the Cold War, then we shall start moving again. If we do not, the Terrorists for Peace (!) will multiply and the police state will be much reinforced to deal with them - greatly to the disadvantage of the cause. It is up to us.

Peter Cadogan

Alternative Lifestyles: The Conspiracy Theory



IS THERE A government-inspired conspiracy in operation to stamp out 'alternative' lifestyle communities? The straws in the wind could easily lead people to conclude that there is. The police trashing of the Convoy at Wakefield last August was an outrageous incident, but it is now looking like part of a pattern.

In Wales two alternative communities, the Tipi Village at Talley in Dyfed and Llwyn Piod near Rhayader in Powys, have both been issued with enforcement notices by their respective District Councils. These notices allege that these communities - both established over eight years on land owned by the residents themselves - are in breach of the planning laws (i.e. an unauthorised change of use of agricultural land) and require that everyone should disappear by March (March 14 in the case of Talley). Both communities intend to appeal, and Talley folk are determined to go as far as the European Court of Human Rights if necessary. Support to Tipis Appeal, Wernlas, Cwmdu, Talley, Llandeilo, Dyfed.

In Norwich Argyle Street, one of the largest squats in Britain, was scheduled for eviction in February. Residents were resigned to this eviction taking place; but squatters in future are likely to be in an even worse position because of...

The Criminal Trespass Bill. This was announced in

the Queen's Speech and forms part of the government's 1985 programme: it is likely to be aimed not only at squatters but at anyone trespassing anywhere (e.g. peace campers, free festivals, etc.). When (or if?) this becomes law, it is likely that eviction orders will become unnecessary and trespassers will be liable to immediate arrest.

Stonehenge Free Festival is also under threat. The National Trust have announced that they will take "all necessary action" to ensure that Stonehenge 85 will not take place. They have also sent solicitors' letters to all the voluntary organisations which habitually go to the Henge, demanding written assurances that they will not attend this year and threatening injunctions if these organisations do not comply. So far both Festival Welfare Services and The Samaritans have written back saying that the NT can issue injunctions if it likes (and if it wants the publicity of taking voluntary welfare organisations to court), but that they will be at Stonehenge regardless - unless of course the Trust manages to achieve the impossible by preventing the festival.

Meanwhile, rank and file festival-goers are said to be making contingency plans for huge convoys from various secret assembly points throughout Britain...

Brig Oubridge

I LOVE ARGYLE ST.

Argyle Street in Norwich has some 70 houses and a lot of converted live-in vehicles, a flexible population of up to 200 mainly young people, and so many visitors! Labour-controlled Norwich City Council is currently trying to evict us from our homes - here I will write a little about the unending (hi)story of this street and give a personal sense of what our street is.

We live in a valley in the navel of Norwich. Norwich is an ancient city with a significant part in the civic history of Britain and East Anglia in particular; Norwich now appears to be a small city (with a population of perhaps 150,000) and yet works as a centre for many regional activities; a lot of power (financial, cultural and so on) is invested here - and there also seems to be a strong potential for radical change.

The famous Norwich Castle and Cathedral ley lines meet on the beautiful green at the end of our 1-way street, sheltered by the old city wall and sharing the site of the first settlement in Norwich. Our houses were built by the notorious Colemans for their workers a century ago, and the expanding Colemans factory continues nearby along with a lot of other industry, the railway station, football stadium, red-light area - and Argyle Street is the finest Victorian terrace to have survived the bomb damage of the 40's and the slum clearance of the 50's. Thus juxtaposed with our alternative street is one of the few experimental tower-blocks in Norwich, a monument to the phallic excesses of the 60's.

The Council muttered about "redevelopment" and in the 70's moved "short-term" tenants or "problem families" onto the street and then off into new suburban Council estates. In autumn '79 squatters occupied the empty houses and by 1980 all the street had been reclaimed. Some of the squatters formed a registered "Street Housing Co-operative" and pressured the Council to grant the Co-op a conditional "license of occupation". The Street Co-op was about to receive a £1 million grant from the Housing Corporation for the renovation and purchase of the houses until a last minute intervention by central government (in the guise of Michael Heseltine at the D. of E.) prevented this: and the City Council jumped for their chance to terminate the license and proclaim eviction.

For 2 years we have lived with an intensified "threat from without": state surveillance, media smears, and Council declarations of the undesirability of our homes and community and the need for demolition - we suspect they need another carpark although they have devised plans to build half as many new homes (at twice the cost per unit for even the most sophisticated renovation). It feels as if we're the "enemy within" (to quote Thatcher).

It's not us who need "redevelopment"! We have chosen "do-it-yourself" life as much as we can and with a minimum of assistance - gissa job! - these

houses would be adequate for decades. This September the Council finally took us to the High Court - in London, for fuck's sake! - demanding an immediate and undoubtedly violent winter eviction (the biggest eviction attempted in East Anglia). Despite the property-bias of the law and ongoing harassment by authority, we have forced eviction back to February at the very earliest - and who knows what's going to happen? We have found a few truly "socialist" allies in the Council and have penetrated the tv news and the pages of the Guardian and have generally spread the word and saved our street for another very festive midwinter in this chill valley. Come the confrontation stay tuned for a wild free festival down here!

I love Argyle Street - and this is the only generalisation I can make about this complex living place. Change is constant, with but a handful of the original squatters and Co-op members still here - people come and go in this microcosm. Today Argyle Street, Tomorrow the World.

Statistically our average age is maybe 24 and 2/3 of us survive on girocheques. Yet we are all walks of life: children, parents, unemployed, self-employed, students, craftspeople, engineers, teachers, cats and dogs, you imagine it, they're here. From a genuine rag-and-bones man in his 60's to Shiva who is barely a season old. From T'ai Chi teachers and wholefood shopkeepers to mechanics-for-all-things and healers-for-all-people, families and travellers, people rejected by the Night Shelter and the psychiatrists.

This is a street of experience, of learning and productivity, for growth and creativity, and a place of deprivation and rejection, anger and anarchy, a living "community" (and thus by definition an alternative to the social norm).

We're a very conspicuous large squat in Britain's fastest growing region - I feel Norwich needs us rather than the industrialists. From a street statement this autumn:

"Norwich is a small independent city and we feel our street gives much to local life, especially for younger people increasingly alienated from conventional self-destructive lifestyles ... We are a community attempting to take responsibility for our own lives and homes. We aren't perfect yet we seek to lead peaceful lives without passive dependence on anonymous institutions ... Meanwhile more people are homeless, Council waiting lists are longer, rents are higher. And yet there is no shortage of idle unused property. What are we going to do about it? Who are the criminals? We believe we can create alternatives to mindless destruction and that we should encourage our community, and others, to thrive. People not power!"

Perhaps our street could be a shining self-sufficient alternative urban community. Or we could be just another road of faceless residents, the nuclear families watching Armageddon behind tv sets and closed curtains.

Where do you live? Can you love your street?

ANDREW (Planet Earth HQ c/o 143) end of autumn '84

BADGES and STICKERS

SUNFLOWER BADGES: seven designs, symbols of the green movement's unity-in-diversity. 1" badges in three colours and visible from afar: GND, feminist, yin-yang, anarchist, Christian, Eco, and PoE. Sample set £1 post free; 20 or more (assorted) 12p each; 100+ (assorted) 10p each.

MAKE IT GREEN stickers printed in yellow, gold and green. 3 1/2" x 5 1/2". 30p each; 10 or more 20p each.

STOP ACID RAIN stickers (4 1/2" diameter, yellow and black). 25p each, 10 for £1.75.



PAMPHLETS and BOOKS

POLITICS FOR LIFE (Ecology Party, 36pp.) 50p each, 5 for £2.

COAL and ECONOMIC GROWTH, (Wales Ecology Party, 10pp.) 20p each, 5 for 80p.

