

# GREEN LINE

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OF THE GREEN  
MOVEMENT  
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30p

Murray Bookchin:  
Beyond the Freeze

Gender balance

Is Jesus green?



# MAKE IT GREEN

# GREEN LINE

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The Green movement is diverse, but the sense of common identity is growing. A common understanding of the absolute need to respect all creation, and never to become so obsessed with detail as to lose sight of the whole, inspires a visionary approach to life which manifests itself in various ways: there are greens active in the peace and anti-nuclear movements, campaigning for human and animal rights, working in political parties, engaging in NVDA, and bringing a new insight to the women's movements. There are green socialists, green anarchists, green pacifists - greens everywhere!

Green Line is independent of any one strand of the movement. The more information you feed in, the more your interests will be reflected here. We try to make the gap between the reader and the printed page as small as possible, and that task is best approached from your end as well as this one.



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**DEADLINES:** This autumn we shall publish on October 1, November 1 and December 1 ('New Year Issue' lasting until January 31). Articles must reach us by the 7th of the preceding month to be considered, but the earlier the better. News can be taken later (up to the 21st), letters until the 14th. Keep articles and letters short: we do have to cut some of the letters.



## Sp a word

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# EGG ON THE ROYAL'S FACE

THIS YEAR'S Royal Show, held from July 4 - 7 at the National Agricultural Centre at Stoneleigh, Warwickshire, was the setting for the first major UK co-ordinated promotion by the food industry of its 'Naturally British' wares. Suffering from growing food and drink imports and recognising the implications of spreading consumer concern about food quality, the food and farming industries earlier this year set up 'Food From Britain', with government support. This new co-ordinating group is designed to "identify markets for products and help growers, processors and manufacturers get into these markets - or indeed expand their share of markets they are already in."

Behind the slick packaging, pious statements about 'the national interest', and the ambiguous slogan 'Naturally British' lay a host of half-truths and the sickly-sweet smell of profit at consumer expense. The slogan and its logo - a pastoral scene with cows, sheep and pigs in a grass field against a landscape of mixed fields with hedgerows and cosy farm buildings - were so clearly an attempt to mislead the consumer that they became the centre of a controversy that will continue beyond the Show. In the same Food Hall as the Food from Britain (FFB) centre-piece the Soil Association, supported by the other organic producers' organisations, had a stall to launch the 'National Consumer Campaign for Organic Food'. Quite justifiably they found the FFB slogan misleading, although they supported the idea of the promotion.

A leaflet condemning the deception and exposing the falsity of 'Naturally British' was distributed, provoking the FFB organisers to defend their promotional packaging. The leaflet pointed to the unnatural fertilisers, pesticides, fungicides, herbicides, antibiotics, hormones, etc. used to produce the food, and the hundreds of millions of £'s of feedstuffs imported for so-called British livestock. The Soil Association demanded that the FFB remove the slogan immediately, and concluded their leaflet by pointing to the "truly natural and really British food" available from organic producers throughout Britain.

The FFB organiser tried to play the whole controversy down by saying that there was a place in the market for organic foods and that they would like to work with the organic producers. The slogan and logo had been extensively researched by their advertising agency and found to be acceptable to the consumer and perfectly legal. Initially it seemed they were saying it was all a matter of semantics, and 'naturally' in this case meant 'of course', but later they were saying that the organic producers should stick to the term 'organic' to avoid confusion.

However, the emphasis in the FFB handouts was on "the fresh and lightly processed food" and on "British food", and the overall objective was to "change how British food and drink is perceived" at home and abroad. Peter Segger, a Soil Association council member, found 42 'outrageous' products on display in the FFB stand - including lemon curd, lemon squash, peanut butter, chili con carne, Primula cheese (90% imported), bottled peaches, and chocolate snowballs! The FFB were so clearly caught in the act of deception, and most of the press and public felt the Soil Association had a good case. For the general press it was a major story, and the Soil Association got fair coverage in regional and national papers, on local and national radio and on television.

## Agripower

Although the editorials in the Farmers Weekly and Farmers Guardian slated the organic movement, their reports were balanced and fair - as were those in the rest of the farming press. Many farmers at the Royal who were initially outraged at the 'malicious attack' on the FFB, once informed, saw that it was all a big game for the food processors - and that any other beneficiaries were secondary. Yet though there were many non-farming consumers at the show who were made aware of the deception, the bulk of the general public are unaware of it... as yet. With £15m of government funds over the initial five years, the FFB has a massive advantage over the Soil Association and anyone else who dares confront

the lies. Their allies, the agri-chemical companies and the large farmers 'represented' by the NFU, are unlikely to remain silent, especially as they have already come under severe criticism from similar directions.

Just wandering around the Royal Show, one began to wonder how the earth-destroying march of agri-business will ever be stopped. The financial and political power is everywhere, and the facade of British democracy becomes more apparent as one sees how the web of economic constraint entraps farmers and consumers alike. And with all the capital the companies had on display in gleaming machinery tilted to catch the eye, the Royal Agricultural Society charged £6.80 per person to get in for the day!

Yet, despite these extra-parliamentary activities of the Conservative Party, the Soil Association demonstrated how powerful truth is. Not only did they manage to point out the falsity of the "Natural British" slogan, but they also effectively put forward the real article. The launch of the 'National Consumer Campaign' was a resounding success, living up to its objectives: (1) to protect the public from unnecessary abuse to their food and educate on alternatives; (2) to encourage the consumption of organically produced food; (3) to improve the understanding of the link between farming practice and diet.

As part of the Campaign, the Henry Doubleday Research Association have produced "The Organic Food Guide" - which gives a list of outlets for organic produce throughout Britain. It also includes four informative articles on modern farming, free range eggs, organically grown food, and problems with meat and animal products; and there is a section describing the various groups involved in the organic movement. This guide can be of positive use to anyone wishing to help the Campaign stand up to the food machine of agribusiness. With it you can not only get to buy organic produce direct, but it might also be possible to find ways of working with these producers locally, to publicise the efficiency and sustainability of organic food production. There are also links that we must make with other rural issues both social and environmental. Genuinely organic agriculture

can only thrive in an ecological context and therefore the consumers and producers must not only exchange ideas but also work for alternative social and economic structures throughout the local community.

Such an approach also means building up links with agricultural colleges and Young Farmers Clubs; since it is essential that the farmers of tomorrow are given all the facts and encouraged to take a more caring and long-term approach to food, farming and the general use of land and resources. Amongst a handful of other more positively oriented stands at the Royal, that of the National YFC boded well for the future with their 'Water for South Kordofan' display. They are trying to encourage the local clubs to inform people about the water problem in this area of the Sudan and raise funds for water pumps. This scheme is in co-operation with UNICEF: it is something we should encourage the YFCs in, and hope they will build on the awareness gained.

### Help needed

Ultimately, however, the question must be asked: is all the time and energy expended in confronting the food machine on its own home ground all worthwhile? This time round the farming establishment was caught unawares, and next time it will not be so careless. It is possible that the organic movement will not be allowed a stand next time, although they did win 3rd place in the competition for the Best Food Hall stand. If it is allowed in again, there will need to be more support, and they will need to be even more sure of the facts to support their views. Given the rate of 'organic growth', that should not be too difficult.

Yet when one looks at the links in the food production and distribution chain, one realises that a large part of our energies (be we converted producers or consumers) must not go into combating the points of money and power. Rather, we must reach the producers and consumers who, given the right information, encouragement and support, can change their 'habits'. The emphasis must be local and personal, and the means can vary from 'selective canvassing' to green 'Not the Royal Shows'.

Roland Clarke



# ON THE MASCULINE

SO FAR in this series of articles, in attempting to share an understanding of the mechanisms of projection and how they affect our relationships with each other and the world, I have predominantly dwelt on the darker side - violence, repression, prejudice. Attention is now focussed on the lighter side - towards self-fulfilment, love and spiritual experience. As has been said before, we learn about who we are and what our potentials are through relationship, and for most of us the relationship between the sexes plays a very substantial role in that process.

