

# GREEN LINE

New Age or New Right?

Capra's Challenge

Socialist Ecology

Men and Sexuality

Women's Space

May 1985 ☆ 40p



# GREEN LINE

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# CAPRA'S CHALLENGE

FRITJOF CAPRA'S address to the Second European Green Congress in Dover in March was entitled 'Challenges to the European Green Movement'.

I AM a scientist, and my main interest over the past fifteen years has been in the profound change of ideas and values - the profound shift of paradigms - that is now happening in our culture. The old paradigm, which is now slowly receding, has shaped our modern civilisation for the past three hundred years and has also significantly influenced the rest of the world through our technology. This world view comprises a number of ideas and beliefs, for example:

- the view of the material world as a mechanical system, consisting of fundamental building blocks;
- the view of the human body as a machine;
- the view of life in society as a competitive struggle for existence;
- the belief in unlimited material progress through economic and technological growth;
- the belief that a society in which the female is everywhere subsumed under the male follows some basic law of nature.

Over the last few decades, all these assumptions have shown themselves as being very limited and in need of radical revision; and such a revision is now indeed taking place.

The new vision of reality is based on deep ecological awareness; the awareness of the fundamental interconnectedness and interdependence of all phenomena, and of the embeddedness of individuals and societies in the cyclical processes of nature. Such deep ecological awareness, ultimately, is spiritual, because the experience of being embedded in nature, of being connected to the cosmos and to all life, is the very essence of spiritual, or religious, experience.

The new paradigm is now being developed both within science and outside of science. In science, the new systems theory of life that emerged from cybernetics seems to be the most appropriate scientific formulation of the ecological paradigm. In society, the new concepts and values are being developed and promoted by a large number of movements: the ecology movement, the peace movement, the feminist movement, the many citizens' movements and initiatives, various groups that formed out of the student movements and the radical left, the holistic-health and human-potential movements, various spiritual movements, and several other grassroots movements.

During the sixties and seventies, these movements operated largely separately, but at the beginning of the eighties they began to coalesce, recognising that they represent merely different facets of the same new vision of reality. At that time - at the beginning of our decade - two new social phenomena took place. One was the emergence of global awareness; of the awareness that even though we have to act locally, in decentralised ways, we also have to think globally, because our major problems today are global problems. The other phenomenon was the emergence of the Green movement, which I see as the political manifestation of the cultural shift to the new paradigm.

At this time, at the midpoint of the 1980s, I can see

three major challenges for the European Green Movement.

1 The first challenge comes from the fact that the shift to the new ecological vision is a profoundly evolutionary phenomenon with many, many aspects. If the Green movement wants to translate that shift into political reality, it has to be very broad and comprehensive. The main insight of systems thinking - that in any living system the whole is more than the sum of its parts - can also be applied to the Green movement. Thomas Ebermann, member of Die Grünen in Hamburg, put it well when he said: "Those who define themselves as 'the real Greens' make a mistake and are dishonest. The Greens are that spectrum that has come together, and no one can say he is the authentic Green."

2 The second major challenge, I believe, will be to find a synthesis between ecological wisdom and social justice, between science and ethics, between the ecology movement and the post-Marxist radical left. The problem in these three contrasts is the same: how to apply ecological insights to the human condition, how to integrate human consciousness in its multiple manifestations into the new vision of reality.

3 The third challenge arises from the success of the European Green movement. All over Europe, the established parties are now competing with each other to be the first to present Green themes as their own. Three weeks ago, in Holland, I heard a slogan of the Dutch Social Democrats: "Red is greener than you think." In Italy I saw a big poster of the PCI (Italian Communist Party) covered almost entirely with green paint, with the headline: "This is a red proposition." And in Germany I witnessed the electoral victory of Oskar Lafontaine in Saarland, who was able to completely absorb the momentum of the Green Party by aligning himself with their values.

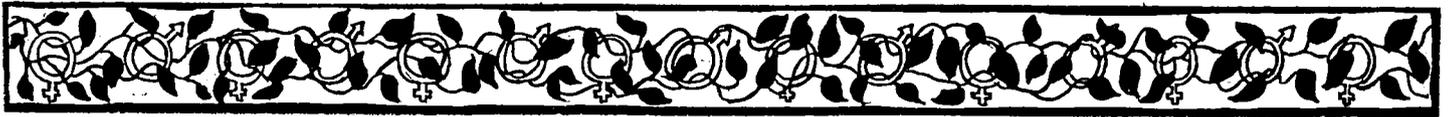
The challenge for the European Greens in this situation seems to be twofold. On the one hand they have to welcome - without being seduced by power politics! - the greening of the established parties, even though it is a slow process and, at first, often limited to mere lip service.

On the other hand the Greens have to show the public that shallow environmentalism is not enough to bring about the necessary cultural transformation. As the established parties become greener and greener, the Green movement has to continually reaffirm its position of being "neither left nor right, but in front," which will require a great deal of theoretical and practical work.

The paradigm shift will become political reality only if the Green movement continues to represent the full spectrum of Green politics:

- :: the awareness of global interconnectedness and interdependence, and of our embeddedness in the cyclical processes of nature;
- :: the recognition of the unjust and destructive dynamics of patriarchy;
- :: the call for social responsibility and for a sustainable, ecological and equitable economic system;
- :: the rejection of all forms of exploitation - of nature, individuals, social groups, and countries;
- :: the practice of grassroots democracy;
- :: the commitment to nonviolence at all levels;
- :: the advocacy of a rich cultural life, respecting the pluralism within a society and honoring inner growth that leads to wisdom and compassion.

Fritjof Capra



## New Age or New Right?

# Findhorn

## A feminist view

THE FINDHORN COMMUNITY is something of a 'New Age' Mecca. It is a focus for the New Age movement, and recently some people in that movement have been making overtures to the greens. Findhorn itself recently held a major international conference on the New Economics which brought green and New Age participants together in a sometimes uneasy dialogue (see GL 28). But how green is New Age?

DAPHNE FRANCIS was a member of the Findhorn Community for two years, and experienced its organisation and ideology at first hand. Her conclusion is that it is profoundly anti-feminist and anti-woman, and certainly not green. We may also detect something quite sinister in the views of the Community's chief ideologue, David Spangler, who appears to see Findhorn as the culmination of the Aryan race and a new colonial power: more of this in the second part of Daphne Francis' article, which we shall publish next month.

I HAVE BEEN AROUND the New Age scene for several years now and as a feminist have always been struck by the lack of political awareness in all New Age groups. From 1980-82 I lived as a member of the Findhorn Community in the north-east of Scotland and this has led me to put together my thoughts on what I see as the dangerous pitfalls in the New Age scene for women and other oppressed groups.

Although this article focusses on Findhorn, the attitudes and ideas I am looking at are very common amongst other so-called New Age groups.

First of all, let me say something about the New Age itself. Many spiritual groups hold that the last 20 years of this century are the culmination point of a time of significant change in human consciousness often believed to be precipitated by some massive upheaval either of the earth, or some political holocaust on a global scale. These changes clear the way for a transformation of the way of life of the survivors. These beliefs are given support by astrological happenings. One astrological Great Year, 25,920 years\*, is about to end and we are moving towards the start of another - called the Age of Aquarius, the first of the twelve ages of the next cycle.

Thinking about such issues does not promise a very rosy future, and it was with a tremendous sense of relief that I came upon the books of the Findhorn Community some years ago. Holocausts and the like

\* The time it takes for the precession of the Equinoxes to make one complete passage within the entire belt of the constellations of the Sidereal Zodiac.

part of a 'Network of Light' consisting of ex-Findhorn members and other like-minded souls who have set up New Age groups in many countries, above all the USA, France, Holland, Australia and South Africa. I do not know the exact number of people involved in the Network of Light but think it is probably in the thousands.

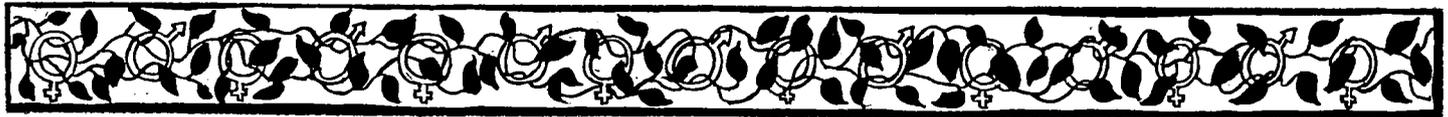
Peter Caddy was very much in charge of things to begin with, backed up by Eileen's guidance, but in the last few years the running of the Community has been done by a Core Group of about 9 to 10 people. This and other decision-making groups are not chosen by members of the Community, but groups choose their own members through 'guidance'. The Core Group is meant to embody the most 'attuned' members, those who are reckoned to be most in touch with its spiritual purposes. Theoretically anyone can ask to be considered for Core Group membership, but in practice it seemed whilst I was there that membership was reserved for those who supported the status quo. A focalizer (sort of facilitator-cum-manager) is its head. Significantly the two focalizers so far have been young men very are not seen as a necessary part of the changes required provided humanity can realign its consciousness. The note of confident optimism pervading the pages and beaming out of the pictures of Findhorn books are certainly an antidote to the New Age blues. However, becoming a member of the Community and living there for two and a half years was perhaps the most profoundly depressing experience I've ever had. The New Age described in the books turned out to be medieval in its behaviour towards women, though superficially everything in the garden looked lovely and probably still does.

Findhorn has been in existence for 21 years and was started on the 'guidance' of a woman called Eileen Caddy. Whilst meditating she used to hear a voice which she identified as that of God, and she and her husband Peter listened to it and followed its guidance. A very successful community sprang up. To begin with the focus was on growing vegetables for survival and this era became renowned as the Time of the Huge Cabbages. After several years, however, the emphasis changed to something of a 'mystery school', and there is a busy guest programme serving visitors from all over the world.

Community membership as at times been as high as 300, organised into departments. Whilst I was there it was around 130, plus visitors. Most were affluent upper-middle-class people, many of them American or English, with hardly any Scots, black or working-class people. Nuclear family living is the style encouraged by the Community, and there is no sharing of income or capital. The latter would admittedly be difficult as many members stay for only short periods of 1 to 2 years. Group meditation is part of the daily life and a beautiful pentagonal hall has been built as the centre where the most important spiritual events of the Community, such as Full Moon meditations, take place.

Interestingly enough, pentagons have been since archaic times one of the forms most favoured by male military elites for their citadels of homage to the fiery god. The present manifestation of this today is the core centre of a fraternity of megalomaniac nuclear fire-worshippers.

The Community calls itself a 'Light Centre' and is



much under the influence of Peter Caddy's ideas. Although each work department has its own focalizer and many of these are women, in practice I found women focalizers also adhered to male-identified values.