EMBRACE THE EARTH (Green GND, 44pp.) Green view of peace. 90p each, 5 for £3.50

ETHICS and NUCLEAR WEAPONS, Jeremy Naydler (Fox and Lantern Press, 22pp.) £1 each, 5 for £4.

GREEN SONGS (Evergreen Press, 24pp.) 50p each.



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How we may do it



IN MY FIRST article (GL 26) I ended by promising to discuss the question of how we go about restructuring society so as to ensure the base really does control the top.

It will be recalled that I urged that since mass societies are entities of power they can only respond to the language of power, (their 'leaders' would cease to be leaders if they did otherwise).

Similarly I urged that morality and moral judgements were matters of human relationships, and that such relationships were only able to dominate political and economic considerations in small-scale communities, if only because that is what a community (as distinct from a mass society) is - a body where personal relationships, rather than the mass society singularities of profit and power, are paramount.

There is a need then to transform our mass societies, which are out of control anyway, (witness, never mind the arms race and pollution, Mrs. Thatcher's abortive attempts to cut government spending, which has continued to leap ahead like a prize greyhound), into an organic, power-dispersed honeycomb of largely self-sufficient and largely autonomous communities in which the affairs of each is governed by the moral consensus of its members.

A free community cannot be planned (or how then can it be free?), neither can it be decreed, it can only grow on the basis of the mutual needs of its members. Every community needs food, clothing and shelter; it also needs sanitation, energy supplies, transport and communications. Perhaps it needs a lot of other things too, schools, hospitals, libraries, theatres, museums, churches and so on. Perhaps it also needs T.V., wireless, cinemas, supermarkets, foreign holidays, dishwashers, etc. etc...

A free community may feel it can make its list of needs as long as it likes, but one truth emerges in doing so; the longer the list the greater the dependence on other communities and, since as our American friends are apt to remind us, there is no such thing as a free lunch, the less freedom it yields.

There is then an inverse ratio between the extent of our 'needs' and the extent of our freedom. This is not a new discovery, but a glance at the manifesto of the Ecology Party is enough to indicate the extent to which it is apt to be overlooked.

In our mass societies the sums spent on consumerist propaganda tend to rival those spent on schooling; it should occasion little surprise that as a consequence few of us have the remotest idea about what our real needs are.

This then will be one road of advance, to team up with our neighbours to define our real needs and then set about promoting and defending them.

For example: a silent bureaucratic revolution is currently underway by the Post Office aiming at the closure of numerous local sub-post

offices.

Old people, infirm people and others will have to walk much further to the post office and queue much longer when they get there; people will tend to do their shopping there rather than in their local community area and the distant super-market will then replace the local retailer. What this means is that we are taking a giant stride towards a more impersonal way of life, towards a greater degree of remote (and no doubt computerised) control, and a general process of enmassification accompanied by the further disintegration of community life.

Faced with this prospect one or two of us in our own neighbourhood in one of the more prosperous parts of London began to make some counter-moves; a petition against the closure was signed by nearly a thousand people in less than two weeks; no street or doorstep canvassing was needed, just a pile of forms and a notice in a single shop. A well-attended meeting was called and post office officials grilled. A group of a dozen or more arranged to meet the local M.P. who was cool at first but soon warmed when he saw the way the wind of feeling was blowing in a highly marginal constituency, and began to send letters here and there on our behalf.

We decided to have an open air demonstration-cum-party. Over thirty people crowded in to a keen campaigner's flat just to plan it! One had a friend who ran a pop group, another was into public address equipment, others offered to help with bunting and balloons, arc lights, refreshments, posters, bookstall, radio and T.V. fancy hat competition - the thing took off ...

It is highly significant that this action was not initiated by any of the political parties, (not even by the Ecology Party, which responded to an invitation to participate with silence). They, (apart from the Ecologists), soon came in on the act however, when they realised the extent of people's feelings that had been aroused.

It is too early to report the outcome of this campaign. Over 300 people attended the protest party and the organisers wisely ensured that a good time was had by all. What can be reported is a quite significant raising of the level of local community consciousness.

Chatting around I hear people ask why there is no casualty clinic in the neighbourhood, why nothing is done to check the car menace, why the state comprehensive school is so ridden with hooliganism and poor standards of achievement, why can't the police control crime ...

Two points may be noted. First, as the current breakdown of effective government continues there is almost bound to ensue a variety of forms of protest against the consequences. Unemployment and inflation are not going to go away, neither is the drug scene, and we can look for further cuts in 'welfare' and other state forms of social provision. The winter of our discontent is going to get much worse before it gets better.

This means there will arise numerous opportunities for local forms of community leadership to assert

itself and to campaign for amelioration, to raise local awareness of the local forms of power which can mobilise itself to protect and advance local community powers and interests.

This will strike some as an elaborate gospel of quietism, a form of retreatism into the purile politics of the parish pump when would-be leaders ought to be mobilising the masses for the next mass demonstration against this or that giant evil ...

It could be so, but there is one campaign the modern era has never seen, and that is one based on a clear understanding of the extent to which current centralised forms of power are only possible on the basis of historically fairly novel forms of the usurpation of local power and that only a readiness to redress that usurpation can provide the requisite leverage to end the abuses of centralised power. A campaign which is based on a clear-sighted awareness of the need for this redress and which seeks the use of consensual community power to end the abuses of central power could not only cut the ground from under the feet of the centralised mass parties (as our post office campaign did), but provide precisely the dynamic form of strategy the alternative movement until now has so obviously lacked.

With such a strategy it would be possible for local activists, whether in the peace or the ecology movements, to identify themselves with neighbourhood discontents and to seek their rectification, not by pressurising the central government to do this or that, but by promoting an awareness of the reality of local forms of power and how people in-community can use it to achieve their own solutions to their problems.

The musculature of community life is nowadays

slack and feeble from disuse, whilst state power is so gross and swollen as to threaten us all with terminal forms of excess. But that musculature, given some regular exercise and the kind of wise and far-seeing leadership which nature provides in abundance in every community, can be reinvigorated and made a force in the land which no central government dare ignore, if only because such a force would be speaking and acting not in the name of people but as people, it would be the power of people - in - community, and as would proceed to fashion larger forms of government (but only where they were necessary) according to its own needs; in doing so it would be asserting that within its grasp at last lay the power and the prospect of accomplishing the regeneration of our entire sick, shambling and dying civilisation.

This regeneration is not something which can be accomplished overnight, it is a path full of ups and downs and twists and turns, but it is one which holds the promise, more than any other, of going in the right direction. And let it not be assumed too easily that the route will be as long as all that.

We are living in a phase of rapid fluctuation on quite fundamental questions, many old social forms are crumbling with unprecedented speed and the future may well belong to those who have made a proper diagnosis of the crisis and who consistently propose a well-grounded solution.

John Papworth



SOME FACTS OF LIFE & DEATH

- FACT 1.** Vegetation supports all life on earth. Without it all life would cease.
- FACT 2.** As the human population rapidly rises the point has been reached where vegetation is being used faster than it is growing.
- FACT 3.** Increasing world industrialization is increasing the destruction of vegetation through the manufacture of throwaway goods and pollution.
- FACT 4.** Only 11% of the earth's land area is suitable for prime agriculture. Most of that is already under cultivation and up to 17 million acres of cropland is permanently lost every year - 125,000 acres in Britain.
- FACT 5.** When the soil dies, as is happening worldwide at between 3% and 8% per annum, people cannot be kept alive indefinitely with food from other countries.
- FACT 6.** Soil is dying in Britain too.



CO₂
**NUCLEAR
 POWER**
 Toxic Waste
 Pesticides
 Nitrates



Proliferation
 of chemicals
 Food
 Degradation
 Ozone layer
 depletion
 etc. etc.