Each of us is a physical blend of male and female, whatever our sex. We have a father and a mother and share our biological make-up with them. As we grow

into the world we learn to relate, through parents and others, to both sexes and build up a 'model' of maleness and femaleness with which we confront the world. As we reach physical maturity we learn to identify ourselves as masculine or feminine. At some time in our development, usually adolescence, we withdraw ourselves from identifying with our external models (parents) in order to reassess our psychological models of masculine and feminine in the light of our individual, now independent, needs and experience. As we grow older, we commonly forget our dual sexual inheritance - which we must rediscover in order to feel 'whole'. The pressures in our culture have made this difficult, however, since there is great 'parental' resistance to maintain that we are one thing or the other within

tight stereotyped roles. This 'parental' resistance of the cultural norm is no doubt born of the actual parental resistance many of us will have experienced, to becoming psychologically independent human beings able to express ourselves as a masculine/feminine duality.

There resides in us a sexuality which is the opposite of our externally manifest sex: masculine in the woman, feminine in the man. These have long been recognised and were identified by Jung as animus and anima respectively. It is also pointed out, and is important to recognise, that these inner sexual entities have distinct identities of their own. These figures are to be related to as if we were dealing with another person. If we ignore them or fail to develop a good relationship to them, they are able to create havoc in our lives; like everything else, they have a dark side and a light side.

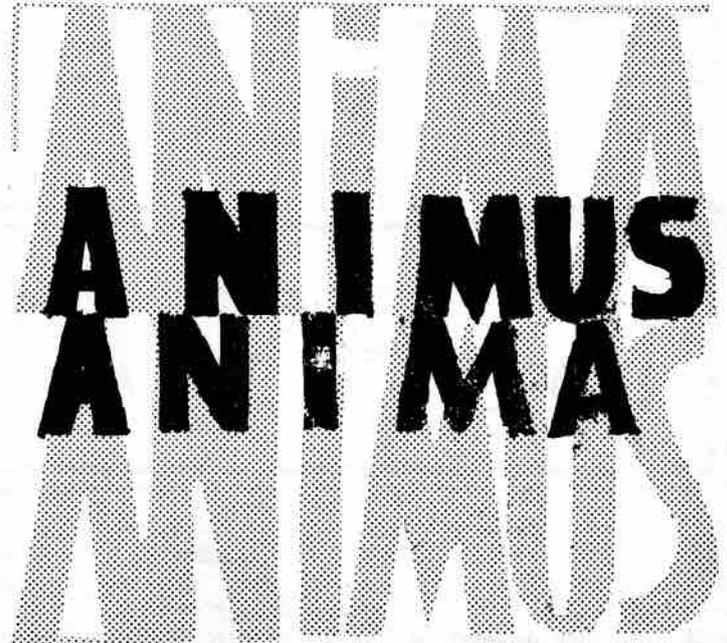
These inner realities also have a particular function which Jung and those who have succeeded him have gone a considerable way to identifying. Their primary function is to bring us to greater self-awareness and fulfilment. In men, the anima acts as a guide in feelings and emotions, as the muse or inspirer and as a guide to the 'untamed' forces of nature. With a good relationship to anima men will be guided in what is beneficial to the species and to 'nature' by being in touch with those forces which he cannot manipulate and cogniscent of the consequences of attempting to manipulate where he should not. The anima also represents the 'soul' of man to which, naturally, he is compellingly drawn.

In women, the animus is a guide in giving form to ideas, to organising and focussing. He also acts as the inner spiritual guide to the soul. With a good relationship to animus women are empowered with the necessary discriminating qualities to give form to that which is beneficial and nurturing to the world and powerful guardians of nature. Both sexes, balanced within themselves, are not subject to being pushed around emotionally by each other.

In order to understand and deal creatively with these phenomena it is necessary to recognise our psychological mechanism and the symbols with which it operates. Our minds work in symbols and we communicate in symbols. Through meditation and inner seeking we can contact these symbols within us. We can learn to see (literally) the symbolic images within us and, learning to understand and communicate

compelling attractions. We know well enough that we do not choose to 'fall in love' - it happens or it doesn't and there are many varieties of experience. There are however a number of widely shared experiences which have been written about for centuries: the sense of elation, of 'recognising' the other, the wanting to 'possess' the other, the sense of 'belonging' together and so on, and the connection between love and death in various guises.

Projection can also occur, let it be said, upon on the inner figure of another person of the same sex. Such a projection does not imply a homosexual relationship, but such a projection will almost



certainly play a part in such a relationship.

Projections do not occur haphazardly, however; we see ourselves reflected in appropriate mirrors. By an 'appropriate' mirror is meant a person who actually has in THEMSELVES sufficient characteristics in common with OUR unconscious symbols (anima or animus) to be seen as a reflection. The common characteristics in US act like hooks on which the projections are easily hung by others. Here lies the basis for much confusion; since so much of what we may admire or adore (or hate, etc.) in another person actually belongs to that person, we can be slow to recognise that AT THE SAME TIME a projection is taking place; that what we FEEL in relation to

# FEMININE BALANCE

with them, have direct contact and rapport with that part of our consciousness that normally remains out of our awareness. Thus through inner seeing we develop insight. Elements of our nature that are not looked at directly in this way may be described as unconscious. Those parts that remain unconscious show themselves to us continually, however. The way we come into contact with our unconscious, initially, is through relationship. Our unconscious content is projected onto our environment so that we may see ourselves reflected, as it were, in the world. The world is our mirror. If we can acknowledge that the world is our mirror, we may look and see what is 'me'

Projection of the inner figures of anima and animus on to people of the opposite sex results in very

those qualities is a reflection of parts of ourselves that we have yet to recognise and acknowledge as 'me'.

I believe myself to be living in one of the most exciting phases of history. In psychological terms, women are taking a stand to be seen and acknowledged as women and refusing to act as convenient anima-figure dustbins for men who cannot or have not come to terms with their own inner realities. This is a challenge for men, for when anima figures 'step out of line' (with the expectation of men) men are forced to come to terms with their anima directly. I feel confident that most women in the liberation movement will continue to provide a 'good model' (but THEIR model) of the feminine that will assist

men in coming to terms with anima. At the same time it is important that women find good models of the masculine in men and not (as some seem to) throw out the positive with the negative by rejecting men outright. The responsibility for the present imbalance between masculine and feminine values must be shared by us all, and we must work hard to get it right. Perhaps we should also be cautious about what 'right' is: we are learning, discovering; we need each other to test what the right balance is; we need to find it together, and we can only do this by relating to each other in our day-to-day lives.

Meanwhile, we cannot hope to get the balance right between us (as men and women) if we do not have that balance within us as individuals. This is something we can work at. It is one reason why personal growth work is possibly the most important educational enterprise of our lives. By regular

working in groups we can learn to understand the language of our unconscious and latent potentials for synthesising, creating, nurturing, organising and communicating can be developed. We can meet our opposites within us and bring about radical changes where necessary in order to play a fuller and more effective role in bringing about a world society of balance and co-operation.

Finally, in my experience there is no end to projections, attraction or love. These things are not diminished by claiming our true nature but rather enhanced. For when projections have been understood and reclaimed and owned by the self, still deeper projections/feelings/attractions are allowed to surface which are sources of continuing delight, fulfilment, wonderment, and we are led ever deeper into our nature... where the distinction between the spiritual and the mundane dissolves.

Robert Fielder

# IS JESUS GREEN?

IF THIS is to be taken as a serious question, the assumption implied - that Jesus IS - entirely outweighs in importance any colour that might be ascribed to Him. If after nearly 2000 years He still is, then He must be 'in the nature of things' and at the centre of all significant human experience. In these days it is most unwise to attempt to be specific about who are Christians, but at least they believe that the place of Jesus is at the heart of things, and that is why they call Him (and no one else) 'the Lord'. And there are people who believe that a supremely important experience in these days is the ecological perception, directed as they believe it must be to the whole creation. They do not use the word 'creation' loosely; and misunderstanding would be avoided if it were understood that we the perceivers are also part of the perceived. This perception provides them with the two necessities for adequate living, vision and discipline, and gives shape to the judgement under which all human living stands.