The Community states that it welcomes all on the spiritual path and that people from different spiritual traditions are welcome. I found it very attractive to begin with that guru-following was sort of frowned upon: one has to develop the 'god within' as it was called. However, once again, in practice, as I became acquainted with the ways of the Community I found that there were very powerful spiritual norms. The most respected members used certain phrases to make spiritual points. It is these key phrases that I intend to



examine more closely because they seem to be widespread in the New Age scene and I found them to be deeply male-identified. Also, although ostensibly there is no New Age 'Bible', great reverence was paid to the works of Alice Bailey, an occultist of the early part of the century whose work I will discuss briefly later, and the right-wing writings of an American called David Spangler, a young self-styled New Age teacher. Such literature was treated like holy writ.

### Becoming a Member

How did I become a member of Findhorn? Well, with great difficulty, for in 1978 when I first visited it I was a single parent with a four-year-old daughter. I felt overwhelmingly drawn to becoming a member. However, I was told that the time was not right. My two letters were not answered for several months. Then two years later I met a man who wanted to join the Community with me. The doors magically opened quickly. We became members and both worked part-time, sharing childcare of my daughter.

Then I became pregnant and just before the baby was due I was interviewed by two women from the Personnel Department on my work commitment after my confinement. I was told that sharing children did not usually work in the Community, that children became disturbed and relationships broke up where this had been tried before. I had wondered before at the lack of shared childcare: all young children under two, except one, were looked after at home by the mother. We had however joined the Community on the understanding that we shared childcare. Eventually this was sorted out with apologies from Personnel and after the baby was born we both continued to work part-time.

This went really well. But by this time I was becoming very uneasy. I got the distinct impression that as a mother in the Community my membership was only sanctioned by the presence of a man. This created strains in our relationship and after six months I approached Personnel for separate accommodation for myself and my children. I was told that I was not allowed to separate from my partner and remain a member of the Community. If we were splitting up we had to leave. This was justified on the grounds that often the man would find another partner and the woman would be left distressed and a 'drain on the Community'.

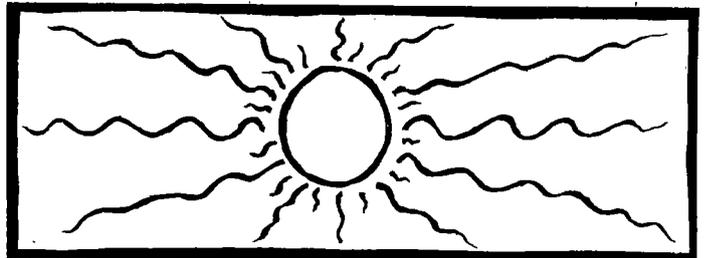
I realised at this point that I wanted to leave such a misogynist set-up and started looking for some other place to live. This took a few months. Meanwhile we were recommended relationship counselling by a woman who was very dominant in the Community, a focalizer of one of the biggest departments. We had one session with her and one was enough. I quote from a letter of advice she sent me:

"A key to your personal growth and development at this stage is for you to choose to give what will seem more than you will receive ... His behaviour will change if you choose to give him loving support instead of telling him how upset and angry you are because of his behaviour."

The letter went on in this vein for two pages. Mercifully for him there was no corresponding letter of advice for my partner.

In the last few months of my stay, I found out that if a single woman got pregnant there was much pressure on her from Personnel to leave if she wanted the baby. Given this situation, many women 'chose' to have an abortion. I brought this issue up for discussion in a small Family Group meeting. Nobody wanted to know. The next day I received a horrific letter from my 'relationship counsellor' who had also been present at this meeting. It said:

"The constant victim role I hear you taking for others as well as yourself is where you might be stuck ... so that's why I am writing this to you, for when one member gets stuck, the group doesn't move... And honestly I don't want to go to another family meeting if all I get is Daphne's phonograph record of 'It isn't fair'... The energy of the



group goes down so fast... Once you release your position..., support the majority thinking... usually new wonderful creative things happen."

I was offered the words of David Spangler channeling Master Rakoczi to further advance my obviously undeveloped spiritual understanding. I expect you're wondering who Master R. is. I certainly did. I presumed that he was one of the spiritual hierarchy that I should try to 'tune into' and of whom I shall reveal more later - see part 2 of this article next month.) I quote from him:

"I am a voice and force of light and discipline... I am not concerned with your personality problems, challenges or difficulties. I expect you to move beyond them and to cease being children... Those who would be part of the inner court of the Brotherhood cannot afford to settle for less..."

And so on for a couple of pages.

Over the next few months I had ample scope to observe the inner court of this Brotherhood at work. I asked to be part of a community planning group for which I was qualified by my experience, and remained part of it until I left. It consisted of several men, two of



them focalizers, and three women, all of whom eventually dropped out. The style of our meetings, in spite of our token meditation, was completely male-dominated. A feminist way of working was completely out. Although there is ostensibly no guru in the Community, the focalizer's role was dominant and the power-dynamics within the group would have taken months to sort out before I could have felt like getting down to business. After being in all-women's groups for so long, I was rather thrown by all this.

In another context, I questioned the spiritual practices of the Community, in particular the use of the male light-oriented invocation used at the Full Moon celebrations. This was ignored by nearly every-



one. One man said the invocation had been used since World War Two and it would be sad to change something that so many people had got used to working with. Another man said he was very upset that I had questioned the use of a prayer for which he had so much love.

As you can imagine, my last few months were unendurable what with all this going on, my relationship in pieces, and having to look for a new home. I had a few friends in the Community but knew I didn't belong in this brand of New Age group. I heard from a friend that if my name came up on Core Group there were groans. My 14-month-old son was hit on the head by a stone thrown at him deliberately by a group of little boys who roamed the Community playing at being 'men'. The little girls were by contrast sickly passive and into being pretty. At last I found a place to live and departed, dubbed as a 'very negative person' and 'stuck in a victim role' by the powers-that-be at Findhorn. One male focalizer once yelled at me angrily that I was sick. About the same time several women at the associated Garden School were asked to leave after they questioned the power dynamics there. I was quite badly depressed for several months after leaving.

However, I felt I had at least been part of one significant change in the Community: Core Group were to take big issues to weekly Community meetings for discussion, a rather elementary first step in breaking up the power of the hierarchy.

# Why women's space?

THE WOMEN'S SPACE is a relatively recent but increasingly important feature of Green Gatherings and similar events. STEPHANIE LELAND and SIGRID SHAYER have written this guide for anyone wishing to put together a women's space at a national or local event this summer.

IT MAY COME as a surprise to some of you - as it did to us - to learn that even within the radical alternative consciousness of the green movement (and indeed within the Green Collective itself, which in all its statements embraces feminism as an integral part of the green perspective), that even within this atmosphere there is an underlying resistance to the creation of a women's space.

Perhaps it would be helpful to discuss why we feel a women's space to be a vital part of a gathering before we deal with the practical aspects of organisation.

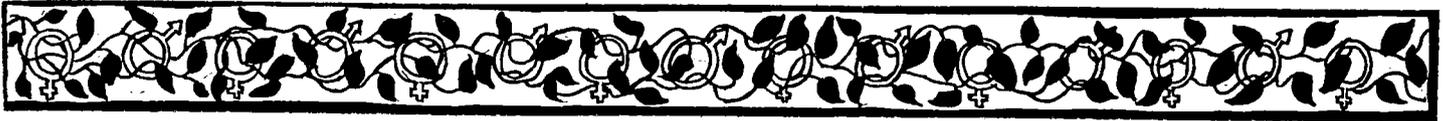
It is unfortunate that it is still necessary for us to justify the existence of a women's space. A constant criticism is that it is divisive, sexist, and further aggravates the separation between men and women. This seems to reflect a misunderstanding. The divisions and sexism are already there. What a women's space does is to provide a supportive environment where women can speak more openly, and strength may be gained so that we may then have the confidence and ability to work on equal terms with other men and women.

It's a healing and a growing process. We need to have the opportunity at times to meet separately, in order for us to discover more of our true natures which have been suppressed for generations; we can develop new ways of relating and organising without the constraints of gender roles imposed by the society that we are seeking to change. Otherwise we just perpetuate the same old patterns of relationships, intrinsic to the maintenance of the current structural patterns of society, which reinforce our spiritual and physical divorce from the earth. An intellectual understanding emerges from the careful attention paid to expressed emotions and feelings,

Though many men are working very hard to overcome this conditioning (reflected in behaviour, attitudes, and expectancies), as so many women are working to overcome theirs, we still have a very long way to go before we can truly consider ourselves free of the layers and layers of patriarchal clothing. This shedding process in a painful and difficult one. The challenging of the traditional role relationships based on sex threatens the patriarchal power base of men. One can understand therefore the resistance, because for change to come about men will have to relinquish that power over women: likewise women have to become less dependent on men, and many women find it frightening to become more responsible for their own lives. Women also need to regain their own strengths and unlearn their conditioning, so they can

\*\* In part 2 of her article, which will appear in the June issue of GL, Daphne Francis considers the factors which mitigate against a feminist analysis of the situation at Findhorn taking place from the inside; analyses the political stance taken by the Community and the highly individualistic philosophies on which the Community is founded; shows how Findhorn replicates the male light-oriented norms of Christianity at the expense of the the darker, lunar side of our nature; and comes to a positive conclusion about the future of the New Age which, she asserts, really is in the process of happening.

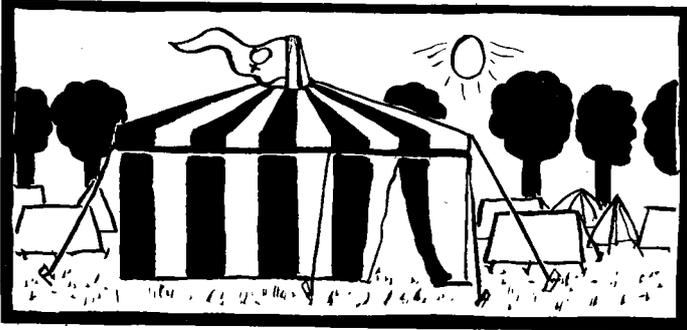




challenge male oppression in a non-confrontational way. A men's space would serve a similar function. With men asking more of each other emotionally, perhaps they would be able to regain more contact with their so far unexpressed feelings which would encourage more caring and sensitive attitudes.

Greenham has shown the strength and the new dimension arising when women get together. Those who have experienced Greenham and the women's space created there know the empowerment that results from it. But women's space also needs to be elsewhere.

Challenging the conditioned behaviour and attitudes of men and women in relation to each other underpins all the other alternative approaches to life represented within the holistic perspective at Green Gatherings. Women's space can be used for different things by different women, reflecting our different needs and personalities: the fact that it's there is all-important. Maybe it's something that will always be needed.



### The Practicalities

Much relevant advice can be found in the workshop and information sheets of the Green Gathering Advice Pack (£4 post free from The Green Collective, 55 Stuart Close, Emmer Green, Reading, Berkshire). But specifically for the Women's Space...

A marquee as the focus needs to be complemented with an area set aside for women's camping for those who want it. The choice needs to be there. In order to avoid misunderstanding and possible aggravation caused by men walking through the site, the camping space should occupy an area that is quiet and off any main thoroughfare - possibly behind the marquee.