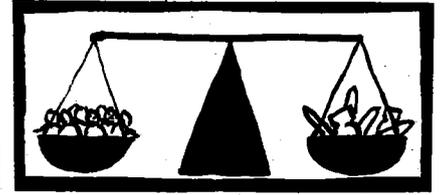


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In the Balance

The London Nuclear Warfare Tribunal



IT WOULD BE hard to summarise such a grandiose event in which so many leading world experts were gathered together for four days to debate the legality of current nuclear strategy, an entirely unique event in this country. But here are the three reasons given by Professor John Griffiths as to why possession of nuclear weapons is illegal (Griffiths is lecturer in law at University College, London).

Firstly, under article 6 of the Nuremberg Charter the preparing and planning of a war which would be in contravention of international law was defined as criminal: a "crime against peace". Secondly, conspiracy to genocide or public incitement to commit genocide is outlawed by the 1948 UN Genocide Convention. Thirdly, under British domestic law the use of nuclear weapons would be illegal and therefore current preparations for nuclear war constitute a conspiracy under British domestic law. He added that under statute law one may use "such force as is reasonable" in prevention of a crime one believed was about to be committed. To the objection that our leaders were not intending to use these weapons, he explained that one was not obliged to show this, merely under the Nuremberg Code to show that preparation for illegal war was taking place.



Italian MEP Luciana Castellino brought in an entirely new angle to the debate by showing how US behaviour within NATO has progressively abrogated the rights and constitutions of the European nations concerned. Since 1959, she explained, there had been no discussion in the Italian parliament of the nuclear weapons stationed in their country. West Germany had received chemical weapons in the '50s without the government being asked. Airland Battle (the combined nuclear, chemical, biological and conventional NATO strategy) was approved by the US but not by any European NATO states, who had merely approved an entirely different NATO deep strike strategy (FOFA); yet armies were being integrated along Airland Battle lines.

Possession or Use?

Lawyers get hung up on the "possession" versus "use" dichotomy. It is relatively to show that the latter would be illegal, but harder to agree on the former. The stated position of the British government is that both would be quite legal! On the day spent debating nuclear strategy, much of the evidence argued that the current state of the nuclear arms race was likely to lead to use - probably, opined Paul Rogers, in the next decade. Various speakers, such as Dan Smith, emphasised how "deterrence" was a virtuous-

sounding but highly misleading term, partly because NATO has always had a first-use policy and partly because we have vastly more nuclear weapons than are necessary for old-fashioned deterrence (i.e. the ability to inflict unacceptable damage in a retaliatory second strike).

In the section on medical and environmental effects of nuclear war, it was shown that initial "nuclear winter" effects get triggered by as little as 100 megatons released. This gives Trident by itself the ability to inflict a global ecocide through a nuclear winter...

During consideration of the moral implications of nuclear war, Bruce Kent, speaking as a Catholic priest who has been withholding nuclear arms tax for some time now, referred to the Nuremberg obligation that citizens should not obey illegal state orders, and to the ethical imperative to uphold international law despite the state seeming uninterested. He added that he didn't reach decisions to transgress domestic law to this end at all easily, and only after prayer and much thought. (It is amusing to reflect that Tribunal came about through exploratory debate within the Ecology Party as to whether legal grounds existed for withholding nuclear arms tax: I'm sorry to report however that the Ecology Party Council is not about to distinguish itself by withholding that tax on behalf of its employees...)

The press and media boycott of the event was startling. The Telegraph disclosed on its front page that we were a "new thrust in Soviet covert propaganda", the whole project being masterminded from Moscow (honest!). The Grauniad managed to report it because of the Russian lawyer Tairov being refused a visa on the grounds that his presence in this country "would not be conducive to the public good". Otherwise, silence. The BBC interviews were made, but not shown.

Tairov's paper on "International Law and the Use of Nuclear Weapons" was read out in his absence. It included a review of the UN resolution 1653 of 1961, which had been passed by an overwhelming majority, and declared that use of nuclear weapons would be a direct violation of the UN charter as well as a crime against humanity.



It was the panel of judges that gave a sense of history to the occasion. They were a very distinguished Nobel Prize-winning group, and Sean McBride and Richard Falk in particular were the very best people we could have hoped to get as world experts on international law vis-a-vis the nuclear issue. Some said our judges were not impartial, being known for

their anti-nuclear stance. But then, the judges at Nuremberg were committed to being anti-Nazi, were they not?

Although all the government departments and pro-NATO organisations - even the International Institute for Strategic Studies - declined with one accord to take part, an attempt was made to present the "opposition" (i.e. government) view by rigorous cross-examination. Here Lawyers for Nuclear Disarmament (formed as recently as 1982) came into their own. In particular the brilliance of the two co-chairs of LND, Edward Rees and Owen Davies, was evident in the way they took witnesses through their cases. So each speaker had one lawyer to elicit their evidence, and then another who attempted to take it apart. This brought a lot more drama into the process than merely listening to speeches could have done.

US lawyer Professor Francis Boyle pointed out that US Star War plans will unequivocally negate the ABM (Anti-Ballistic Missile) Treaty; that the SALT-1 accord is conditional upon the ABM Treaty, so would collapse with it; that SALT-2 is conditional upon SALT-1 being observed; and that Article 6 of the Non-Proliferation Treaty requires "good faith" in disarmament negotiations between the superpowers. The UK government is fully supporting the US in a strategic endeavour which will bring all the major nuclear arms treaties down like a pack of cards.

A new event

Partly because it was such a new event, the steering committee could not clearly envisage what it was going to be like or how impressive it would be. So the advance publicity did not bring in huge crowds. The hall at the City University was about half full. The title "Nuclear Warfare Tribunal" had not inspired the presence of many who would in fact have greatly appreciated the event. One feels that Britain, the country which invented parliament and trial by jury, now has a vital role in affirming the primacy of the principles of international law as a basis for the survival of civilisation at a time when the laws of war seem to have disintegrated completely.

The Ecology Party contributed £1000 for the event, CND £5000, and the Swedish Government £5000 (Ed Rees simply wrote and asked them for it!) - and we overshot this shoestring budget by only £3000. Suggestions welcome!

Copies of the Interim Declaration drawn up by the judges and read out at the end of the event are available price 10p from the Ecology Party or CND offices, and are strongly recommended for your local group to peruse. The complete judgement is being written up now, and will be distributed at the United Nations in April. It is intended to publish this, as well as an edited version of the evidence submitted.

INTERNATIONAL LAWS AND MASS DESTRUCTION

HAGUE CONVENTIONS, 1907. These prohibit "arms... calculated to cause unnecessary suffering" and "the attack ... of towns, villages, dwellings or buildings which are undefended is prohibited".

GENEVA GAS PROTOCOL, 1925. Prohibiting any use of poison gas, this Protocol was respected in World War 2, and it is argued that it must apply to radioactive fallout from nuclear weapons.

UN CHARTER, 1946. Prohibits the "use or threat of force".

NUREMBERG PRINCIPLES, 1950. Established that no one

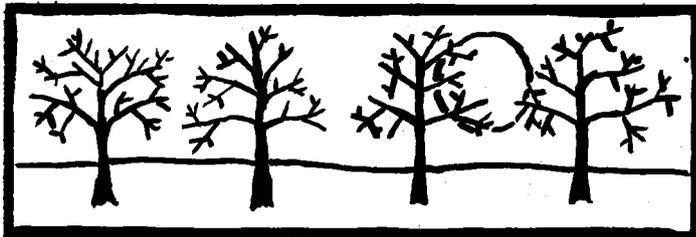
is exempt from personal responsibility to international law, and that obeying orders given is no excuse. The "crime against peace" of "preparing and planning ... a war of aggression" was formulated and "participation in a common plan or conspiracy" to that end was also a crime.

UN GENOCIDE CONVENTION, 1948. "Conspiracy to commit genocide", "direct and public incitement to commit genocide", and "complicity in genocide" shall be punishable - whether the persons concerned "are constitutionally responsible rulers, public officials, or private individuals." Britain's own Genocide Act (1969) derived from the UN Convention.