The election manifesto of the Ecology Party affirms quite clearly the necessity for vision (p.3), and discipline is the necessary concomitant to any lifestyle worthy of the ecological description. About judgement the membership is more discreet and content with a secularised, 'this worldly' version. Nevertheless in the Green Movement as a whole and in the party in particular there is a wealth of insight and concern which for Christian believers stem from the Christian revelation itself. Hence a diffidence about the attempts to pinpoint the Christians.

But it happened at a party conference at Malvern two years ago that some of the delegates were moved to form themselves into the Christian Ecology Group - within the Ecology Party, rather in the same way that members of other political parties have formed themselves into ecology groups within their parties. This 'focussing' tendency is important for ecology. But at Malvern it was NOT an act of discrimination. No one supposed that there is some sort of 'Christian' ecology superior to or other than the

ecology to which we are all answerable. For members of the group it was the Christian experience itself that had led them into the party.

Does the is-ness of Jesus direct those who believe and trust in Him towards any particular political colouring? Those for whom 'politics' is an embarrassment to their religious beliefs answer and sometimes react quite violently to this question with a fervent denial. Jesus, and the religious attitudes which they believe derive from Him, must be kept pure and unspotted from the world - or at least from that part of the world upon which politics impinge. But those who believe that Jesus Himself veritably took flesh and dwelt amongst us - which is what we mean by His being 'in the nature of things' - must accept a political responsibility. For them there is no escape into any form of otherworldliness. The pure spirituality of the Orient, currently so attractive to westerners who are weary of the corruption of their own society, turns out to be not at all pure in its popular form and too abstract in its elitist form. Inwardness cannot be divorced from outward order, even on a bowl of rice a day: the genuine 'venture into the interior' is no escape from the dilemmas of human existence. Joy there must be. Of the Christian life it was well said, 'it must be fun!' But Christian joy is different - different from the joy of Camus' Sisyphus, who seeks and apparently finds peace in submission to the absurd and in the celebration of meaninglessness. Christian joy lives from the mysterious one-ness with Jesus who in His earthly days "offered up prayers and supplications, with loud cries and tears" and who was the first to hang between heaven and earth, NOT AS A ROMANTIC IMAGE, BUT AS A SIGN OF OUR TRUE SITUATION. ("Nomad of the Spirit" - page 40 - by Bernardin Schellenberger, a German Cistercian monk.)

## The Offence of the Gospel

Enquirers and believers alike need to know that Jesus was an offence to all men, including the religious and the politically minded. He saves because He

speaks from beyond and not by his attractiveness to any group or kind of people. He saves by virtue of His obedience to Him whom He called "His Father", which is what we mean by 'the nature of things'. To call Him 'green' would be fantasy, and there are many such fantasies in the Eco party manifesto. More kindly they might be called half truths and they usually relate to an unbalanced understanding of 'man' which neglects the darker side of his nature, his innate proneness to evil and egoism. 'Obedience' is the clue offered to us in the New Testament record and it is also the essence of the ecological perception. The writer first came across the word 'ecology' in 1950 in a book written in 1942 by K E Barlow, entitled "The Discipline of Peace". He was (and perhaps still is) a biologist and his book is about the soil and the dependence of all that is upon the soil. It is primary reading for all ecologists. On the first page the reader, who was then living in Ermelo, South Africa, summarised the book in the one word, "obedience".

Looking at Jesus from the grassroots (!) of Christian endeavour, in some places He might indeed be seen as red. Catholic priests in South America - where the inequalities between rich and poor are particularly disgusting, and militarily entrenched - are trained to expect martyrdom as part of their priestly service to their people. In that situation, to see Jesus with that purity of heart and clarity of vision without which He cannot be seen at all is to see Red and Revolution.

In the politically gentler climate of Britain the shades are softer. But Christians in the diocese of Liverpool, if they heed their bishop and read his book "Bias to the Poor", cannot fail to perceive that the revolution that Jesus demands of His followers cannot be confined to private habits and religious inclinations. From the roots of Merseyside the vision includes an essential restructuring of society, more red than pink one might suppose. But we must beware of the metaphors of colour. Grass is green, but roots are earthy brown, and ecology is about roots. We seek no verdant effect in society, but a shaking of the foundations, compared with which the socialist revolution is a mere redistribution of meal tickets.

Arthur Scargill and Margaret Thatcher are playing the same game, with dwindling resources footing the bill. There is some difference - but not much in the long run - between maintaining a worked-out coal mine and building a £200m runway on the Falkland/Malvinas islands. Ecologists are radicals, and if they wish to avoid the charge of being pious fantasists they must radicalise not only the Yogis

and the Commissars, but themselves as well. No one has spoken to this point more surely and calmly than Jesus. He speaks from 'the other side', from beyond politics and ethics, from beyond ontology itself: for He is both in the nature of things and their Maker and Redeemer. What He says to all of us, left, right and centre, is "You must be born again" - because the first time round you have got it all round. You must be reborn in obedience to life and death, to growth and the limits of growth, neither rooting up the wheat with the tares nor combining the service of God and Mammon. For Him there are no centre parties supported by strategic votes and green-tinted accessories. It is only what He calls the 'Kingdom of God' that has anything going for man, and if you put your hand to its plough, never look back. For me and I should have thought for anyone who takes the New Testament seriously, there is not a line in it that is not radical. Why else does it speak of Gospel and Good News?

It is in the nature of things that the pure in heart shall see God, that the meek shall inherit the earth, that mourners shall be comforted, and that those who truly hunger and thirst for righteousness shall be satisfied. It is the nature of things that we bless our persecutors and love our enemies, for they are in fact our brothers and sisters, children of the one family and Father. Those who describe these 'teachings' as ideals, to be relegated to a never-never land and pursued as pious options by the spiritually enfeebled, deny the Kingdom that Is, and speak on behalf of the Devil, the father of lies.

And most radical of all, think not you blessed peacemakers that He came to bring peace on a plate. "Do not think that I have come to bring peace on earth; I have not come to bring peace but a sword." (Matthew 10:34).

If we are Eco partisans or even green movers, we are at war with every 'hideous strength' that the world has ever devised. And our resources for even the most domestic and trivial encounters will ultimately be found in Him who bid us, again quite calmly and as something quite obvious, to be of good cheer because He had overcome the world. He IS, and He is both green and red, and always earthy-brown.

Tom Comber.

\*\* We apologise to readers for the traditionally sexist Christian language used in this article.  
\*\* We hope this is not a total impediment to dialogue and increased understanding between Christians and greens, and on the part of those who embrace both perspectives.



Ten forty-three. In exactly TWO MINUTES I'll ring the FIRST BELL and they'll all stand still! All that is, except your potential DEVIATE! Your FLEDGLING REBEL! Your incipient BOAT-ROCKER! THEY'LL try to move all right! THEY'LL have to learn the hard way not to move!



So I'll SCREAM at 'em and take their NAMES and give them FIVE DETENTIONS and EXTRA HOMEWORK! NEXT TIME they won't move after the first bell! Because when they've learned not to question the FIRST BELL, they'll learn not to question their TEXTS! Their TEACHERS! Their COURSES! EXAMINATIONS!



They'll grow up to accept TAXES! HOUSING DEVELOPMENT! INSURANCE! WAR! MEN ON THE MOON! BOOZE! LAWS! POLITICAL SPEECHES! PARKING METERS! TELEVISION! FUNERALS! Non-movement after the first bell is the backbone of Western Civilisation!