We have found that roping off the area causes bad will both ways. Some women feel as if they are some special breed of animal being kept in a pen. Also there is the hazard of tripping over the string in the darker hours! The idea of building fences between people is not very green anyway. Friendly notices stating that it is a women's camping area and asking that people respect that space should be enough. Roping off the area hopefully won't be necessary.

The marquee can be used for exhibitions as well as workshops. These can reflect the whole range of issues within the green movement (creative as well as discussion-oriented ones) but with more of a feminist perspective. Liaise with other workshop organisers beforehand so that there can be an opportunity to have mixed workshops on the subjects that have been included in the women's tent. Not all women facilitators will want to do this, though.

Publicise the women's space and workshops widely in the relevant publications and newsletters well before-

hand, to draw as many women to the gathering as possible as well as to make the concept more visible. Likewise publicise well at the gathering itself.

Stalls can be arranged outside the front of the marquee depending of course on the weather. As there are usually a few women who use the marquee to sleep in at night, the stalls can be taken into it overnight.

A daily women's meeting on site can be used to draw ideas about the next day's activities, to air any grievances, and also as a tool for developing the essence of a women's space. If there are exhibitions you may want to decide whether to open the space to all at certain times - or not. The marquee can also be used for women to camp in - it certainly does give it a homely lived-in feeling.

As more and more people are learning to embrace the concept of women's space rather than feeling threatened by it, the co-operation resulting should make it easier to organise. We have found that although we've had to put a tremendous amount of energy into it, the positive energy emanating from the area and the links and connections which were forged made it more than worth the effort. We hope a women's space will continue to be an integral and creative part of Gatherings to come.

\*\* Anyone who would like to be involved in the women's space at this year's Glastonbury Green Field (during the CND festival at Worthy Farm) can contact Sigrid Shayer at 30 Holmesdale Road, Windmill Hill, Bristol 3 (tel Bristol (0272) 661221).

## E.O.A. Books

THE LITTLE GREEN BOOK ONLY 20p with any other book, or FREE with orders over £5!

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Kenneth MELLANBY: Can Britain

Feed Itself? £1.95

Rural Resettlement Handbook £4.95

Gail DUFF's Vegetarian Cookbook £3.50

Sarah BROWN's Vegetarian Cookbook £9.95

Lawrence HILLS: Grow Your Own Fruit and Vegetables £3.50

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# Sexual politics for men

MARTIN STOTT was in a men's group for 3½ years, and led groups on "Sexual politics for men" at the last two Green Gatherings.

THE IMPACT OF feminism on the left and in the green movement has been critical in developing a new kind of politics, and indeed a new way of "doing politics", over the past few years. The slogan "the personal is political" has become a touchstone for anyone who wants to be taken seriously in libertarian political circles. While feminism has grown and developed in ways that have transformed large parts of society and the way we see ourselves in it over the past 15 years, one segment has remained remarkably resistant to change: men.

This is a major problem, and one which feminists have recognised for a while - and it's men's responsibility

## Green men in a man's world

to do something about it. Two books have been published recently which throw some very useful light on this question, and I want to use them as the starting point for a few thoughts on the subject. They are "The Sexuality of Men", edited by Andy Metcalf and Martin Humphries (Pluto Press), and "The Selected Writings of Edward Carpenter, volume 1: Sex" (Gay Men's Press). Both in their different ways have a lot to say about the subject.

For those not familiar with him, Edward Carpenter was a middle-class cleric from Brighton who in the late 19th century became involved in the emerging socialist movement in the north of England. He was gay, and lived openly with a man for many years. Up to his death in 1929 he was considered a major figure in the early labour movement, having very progressive views on gay rights, women's liberation, the links between personal and political life, and human beings relationship to the natural world, particularly animals. His major works - "Towards Democracy", "Love's Coming of Age", "My Days and My Dreams", etc - were best sellers at the time; but as is so often the case with important political thinkers whose ideas cannot be incorporated into the status quo, he was quickly forgotten after his death.

Yet 75 years after he was writing his ideas are as relevant today as they were then, and GMP have done a great service in republishing his works in three volumes (only the first is out so far). Noel Greig in his illuminating introduction to Carpenter's works makes the connections with our present concerns very clear; and while social attitudes have loosened up considerably (Carpenter's publishers panicked when Wilde was put on trial and withdrew "Towards Democracy" even though it was a bestseller - not because

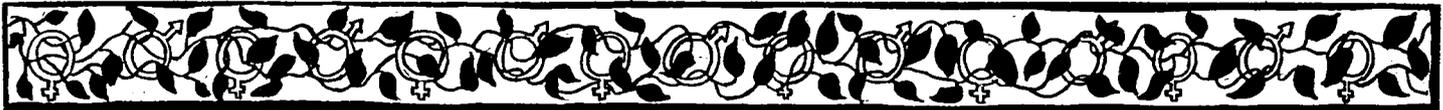
of what it said, but because of who Carpenter was!) there's a lot for us to learn from what he has to say. As Greig points out in his introduction: "Carpenter made an attempt to live his life as a whole. He wished to link all aspects of himself - the inner and the outer, the intellectual and the spiritual, the physical and the emotional - with all aspects of the world."

This caused him problems, as with "Towards Democracy", but what happened to his ideas when the early labour movement decided in 1892 to create its own political party, the ILP (Independent Labour Party), are instructive. "Many of the ideas that Carpenter and his circle believed in were soon cast aside as irrelevant, 'crankish' and 'cultish', and with anarchist philosophies purged from the political debate. The matters of the heart, of love, of sex, and an order of society where such things would have the same value at least as annual production figures were reduced to scoffs about naturists and sandal-wearers."

It's got a familiar ring, hasn't it? Which brings me to the present, and "The Sexuality of Men". What a subject! Personal politics, child care, pornography, the links with male violence and militarism, machismo, intimacy, fear, feelings, vulnerability, desire, therapy, psychoanalysis, Reich... well, you won't find all the 'answers' to these questions in this book (described by Susie Orbach as 'thoroughly engaging'). But you will find some men - it's written by a group of nine - asking some interesting questions and groping towards some ways of coming to terms with them in their own lives. In a way the book takes as its starting point a lot of the things raised in "Sex and Love" (edited by Sue Cartledge and Joanna Ryan, Women's Press, 1983, and written by women), a book frequently referred to. But I don't want to give the impression that there is some kind of sexual politics 'industry' developing which has little to do with people's lived experience: though quite a few



books have come out recently on the subject, others including "The Left and the Erotic", edited by Eileen Phillips (Lawrence and Wishart), and "Female Desire: women's sexuality today", Rosalind Coward (Paladin). In fact quite the opposite is the case. What is finally happening is that people are becoming more willing to share their fears, desires and fantasies outside the confines of their women's (and occasionally men's) therapy groups, and that men are beginning to



respond to these issues.

The links between sexuality and violence are one area of particular concern. At one level it's obvious. Growing militarisation in the West has played on the most reactionary ideas of male sexuality, and as the Falklands War showed, it has remarkable power. The women's action at Greenham Common over the past three years or so is a worldwide symbol of the struggle against militarism. The women there have made the equation between male power and militarism and have refused to be complicit in the exercise of that power. Male sexuality as it is currently constructed is not a purely private affair - it is harnessed to work for political ends by the most reactionary forces in society. As the introduction says: "Men have a choice in this, they can continue to keep silent ... The alternative starts with acknowledging our need to change, to articulate a sense that we can have a real and strong masculine identity without displaying the most desperate and violent attitudes towards women, and towards our own natures."

What do men do as individuals to break this silence? Part of it is developing a political analysis which looks towards possibilities of change and a concept of personal responsibility not based on guilt but on a positive challenge to the destructive aspects of masculinity for us all. Until now we have been unable or unwilling to say much about how or why violence is apparently so central to our relationships, our sexual practices, our desires. Yet look around - we are nurtured, educated and immersed in a culture whose imagery constantly intertwines violence with sexuality, subtly or explicitly. Look at the covers of pulp thrillers, the stream of "women in jeopardy" films, horror films (why is it always the heroine who slips and is helplessly trapped as the monster gets nearer - men don't slip, or if they do, they aren't helpless), the "video nasty" cult, the gradual assimilation of sado-masochism chic into fashion and advertising... it's not just in pornography.

The links between male sexuality, violence and women's subordination seem pretty clear, even if people differ about the precise effects and the theory of it all. Certainly they are for the woman walking alone at night in a quiet street who suddenly realises a man is following her. However, in my view this is not to say that all men are rapists. To do so must be to define all heterosexual activity in a society where women are subordinate as rape - and all heterosexual women as victims. It is possible to argue this, but then 'rape' loses any specific meaning at all. All sense of the possibility of change or development is denied: we are stuck in a monolithic view of society. In a way it almost lets men off the hook: why bother challenging yourself if it doesn't make any difference? In spite of the distorted sexualisation of society, most people still think of heterosexual sex between "normal" men and women as being an essentially private act, one where two people meet in "free exchange" casting off the world with their clothes, becoming anonymous, lost in oneness with their partners.

I disagree. I feel that Angela Carter ("The Sadeian Woman", Virago) puts it in context: "No bed, however unexpected, no matter how apparently gratuitous, is free from the de-universalising effect of real life. We do not go to bed in simple pairs; even if we choose not to refer to them, we still drag with us the

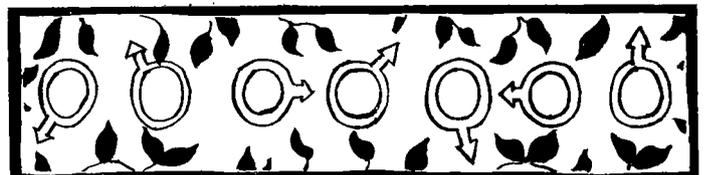
cultural impedimenta of our social class, our parents' lives, our bank balance, our sexual and emotional expectations, our whole biographies..."

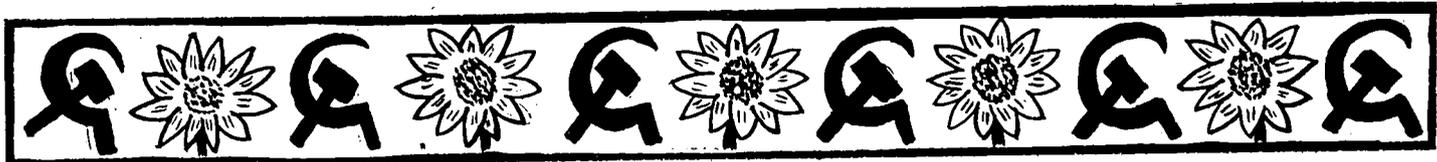
Yes indeed, the personal is political, socialism does begin in bed. The bed... the point where the contradictions between our (my) vulnerability and our (my) "maleness" meet most clearly. As little children we (I) were taught to "be strong", fear was an unacceptable emotion, showing vulnerability was for girls. Systematically we learnt to discount any feelings of fear and not show our feelings even to ourselves. So it's pretty difficult as adults to



accept that real strength is in recognising and accepting your own vulnerability. But by cutting ourselves off from our feelings we block whatever access we might otherwise develop to our inner lives, and we fail to take responsibility for our sexual lives. We grow up to see others (women generally) as the source of our happiness and pleasure. Sexuality is turned into a measure of individual achievement and success. As Edward Carpenter discovered to his cost in the 1890s "real politics" (Marxist, Socialist, Green?) has this habit of marginalising any serious discussion of sexuality and the sexual relations of power. And what is so different now in the 1980s? Sex simply becomes another autonomous area in which we are forced to "prove" ourselves as men. This kind of politics fails to deal seriously with what it means to assume responsibility and control in the different areas of our lives. It ignores the idea of taking personal responsibility. It separates the "inner" from the "outer". If as socialists or greens we can't take responsibility for our own lives and relationships, what the hell are we offering to everyone else? It's this point, where the "inner and the "outer" meet, that the impact of feminism has been so important in the last few years. It's here where men have to take up the challenge, and at last these books are helping do just that.