GENEVA CONVENTIONS, 1949. Gave immunity from attack to civilians as a group: "reprisals against protected persons and their property are prohibited". Britain's Geneva Conventions Act (1957) gave effect to this Convention.

ADDITIONAL PROTOCOL I, 1977. Confirms and extends the protection of civilians. Parties to the Convention are obliged to determine the legality of the use of any new weapons system before developing it.

Nick Kollerstrom



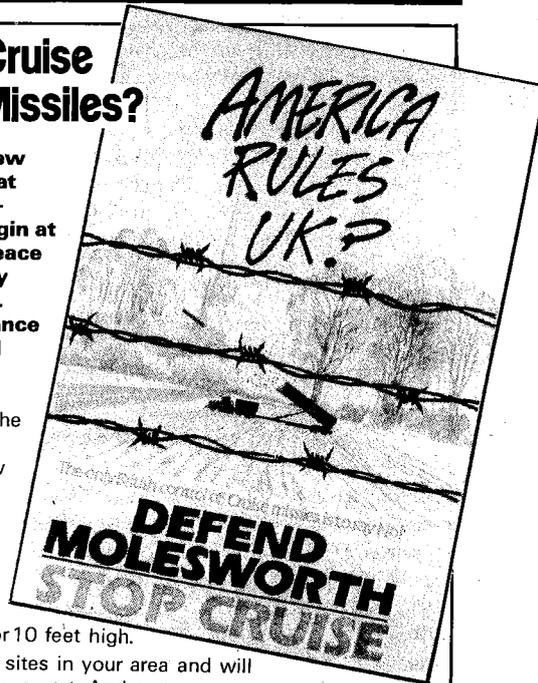
More Cruise Missiles?

Construction of a new cruise missile base at Molesworth in Cambridgeshire could begin at any time. But the peace movement is already mobilising to stop it. This Easter, for instance there will be several major marches to Molesworth.

PAC is helping with the relaunch of its anti-cruise poster with a new 'Defend Molesworth, Stop Cruise' slogan. Both this and the original 'Save Britain, Stop Cruise' version will be available in 4 and 16 sheets, that's 5 or 10 feet high.

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TOES. AND THE NEW ECONOMICS



WHAT IS THE new economics? It is easier to say what it is not or cannot be than to try to define it.

It is currently 'economic' to cut down rainforests, destroy topsoil, burn fossil fuel like there was no tomorrow, and uproot communities for roads or development schemes. The 'old economics' is best characterised by a kind of compartmentalised thinking which abstracts from human society a few chosen concepts (such as labour and capital, production and consumption) and manipulates them while ignoring the rest of what makes society human.

What has the old economics forgotten? Two things: firstly, the essential interconnectedness of things, and secondly the values that must guide any science if it is truly to contribute to society.

From disillusion with economists and despair at the acceptance that non-economists give to current notions, a widespread movement for a 'new economics' has sprung up. It has come mostly from the grass-roots - local enterprises, community currencies, co-operative ventures, skills exchanges, and so on - with help from networks like Turning Point. Pointing the way have been a few writers like Fritjof Capra, Johan Galtung, and above all Fritz Schumacher who gave 'Small is Beautiful' the subtitle 'Economics as if People Mattered'. Now The Other Economic Summit (TOES) has come on the scene with its second open rally and conference on 16 - 19 April at Bedford College, London.

As yet it is unclear whether the New Economics is a new economic theory, or a new set of economic methods, or just more enlightened economic policies. Adam Smith, Ricardo, Marx, Marshall, Keynes and the latter day monetarists like Friedman have each in their own way made contributions to theory which have had enormous effects in practice. Keynes himself said that practical men were often the unwitting slaves of some defunct economist! Will there be some apostle of the New Economics to rival these men, replacing the 'invisible hand' of Smith and the 'surplus value' of Marx with something altogether new? As a contribution to a new theory of economics, human needs is to be one of the themes of TOES II with papers from Manfred Max-Neef and the Future in Our Hands movement in Norway.

Perhaps the New Economics is not about a new theory so much as a new set of methods. We need better ways of measuring real wealth than the ludicrous GNP, to which all money expenditures contribute whether on instruments of death or on videos or on schools. Under current accounting methods the resources we take from nature are 'free' - the only cost is the cost of extraction. So resource accounting and budgeting, real wealth measures, and generally dethroning money from its dominant position - these are clearly part of the agenda. New economic indicators is another of the themes of TOES II, with Hazel Henderson and Paul Sparrow producing the keynote papers.

And perhaps again the New Economics is more about working out practical economic policies to make the world a safer and better place to live in. This is already happening on the edges and at the grassroots of political life. The Ecology Party advocates Community Rent, resources taxation, Basic Income, decentralisation of taxation to local governments ('tax-cap' the MoD!), community banks, and other measures. 'Local Socialism' of the sort practised by

the GLC and Sheffield is already getting on with encouraging locally owned and controlled enterprises.

The third theme of TOES II is dependency and self-reliance - how to facilitate 'local economies' and replace trade as a means of exploitation by trade for mutual benefit. The keynote papers are by Johan Galtung and David Weston (on local currencies). Trade is also one of the three subjects treated in depth on one day at TOES II, with papers from Susan George and Frances Stewart.

The subjects treated at TOES II on the other two days are agriculture and health. There is now an emerging consensus in agriculture that capital-intensive methods which destroy the soil and habitats are not as 'economic' as they seem to be, and the conference will be trying to bring together professionals with practitioners and writers advocating organic methods to sharpen their awareness. The day will also have a heavy input on rural development here and in the Third World, with papers from Wangari Maathai of Kenya (on the role of women in agriculture) and Robert Chambers from Sussex University.

The day on health is sponsored by the World Health Organisation, reflecting the consensus already realised among professionals that health is more than how much money is spent on hospitals. So here the purpose is to build on this so as to give economic policy-makers something more substantial to bite on. James Robertson and Peter Draper are among those presenting papers here.

The three 'day subjects' will be treated from the perspective of each of the three conference themes, so that the variety in approach can encourage holistic thinking and wide debate on each subject.

In fact, the New Economics cannot be just a new theory, a new method, or a new policy, but must move on all these levels at the same time. The creation of specialisms and putting ideas in different boxes is part of the disease of the age, and if it is to be overcome then holistic thinking is necessary. 'Economics' itself means the art of managing the house (our planet); not a specialism on its own, but ideas, attitudes and practical wisdom all our thinking and our institutions. When that has been done, we can dispense with the economists!

David Kemball-Cook

** INFORMATION ON TOES

April 16: Rally at 7.30 pm (Friends Meeting House, Euston Road, London NW1).

April 17 - 19: Conference at Bedford College.

Full booking details on receipt of s.a.e.

Also available: Report and Summary of TOES I, price 90p post free.

Write to: TOES Office, 42 Warriner Gardens, London SW11 4DU.

Jonathon Porritt
"Seeing Green"
£3.95 post free
EOA Books 34 Cowley Road Oxford

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India After Indira



INDIRA GANDHI's death has ended a period of Indian history. One of the longest serving leaders in any democracy and probably the Third World's single most effective voice, she was a committed social democratic centralist with a unitary view of Indian nationalism.

Under British rule, India was not a homogeneous unit. Today strong decentralist pressures are present in Kashmir; among the Sikhs in the majority-Sikh state of Punjab; and among many ethnic minorities in the north-east. Opposition parties, both democratic and Stalinist, all favour economic and political decentralisation to state level.