# MURRAY BOOKCHIN



WILL THE peace movement freeze into "nuclear freeze" and disarmament issues?

Or will it go beyond a single-issue protest movement to become a broadly educational one - a movement that confronts the vast problem of growing American militarism with its sinister implications for our democracy, our rights as individuals to control our own lives, the integrity of our environment, and our need to achieve sweeping social change?

Already the German "Greens" have broadened their opposition to nuclear power plants and missile deployment to include problems of sexism, centralisation of power, restrictions on alternative lifestyles and on community self-management. It may well be that their movement will lend itself to internal splits as a result of factions which place a strong emphasis on parliamentary politics and the manipulative mentality such a politics produces. But there is nothing wrong with agreeing to disagree and then tolerantly separating into different organisations with different goals and methods. Variety, we like to say, is the spice of life - not a New Age homogeneity that fears confrontation when it's direly needed.

What the German Greens have done for us, however, is not to enter the German parliament. They have shown us how to raise and broaden the real issues of peace. They have turned these issues into questions of social reconstruction, not only social protest. They have offered alternatives to the ills of our times, not merely lamented them.

And perhaps most importantly: they have linked armaments, ecology, sexism, lifestyle, community, direct action and decentralisation into an increasingly coherent and well-focussed programme - a comprehensive outlook for Germans that Europeans and hopefully Americans will emulate, modify, debate or complete. Whether they win or lose this endeavour is not the problem I wish to raise. What counts is that they are trying, whatever the odds, to open a new way out of a stalemate - indeed escape from the tunnel vision - that marks so many protest movements today.

They have worked at defining their own agenda for Germany, not merely reacting to the CIA or KGB's agendas. They have tried to break out of the phoney chess-game we call the Cold War in which generals, politicians, industrialists and bureaucrats set up the pieces on the board, establish the rules of the game, and then have the gall to ask us to 'beat' them in a contest of their own choosing.

The American peace movement has yet to reach this crucial level of action and alternative thinking. We tend to respond to what 'they' do up there rather than exercise our own initiative in formulating

coherent and unified views as a solution for our problems. We are good at raising such issues as the nuclear freeze, reduction in armaments, opposition to relocation plans, and peace budgets - all of which are immensely needed. But they still do not constitute a real agenda for America. Will a nuclear freeze diminish the ability of the superpowers to wipe out the world even with a fraction of the weapons that remain in their swollen arsenals? Will arms reduction totally eliminate a weaponry that can annihilate countless millions with even conventional bombs? Will a peace budget deal with the way our needful goods are equitably distributed, not merely produced, or lead to the institutional changes we require to achieve such a laudable goal?



All the fragments that make up this complex social puzzle have to be pieced together; single issues do not have to be abandoned. We need more programmatic thinking and theorising, not only more action

Consider how peace issues interlock with ecological issues. It is the domination of human by human as it is ultimately expressed in war, weaponry, and the Patton-image of the combative male that gave rise to the very notion of dominating nature. From the age of Homer's Iliad and the bronze-age warrior to the present, the war against nature in the form of resource-exploitation and lust for control of the entire living world has had its origins in the war of human beings against each other. On the other hand, the abolition of the war against nature with its all-consuming fever of domination has its roots in a sensibility of peace - of peace between humanity and nature that derives from peace between human and human. Ecology and peace are united by the grammar, vocabulary and sensibility of a respect for life as a whole, be it life in human society or in the more general web of life we call the biosphere.

Consider, too, how ecological issues interlock with feminist issues. From time immemorial, woman has been the symbol of nature revered and later, in patriarchal society, of nature degraded. The attempt to curb her rich spontaneity and to 'manage' her fecundity as the bearer of children expresses in the most personal terms the domineering male's appetite to subdue the life forms of our planet. In the subjugation of woman, he daily affronts her very being as the symbol of nature, just as his affront of nature expresses his violation of woman's identity and integrity.

Not accidentally, women have now taken increasing custody of ecological and peace issues in the form of eco-feminism and the opposition to missile-siting. The English women who stood vigil at the American military base at Greenham Common are the exact counterpart to their American sisters in Women for

MURRAY BOOKCHIN is an American pioneer of 'green anarchy'. His writings on social ecology go back to 1952, and among his best-known works are 'Post-Scarcity Anarchism' and 'Towards an Ecological Society'. This article was first published in "The Vanguard" in June 1983.

# BEYOND THE FREEZE

Life on Earth who ringed the Pentagon in protest against Washington's rearmament policies and the women who will participate at the Seneca Falls Peace Encampment in July. For the women of both countries it is not only war in its military sense that has to be eliminated but war in its ecological sense.

Finally, consider how our existence as a democracy and the libertarian traditions spawned by the American Revolution overarch this broad constellation of problems, including the freedom of our communities and the empowerment of our citizenry. Bereft of our liberties we become voiceless and passive - the debased conscripts of an all-encompassing military machine. No less than our freedom to express our views and act upon them, we must seek to perpetuate the institutions that guarantee these rights - the forms of freedom such as town meetings, the electoral accountability of public officials to the people, and the various constitutional means we use to alter public policy.

Germany's Greens have their origins primarily in battles waged by counter-cultural people around nuclear reactors, the Frankfurt Airport's plan to extend a landing strip into one of the area's last pine forests, the occupation of old buildings by squatters, the impact of an all-pervasive feminist movement, and only later, the Pentagon's attempt to site Pershing and cruise missiles on German soil.

We have not reached this broad, unified, and increasingly coherent level of social concerns. We are too focussed on trying to deal with each issue as though it can be separated from the others which loom over us. We suffer from a bad American habit of "setting priorities" rather than establishing connections in a coherent and programmatic way. The attempt to extend our democratic liberties is a striking example of a problem that can be narrowed to a "single issue" with its own "network" and "constituency" - or can be broadened to the proportions it deserves so that it becomes the cement for uniting all the other issues into the historic problem of public empowerment and grass-roots control of our social destiny. We deal with it as a matter of "civil rights" and lock it into exhausting court battles or election campaigns. Or we can deal with it as a matter of human rights that concerns the fate of our republican Constitution and our basic liberties as a free people.

## The Coming Crisis

**T**With a vast technological revolution in the offing, based on dazzling advances in cybernetics and robotics, our country is faced with long-range unemployment on a massive scale, social unrest, and ultimately a concerted effort to regiment our country by diminishing its liberties and rights.

This is no idle problem. It overshadows everything we will do in the decades ahead - that is, short of nuclear war or ecological catastrophe. Indeed, our very power to prevent war and ecological breakdown will grimly depend on our ability to preserve these very liberties and rights so painfully gained over past generations...

The industrial, military and political elites that manage America know this only too well. They are burdened by our traditional, semi-agrarian republican Constitution which continually entangles them in obstacles that guard the public interest. Limited as we may think our freedoms may be, they are too numerous and compelling to enable the elites to manage a society in which millions will have no home in a robotic economy, no stake in a cybernetic technology, and no hope in an increasingly centralised and bureaucratised political structure.

The Establishment, you can be sure, has no "tunnel vision". Nationally, it is giving more power to the FBI and CIA, training "special forces" for domestic as well as foreign control, sophisticating its surveillance technology, closing off information to the public, and trying to meld the legislative and judicial branches of the government into an increasingly imperial executive.

The entire Bill of Rights is under seige. Ultimately these powers will have to militarise the entire country on a scale that will make futuramas like 'Blade Runner' seem picayune. The trick they use is not to overhaul the Republic in one fell swoop. They pare it away piecemeal by extending executive terms of office (a six-year presidency is currently being floated in Washington and a four-year governorship in Montpelier, Vermont), by substituting bureaucratic and professional agencies for local citizen organisations, by enlarging centralised governmental functions at the expense of city and town functions. All of this, to be sure, is done in the name of "efficiency", "cost-reduction" and "expertise".