\*\* The question of male sexuality is further explored in the Men's Antisexist Newsletter, published from 60 Rhymney Street, Cathays, Cardiff. A sample copy costs 80p, or a subscription to the next four issues costs £4.





# Reds and greens: friends or enemies?

OUR GREAT HOPE is that the Green movement is a growing force in opposition to the hideous probabilities of imminent nuclear holocaust or ecological catastrophe. The Second Congress of the European Greens, organised at Dover in March by the Ecology Party, was intended to demonstrate this to the world at large.

For many of us at the Congress, reassurance lay in the workshop debates and the informal discussion. But for the public outside the high point was the 'rally' of Saturday evening. There we heard about the convergence of all kinds of movements including ecology, civil rights, women and peace; but we also heard traditional party political invective (how all the parties other than the Ecology Party are wrong) and in particular an attack upon the pretensions of socialism.

## An open letter to the ecology party

For some of us - the anarchists like myself - the emphasis on party politics accordingly diminished the potential of the Congress as an expression of the Movement; and the attack on socialism raised the ugly spectre of sectarianism.

Obviously there are limits to what we can afford to include within the Movement: National Socialism and Marxist State Socialism must be rejected along with liberal notions of economic growth and centrist social democracy. But we need to possess a coherent idea of what is inside the Movement before we begin to attack what is definitely outside. There is a rapidly growing literature to help us focus upon what is central to the Movement. For me, Marge Piercy's utopian novel 'Woman on the Edge of Time' summarises so much. Here we see a future where gender roles have almost vanished into egalitarian, androgenous relationships; productive processes make use of machinery and resources in such a way as to free individuals from specialised economic (and hence social) roles; and nature is recognised as process with which productive activities interact symbiotically without waste or plunder.

David Fernbach (in 'The Spiral Path') has in my opinion developed a theory of what the Movement is after, which has gone further than anyone else in Britain. He comes to the Movement from Gay Liberation (as a tributary of Womens' Liberation) and sees the broad movement - which he defines as Communism - as comprising the convergence of three separate movements: ecology, feminism and socialism. Ecologists come to the Movement with the conviction that the present social and political conjuncture is about to destroy the world and with a burning desire to find the means to preventing this. Feminists come to the Movement convinced that the viciousness of the world system stems fundamentally from the sexual division of labour where men are enculturated into a dominating, competitive role which must be overcome as a prerequisite of

any utopian future. And socialists come to the Movement convinced that it is the structure of the ownership of the means of production, and its role as a social structuring device, which fuels the current social and political dynamic and which must be superceded as a first priority for utopia even to arrive on the agenda.

Of course different people have objections to the use of given words to describe these various aspects of the Movement; there are competing claims to the use of these words. Communism, which self-evidently should mean a society where the commune is the basic unit of life and where the means of production are held in common, has been claimed by the monolithic state socialist countries and so is rejected out of hand by many. Ecology is seen in its political guise as a gross misuse of the name of a narrow scientific discipline. Feminism contains a multitude of contradictory tendencies. And of course socialism has a long and complex history of co-option and rejection behind it. Any label given to a contentious thing will result in struggles over the use and meaning of the word: a central aspect of political life is the co-option and diffusion of social movements by the redefinition of concepts underlying terms. William Morris approached this problem in the ending of his prose poem, 'A Dream of John Ball', in this manner:

"Men fight and lose the battle, and the thing they fought for comes about in spite of their defeat, and when it comes, it turns out not to be what they meant, and other men have to fight for what they meant under another name."

Language is a battle ground. It is foolish to continue to defend a word when the battle for its use has clearly been lost; but it is equally questionable to contend that constant adoption of new words for the same facts - a constant flight before the armies of established ideology - will save the day. Somewhere one has to take a stand and build an ideological base and defend one's own definition of the words one decides to use. It is an extraordinary cultural characteristic of the British working class that they have rejected middle class education and the articulateness which this inculcates; by doing so as a gesture of defiance, they have severely hampered their own political development. The world is not changed by the intellect alone, but without a robust theoretical flank, social movements stand a poor chance of success.



Time now to return to the attack on socialism perpetrated by the Ecology Party at the green rally.

Did this herald 'a fight for what we mean under another name' (does 'greenness' supercede 'socialism'?) or is this the beginning of a sectarian scrap within the Movement? To answer this it is necessary to look more closely at Ecology Party debates, policies and activities to see if these encapsulate the essence of socialism in its ideal form; but first it is useful to clarify what we might mean by socialism.

In its basic form socialism is concerned with the revolutionary transformation of society to one which is egalitarian and co-operative in the way it functions. It focusses on the way in which modern (bourgeois capitalist) society is premised upon individualistic competition for scarce physical and mental resources which in practice precipitates the formation of classes which occupy distinct positions in terms of the generating of resources - growing and mining and manufacturing and servicing. It is this competitive spirit which forces us all into fragmentary roles and which fuels the drive for economic growth and the tendency to ever more destructive wars.

It is within the exploitative and productive system - the economy - that socialists concentrate their effort because they tend to see this as the Achilles heel of the world system: generate a movement for liberation here and you are well on the road to revolutionary social change. Whilst it becomes more and more difficult to deny that socialism on its own has failed as a political movement, it is nevertheless important to realise that substantial numbers of intellectuals who consider themselves to be socialists have accumulated impressive knowledge of the structure of exploitative and productive systems in the context of the social structures which these support and which support them... in other words, with an eye to the potential for social transformation. Furthermore, the socialist vision remains an important means of orientation amongst a broad section of the working class intent upon social change.

Looking at the treatment given by the Ecology Party to the subject matter with which socialists are centrally concerned - industry, employment, economics, social structure and function - we can certainly not say that they have gone unconsidered (at least in the case of the first three). However, nor can we say that any consistent set of ideas or policies has been formulated in this area. The economics working group has had a distinct penchant for adopting 'patent solutions' often in the form of long lost causes such as George's 'single tax' and 'social credit' (which, incidentally, is today associated with an extreme rightist political party in Canada). This would seem a far cry from any notion of the Ecology Party presenting a radically new approach.

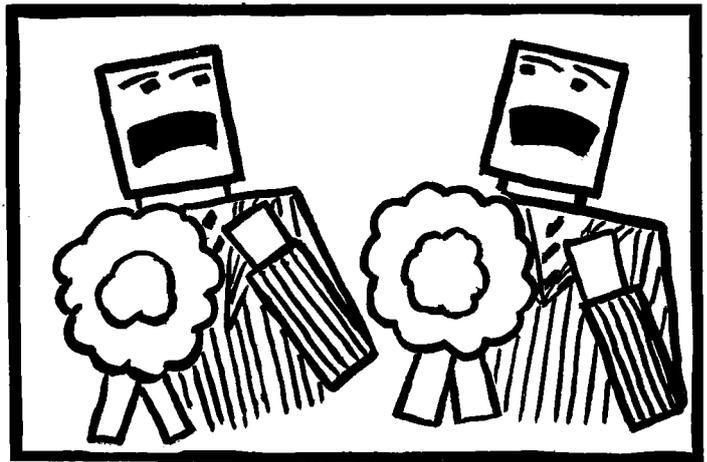
On the other hand the party has produced two pamphlets dealing with unemployment: 'Working for a Future' and 'Jobs for Keeps'. These are impressive documents in terms of a common sense view of the directions which the Green movement must take to overcome deepening economic problems and antagonisms, seeking justification in a wide range of sources (including Marx and other avowed socialists!). But these are not yet based on any distinct body of Green theory. TOES might be constructed as aiming towards such a position but it must be conceded that so far the papers have merely displayed a wide range of interesting notions and contradictions in search of a unifying foundation.

As for a Green theory of social structure and function: with the exception of the distinctly fascistic writings of Edward Goldsmith (which are interesting for all that), there really is nothing to place beside the massive socialist contribution to sociology and

anthropology. Can one really justify throwing out socialist theory on the basis of no theory at all?

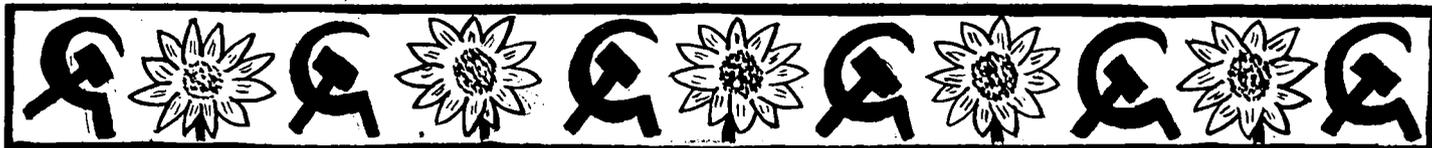
It might be thought that the proof of the pudding lies in practice rather than theory. The Lucas Aerospace initiative is one which is widely admired in the Ecology Party - being frequently cited in the pamphlets already referred to, and as demonstrated in the reception given to Mike Cooley when he made a presentation to the Party Conference some years ago. The co-operative movement and the movement towards local economic planning and community business which is blossoming in many inner urban areas is clearly in line with Ecology Party policies. So is the decentralisation of community services which is currently being undertaken by numbers of inner city local authorities, together with the funding of local 'popular planning' and energy planning activities.

The lion's share of these activities is being undertaken by people who consider themselves to be socialists - with the conspicuous absence of participation on the part of Ecology Party members, even as critics. Many of the participants do, however, see themselves as part of a broader movement that includes ecology as an important issue area. The Socialist Environment and Resources Association (SERA) has indeed contributed strongly to many of these initiatives including Lucas, the co-ops movement, energy planning initiatives, and local government decentralisation (through the publication of a monthly journal entitled 'Local Socialism').



It would be simply silly for the Ecology Party to claim that all these people are political opportunists stealing their thunder, and presumptuous in the extreme for the party to claim a monopoly on participatory politics. Of course there are problems of opportunistic politicians attempting to paint themselves green and so bamboozle the electorate. But equally there are potential problems of 'holier than thou' career politicians within the Ecology Party looking for a career in national political life at the expense of any genuine desire to decentralise decision-making. As long as we live in an individualistically oriented society, opportunism will continually surface and must be guarded against through mutual consciousness and action. This may in fact give us a clue about the attack on socialism at the green rally. What is worrying about this is that it will justify the sectarians among the socialists who make a living or a power base out of their insistence upon monopoly of The Truth. They will be able to point to the Ecology Party as aspiring to political or ideological hegemony and in the process the Green movement will be devalued: nipped in the bud.