Since returning to office in 1980 Mrs Gandhi chose to increase the power of the 'Centre'. The motivation seems to have been to prevent the creation of regional bases of political opposition. The incidence of the Centre fulfilling functions assigned to states in the Constitution has increased, with the connivance of the judiciary. Measures to decrease press freedom have been passed through a number of state legislatures. All this has been accompanied by a campaign to undermine political opposition. The ruling National Conference in Kashmir was deposed after members of the Legislative Assembly succumbed to Congress (I) money. Opposition governments were not formed after state elections in Haryana and Himachal Pradesh because the Congress (I) bought itself majorities. Rajiv Gandhi ('Mr Clean' in Indian journalistic parlance) apparently initiated the attempt to remove the Telugu Desam government in Andhra Pradesh, but this action failed.

The Indian economy has shown growth in most years since independence in 1947. It has also been the scene of accelerating unemployment, landlessness, and worsening conditions for the poorest. Economic growth has been cruelly uneven: colour TVs, cars, scooters and stereos are among the expectations of the upper 30% of the population; people in the villages generally await a clean water supply. Population growth, which remains at about 2½% despite over 20 years of family planning campaigns, may well have wiped out much of the benefit which might have 'trickled down' to the poor.

I think it can be suggested that the explosion of poverty is directly related to centralism. Crudely,



five year economic plans are designed by the bureaucracy and politicians in New Delhi. State governments do have some revenue raising powers, including indirect taxation, but these are slight compared to

those of the Centre. Indirect taxes generally hit the poorest: for example, a tax added to bus fares in Himachal Pradesh in 1982 raised the cost of vegetables brought in by bus to shops in the village where I was based.

The Centre withholds resources raised by taxation for many kinds of capital-intensive projects: defence research and development; nuclear power; space satellites; coal, oil and steel projects. In general, to pass resources from the Centre to a state government is to pass resources from Congress(I) to Congress (I), since this party rules in most states. Sharing the fetish for capital-intensive projects in cities of their colleagues at the Centre, Congress (I) at state level encourages concentration of economic development in the cities - and haphazard urbanisation follows.

The best rural development projects, land ownership reforms and measures to alleviate poverty are to be found in West Bengal under a Left Front coalition dominated by the Communist Party of India (Marxist). This state includes some of the worst poverty in India (in Calcutta) and it is a measure of the scale of the poverty that the Left Front's comparatively enlightened policies do not counter the effects of population growth or the punitive effects of central government policy. Nowhere can it be said that the most elementary necessities are guaranteed to everyone - only the wealthy consistently enjoy such luxuries as clean water, shelter, a supply of cheap energy, and food.

Rajiv Gandhi obtained 49.3% of the vote in the Indian elections, taking over 400 of the 508 contested seats thanks to the enormous distortion of a 'first past the post' electoral system in gigantic constituencies which make our European ones seem modest. The opposition parties did not present the wavering voter with an encouraging option: their bickering over who should lead the democratic opposition has occupied most of the period since 1980. The electorate seems happy to vote for them at state level, but less ready to see them as a national alternative. The opposition parties are a mixture of social democratic and Stalinist groupings: nothing corresponding to a conservative party exists as a significant force. Three states account for nearly all the opposition representation: Kashmir, Andhra Pradesh and West Bengal.

The future does not seem particularly positive. If Rajiv insists on continuing the Centre - state confrontation, then more ethnic or religious groups will join the Sikhs in advancing their cause by force. What also seems likely is an increase in the use of the external threat to justify authoritarian measures. The mention of foreign powers intervening in Indian affairs featured in many of Mrs Gandhi's public statements from 1980, although the evidence of such intervention has been scanty. The border disputes with China and Pakistan have already been the cause of wars and the possession of nuclear weapons may now be common to these two states and to India. This should not go unremarked in the year of the Review Conference on the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. The southern Asia triangle of antagonistic states with nuclear weapons technology is the only such concentration in the Third World. The prospect of a nuclear war in southern Asia escalating into a global line-up of nuclear powers is not one to make you sleep easily.

Steve Dawe

(Too) Comfortably Green

SEEING GREEN; Jonathon Porritt. Basil Blackwell, paperback, £3.95.

BEFORE MAKING any criticism, let me say I thoroughly enjoyed Jonathon Porritt's book; it is eminently readable, clear, and very persuasive. Those who have encountered Porritt's media and speaking engagements will recognise the style: the book begins with a Guardian quotation and through a mixture of honesty, polemic and a sharp turn of phrase paints the insanity of accepted values leading towards a stirring evangelical conclusion. "We're about as good at managing the planet as Billy Bunter was at managing his tuck-box." Trite, possibly, but true, and the edible metaphors move on to the politicians: "Like garlic before a vampire, they flourish their malodorous promises of full employment before the onrush of the dreaded micro. Such empty words will avail them nought, for they are about to get chomped."

Words to roll around the mouth, and hopefully not easily spat out. The book will certainly be on many a green's Christmas list to justify their seeming cultural insanity to worried friends and relations; all the problems of ecological disaster, economic growth, peace and personal politics are covered in a way understandable to the uninitiated.

This is done, though, in a very comfortable way; and as one of the "eco-anarchists" referred to, who "do not have to live in the real world", that is the book's great failing. It neither points the finger, nor refers to the struggles of everyday life, but rather explains large-scale problems in terms of "opposing world views". Very nice for a Sunday afternoon, but hot air at the factory gate or the dole office. "Metaphysical reconstruction", which is called for, neither heats your room nor explains your existing conflict with your employer or the state. Porritt calls for the recognition of "enlightened self-interest" in all people, lying in their links with the planet. He does not recognise that for most, "self-interest" lies in overcoming their immediate oppression and humiliation by boss, landlord, politician, DHSS worker, etc. Rather than struggling against those with power, he seems to say, we must attempt to change their values - and maybe give them this book.

The section on "Green Economics" exemplifies this. The attack on industrialism and its ethic is excellent, but the suggestions for change - while having some coherence - involve the government "using the full range of sticks and carrots at its disposal, to address the root causes of our current crisis." Carrots, sticks, governments - these are the root causes of the alienation which halts the individual in the creation of his/her own world. Industrialism and the materialistic ethic are grounded in a capitalist (or state capitalist) system where control of work is denied, and the pursuit of profit and power by the minority is the driving force. Porritt's proposals for a form of small-scale capitalism supported by a Minimum Income Scheme and radical taxation only seem to modify this; his "ecological ideal definition of work" fails even to mention ownership. There would be

"a comprehensive training strategy ... to equip school-leavers with marketable skills." Again, not much succour to those on the YTS treadmill.

These plans "seek to change through transformation rather than confrontation," coming from above and below. Unfortunately, confrontation is built into this system and its dissolution - primarily in the economy - is the precondition to any freedom to create our own satisfying and ecologically viable work. Porritt is attempting to change the control and direction of the productive machine through consent and adaption; the machine is the product and property of the controller, and they're not going to hand it over.

These views are supported by yet another trite green dismissal of Marxism which appears to miss the point as drastically as most contemporary Marxists. Taking the cloth cap "proletariat" analysis, Porritt dismisses class conflict completely and talks of some using their power responsibly, and of "the need to serve the general interest of humanity" transcending "any such old-world divisiveness." Far from separating cloth cap from bowler, Marxism - as critique and not ideology - talks of those who own having power and forcing wage-slavery on the rest: what has changed? It is on the picket lines, at Molesworth, in court, at work, and on the box: some control and others dance to their tune. The conflict is not of world views, but of actual oppression. "The poor haven't the luxury and the rich haven't the inclination to think about tomorrow," says Porritt. Nor have they, if tomorrow holds no release from the poverty of everyday life and politics remains something outside them.

In this light, much of the book is comfy green evangelism at its worst; it will create more middle-class lifestyles ("voluntary simplicity is ecology in action") and Eco campaigners, but will not bring rejection and conflict in anyone towards the dissolution of the present order. The OECD is quoted: "Everyone knows that youth employment is the biggest powder-keg in European politics. What we are wondering is, how long is the safety fuse?" Green pressure politics, as represented in this book, will lengthen it, or dampen it altogether. Porritt is right to offer the earth and be honest about the enormous potential for a better world; what he has failed to do is to link this to the realities of people's everyday existence.