This is the Army way. It is militarism in politics, economics, and daily life as it is militarism in schools, when the ROTC plants its noxious roots. Seen in this broad light, the peace movement is fighting the larger issue of a militarised society, not only a monopoly of violence by state agencies and their armed forces. It is fighting the regimentation of people in every walk of life, not merely the conscription of our young people. It is fighting a suffocating sensibility that sees nature as mere "resources", not only people as cannon fodder. It is fighting "generals" at every level of society - in three-piece suits, laboratory coats, and academic gowns, not only brass-decorated uniforms.

Looking beyond the obvious: the struggle to prevent

# The Green Alternative

Vermont, perhaps more so than any part of our country, may enjoy the unique ability to initiate an American Green movement, just as it initiated the freeze movement nationally. We have the rich democratic traditions, the human scale, and perhaps, the "critical mass" of activists, so marvelously networked, to pull it off for the nation at large.

Can we combine our disparate networks - the peace, ecological, feminist, communal, health, educational, and co-operative - into a common interlinking coalition to provide a working example of what it means to literally "Green America," to use Charles Reich's uniquely relevant phrase for the late sixties? Can we put aside careerist ambitions, personality frictions, dogmatic disputes, Thirties and Sixties-type Cold War politics, Third World posturing and verbiage? Can we create the beginnings of a decentralised but interlocked coalition - yes, a Green Coalition - that will avoid top-down party structures and parliamentary fiascos to win our communities to the ideal of a new libertarian populism?

Such a libertarian populist movement may never shake our Green Mountains but it may eventually bring our

neighbours into a confederation of towns and cities - a new, grassroots local power - that will be the conscience and example for similar confederations elsewhere in the country. We do not need any new political parties to raise this standard of civic confederation. The institutions for doing this are very much in place, notably our town meetings and neighbourhood assemblies. What we desperately need is to create the broader linkages and agendas that will impact on our state as a whole through its communities, not its summits in Montpelier.

Above all, we have to back out of the tunnels that separate us and open our eyes to a broader vista of social change. It's time to realise that people who love liberty are people who love peace, and people who love peace are people who love a healthy environment and fecund nature. With these simple premises to unite us, we may yet stop the militaristic, dogmatic and authoritarian forces that seek to devour our future. Short of this promising path, we have every reason to believe that tunnel-vision may become real tunnels in which we will be buried as irrevocably as cadavers in the biocidal cemetery of an ecologically lifeless and radioactive world.



## DESTRUCTION BY SUBSIDY

IT IS no wonder the EEC are going bankrupt (I hear they have only 11 weeks spending money left in the kitty). Just look at the expenditure of monies on agriculture in this country where millions of pounds are spent on subsidising surpluses or 'improving' marginal lands for dubious cropping regimes.

An estimated 50% of general grant aid to agriculture is spent on disposing of surpluses - a total of about £150 million, according to Professor Tim O'Riordan of the University of East Anglia at the annual study conference of the Council for the Protection of Rural England in March 1983. At the same time, the powerful agricultural lobby has maintained security of income and income for the majority of landowners at a time when recession has meant huge redundancies in other sectors of the community.

The mis-management of agricultural finances are particularly worrying on a number of counts.

Firstly, you and I as taxpayers are indirectly providing the money for these expenditures and we are in many cases getting poor value for our 'investment'.

Secondly, the assumption that all land could (or should) be under arable crops and the fact that there is usually money to help large landowners towards this end, means that wildlife habitats (old meadows, hedges, marshland, small woods and saltings for example) are put under considerable pressure. To save a wildlife habitat now may be an extremely costly business involving heavy compensation payments to the landowner involved in order to prevent him/her converting to arable or to other intensive land uses such as conifer afforestation).

Thirdly, the last Conservative government recently changed the Agriculture and Horticulture Development (grants) Scheme which took away obligatory consultation procedures and introduced a voluntary

system of pseudo-consultation. This allowed farmers to go ahead with development plans without waiting for advice on whether they were in the best interests of the countryside or national agricultural productivity. The onus is on the landowner (as 'custodian of the countryside') to take nature conservation into consideration.

The Ministry of Agriculture may in theory refuse grant aid on projects which have not fulfilled these voluntary requirements. However, there is no evidence to show that grant refusal on these grounds has ever happened and there is general reluctance to refuse grant aid once a 'development' has been carried out. An estimated £10m has been paid out for schemes which would previously have been refused grant aid (Common Public Accounts Committee, 1982). Yet again, agriculture is practically the only industry to have escaped full public scrutiny. It has also successfully evaded its voluntary obligations to protect the countryside as embodied in a variety of legislative procedures.

At the same time, the statutory nature conservation body (the Nature Conservancy Council) is struggling on a small budget which is totally inadequate to cope with its obligations and functions as laid down in the Wildlife and Countryside Act of 1981. Much of the time of its scientific staff is spent opposing threats to prime wildlife habitats. These threats (such as intensive agriculture or forestry, land drainage etc.) are often there because their ultimate source of finance comes from other public bodies such as the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry Commission, and Water Authorities (for example).

The system is crazy. Action is needed to motivate the public and all politicians into doing something about it before it is too late. Our countryside is changing fast and we are already seeing the extension of prairie farming practices into areas traditionally famous for their green valleys, variety of scenery and teeming wildlife.

Sue Everett

# LETTERS

## Too much anarchy...

Dear GL,

I too have a deep suspicion of the 'power that corrupts' but Richard Hunt's views on 'Authority or Liberty' in GL 14 must be challenged. They have appeared several times in print just lately; it is time they were refuted in print.

It is stretching the imagination too much to suggest that today's poverty was caused directly by the Enclosure Acts. It may have descended from them (amongst other things) but 'poverty' is only relative to 'affluence' and the poor of today are generally better off materially than most people - poor and otherwise - were before enclosures.

The trouble with this country today is not that we have masses of starving poor (when did Richard last see a barefoot child on the streets of Reading?) but that we are too affluent and are using that affluence to destroy the earth.

His statement that taxation 'takes from the poor to give to the rich' just cannot be true. It may be true that the rich receive higher state benefits than the poor, but what neither he nor Legrand tells us is how the cost is shared between rich and poor. The pensioner's sole income is pension, therefore someone else must pay for it. The plain fact is - and must be - that the rich/poor bias in taxation is more pronounced than the bias in benefits. How would the pensioner gain if all taxation (and hence all benefits) were abolished?

His perennial argument that labour-saving machinery is made necessary because of 'increased labour costs due to taxation' just does not stand scrutiny. Quite apart from the fact that labour-cost is measurable only in terms of real material values (i.e. goods) not artificial money, if taxation is the only measure of labour cost, then the latter has only doubled since the dawn of taxation. But labour productivity has increased at least 30-fold since the Industrial Revolution alone. It

has increased because everyone (workers and employers alike) wanted it to increase so that they could consume more. And it continues so.

Finally, if Richard's Utopia of small self-sufficient communities (he himself has stated that the ideal size is 500 people) were taken to its ultimate conclusion the whole area of Great Britain would be covered by 100,000 such establishments, spaced throughout at about half-mile intervals.

This would be a recipe for poverty on the grand scale, to say nothing of mass claustrophobia. (sic - Ed.)

Joe Minney  
130 St Peter's Avenue  
Kettering, Northants.

## or too little

Dear GL,

'Authority or Liberty' (GL 14) was vague and had no direction. For example, Richard Hunt says that to cut taxes is libertarian. This sounds very reformist. The state will ultimately react through using legislation and the security forces if any such measures take away their profit (e.g. making recycling economical). He does not point out a way of realising his aim of 'taking back the land' without 'cutting taxes' - which as I've said is reformist.

Anarchists are surely only anarchists if they take back what is rightfully theirs through direct action.

Garry,  
The Autonomy Centre,  
8 - 10 Gt Ancoats Street,  
Manchester 4.