Jonathon Porritt's article in Marxism Today (March 1984) was good on this score because he explicitly ➔



# Class and the ecological imperative

FROM THE MAIL I have received as a result of my letter in GL 28, it would appear that greens reserve a special venom for their attack on socialism. Some of the very ungreen personal attacks I received highlight the diverse nature of Green Line's readership, while also displaying an unnerving undercurrent of aggression in an otherwise peaceful movement.

Socialism appears to be at fault because of its age as an idea, its materialist analysis of society, and because it denies the existence of an ecological imperative. However I wonder how much difference there is between greens and socialists on this last point.

The ecological imperative suggests that mankind (and womankind) cannot escape from the rules that govern nature and in particular the rules or laws of ecology. An analogy is made between an ecosystem and human society; it's argued that to survive the human race must abide by the inescapable laws which govern an eco-system. Such an analogy was also made by the 19th century sociologist Herbert Spencer who argued - like many greens - that there exists a natural order for human society as there does for the rest of nature. Stressing the interdependence and hierarchy of the elements of an ecosystem, Spencer argued that free unbridled economic competition was not only a sound policy but also a natural, biological fact; economic liberalism, if you like, was an ecological imperative.

It is on the tradition of Spencer that the political ecologists of the late 1960s base their ecological imperative. For Hardin there was a need for a restoration of a natural order of decentralised communities where traditional hierarchical authority maintained a balance between population growth and resource availability. In *Blueprint for Survival* we find that these communities would be democratic only "as far as is possible" (1972, p. 50) within the ecological imperative. So we have a view which expresses the inescapability of the natural laws of ecology which dictate the social structure of human society; a structure which would need to be protected by some form of coercion.

But interestingly this is not the small-scale community of the greens in the 1980s, and significantly I cannot find any mention of the *Blueprint* or of its co-author Edward Goldsmith in Jonathon Porritt's book *Seeing Green*. In fact Jonathon states quite clearly that those who advocate that kind of coercively controlled small-scale community are not green at all (page 4).

What seems to be emphasised now in green literature is

a natural cooperativeness, and not the natural competition of the ecosystem. The small-scale society of the modern greens seems to advocate full and participatory democracy without the restrictions thought necessary in the *Blueprint*.

Now this type of ecological imperative is subtly different from the version discussed above. It comes from a completely different tradition of thought from the functionalism of Spencer, a very old tradition which suggests that greens are closer to socialism than they think. From the sixth century monastic movement, through the works of Sir Thomas More, Gerrard Winstanley, Sismondi, Proudon, Owen and Kropotkin there is a philosophical tradition which stresses the naturalness of human cooperation. In *Mutual Aid* Kropotkin argued that human society should be compared not to the physical elements of an ecosystem but with the social structure of animals. An analogy should be made with the herd, where survival depended on cooperation and not on competition.

Now, putting to one side the fact that herds, prides and packs do have hierarchical structures, this emphasis on cooperation and democracy suggests a profoundly important principle. Giving humans full participatory democracy suggests that they are free to make choices about the way society is organised and how resources are distributed. Humans become free of nature. Now greens may argue that this freedom from nature must take into account the finite character of the earth's resources, that in the final analysis there remains an ecological imperative. Well, surprise, surprise, this is exactly what Marx believed. Humans are free to organise their society in any way they please. Each type of social structure will create different relationships to nature: being highly exploitative and dynamic the capitalist system tends to create conditions where the earth's resources are used up very quickly. This is not a natural condition; it is the result of a particular social structure. Change that social structure and the way resources are used is also changed.

This does change the character of the problem. Environmental problems become not natural problems but social problems created by a particular organisation of society. In this sense the ecological imperative is a relative concept: how much human activity is controlled by the ecological imperative is determined by the particular social structure at a particular time. In effect, the greater the impact society has on the environment the less free it becomes: reduce the impact, and the greater the distance there is

## ➔ REDS OR GREENS: FRIENDS OR ENEMIES?

eschewed hegemony on the part of the Ecology Party. I certainly believe the Ecology Party to be a distinctly necessary part of the Movement. But it must either contribute more strongly to the creation of firm Green foundations for a new social and economic theory and practice; or it must cooperate with other organisations, groups and initiatives which are developing in this direction. It is ridiculous to slag off potential allies because they use a particu-

lar word to describe their activities for which you possess a different definition. It is necessary to distinguish one's true friends from those who are ingenuine, but one must know them by their deeds and not judge them on the terms they use. Nothing could be designed so surely to destroy the Movement than a slanging match with potential allies, and I would suggest that the Ecology Party attack on socialism has the signs for being just that.

Adrian Atkinson

between humans and the ecological imperative.

Once we accept that the ecological imperative is a relative concept we can see how it applies to the present world capitalist system. First of all we note that the ecological imperative does not affect everyone equally. Under the present capitalist system our position in relation to the ecological imperative is determined by wealth. For those living in their air-conditioned mansions in Beverly Hills the ecological imperative is remote if not non-existent. For the people in Ethiopia the ecological imperative has just jumped up and hit them in the face. The difference between them is not climate or size of population - but wealth.

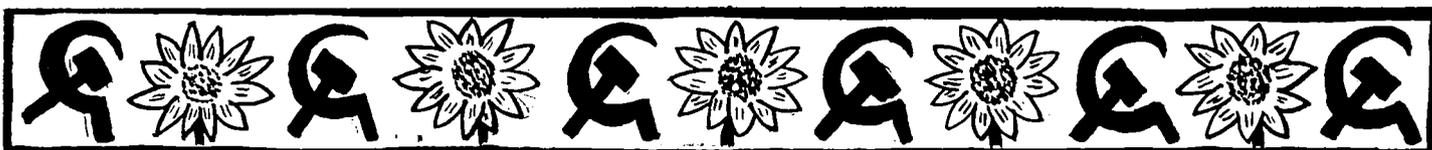
Clearly under the present system it would be possible for some to escape the ecological imperative completely. If they can find the resources to finance the Star Wars initiative, then they could easily find the resources to build an artificial environment in which they could live unaffected by acid rain, climatic change, or whatever. They could escape the ecological imperative. But this would not be an option for all humans, and in fact would require the transfer of resources from other areas to that of protecting the wealthy, rather as the arms race takes resources away from welfare and education. So while some can escape the ecological imperative, they do so at the expense of others pushed further back on their environment. So

what's the solution?

Will it come from "enlightened self-interest" or "spiritual awareness"? Hardly. The self-interest, no matter how enlightened, of the rich is to make the distance between their own lives and what is happening in Ethiopia as great as possible. Their self-interest lies in answers like population control, so that the poor don't take up land for food which could be producing luxury commodities.

The interests of the poor, meanwhile, lie in a redistribution of wealth, something which has depended historically more on take than give, and has been the result of long and often bitter struggle. If then we wish to create a society which seeks to reduce human impact on the environment and thus widen the gap between people and the ecological imperative, we have to make a choice. Either we argue for answers like population control and the pursuit of enlightened self-interest, to build a small-scale ecological society with all that that implies: or we help build a society where all enjoy an equal distance from the ecological imperative. That this latter attempt to keep the ecological imperative at bay requires the taking of the wealth of the rich by the poor sounds too much like old-fashioned 19th-century class struggle, I'm sorry. It's as valid now as ever.

Joe Weston



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# Nuclear free New Zealand?

IN JUNE last year, the Muldoon National Government of New Zealand called a snap general election, to be held in July. This decision was precipitated largely by a Labour-sponsored bill to declare NZ a nuclear-free zone which, because of the defection of two National Party MPs, was narrowly defeated by a single vote the day before the election announcement.

The young NZ peace movement, whose public support and strength had mushroomed since early 1983, responded to the announcement with an intensified and well-organised campaign to make the subject of visits by nuclear warships a key election issue. With a strong commitment to ban visits by all warships that may be carrying nuclear weapons, the opposition Labour Party won a landslide victory in the election held on July 14th.

By a strange coincidence the 33rd annual ANZUS (Australia, NZ and the US) defence alliance council meeting was held in NZ on the days directly following the election. US Secretary of State George Schultz, who arrived for talks the day after the election, warned the incoming Labour government that the US regarded access to NZ ports for its warships as essential if the defence alliance between the three countries was to continue. However, in response to a request from the new Labour Prime Minister David Lange, the US agreed to delay serious discussion of the warship visit issue, and said that no visits by nuclear warships would be planned for the next six months. According to aides, Schultz decided to postpone any immediate confrontation on the issue in the hope that the incoming government would water down or discard its anti-nuclear position in the following months (as the Hawke Labour government of Australia had done after its election a year previously).

American hopes for an easy settlement of the problem over the ensuing months were not to be fulfilled. Despite intense diplomatic pressure from both the US and Australia, Lange continued to reaffirm his government's anti-nuclear policy in subsequent statements and discussions, supported by his deeply anti-nuclear Labour Party and a large majority of the NZ population.

The issue came to world media attention once again in January, when the US decided to test the NZ policy by

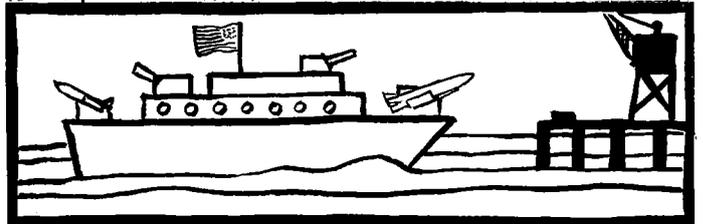


a specific request for a ship visit following the annual Sea Eagle naval exercises off the Australian coast in March. But since the conventionally-powered warship concerned was considered by NZ to be capable of carrying nuclear weapons and the Americans predictably refused to confirm or deny this or to offer to send a non-nuclear-capable ship in its place, the request was rejected by the NZ government in early February.

This refusal produced an angry reaction from the US State Department, which termed the rejection of the request "a matter of grave concern which goes to the core of our mutual obligations as allies". Washington retaliated by cancelling its participation in the Sea Eagle exercises, and said it would have to "consider the implications for overall cooperation with NZ in ANZUS". It regarded the refusal as a serious breach of the ANZUS treaty - which however contains no specific obligations for the partners to agree to port visits by nuclear warships - and warned that the course advocated by anti-nuclear movements seeking to "diminish defence cooperation ... will not be cost-free in terms of security relationships with the US".

Since this showdown the US has cancelled a second set of military exercises with NZ, is considering ending its policy of sharing intelligence information with its ally, and has even threatened to impose trade sanctions. Protectionist moves aimed at blocking NZ goods from entering the US would have serious consequences for the already weak economy of this country of 3.2 million people.