A green revolution will not occur through any heart-felt linking of the individual and the earth, but when those who do not have power just can't take the drudgery and humiliation of a controlled life any more. Porritt says of environmentalists: "By trying to make an unworkable system work, they are merely exacerbating the problems; by refusing to distinguish between symptoms and causes, they prove themselves to be mere dilettantes wearing their hearts on their mottled green sleeves." So, it seems, does he.

Mike Hancock

Re-mineralisation and Soil Fertility

THE SURVIVAL OF CIVILISATION. John Hamaker and Don Weaver. Hamaker-Weaver Publishers, Michigan, US. UK distribution: Green Line, 34 Cowley Road, Oxford. £5.95 paperback.

THE MOST SEDUCTIVE arguments are those that bring together many diverse pieces of information that individually make sense, in a seemingly logical manner, to produce an important and novel theory that supports one's heart-held philosophy. Marxism held that appeal earlier this century: Hamaker's will have some of it today, but with less success.

Hamaker's theory is basically this: at the end of glacial epochs, receding ice fields left large amounts of finely ground rock, producing fertile soils; as thousands of years passed, the mineral nutrients thus made available to plants were depleted gradually by natural processes; this caused a fall in the weight of plant material sustained by a given area of land, which resulted in an increase in the atmospheric concentration of carbon dioxide (this should begin to become familiar now). Resultant climatic changes lead to cooling and increased rain in the polar regions, which causes an extension of the polar ice sheets and a return to glacial conditions. Hamaker believes that our farming techniques (by enhancing nutrient depletion in soils) and fossil-fuel burning have hastened this natural and cyclical process: and that by 1990 agricultural production will have been so reduced by global climatic changes that "civilisation will be wrecked and extinct by 1995".

Hamaker's solution to this impending catastrophe is the large scale grinding of rocks and the spreading of the resultant dust over field and forest, the planting of trees, and stopping the use of fossil fuels.

Such an awesome and simple theory has its appeal: perhaps a renegade outside the 'system' has a vision creeping up, unseen by those scientists engaged in detailed study of small parts of this drama.

(Hamaker is a 68 year old, ex-mechanical/design engineer, and published this book himself, presumably because no conventional publisher would do so.)

My first and enduring reaction to this book is that it is the work of an eccentric: however I have tried, it is difficult to avoid that conclusion. For example, Hamaker argues in generalities, not specifics, often a smoke-screen to avoid close scrutiny (such as in the nuclear industry and Government environmental policy documentation). When specific, Hamaker is often unimpressive: for example, in the chapter on food production (p. 23) Hamaker describes how plants obtain nutrients from soils:

"The root tips grow a lot faster than microorganisms can move, so the microorganisms are easy prey to roots. When in intimate proximity to the cell, the flow of protoplasm begins."

If Frank Herbert had been writing this, it would have made sense, but what happens on Dune does not necessarily apply here!

Elsewhere Hamaker quotes from bona fide scientific sources but does so selectively and out of context. To illustrate: Hamaker cites a reference to support his view that nutrient levels do gradually decline interglacially - but the author of the article was referring to a nutrient poor soil in an area with cold wet climate - classic conditions for poor vegetation growth.

My main contentions with Hamaker's theory are that he underestimates the contribution of remineralisation from subsoil layers, that there are no indications that plant biomass is in general limited (although researchers in the field to whom I spoke seemed perplexed by the magnitude of this issue), that terrestrial plant biomass plays a much smaller role in the global carbon cycle than he supposes, and that conventional views of the effects of an increase in CO₂ levels do not suggest such catastrophic impact in this way on agricultural production.

Despite the shortcomings of Hamaker's theory and his off-putting personal style, his book is recommended as a challenge to those with a conventional scientific view of environmental issues: such unconventional views forced this reader to re-evaluate many of his cherished assumptions.

The fundamental theme of Hamaker's book is depletion of soil fertility. The importance of this issue cannot be denied: with dramatic cuts in the budget of the UK Soil Survey, the primary organisation responsible for monitoring the status of soils in this country, I would rather see people rushing to write to their MP about this outrage, than recommend reading this book. The environmental movement cannot state its case without information, and I believe important sources of such information should be fought for. For further details about the Soil Survey, see Harford Thomas' article in the Guardian of February 5, 1985, and Worldwatch Paper 60.

Roger Keyes, Political Ecology Research Group



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Age-Old Principles

Dear GL,

In GL 29 you print attacks on Joe Weston for his "class" analysis of the politics of environmentalism. However, I am afraid these reveal the limitations of the perspectives of the attackers rather than of Weston's critique.

Do thoughtful people in the green movement really imagine that they are talking about a 'new' politics when they direct their scorn at the profit motive or the multinationals, or when they say that social justice and ecology are indivisible? I hardly think so. They are by definition talking about some form of socialism and about the problems which socialism addresses.

But socialism recognises that social justice cannot be attained through a small group of middle-class individuals contemplating their inner souls and values, or calling for a 'new unity' - does anyone really think that the grip which multinationals exert on our resources - ecological, economic and political - will be relaxed without some kind of struggle?

It worries me when I read this obsession of greens with the idea that they have discovered something new. It smacks of Messianic fervour; which usually leads to mental stultification at best, and

Eco-Fascist Danger

Dear GL,

I read with dismay the two letters (GL 29) criticising Joe Weston. Are greens so unable to accept criticism that they must label his letter a tirade? There are certain aspects of his letter which I too would disagree with - such as his seemingly narrow, class analysis of ecological disasters and his apparent belief that the emancipation of the poor will bring them to an end.

However, the criticisms of him in GL 29 made me groan. The green movement may or may not have disassociated itself from the left-right axis, but this does not mean that it can afford to ignore the social problems which have led to the left-right divide in politics. To suggest that the real evils of today's social arrangements lie with multinationals is "astonishingly and profoundly irrational". Multinationals are merely another symptom of the disease.

Quite frankly, social justice and ecology are not indivisible, and if greens believe they are, then they are kidding themselves. I would

at worst something politically more sinister. It is a throwback to the 'new now' movement of the early 1970s which Murray Bookchin so effectively exposed.

To give but one example: Jonathon Porritt says in Seeing Green, "This dual emphasis on decentralisation and internationalism is quite unique to the green perspective." What breathtaking audacity! In fact the dual emphasis derives from age-old anarchist-socialist principles eloquently put, for example, in Kropotkin's Fields, Factories and Workshops (1899) - the work on which Blueprint for Survival leaned so heavily (without acknowledging). I wonder whether greens simply do not know about the roots of their own ideas, or whether they do not want to know.

New politics be blown! That's what the SDP says - and look how tired and jaded their ideas and policies really are. By contrast, the politics of anarchism-socialism are still fresh and stimulating. They do acknowledge the idea of class struggle - updated from Marx or not - and they recognise that the negation of this struggle is the reverse of a new politics: it is the politics of the status quo.

David Pepper
Dept of Social Studies
Oxford Polytechnic, Headington, Oxford

suggest that anyone who does believe this should read such writers as Andre Gorz (whom every green ought to be aware of) and that excellent pamphlet by Raymond Williams, Socialism and Ecology. Both these writers warn of the dangers of eco-fascism. What's that? you say. Well, it's about time you knew. Capitalist society can and will adapt itself to ecological constraints. Of course, profits will not be allowed to suffer: ordinary people will instead. They will be the ones who are forced to pay for the costs of introducing anti-pollution equipment through rising prices and rising unemployment.

Ecology and socialism can learn a lot from each other. In fact if we want to create a better society, a fusion of the two is undoubtedly necessary. It is no use dismissing socialism as out of date. Without the social perspective provided by socialism, ecology will only lead to an eco-fascist state entirely lacking in social justice.