## Disorientated ecologist

Dear GL,

A few words in reply to Vertego (GL 14). Is Vertego the name of a disorientated Oxford ecologist or the collective persona of Green Line? (( Maybe the former, certainly not the latter! - Ed. ))

First of all may I say as a SERA person of many years' standing that Graham Carey's piece was completely over the top. There is no way that the 'green epitome' could possibly belong to

any political party. The definition of 'green' must be a wish to preserve this planet in a liveable condition for its natural lifespan until it - like the rest of us - ends up in the great black hole in the sky.

Looking after the earth is, or should be, the concern of everyone and certainly is not the monopoly of any one political tendency.

Certainly there is no way, unfortunately, that ecology can be 'kept out of politics'. Politics has a nasty way of getting into everything. Yet at least in the 'green movement' in the broadest sense we can have a reasonable degree of mutual tolerance and respect and a realisation that we have important ideas in common.

The sectarian mentality, the idea that your group has the monopoly of wisdom and 'politically correct' tactics and strategy, is a disease that has long affected the left. Let us hope it does not strike in the political ecology movement.

All I might say on Graham Carey's behalf (he may not thank me for this) is that he might have been suffering from a bad case of election fever.

I might add (it is terrible how this uncontrollable urge to make political points affects us activists) that Steve Dawe (who has all the fervour of a recent convert from the Liberals and Labour having 'seen the light') was being almost as sectarian as Graham Carey in his letter.

It is by no means clear (speaking as an outsider) that the Ecology Party is necessarily being most effective by acting like a conventional party and standing candidates wherever possible. The ecological cause might well be better served by working in 'green groups' and 'green alliances' at a local level and by encouraging dialogue and co-operation rather than simply contesting elections which polarises and divides in the nature of things.

Franz Borkenau once wrote that a 'party' has by definition only a part of the truth, and when a party claims a monopoly of virtue - as with the Communist Party in the Soviet Union - it becomes dangerous. I would not deny that the Ecology Party has had a considerable impact by standing candidates. Yet there must surely be a danger in isolating yourself in a 'green

ghetto'.

Which is why a broad-based, tolerant and diverse green movement is so very much needed.

John Bradbrook  
23 Offord Road  
London N1.

## Verdismo Italiano

Dear GL,

Late last year you printed a letter from me about agricultural communities in Italy. Things are moving slowly here and the problems are many, so maybe it's a good thing that few people answered. Patience! Jerusalem wasn't built in a day.

The Green movement is very slow in getting going here too, and is practically non-existent where we are. Further north, especially around Venice, Milan and Turin, there is more activity, probably because the problems are more noticeable. Interesting initiatives are: Arcipelago Verde, a green news agency and loose national network based in Milan; and AAM Terra Nuova, a very good bi-monthly magazine about agriculture, food and alternative medicine and other related things which comes from Rome.

The Italian anti-nuclear groups recently held an Anti-Nuclear Week which centred on the proposed reactor sites and around the northern cities, but news of it didn't filter through to these parts and we were busy haymaking anyway.

The peace camp at Comiso is another important action point. There is a fund going to buy land scheduled for extensions to the base, though the last I heard they had only 1000 lire (50p), and AAM Terra Nuova is organising a fund to supply whole foods to the peace camp. The objective for this summer is to block work on the base for at least July and August, together with "the entire world pacifist movement".

Ian, Gabriella and Frank  
Paese Vecchio 20  
63020 Curretta di Servigliano  
Ascoli-Piceno  
Italy.

## Which way, politically?

Dear GL,

I read Richard Mackie's letter in GL 14 with interest. If he really does think that SERA have had a distinct "greening" effect on the Labour Party, then I apologise to him and SERA for what I implied. However, as for Eco members sinking their energies in the Labour movement, I might do so personally, but on these conditions:-

(1) The Labour Party unequivocally accepts, as THE most fundamental part of its whole philosophy, that resources are running out (including deforestation and extinction of species), that industry has to be drastically scaled down, pollution eliminated, and that the philosophy of work is changed from one of production to that of maintenance.

(2) They unequivocally accept that the arms industry has to be phased right down (eliminated completely if possible), and the world arms trade has to cease.

(3) That massive aid must be given to the Third World as a matter of supreme urgency, and that this - like the two points above - be a central part of their manifesto.

If the Labour Party ever arrives at a situation where both the activists and the "rank and file" all enthusiastically accept these points as central to their whole philosophy, then I might seriously consider joining. But until then, NO WAY! And in any case, if the Labour Party were ever to get to such a position, I can't help wondering what the Ecology Party would be like then! For me, the best way to influence the Labour Party (and any other) is to build a new party that says, "If you won't, we will."

SERA, FoE, ECO - it's a hard job for us all. Perhaps it's just as well that all our eggs aren't in one basket.

Dave Rowsell  
90 Gorwydd Road  
Gowerton  
Swansea SA4 3AN

Dear GL,

To the several correspondents in GL 14 who seem to feel post-election gloom, when all the Ecology Party members I have met are full of hope and enthusiasm over the huge number of new members and the impact of the Election Call broadcast (evidence that once people have the chance to hear us, they respond), I would like to challenge the view that 'there is little point in the Ecology Party going into another General Election with more of the same'. Why not? I think we have got it just right, working locally on as many projects and policies as we can and an extra push to get our views over when election time comes.

Cynthia Warth  
6 Fairlight Avenue  
Woodford Green, Essex IG8 9JP.

Dear GL,

Some GL readers may well have been sceptical when I announced the formation of SDP Greens in GL 10 - so I would just like to report some progress.

Firstly the formation of a joint Liberal/SDP group in the Tawney Society (Alliance equivalent of the Fabian Society). This link - called the Sustainable Society group - is vital to the greening of the Alliance since the right-wing Labour origins of the SDP have given it a perspective dangerously irrelevant to the problems of the 1990s, whereas Liberals have at least started progress along the green road.

Secondly, I detect a change of mood in the SDP since the election. Not only have the majority of the ex-Labour MP defectors been defeated, but their equivalent at local level - at least in this area - seem curiously silent. Recently I stood on a green ticket for election to the Council for Social Democracy (the SDP's policy-making body) against the very able chairman of the Cambridge City Committee and an ex-County Councillor, and polled 42% of 150 votes. Of the 50 members who attended the hustings not one was hostile to the green view, most were keen to learn more, and I had a queue of people waiting to ask more questions afterwards.

This all supports my view that the Alliance is not against green ideas; they are just not for them, largely through ignorance.

If the Labour Party continues on the path of centralised socialism the Alliance will become the most 'greenable' party grouping. If Labour moves back towards social democracy, then the SDP has a simple choice: green or oblivion! Either way we need greenies to help us get stuck into the process of actually effecting a change.

Mike Bell  
69 Cambridge Road, Oakington,  
Cambs.

## Hooked on noise

Dear GL,

We went to the Green camp near Glastonbury at the end of July

and it might be worth saying why we won't go to such a camp again.

My wife lost her wallet early on and it was never handed in; the small daughter of a friend trod barefoot in dog shit and, for probably other but no more heartening reasons, was among those children who suffered severe diarrhoea and vomiting; dogs strayed about the camp - one woke us early one morning barking on and on outside the tent; early, all day and late radios gave out heavy beat music, some of it very loud indeed, some of it through big detached speakers; one night, shortly before eleven, a strobed, loud float was driven around the camp, through the sleeping areas, past our tents where our baby was asleep and my wife and one of my sons were just going to sleep.

So much for the "child-centred", purposeful, peaceful retreat we thought we were going to share.

We get the loud rock beat from neighbours at home all the time and we all get it from car radios and more and more from people carrying radios in the streets. I've not heard a rational justification for it and would be interested to hear one. It seems to me a serious addiction - I mean of considerable social significance. Maybe it's a manifestation of weak egos, men's mostly, or of some kind of fear of natural or human-sized cultural and social sounds, but especially of natural ones. But the beat is maybe most akin to womb music, in which case the beat represents regression. Whatever the reason we're now in an epidemic of it and a long way from that awareness of the earth, nature and each other that Green gatherings wish to encourage.