Around the same time that the US administration was hit with the NZ decision to refuse the warship visit, it was faced with another problem concerning Australia. In the face of strong opposition from his Labour Party and the Australian peace movement, prime minister Bob Hawke was forced to tell Schultz and Reagan that he



had to withdraw a previous promise to allow US planes to use an Australian staging base to monitor the testing of the MX missiles later this year. However, the Americans were anxious not to create tensions with the Australian government (which has also exerted strong pressure on Lange to change his anti-nuclear stand), and it was decided to oversee the testing of the MX "without the use of Australian support arrangements".

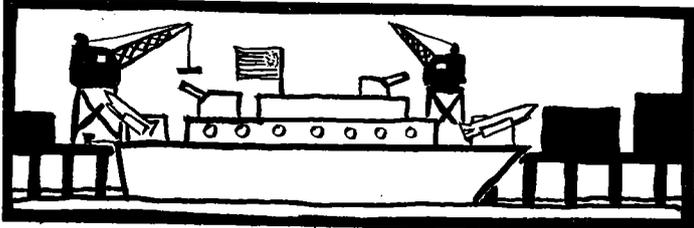
Most significant about NZ's stand is the effects it can have on anti-nuclear movements in other countries, not only in Australia. The Pentagon has expressed worry at the growth of what it calls "nuclear allergy" among US allies, and this has undoubtedly led to its heavy-handed reaction to NZ's stand. Thatcher is also concerned, as British nuclear-armed warships (several of which visited NZ en route to the Falklands in 1983) will also now be refused entry into NZ ports. She took the opportunity of a recent visit to Washington to express publicly this disapproval of NZ policy, and it will be interesting to see what threats she too may come up with to try to bully the former UK colony.

## Lange's Role

Throughout the entire episode, Lange has stressed his government's commitment to stay in ANZUS and its desire to continue close military cooperation with the US and Australia - but in a non-nuclear environment. The ANZUS alliance, however, has become more and more of a nuclear alliance since its beginnings in 1951. Sea-launched cruise missiles and Trident submarines are starting to make up a significant part of the US Navy's Pacific fleet of more than 220 vessels, and several US bases in Australia provide vital missile targetting and early warning facilities to the US military. It is in recognition of the increasing

"nuclearisation" of ANZUS that Lange's own Labour Party has voted for withdrawal from the alliance at its annual conferences over the past few years. This has unfortunately not been accepted as policy by Lange and the Labour caucus.

Shortly after becoming leader of the Labour Party in early 1983, Lange himself attempted to water down his party's anti-nuclear policy. After a number of Australian and American diplomats had quietly paid him a visit, Lange proposed to allow port visits by nuclear-powered but not nuclear-armed warships, despite the fact that it is well-known US policy neither to confirm



nor deny the presence of nuclear weapons on any given warship. The proposed change was strongly opposed by his party, and he was forced to accept the policy of a total nuclear ban.

More about Lange's true character in the face of pressure from Australia, Britain and the US, with the world media heralding him as a brave advocate of nuclear disarmament, was revealed at a news conference he gave during his recent London visit. In what seems to me a classic case of appeasement and compromise, Lange said that it is "difficult for the outside world to comprehend how uncritically pro-US New Zealand really is," and that "US involvement in the South Pacific keeps the region secure, and we respect the US for the help it gives us."

Statements such as these, and his announcement that NZ's defence budget will soon be increased, are quite alarming for those who know anything about US involvement in the Pacific. Despite his reputation as a christian and a lawyer for the poor, David Lange is first and foremost a politician - and one who seems to enjoy media attention and acclaim as a brave anti-nuclear crusader. But what concerns me most about the recent media attention given to NZ's anti-nuclear stance is the almost total lack of mention of the people who have really brought about this step towards worldwide disarmament, and the wide-ranging peace movement they work for. Only after years of protest and activism by the energetic NZ peace movement were a government and prime minister elected committed to non-nuclear policies - not after the individual efforts of David Lange. While I am pleased and pleasantly surprised with the way Lange upheld the wishes of the NZ people in the face of enormous US and Australian pressure to back down, it is unfortunate that he has not gone one step further by publicly criticising US military strategy in the Pacific and advocating an uncompromising NZ withdrawal from ANZUS.

#### Other Aspects of ANZUS

Under the ANZUS agreement NZ, Australian and US



troops together staged a mock invasion of Great Barrier Island in NZ last year. British Gurkhas played the

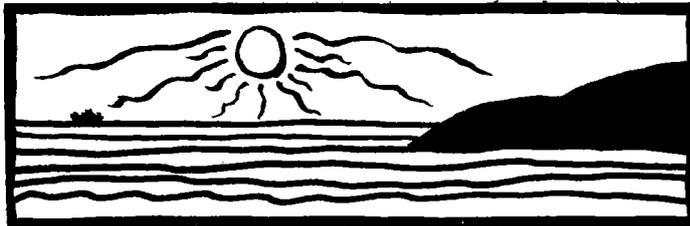
role of revolutionary local defendants. This exercise showed a remarkable similarity to the US invasion of Grenada in 1983, and indicates joint contingency preparations for a possible military intervention against small Pacific island nations such as Vanuatu, Belau, or Papua New Guinea, should their struggles for independence ever threaten western (and especially US) interests.

Also presumably under the ANZUS agreement, the US is allowed to operate a clandestine communications interception station at Tangimoana in the North Island of NZ - its existence revealed only 18 months ago by the NZ peace researcher Owen Wilkes.

"Operation Deepfreeze" is the name for the US base at Christchurch Airport in the South Island, which is supposedly used only to transport Americans and equipment to and from the Antarctic as part of the US civilian research programme there. Yet two years ago it was disclosed by a local peace group that the majority of Military Airlift Command aircraft stopping there carry unmonitored cargoes between Hawaii and Australia (possibly including nuclear weapons), and have little to do with civilian Deep Freeze support. Operation Deep Freeze is now known to be a multi-purpose US military base beyond NZ control.

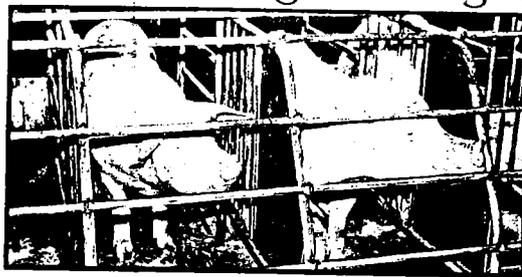
These are just a few of the many examples of NZ's involvement with US military activities in the Pacific which have not been mentioned in the current reportage on the nuclear ban issue. Only by a complete withdrawal from ANZUS and the establishment of a policy of non-alignment can NZ show the world that it really believes in world disarmament. Such a step will be the next major rung in the ladder for NZ's peace movement.

Philip Rasmussen



## BLACK BEAST

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# letters

## Finding the right target

Dear GL,

Re Mike Hancock's review of 'Seeing Green' (GL30) - and, in particular, one reference which I am going to choose to take personally. You see, according to Mike I am someone who spends his whole working life busily oppressing and humiliating people. Yes, it's confession time: I'm that figure so despised by Mike (and many others like him) - a DHSS worker.

Despite the fact that I spend my time figuring ways through a maze of regulations to try to maximise the money I can get to claimants; despite the fact that my union is leading the battle against the soon-to-be-announced Social Security Reviews; despite the fact that, to quote my office, we're dealing with an increase in claimants from 12,000 to 20,500 in four years with no increase in staff; despite the

fact that I regularly see young staff coming away from the counter after suffering the kinds of humiliation no human should have to put up with (and yes, I know no human should have to put up with the kind of humiliation claimants are often subject to - at least, to my knowledge, no claimant has ever suffered abuse, violence, even multiple rape and murder at the hands of DHSS staff, as has happened the other way round); despite the fact that my personal experience has shown me that the vast majority of DHSS staff do their best to administer an insane system as fairly and humanely as possible (and I have experience in several offices); despite all this and more, Mike Hancock in his wisdom chooses in his wisdom to call me and my fellow workers "oppressors and humiliators".

Come off it, Mike, don't be so bloody stupid. I can just see

Thatcher, Fowler and their cronies laughing all the way to the next round of tax cuts. Set staff off against claimants, and sit back and enjoy the fun. I can just see their enjoyment at the perpetuation of a hoary old myth. But then it's so much easier to see the world in such nice, safe, black and white ways, isn't it? Or do you think that anyone with an ounce of decency should not be working for the DHSS at all, leaving the way clear for the real fulfilment of your vision of an office full of people you'd have real cause to hate? Not if I, and many more like me, have our way. I choose to stay exactly where I am, helping as many people as possible and, in effect, spending government money (i.e. my wages) working for a green future in the rest of my time. Don't blame the workers in future, Mike: aim your barbs at those really responsible.

Tony Fletcher  
Rainbow's End, 27 Portia Terrace  
Mount Pleasant, Swansea SA1 6XW

## Choose sides

Dear GL,

It is good to see that some people in the green movement are aware of the dangers of eco-fascism (Letters, GL30).

Here in Italy there are already 'green' neo-fascists in the Movimento Sociale Italiana, and I remember the NF presenting itself to the electors in the 1979 election as the 'party of the environment'. At about the same time there was a group who broke away from the Ecology Party, calling themselves the Survival Party and using insignia reminiscent of Nazi symbols.

"Greening" the political parties is not the answer; it leads to repressive legislation where the state controls land, sea, food, fuel and population in the name of some "ecological necessity". Nor are Earth magic and gatherings on ley line intersections. The fascists in Britain are students of the occult too.

Class struggle exists. Greens must choose which side they're on, that of the oppressors - or that of libertarian socialism fused to ecological awareness: anarcho-communist social structures and ecologically non-destructive life styles and production methods.

Frank Richardson  
Contrada Santa Lucia  
63020 Cureda di Servigliano  
Ascoli-Piceno, Italy

## Less aggressive modes?

Dear GL,

Joe Weston's letter (GL28) has stirred a veritable hornets' nest in the green camp, throwing into focus the sharp division which exists between those of Marxian bent intent on a quasi-revolution, and those who would seem to prefer to achieve such aims through the less aggressive modes of 'evolutionary change'.

Those who would still have us believe that nothing has changed since 1848 are surely deluding themselves by leaving out several factors from the social equation. It would seem that speaking as they do in terms of 'class wars' and 'class struggles' they see the quality of life in purely monetary/materialistic terms, thus ignoring the very essence of green thinking which sees life in terms of a holistic vision of 'real wealth' concerned not only with income but with such values as for instance the air we breathe, the water we drink, the food we consume, the work we do, the stress we suffer, the degree to which we enjoy a supportive community and supportive friends and relations, the aesthetic appeal of the local as well as the global environment, cultural enrichment, etc., etc. - not to mention the state of the earth we leave behind for generations yet unborn.

Alice Page  
Swithland Hall, Loughborough, Leics.

## French greens

Dear GL,

Fair as Chris Savory's article on the French greens was on the whole (GL28), the record needs to be put straight.

Figures: PSU-CDU 0,72% (not 2%).  
'Verts' 3,37% (not 3,7%).  
ERE (B Lalonde) 3,31% (not 3,4%).