Andrew Ferguson
22 Clouston St (1st right), Glasgow 20

Nicaragua Fund

Dear GL,

The lengthy piece on the US relationship with Central America neglected to give examples of how we here can help the people of Central America.

Cheques made payable to the 'Nicaragua Container Fund' will aid the Nicaraguans in resisting the economic isolation that threatens to undermine the fragile Nicaraguan economy. This project is jointly organised by the Nicaraguan Solidarity Campaign and War on Want, who send materials by container to the August Cesar Sandino Foundation, a non-governmental body. The address is: Nicaragua Container Fund, 20/21 Compton Terrace, London N1 2UN.

Steve Dawe
12 Clyde Street, Canterbury CT1 1NA



More Attacks, Please

Dear GL,

In GL 29 you ask whether or not you should continue to print letters and articles which make personal attacks. In my view, yes, you should continue to do so. The way our society is currently structured means that the responsibility for many important decisions rests with one individual. Everyone must therefore be prepared to be criticised for any opinions they may hold and any acts they may consequently do.

Rhonwen Evans
19 Sway Road, Morriston, Swansea



Humble Request

Dear GL,

Driven to despair by the state of the world, and not wishing to sit on the sidelines of any positive action in the face of apparently fairly imminent disaster, I have written to the Ecology Party and humbly requested the return of my membership card. Would that I lived in the green fields somewhere; but as I don't the only party trying to bring some green into the town (and from a pretty broad base) is obviously the only political group to which I can belong.

Let's hope, in spite of comments from some of your other readers, I can be of some use in Eco's campaigns, etc.

Penny Newsome
21 South Street, Osney, Oxford

Ecology Building Society

THE ECOLOGY Building Society has just produced an encouraging and optimistic annual report for 1984. There are 871 accounts held with the EBS, with an average of about £990 in each - below the average for building societies generally. Investors can pay in money through their own banks on a bank giro slip, and withdraw by post. During the year £419,900 was advanced with 19 new mortgages of freeholds. "Established investors with suitable properties are given priority, so anyone thinking of buying a small-holding or an inner city house would be guaranteed a mortgage, if there were no hidden problems and provided they had a long-term account with the Society, and provided that if necessary they were prepared to wait for funds to become available.

Many of the mortgages in 1984 were on smallholdings, including one for a commercial goat farm, as well as on a variety of houses for renovation and inner city properties. The society also lent on a low-energy house in Cumbria, and to a hand-made furniture business in Powys. Another loan was on an ordinary terrace house in London to provide capital for a business selling recycled paper products.

Being a small society the EBS says it has to be especially strict in enforcing mortgage repayments, and cannot allow arrears to accrue. And its attitude to ecology is strictly practical and linked to the objective of a sustainable future: "we cannot therefore take any step to support or oppose matters such as the miners' strike or animal rights."

Rainbow Fields

THE PEOPLE evicted from Rainbow Fields are in danger of being forgotten. As we went to press they were still together in the vicinity of Molesworth. They are asking for money to help get their vehicles in order and to equip a school bus. Money can be sent to the "Molesworth Village Account" at Huntingdon Trustee Savings Bank (77-72-09, a/c 11897968; or write to 'Rainbow Fields in Exile', c/o Catworth Post Office, Catworth, Huntingdon, Cambs.

Books for Children

LETTERBOX LIBRARY is a book club - the only one of its kind - which specialises in non-sexist and multi-cultural children's books. "We select books which show both boys and girls as independent, resourceful, caring and emotional. We look for books which show children living in a variety of different settings, and which reflect our multi-ethnic society." For an initial fee of £2.50 you receive catalogues and newsletters once a quarter, with a commitment to buying at least three books in your first year of membership out of a choice of over 60. Details from Letterbox Library, Children's Books Co-operative, 1st Floor, 5 Bradbury Street, London N16 8JN.

Nukes are Good for You

"BATHERS IN the Thames at Purley need have no fears that the effluent to be discharged there from the Aldermaston Research Establishment will be harmful. In fact the presence of radioactive properties in the water might prove beneficial and encourage people to have a dip, it was stated at Tuesday's meeting of Bradfield District Council (by Medical Officer of Health Dr. L P de Cosobadie)."

From the "Newbury Weekly News" of 10.5.51 (thanks to Rip Bulkeley).

Pacific Women Tour

TWO WOMEN involved with the grass-roots Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific movement will be touring Britain in March to tell us directly of their struggles.

Rosa Palacios, a public health education worker from Spain, will be talking about Japanese nuclear waste dumping and the effects of the US nuclear testing programme in Micronesia. Titewhai Harawira from Aotearoa (Maori for New Zealand) who is very involved with the Pacific Peoples Anti-Nuclear Action Committee and the Waitangi Action Committee will talk about Maori sovereignty and Aotearoa's role in the Pacific

Slow Boat to Runcorn

THERE USED to be an extensive canal network in England carrying most of the freight traffic in the early years of industrialisation. Today most goods are carried by road - to the detriment of energy resources, the environment, and safety.

Slowboat is a new co-operative which is being formed to develop canal transport as an alternative to the roads. Their first project is the operation of a 70 foot passenger carrying narrow boat between London and Runcorn in Cheshire. This will start at Easter, providing relatively cheap canal holidays, with concessions for claimants, meat-free weeks for vegetarians, and a male-free zone on the boat for women. If there is sufficient demand, some women-only weeks may be arranged.

Once the passenger service is established, Slowboat hopes to start carrying goods.

At present the Slowboat collective consists of 5 women and 4 men, who try to share all the tasks and skills in a non-sexist way. As well as the running of the boat, there are several other linked projects including boat-building, waterside land liberation, and the creation of a mobile canal community on communally-owned boats.

If you are interested in participating in any of these projects, or in travelling by canal boat for a few days, contact Slowboat, 39 Botley Road, Oxford (enclose a large sae); or phone 0865 247675.

Dover's Green International

DOVER IS the venue for a major green event this month, when 600 people from this country and Europe are expected to attend the second European Green Congress from March 22 - 24.

The Congress has five main themes.

(1) A Europe of Regions examines the political implications of devolution and looks at physical and cultural units. Speakers include Bob Eyre (UK), geographer and author of *The Wealth of Nations*; and Leopold Kohr (Austria), writer on autonomous development and a winner of the 1983 Right Livelihood Award.

(2) Agriculture looks at the effects of European agriculture on Third World countries, and how new farming practices can be introduced in Europe. Speakers include Friedrich-Wilhelm Graefe zu Baringdorf (West Germany), MEP Green spokesperson on agriculture; David Hodges (UK), reader in rural resources at Wye College of Agriculture; and a speaker from the African Women's Association for Development.

(3) Green Economics deals with economics at all levels: speakers will

include Willy Roe (UK), Centre of Employment Initiatives, Glasgow; Theo Potma (NL), Director, Centre for Energy Saving; and Christian Comeliau (France), an expert in international economic development.

(4) Green Politics in Action looks at what greens can achieve when they gain power at various levels of government. Successful candidates (at one level or another) from the UK, Guernsey, Belgium, France, West Germany, Finland will take part.

(5) Challenges: a two-hour Rally on the Saturday night will present the Green challenge on a number of levels. Among the speakers will be Fritjof Capra, Rudolf Bahro, Mary Kaldor (Editor of *END Journal*), Janet Johnstone (Amnesty International), Petra Kelly (probably), and Jonathon Porritt.

There will be workshops and discussion groups after the plenaries for the first four themes above, with speakers continuing the debate in a smaller forum. There will be additional workshops on coal, the

media, peaceful direct action, and racism and immigration - and on other topics.

Simultaneous translation will be available for all main speeches, in French, German, Dutch and English. In addition to most western European countries, participants are expected from Australia and the US.

The Congress is preceded by the Ecology Party's Spring Conference, to include a debate on Northern Ireland.