David Hart  
28 Queenswood Road  
Birmingham 13.

# NETWORK

## Green groups

### Huntingdon Green Group

Sue Everett writes:

This group is in the process of being established and is to be officially launched in Huntingdon on September 13. Meanwhile, a number of founder members took part in a well-publicised 'green walk' earlier this year. This involved visits to laboratories using animals in experiments, MOD establishments, the Molesworth Peace Camp, and a National Nature Reserve.

The aims of the group are to gather facts and increase public/political awareness about green issues with priority to areas not already well covered by other local groups like CND.

In particular, priority will be given to getting together facts about pollution, countryside destruction, intensive pig and poultry farming, disposal of low level radioactive waste, and other similar issues of local relevance.

Contact: Sue Everett or Paul Goriup on Huntingdon 68353, or write c/o 7 Church Street, Fenstanton, Huntingdon, Cambs.

### Mid-Devon Greens

If you live in the Tiverton/Bampton area of Devon, you may like to get in touch with David Goldman, Westbrook Farm, Bampton, Devon. He'd like to meet fellow greens in the area.

### Swansea Green Group

Claire Phillips writes:

I have recently started a Green Group in Swansea. An Ecology Party branch and an FoE group had existed and then folded two years ago, so there was obviously a gap that needed to be filled. I had intended to form a branch of the Ecology Party after the election, but there were so few active members and so many sympathetic people who did not want to join a political party, that I really feel that a Green Group is more appropriate in this area.

Contact Claire at 140 Hanover Street, Swansea SA1 6BN (092-475 176).

### Self-Reliance Group for Romford

Mark Kinzley is hoping to found a group in his area 'to promote self-reliance', and would like to hear from other readers who are interested. He lives in the London borough of Redbridge. Write to him at 7 Gaysham Avenue, Gants Hill, Ilford, Essex IG2 6TH.

## Green centres

Following our list last issue:

**OXFORD:** Uhuru wholefood cafe is closed indefinitely, but the resources above remain (WISE, ANC, FoE, Women's Centre). We omitted to mention Earth'n'wear, which sells ecologically sound goods at 15 Cowley Road.

**BANGOR:** This North Wales centre of alternative activity has a new newsheet: write to Greenhouse, Trevelyan Terrace, Bangor.

**RYDE** Peace Centre, 19 Star Street, Ryde, Isle of Wight is rented by CND, Amnesty International and FoE. It stocks primarily literature concerned directly with anti-nuclear issues, also animal rights material, Traidcraft products, etc. Meetings are also held there.

PLEASE keep us up-to-date with information about new groups and centres. This month we have given up-dates only, but as space permits we shall give full lists. NOTE: we will also list **NEW** FoE, Ecology Party, SERA etc. branches when they are formed - if you send us details.



OUT OF more than 60 participants at the workshop on Cruise at the Glastonbury Green Gathering, only 2 people actually believed that we would stop the deployment of Cruise at the end of this year. The peace movement (including CND who are still partly stunned by the election defeat) hasn't fully adjusted to the psychological defeat.

At present, our only continuing response has been to organise yet another mass demonstration (in London on October 22). However, our warfare state seems to be able to absorb such events. Mass NVDA has also been suggested, like invading Greenham Common and/or the Houses of Parliament and Ministry of Defence. These are part of an 'all or nothing' scenario: can the movement sustain such action, and what do you actually do when you enter the silos? CND has issued a guarded statement about NVDA in its current members' newsletter: "We shall regard nonviolent direct action as primarily symbolic, and refer to it as such in the future, to avoid any illusions that we can stop the missiles with our bare hands."

This leaves us with the 'pinprick' approach: a long-term strategy which doesn't go beyond the strength of the movement but at the same time develops it, a strategy or campaign of non-co-operation with the government, actions which may or may not be directly related to Cruise missiles. At present non-co-operation tactics have been limited to financial goals. Mark Levene, an Oxford activist, is suggesting in a paper to CND that December should be disinvestment month, when individuals, churches, unions etc. withdraw their funds from banks, building societies, National Savings, stocks and shares! People could refuse to pay the VAT on phone bills, etc. Lastly, we should perhaps start picketing outside PAYE offices where money for the war effort is being taken from us at the rate of £20 per family per week.

#### CND National Council

It was acknowledged that our 'hearts and minds' campaign must continue. The peace canvass has been an important part of this.

Sanity is still not selling well and a welcome recommendation is that features on wider peace-related issues be included. Perhaps someone would be prepared to write about the human rights

issue!? Green CND is still being asked to disaffiliate from the Polish Solidarity Campaign, and I can see that this could prove to be a constitutional crisis for Green CND as a specialist section.

Another welcome recommendation is that priority for new spending should be given to regional CND workers and resources - signs of decentralisation.

#### DIARY

##### September

9 - 11 Otmoor Fair (see p. 15). (Green CND AGM at 12 noon on the 11th, followed by general discussion. Agenda items to John Marjoram at address below.)



23 Lower Street, Stroud, Glos.  
(04536 70962)



9 - 11 CAAT supporters national meeting, St George's Church, George Street, Portsmouth. On the 11th, action against Royal Naval Equipment Exhibition: more details 01-278 1976.

26 Re-opening of Sizewell Public Inquiry at Snape Maltings.

21 - Oct 2 Eighth International Nonviolent March for Demilitarisation (in Belgium). Details from WRI - 01-703 7189.

29 Stop the City (see p. 15).

Five Nations Meeting - activists from the four other countries threatened with housing Cruise and Pershing (Belgium, Holland, W Germany, Italy) plus British speakers describe their campaign against the missiles. Organised by END. Huddersfield (26th), Newcastle-upon-Tyne (27), Carlisle (28), Manchester (29), Chester (30), Stoke on Trent (Oct 1), Oxford (3), Bristol and/or Cardiff (4), Exeter (5), London (6), Cambridge (7).

##### October

7 - 9 FoE strategy conference. Details FoE, 377 City Road, EC1.

John Marjoram

#### Fast for Life

As we go to press people all over the country are taking part in fasts. A group from the Peace Chariot (220 Lane End, Chapeltown, Sheffield S30 4UJ) are undertaking a 21-day fast: most of them will be at the Nap Hill peace camp (High Wycombe) until August 20, and from the 21st to the 27th the whole group will spend each day outside St James, Piccadilly.

#### Sheffield Peace Poem

Sheffield CND has organised a poetry competition, 'Write a Poem for Peace'. Its fund-raising purpose is to enable the newly-opened Sheffield Peace Shop to pay its two part-time workers.



#### **WHEN THE PATRIOT IS TRAITOR...**

Writing of her visit to Hungary and her experience of the Hungarian government hostile attitude to an independent peace movement that sought dialogue with the peace movement in the west, Lynne Jones concluded an article in the Guardian on August 4 with the following two paragraphs:

"But I am far more frightened by the use that will be made of these events by those who can only view reality through the distorting mirror of their own fears and paranoia. So what happened in Budapest becomes the justification for yet more weapons here, while the development of Cruise and Pershing fuels the repressive siege mentality of the other side.

And, as the Geneva negotiations grind on each side retreats into attitudes of increasing hostility. "Freedom" can only be maintained by targeting Cruise missiles on those in Eastern Europe who struggle for that very thing. "Peace" obtained only by silencing those who call for it. And the only true "patriot" is one who betrays those outside her own country who share the same values as herself. Until under the strain of such warping the mirror shatters, and we destroy ourselves. Struggling for Dialogue in Hungary, camping outside Greenham and Comiso, are only small attempts to show that the real enemy is our inability to see each other clearly as people struggling for the same end. I feel it is in all our interests to let the vision grow."

## Stop the City

is a 'Day of Reckoning' being organised in the City of London (the capital's financial centre) on Thursday September 29. It's on a weekday because the aim is to disrupt militarism's commercial heartland, and the 29th has a special significance because it's the day the accountants reckon up the summer's profits... the 'day of reckoning'.