Secondly, more important, after a reasonably balanced presentation it was a shame to see such a hasty and apparently misinformed conclusion. Such haste could explain the apparent contradiction between his criticism of the greens spending "too much time on politics" and the forecast, in the following paragraph, that political impact by way of electoral success should/could come about if internal differences are settled. Leaving aside the internal differences which are inherent to any movement (cf the German greens) and indeed a healthy sign, how one wonders is this same political impact to be made if not by spending time "on politics"?

As for the inference that the greens are soft on fascism, this is belied by the work put into the collective organisation of the widely supported Mobyette demonstration that converged on Paris in December of last year. "Convergence '84" was a direct response to the rise of the National Front in France.

Brendan Prendiville  
12 rue Malakoff, 35100 Rennes, France.

## Publicity must be earned

Dear GL,

I can sympathise with Tim Cooper's frustration (Letters, GL31) at the lack of publicity the green movement gets, but he has to understand why.

One of my main reasons for organising the Harvest for the Hungry green gathering at Molesworth last August/September was precisely to involve the green movement in a campaign which would inevitably be receiving publicity. I hoped that we might play a direct and active role in stopping the deployment of Cruise. What better way than squatting a Cruise missile base and trying to show what the green alternative might be?

It's important to recognise, though,

that the Green/Rainbow Village grew out of the green gathering. It is a distortion to state, as Tim does, that the Village was "founded with hundreds of pounds of Ecology Party supporters' money." The Village was founded about two months before Eco gave any money.

In fact the attitude that somehow Eco deserved publicity simply because it put money into the Village illustrates very well why so many people wanted to change the name from 'Green' to 'Rainbow'. People don't like to feel they are being used for party-political purposes. I should know, I was the one singled out for the mud-slinging anti-Eco backlash - ironic considering the years I've spent criticising the party for its conventional party-political attitudes!

Rainbow Villagers might broadly agree with the green philosophy, but they will not be linked to a political

party. The lesson for the Ecology Party is clear: motions and money are all very well but they are a poor substitute for being there. Credibility and publicity have to be earned.

Don't be disheartened, though. Remember the maxim that for every three steps forward there is one back. Rainbow Fields was definitely at least three steps forward for the human race, the peace movement, rainbows and the green movement!!

David Taylor  
4 Bridge House, St Ives  
Huntingdon, Cambs.

PLEASE keep your letters brief and to the point. We have had to hold many letters over until next month...

## Minerals and CO<sub>2</sub>

Dear GL,

Having waited almost a year for PERG to review *The Survival of Civilisation* by John Hamaker and Don Weaver, I thought we were in for a well-reasoned, constructive appraisal of this book which enjoys a worldwide following among practising (as opposed to preaching) ecologists (GL 30).

Instead, establishment science re-states its case: anything is untrue until proven to be true to controlled experiments by establishment scientists, this being a far more frequent device among nukeheads than any lapse into generalities alleged by Roger Keyes.

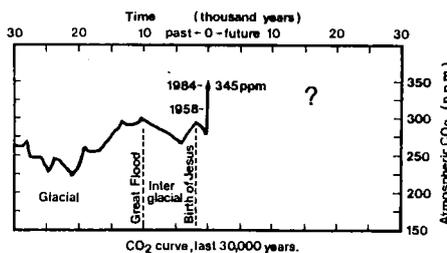
For instance, establishment scientists can show mathematically that it is improbable (using their own assumptions) that the incidence of leUKAE-miA around Windscale (Sell afield) is attributable to the plutonium being spewed out of the place, thus the case is not proven, therefore business as usual.

In the same way Roger seeks to undermine Hamaker. He uses elitism, describing Hamaker as an 'eccentric' (whatever that might mean) and suggesting that the latter's new ideas on plant nutrition are science fiction. How does Roger imagine that the earth's crust becomes plant food if the soil micro-organisms and plant roots are not involved?

Turning to the main contentions, we learn that 'Hamaker underestimates the contribution of remineralisation from subsoil layers.' If anyone else shares this ill-founded faith

in the fertility of subsoil and bed-rock they should take a drive along any motorway and observe the quality of growth on its embankments. Oh dear, a generalisation, establishment science has not remineralised one side of the M40 so it is not a controlled experiment so my point is not valid.

And 'the terrestrial (as opposed to lunar?) plant biomass plays a much smaller role in the global carbon cycle than he (Hamaker) supposes.' If we look at the atmospheric CO<sub>2</sub> curve for the past 30,000 years



I think it is undeniable that human activity since the industrial revolution has affected the carbon cycle. Establishment science has not decided whether it is fossil fuel consumption or biomass oxidation that wins first prize for this effect but my vote goes to the latter. I suggest that this graph, constructed using data from Keeling and Shackleton, shows quite a significant role for plant biomass in the global carbon cycle.

"... Conventional (establishment) views of the effects of an increase in CO<sub>2</sub> levels do not suggest such catastrophic impact in this way on agricultural production.' Of course they don't. If they did, then we would have to admit liability for the effect that our profligate con-

sumption is having on the agricultural production (as could be) in Ethiopia, the Sudan and many other countries suffering as CO<sub>2</sub> and deforestation alter the global climate giving them droughts and us violent extremes here in the (as was) temperate zone.

Finally, we are urged to support an establishment organisation charting the demise of the soil in this country instead of supporting the work of those who seek to renew soils worldwide giving us a world without cancer, starvation, malnutrition, land shortage, pollution, nukes etc. Act global, think local?

Hamaker may be cantankerous (he would say 'ornery!'), and there may be holes in his logic, but Roger Keyes has not refuted any part of the argument and I know that remineralisation works, giving phenomenal plant growth and quality.

Instead of standing on the sidelines (or sitting on the fence) nit-picking allegedly ecological groups like PERG could better use their talents to identify sources of gravel and other natural rock mixtures that will be our fertiliser source when NPK agribusiness is finally recognised as the colossal fraud it clearly is.

Many people have responded positively to this message, including scientists who acknowledge that we don't yet have all the answers in our university curricula. For those who think there are more pressing political problems I offer the following to our list of ecological tenets:

REALITY IS THAT WHICH DOES NOT GO AWAY IF YOU IGNORE IT.

Harry Alderslade  
15 Lake Street, Oxford OX1 4RN

## Conferring Against Cruise

David Taylor writes:

THREE HUNDRED PEOPLE from all parts of the campaign gathered in Manchester on the weekend of March 16/17 to discuss plans for future campaigning against Cruise. Ninety workshops - so many different dates, ideas and information; it would be impossible to report on them all.

Cruisewatch provided the first speaker and impressed everyone with details of how they track Cruise every time it leaves Greenham. I learnt afterwards that one of their groups had spotted the convoy on their way back from the Conference. On that outing the convoy was stopped for ten minutes by protesters. One man managed to get into the cab of one of the launchers, and three women entered a Cruise silo on the convoy's return to base. More women are needed to help with the gate watch at Greenham: if you've got any spare time, please contact Nighwatch (01-985 5434). Clearly Cruise is not 'melting unnoticed' into the countryside!

The base itself is still surrounded by some six camps, and more are planned if they can get enough volunteers. Morale seems to be high: they are re-launching the Greenham newsletter and have made plans for a walk across Salisbury Plain, starting at Avebury on April 30 and finishing at Stonehenge for Beltane (May 4/5). December 12 (anniversary of Cruise's arrival in Britain) will this year be a 'national day of mourning.' Everyone is being asked to organise local actions on this theme.

Discussions on Molesworth and Alconbury focussed on the need for better coordination of local campaigning. One of the Alconbury 7, who face up to ten years' imprisonment for 'conspiracy', urged us not to forget the vital role that Alconbury plays (as command centre) in the deployment programme at Molesworth. Their trial date has been fixed for June 10 or 17 in Northampton. The Alconbury Seven Defence Campaign is now based c/o Pat Quinn, 12 Axiom Avenue, Westwood, Peterborough (0733 260590). Their newsletter costs £1 unwaged and £2 waged for six issues. All activists are asked to subscribe to the monthly Molesworth and Alconbury Bulletin - £3 from the Old School House, Clopton, Kettering, Northants.

National CND came under heavy fire at the Conference for being centralised, out of touch, and for failing to provide the coordination, finance and impetus that the Cruise campaign needs. Conference overwhelmingly

agreed to set up an autonomous Cruise coordination group. It remains to be seen whether CND is prepared to back this group.

Much of the most interesting input came from overseas delegates. I attended a workshop run by one of the peace camps at Comiso in Sicily. They have used tax resistors money to buy a 35m x 400m piece of land next to the fence. To support themselves the campers are using the land to grow vines and tomatoes. In the summer they cater for large numbers of visitors; but one of the most interesting aspects for me was the name, Vigna Verde (Green Vine). Apparently the name was taken from an environmental group, Green Swan, and is being used deliberately to link the project in with the green movement throughout the world.

It will however be the input of the Pacific women that will be remembered. Two native women took it in turns to tell us about the Campaign for a Nuclear-Free and Independent Pacific. After forty years of nuclear mining, resting and dumping there is now a powerful groundswell of opposition throughout the region, most effectively illustrated by Aotearoa's (New Zealand's) decision to ban American nuclear ships from its ports.

In her closing speech Tiki, the Maori woman, asked us to uphold the British end of the Waitangi Treaty which, signed 150 years ago, guaranteed the Maori people rights over their own land. She summed up her frustration with our Euro-centric attitude towards nuclear missiles when she said, "You ain't seen nothing. We know what it's like to be the parents of jelly babies."

## Dover Green

FOR TWO AND A HALF days at the end of March the town of Dover had a remarkably green tinge, as over 600 delegates from 19 nations converged on the Town Hall for the Second International Green Congress.

Such a congress is a strange beast, part carnival, part political convention, part opportunity to 'network' and meet up with old friends. It was obvious that its amorphous nature attracted people for all these reasons and others. The show was well provided with star speakers; the Greens have now succeeded in creating their own firmament, brightest of all being Petra Kelly, loved it seems by

everyone except her own party, some of whom pointedly refrained from applauding her speech at the Saturday night rally. Fritjof Capra, green guru rather than green politician; Leopold Kohr, who's been saying it all since the mid-80s; Mary Kaldor from END; Janet Johnstone from Amnesty International... all were paraded before our eyes and received with varying degrees of rapture or respect.

The congress had a problem. It wasn't a decision-making body, it was a giant rally. The 'debates' - on agriculture, regionalism, green economics, or green politics in action - essentially consisted of a series of speakers of varying quality (mostly not very good because they were academics or bureaucrats who went on for much too long), mostly men (in fact no women speakers apart from the organisers until the final session on Sunday morning), and very little opportunity for debate mainly because the platform speakers went on so long and were aided and abetted by floor contributors who suffered from the same disease.

I put it down to the "tyranny of structurelessness" - the chairing was too feeble for fear of seeming authoritarian; but I for one was longing by Saturday afternoon for those happy days spent at Labour Party conferences where the platform speakers had 5 minutes and the floor 3, and you had the mike cut off in mid-sentence if you didn't stick to it!