Bookings close on March 9th: general enquiries should be sent to Gundula Dorey, 14 Goldney Road, Clifton, Bristol BS8 4RB (tel: day, 0454 311109; evening 0272 276812). Booking forms should be sent to Mrs Christine Taylor, Tourist Information Centre, Townwall Street, Dover CT6 1JR (tel: 0304 205108). The registration fee for the whole event is £9, accommodation and meals extra.

New Green Groups

GLASTONBURY Green Group, 14 Selwood Road, Glastonbury, Somerset. 0458 33062.

TUNBRIDGE WELLS Ecology Party: Anne Bolton, 31 Woodbury Park Road, Tunbridge Wells; where meetings are held on 2nd Wednesdays.

CREWE South Cheshire Ecology Party, c/o Quickening Pulses, 131 Derrington Ave, Crewe, Cheshire. Tel 0270 666087. Crewe Animal Rights Group at same address.

HORSHAM Green Group; Trevor King, 97 Oakhill Road, Horsham, West Sussex, RH13 5LH.

READING: new student green group at Balmershe College of Higher Education, Earley, Reading RG6 1HY. Contact Pete Winters c/o SU office.

LLANTRISANT (Mid-Glamorgan) Green Group: ring Jan on Llantrisant 223033, or Tony on 225801; or write to Gelli-onen Cottage, Alexandra Terrace, Llantwit Fardre, Mid-Glamorgan.

TOOTING Ecology Party, 76b Culverden Road, London SW12 9LS. Tel: 01-677 0123 (Mark Neville).

STAFFORDSHIRE Green Network, 67 Tamworth Street, Lichfield, Staffs (Tel. 23034 - Nick Harvey).

Green Attunement

MANY PEOPLE in the movement are now sharing a few minutes together each day, despite the distances that separate them, as a result of an initiative started by Cynthia Warth of Essex. Experiencing a sense of loss as she returned home from a recent Eco conference, Cynthia decided to put around the idea that people could take part in a great 'Green Attunement' twice each day.

At 8 a.m. there's a short attunement, thinking of something that puts you in touch with others in the movement. Then from 6 to 6.30 you can take part in a meditation - joining in a "powerful corporate thought that blankets the country".

We will happily pass on any ideas you have for spreading the idea and making it more effective: meanwhile twice a day we'll be thinking of you ...



Anarchist Picnic

THERE'S AN anarchist picnic on Hampstead Heath on Sunday May 5th at 1pm by the bandstand. The slogan: Booze not Cruise. See some old friends

THREE QUESTIONS

How can European Greens

- hold a successful congress without interpreters ?
- contact peace people and greens in Eastern Europe ?
- protect minority languages against the pressures of linguistic imperialism ?

ONE ANSWER

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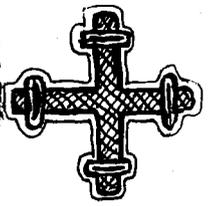
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IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE



"THERE WAS an ancient yearn in man, to yield and be dissolved, in flow and rhythm with the earth. But risen so proud from beast's estate, face raised, he mirrors his newfound will and reason in the sky, and calls that God and father, Higher Will. From that, he wields submission down, to stem and scorch this flowing in him, chastened by Will and seared with Reason, lies wived dead to him in fetters he calls Order. Look at the triumph of it in a bloodshed screaming earth. The heart is mother to the truer man. She'll burn in him, burn him through all Reason and all Law."

This quotation comes not from a green feminist, as one might suppose, but from David Rudkin's modern translation of Euripides' "Hippolytus", written originally around 428 BC. In both Hippolytus and his final play, The Bacchae, Euripedes exposes the imbalance caused by the denial of any aspect of nature whether human or otherwise. Euripedes lived at a time when the development of the city states in Greece was changing the consciousness of the inhabitants from that of the collective to that of the individual, from that of an intuitive connection with nature to a more materialistic approach to life. As Margli Matthews stated in GL 23, "the Greco-Roman era has been identified by many as the time when the forces of the feminine and masculine battled each other for power." She goes on to say that the masculine force finally came out on top. According to H D F Kitto in "Greek Tragedy", for instance, the word Zeus originally meant "lighting up", but later came to mean "he who illuminates".

The change in consciousness, however, was an on-going change; it did not suddenly happen in the Greco-Roman era, but simply accelerated at this time. Further back into the Greek past, for instance, the form of cult appears to have been closer to the Bacchic form of worship; that of identifying with the god or goddess who symbolises an aspect of nature, rather than that of worshipping a god as a separate entity. On a signet ring from the 15th century BC in Crete, for instance, women are dancing ecstatically amongst spring flowers, giving rise to the epiphany of a goddess; this is a dance to celebrate the arrival of spring and the spirit which symbolises it. This close relationship with nature and the elements, as well as the symbols for the aspects of Mother Earth, are represented in much of the Minoan art from Crete which was produced between 2000 and 1400 BC.

However, both the society of the 5th century BC Greece and of 15th century BC Crete were hierarchical structures dependent on slaves and bureaucracy. It is false therefore to imagine that the positive elements I have pointed out in their religions directly reflect the societies in which they existed, as well as the consciousness. Religions tend to be conservative, and therefore although certain aspects are changed to suit the requirements of a society, other aspects - including much of the mythology and symbolism - take much longer to change. In Ancient Greece, priestesses and female deities were held in high esteem, and yet women were treated as subordinates. The Minoan cult of the Great Goddess was one which reached as far back as the earliest humans who inhabited

Europe during the Ice Age and who, like some of the early Minoans, worshipped in caves.

A few societies still existing within recent times did not go through the process of change which the Aegean societies experienced. A study of these, coupled with anthropological and archaeological finds, points to the likelihood that at one time the positive elements of pagan religion truly reflected the way in which people lived. In the Ecology Party's 1983 Election Manifesto, for instance, is a quote from Chief Seattle: "How can you buy or sell the sky? We do not own the freshness of the air or the sparkle of the water... The white man does not understand our ways."

Before they were overrun by the white man, a number of North American Indian tribes not only had a religion which stipulated a belief in the oneness of man with nature, but their lifestyle was also wholistic and not materialistic or exploitative. They lived in relative harmony with one another and nature, particularly when compared with the larger civilisations which have existed for at least 10,000 years and which have in recent centuries multiplied, increasingly losing an awareness of their roots.

The anthropologist Richard Leakey has studied modern hunter-gatherer nomadic African tribes in conjunction with his study of man's distant past and origins. In these tribes, such as the !Kung, he reveals that there is a high degree of cooperation and equality. Leakey's anthropological evidence shows that we were originally hunter-gatherers who evolved language, social make-up and culture due to a heightened desire for cooperation and sharing which was exceptional in the animal kingdom. He concludes in "The Making of Mankind" by saying that people are not innately self-centred and aggressive, and states:

For me the search for our ancestors has provided a source of hope ... We should be able to appreciate that a balance of nature exists ... With our global perspective comes a global responsibility, a responsibility both for the other members of the human race and for the many forms of life with which we share our world.

J C Cooper, in "Yin and Yang", refers to the spiritual quest of the journey back to the centre, "the primordial state which Hinduism calls balya, childhood." We need to come to an understanding of our roots in order to be conscious of the nature of humanity. We are not essentially greedy, materialistic and warlike; humanity has only drifted in that direction due to sociological developments which have alienated mankind from both himself and his surroundings. The consciousness of our roots has been kept alive, however, by such people as Euripedes, William Morris and Gandhi.

Green, socialist, communist and anarchist ideas are not a new phenomenon; they are a realisation of the positive essence in humanity which, though abused increasingly over the last 10,000 years, has always existed. If we can come to terms with the developments in consciousness and mistakes humanity has made, we can feel more confident in our ideals and convictions.

Jo Clarke

illustrations from Cretan pottery - 2000 to 1500 B.C.