The event is being organised by London Greenpeace. It is intended to be "peaceful, not involving violence to people." It has also been decided to go for open organisation, not the conspiratorial approach (on the basis that however hard you try, 'they' always infiltrate you?). There may be co-ordinated actions in Manchester and other cities.

There are participating groups from all over the country, including Brighton, Cambridge, Colchester, Dorset, Hastings, Portsmouth, Huddersfield, Weston super Mare, Scotland, Fishguard and Falmouth. More will be added.

For up-to-the-minute information phone Andrew (01-609 1852); Mike (01-586 1096); Dave (01-809 1346); or in Manchester ring Peace on the Move (061-928 9134). Or send s.a.e. to Greenpeace (London), 6 Endsleigh Street, London WC1.

## Green Gatherings

### Welsh Green Gathering

Originally planned for August 26 - 29, this gathering has been cancelled, though we understand that some sort of provision will be made for anyone who arrives unaware of the cancellation. But please spread the news. Queries to 0639 52223.

### Otmoor Fair (September 9-11)

A green gathering in a beautiful rural setting right in the line of the proposed M40 extension across

### Quarry News

is the title of a twice-yearly newsletter published by the National (!) Centre for Alternative Technology, Machynlleth. It gives information on the progress of work at the centre, and provides an overview of renewable energy and sustainable systems in Britain and abroad. Unfortunately it appears only to be available as part of the membership 'package' of the Quarry Association, a subscription to which costs £5 p.a. It deserves to be more widely available, at a cover price of about 50p.

### Town Polls

In his article on Town Polls in GL 12, Tim Eiloart referred to a government publication, The Parish and Community Meetings Rules 1973, available through bookshops. We understand that this is in fact out of print.

## Acid rain

Britain produces 5 million tons of Sulphur dioxide a year - the most of any Western European country. This fact was one among many given to a meeting entitled 'Acidification - Britain's Invisible Export' organised by the SERA Public Health Group in July. And the effects of acidification are already evident in the Lake District. A campaign on the issue is being launched: contact Anne Weigall at SERA (9 Poland Street, London W1V 3DG 01-439 3749).

Otmoor: three days of entertainment in the open air and marquees.

As well as a full programme of folk music (including Richard Digance and Michael Chapman) there will be jazz, rock, african and reggae music - plus clowns, cabaret, guest celebrities, stalls, and lots to eat and drink. There will be a special 'green marquee', and Green CND will be holding its bi-monthly meeting there on the Sunday. To get there take the Islip turn off the A43 Oxford-Northampton road five miles north of Oxford, and from Islip follow signs through Charlton-on-Otmoor to Murcott.

Tickets for the weekend cost £5 (£4.50 before September, bulk rates to groups). Further info: send s.a.e. to Otmoor Fair,

### Ecology Party Conference

The party holds its AGM and annual conference in Malvern on September 1 - 4. Guest speakers include Michael Randle, editor of 'Defence Without the Bomb', on the subject of alternative defence.

Members will be discussing strategy for the next few years, and the relative emphasis to be put on elections.

## Dragon walk

"The Rainbow Dragon was created by the work of women all over the world and born at Greenham on midsummer day as an expression of hope and life. On August 18 - 20 the dragon will snake her way between the women's camps at Greenham and Porton Down, and will link our determination to resist both nuclear, and chemical and biological weapons."

Route: 18th: leave Greenham main gate, 10 a.m., via A339 to Basingstoke for 5 p.m. 19th: leave Basingstoke High Street 10 a.m., via B3400 to Whitchurch (arrive approx 4 p.m.) and Andover (5 p.m.). 20th: leave Andover High Street 10 a.m., arrive Porton Down Camp for an evening meal round the fire. Please bring vegetarian food to cook, and be prepared for sleeping in halls and at the camp.

Support vehicles needed to carry equipment and people. Info: ring Sue on Winterslow 862029.

58 Mickle Way, Forest Hill, Oxford (08677-2679).

### Sheffield Green-Peace Festival

Sheffield Peace Action are organising a festival for the weekend of September 17/18 in Norfolk Park, Sheffield.

The theme is 'Respect for Life'. Entrance is free. The festival lasts each day from 10 - 6, and there are overnight camping facilities. Stalls are £6 per day, £10 for both. "In this seat of patriarchal socialism it's important that this is a big fun event - music (acoustic), theatre and all green/black activities."

Info: Sheffield Green Action, c/o The Peace Shop, 51 Leopold Street, Sheffield 1; or phone Sheffield 338610 or 381251 or 683692.

## Facing the Dark

Keith Motherson writes:

With so much information to digest and so many activities going on, there is a real danger of many of us becoming stuck in an exhausting and ultimately sterile round of activism. Too many CND activists seem to imagine that waging peace means 'winning' arguments. We shy away from developing a practice which is even half-way adequate from the point of view of dealing with our deepest feelings and knowledge about the state of the world. Yet it is on this level, heart to heart rather than head to head or "mass", that we must learn to do a new kind of healing politics if we seek to unlock the present public opinion stalemate, founded as it is on mass irrationality, psychic numbing, apathy, powerlessness, insecurity and on the repression of the despair, grief, outrage and love which all of us experience at some level or other.

A network has recently been started in this country with the aim of helping people to recognise, own and work through our feelings about

the Bomb, ecological destruction, mass starvation, etc. Interhelp offers speakers, workshop facilitators, literature and a newsletter. Send s.a.e. for brochure/catalogue to Interhelp, c/o Post Office, New Galloway, Kirkcudbrightshire.

The theory behind this work draws on Buddhism, systems theory, non-violence, humanistic therapy, native American religion and other sources. Together with 47 Despair and Empowerment exercises it is contained in Joanna Macey's marvellous book 'Despair and Personal Power in the Nuclear Age' (£5.90 from alternative bookshops or £6.80 post paid from Interhelp).

A quote:

"Our feelings of pain for the world arise from our essential interconnectedness, they are intrinsic to the web of life itself. The very distress which had seemed to isolate us from people around us, now manifests as part of the connective tissue in which we cohere - revealing us to be not isolated atoms, but cells of one living body."

Earth March 1984

A group has been formed to co-ordinate what could become one of the biggest gatherings/demonstrations ever. Hundreds of groups, societies and organisations are receiving news of a proposed Earth March and Festival to be held in 1984 - possibly at the August Bank Holiday weekend. A large open-air demonstration is suggested, followed by a festival. A wide spectrum of groups are being contacted, in the hope that each will organise its own march or demonstration to arrive at the site simultaneously.

For more details send a s.a.e. to 49 Cobbold Road, London W12 9LA.

The Armageddon Lobby

is the title of an exhaustively researched study of the international machine that supports the Second Cold War which also reveal the complicity of many European social democrats. It looks at strategy since WW2, the militarisation of industry, the role of Bilderberg and the Trilateralists, the new right, and gives a run-down on the Cold War groups operating in this country. All for £1.50 post free from "Grassroots", 2 Hampden Way, Ewelme, Wallingford, Oxon.

## Sunflower Badges

This is our new sticker, printed in light yellow, gold and green and very striking. It retails at 30p, but we supply orders for 10 or more for 20p each post free (or 100 for £18). 3 1/4" x 5 1/8".

Our sunflower badges have had a tremendous reception. They have been welcomed as symbols of the green movement's unity-in-diversity.

The designs, as shown here, are printed in three colours on 1" badges. They're very eye-catching. The set comprises 7 different designs: CND, feminist, yin-yang, anarchist, Christian, Eco and FoE.

They retail at 20p, but for bulk orders (20 or more) we charge only 12p each post free: order 100 or more and they're only 10p each! A sample set of the seven designs costs £1. All strictly cash-with-order. From Green Line, 14 Alexandra Road, Oxford OX2 0DB.