Yes, the main 'debates' were pretty boring - no real debate. The workshops were better, though the attempt to get everyone to introduce themselves in the one I went to (on Eco-socialism, popular planning and the GLC) mis-fired badly: more than 40 people attended, it took for ever, and nobody could hear anyone more than three seats away from them...

In spite of this, most people enjoyed themselves, the bar was open pretty much continuously, and Dover District Council must have made a fortune on it - as for 90% of the time there were very many more people out of the main hall chatting with their friends (new or otherwise) over a drink or some food, than were listening to the 'debates'. Certainly I was stimulated by the unofficial activities - like waking up in the morning at the YMCA to find I'd crashed beside a German MEP who enthused about his organic farm outside Kiel. I thought, I wonder how many Labour MEPs are still slumming it with the natives?

Events of this kind have value in making international contacts - and,

for the British, in hearing about the practical realities attendant upon election and even, occasionally, government (e.g. Liege with its Green/Social Democrat coalition). But its method of operation was at variance with its aim. A one-off rally with famous names is fine, but days of non-debate using this format (especially with the hassle of translation) is debilitating. A more closely structured workshop format where real exchanges of experience and opinion could be heard would be a lot more productive.

Martin Stott

## Independent Eco for Wales

Tony Fletcher writes:

AT LAST AUTUMN'S Eco Conference in Southport, the Wales Declaration of Intent was read out to a fairly enthusiastic reception - though only after last-minute behind-the-scenes attempts to get it stopped. I think I now know why this attempt was made to stop us.

Our Declaration simply stated that with effect from the next Autumn Conference Wales Eco would become financially and administratively autonomous. In other words we were simply putting decentralist principles into effect.

Now I've heard it said that the reason behind our desire to become autonomous is tied in somehow with a desire to assert a sense of Celtic identity. Well, while that is certainly true, it is in fact only a small part of the thinking behind it. Quite simply, we're doing it because it's right that we should. We are also doing it because it's about time that someone actually started to be decentralist. We feel very strongly that only when someone actually takes such a step (and makes it work, which we are determined to do) will others see that it can be done. While accepting in part the argument that Eco needs at the moment to exert a lot of effort in holding itself together, preventing another post-election drain of membership, we don't think that that of itself is sufficiently powerful an argument for us not to go ahead.

At the time the declaration was made the reasons for going ahead were probably largely intuitive. However in the intervening months a lot of thinking has been done about the possible consequences of our move. This has been brought to a head in a way when Eco's plans for future

organisation were unveiled. Basically, all Area organisation would be abolished, with only a Centre and local parties remaining. Sounds decentralist enough, until you realise that no one would be allowed to organise in any other way.

So where would that leave Wales Eco? In my opinion, totally split from UK Eco. Think about it: Eco's plans would still leave one central organisation with a lot of small sub-divisions. In other words, a vertical hierarchical set-up. And Wales Eco could in no way be autonomous in any sense of the word within such a set-up.

Which argument, it seems to me, can only point in one direction. Namely, a federalist solution. Or, to be more precise, a Federation of Ecology Parties of the British Isles. The more I think about this concept, the more 'right' it feels. It is actually a very simple idea - any group of people, in any locality of whatever size, could form an Ecology Party and become part of a Federation. Quite literally, if the whole of England wanted to be an Ecology Party, that would be fine. As it would be if my street wanted to do the same. Beautiful: replace a vertical relationship, with all that implies in terms of power, with a horizontal one, a sharing, a partnership.

Such an idea would of course not preclude having a Federation office with full-time workers (as Eco has at present), or any party asking for help from time to time, again as happens now. But, most importantly, we would have started to practise decentralism in a meaningful and practical way.

Lobbying at Dover I met with almost unanimous approval for the principle: even Eco 'bigwigs' thought the idea great ('but not just yet, please!'). It seems certain that Scotland will join Wales in both declaring autonomy and pursuing Federalism within Eco, and one of the English regions could also follow suit. I am convinced that we both can and must win the arguments. If Eco is to mean anything, it must start practising what it preaches - and the time for that is now.

NETWORK exists to spread news of what's going on in the green movement. We try to make use of all the material we're sent - so write in today!

## Nuclear-free Fortnight

Lindy Williams writes:

MAY 11 - 24 IS the Ecology Party's nuclear-free fortnight. It will be the launch of a campaign which covers the whole nuclear chain from uranium mining to waste disposal, and puts forward green alternatives to nuclear defence and energy.

During the fortnight the campaign co-ordinators will be visiting local Ecology Parties around the country taking an exhibition of renewable energy technology, peace education, and the Atomic Energy Authority's schools posters with a little bit of added information! Each local party will hold a public meeting with a local and a national speaker. The emphasis will be on the relevant local issue - power station, waste transport or reprocessing - and the campaign will develop as the local party wants it to with the coordinators acting as an ideas exchange and helping with publications.

The campaigning booklet is written without technical jargon and is designed for people who have not thought about nuclear issues other than as something remote and unlikely. The purpose of the campaign is to show that there is a nuclear issue everywhere, and that every contribution to opposing it is vital. The way the nuclear industry can stumble along with total disregard for future generations is symptomatic of the centralised power, the vast profits, and the undemocratic processes that are governing our lives. In these circumstances we are all reduced to mere statistics: by campaigning against the whole nuclear industry it should be possible to demonstrate that it is people who are affected by its hazards, not meaningless numbers. Local campaigning brings back the human factor and gives people the strength to speak out against being exploited. The campaign against waste dumping in Billingham is proof of what can be achieved.

The tour will visit (in May): Lichfield (11), Canterbury (13), Havering (14), Dorchester, Dorset (15), Bristol (16), Plymouth (17), Exeter (18), Southport (21), Leeds (22), Chesterfield (23), and Bedford (24).

For further information please send an sae to the coordinators: Lindy Williams and Danny Powell, Prospect House, Long Preston, Skipton, North Yorkshire BD23 4QH.

## Network in Brief

**SEVERNSIDE CAMPAIGN AGAINST RADIATION** have organised the first national conference on 'The Medical Effects of Low Level Radiation' (Cathedral Rooms Gloucester, June 15/16). Speakers include Dr Alice Stewart, James Cutler, Dr Robin Russell Jones, and John Urquhart. Details: Sue Haverly, Hillside Cottage, Viney Woodside, Lydney, Gloucester GL15 4IX. (Or phone Barbara French: 02318 327.)

**THE DEFENCE COMPONENTS and Equipment Exhibition** will be held at the Metropole Hotel, Brighton May 14-16: for details of opposition, ring 0273 692880.

**BEYOND NATO** is the subject of a CND day school, County Hall, London on May 18. Speakers: Bruce Kent and Jonathon Porritt. Details: Linda Churnside, CND, 11 Goodwin Street, London N4.

**BREAD NOT BOMBS** actions everywhere in the week May 20 - 26. Info: sae to CAAT, 5 Caledonian Rd, London N1.

**FESTIVAL LIST** of folk, green and hippy events in 1985 now available for a sae from: STONE, 45 Westwood Hill, London SE26 6NS (01-767 1715).

**THE LIBERAL ECOLOGY GROUP** is holding a one-day conference on the global and domestic aspects of the politics (and policies) of food production and better eating on Saturday May 11 in London. Details: Robert Hutchinson, 77 Dresden Road, London N19 3BG.

**THE LONDON ECOLOGY CENTRE** opens soon at 21 Endell Street, Covent Garden, with meeting rooms, an info centre and ecology shop. It is the result of an initiative by the GLC.

**A WEEKEND ENVIRONMENTAL FESTIVAL** is being planned by the GLC for June 1/2 using space in County Hall and the adjacent Jubilee Gardens. Info: London's Green Weekend, Room 11, County Hall, London SE1; or tel. 01-737 4144 (Jan McHarry) or 01-986 8755 (Ian Maxwell). Creche available.

**TWO YOUTH CAMPAIGNERS** have been appointed by the Ecology Party, and a leaflet is available. A campaign newsletter, Green Action, will appear bi-monthly from June 1 (6 issues for £2.20). Write to Steve Mynard, The Elms, Weston Park West, Bath.

**A WOMEN'S MARCH** from Avebury to Stonehenge (April 30 - May 3) across Salisbury Plain will involve Reclaim the Plain actions and trespass on military land, followed by intensive Cruise-watch activities throughout May. Details: Di McDonald, 30 Westwood Road, Southampton (554434).

**DENMARK'S GREEN PARTY**, De Grønne, is organising an International Green Island Camp July 18 - 26. 'The idea of the camp is to develop our awareness of alternative ways of life through experience. The emphasis will be on playing, eating, acting and working together.' Children and young people will be specially involved. Info: J C Brun, GL. Kalkbraenderivej 64, 5TV. 2100 Copenhagen. Phone: 45.1.421132 or 45.1.428870.

**BNFL'S URANIUM ENRICHMENT** plant at Capenhurst on the the Wirral is the target of a poster parade on May 11 along the A41, followed by a rally with green speakers. 1.30 - 4 pm. Info: 051-708 7764 or 051-728 7225.

**BRIG OUBRIDGE AND JONATHON PORRITT** are among the speakers at this year's Emerson College international summer workshop, July 21 - 27. The theme is 'Living Peace'. Details: Summer Workshop, Emerson College, Forest Row, Sussex RH18 5JX.

**OXFORD GREEN GROUP** is holding a Green Week May 19 - 25, including talks, seminars and actions. Details from Kevin Armstrong (0865 250008).

**THE LADAKH ECOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT** Project has produced its first newsletter: small donation to Ladakh Project, Henbant Fach, Crickhowell, Powys.

**THE ECOLOGY PARTY** is fielding candidates in about 9% of the seats in the County Council elections on May 2. An Eco councillor was recently elected Mayor of Bideford.

**ON THE AGENDA** at an open-air Green Collective gathering in early May is a proposal to turn the collective into the 'Green Network', bringing independent green groups into membership of the new Network.

**STONEHENGE** Festival has been threatened with injunctions by the National Trust. Now the site has been surrounded by razor wire - just like Molesworth.

**FESTIVALS AND GATHERINGS** for May and June include: May 6, Serendipity Productions Fair in Norfolk (write 5 Red Lion Street, Aylsham NR11 6ER). May 17/19 Earth Spirit Festival, Winter Gardens, Malvers (0684-299317). May 25 Strawberry Fair, Cambridge. May 25/26 Elephant Folk and Blues, St German, Cornwall (7m west of Plymouth): write Elephant Arts Co-op, Stables, Port Eliot, St German, Cornwall (0579 70563). May 25/27 Fairs against Famine, Long Marston Aerodrome, 6m south of Stratford upon Avon (0359 70798). May 27 Winchester CND street festival. June 2 Beverley Rainbow Festival, The Hurn, nr Beverley Racecourse (0469 30721). June 15/16 Leamington Festival of Int Understanding and Peace (7th annual, 60,000 people go); write 18 Lillington Rd, Leamington Spa, Warwick (0926 27773). June 21/23 Glastonbury CND Festival, advance tickets only, numbers limited. Green Field: contact 0271 830332. June 22/23 S E London Green Fair, Fordham Park, New Cross (01-318 6628).

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