

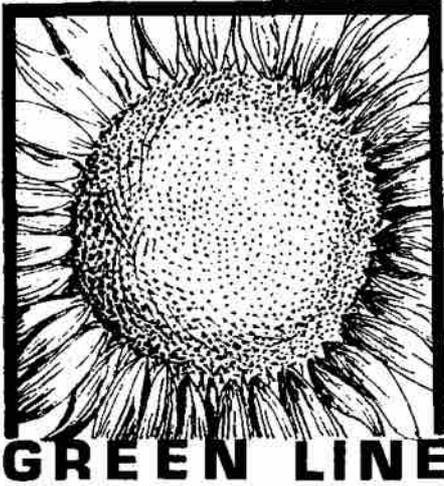
GREENLINE

No 4

Magazine of the Green Movement July/August 1982 25p



THE GREENS FOR THE CATHERING



IF YOU'RE NEW to Green Line, welcome to the magazine of the green movement. Green Line looks at the ideas which unite green

people here and abroad, and reports on the growing movement.

The Green Gathering is one part of this movement, and some of the articles in this issue also serve as discussion papers for workshops at the Gathering. If you want to keep abreast of developments after the Gathering - and who knows what might come out of it? - make sure you subscribe to Green Line on the form below.

All across Europe, the greens are proving that this is the political movement of the eighties. **STAY WITH THAT MOVEMENT: READ GREEN LINE!**

WE'VE DROPPED the words 'Ecology Party' from the cover for two reasons. First, it implied that Green Line's editorial stand was much narrower than it is, and we found many people reluctant even to

look at the magazine for fear that it was just a party newsletter. Second, we don't want to imply that the Ecology Party - or any other group - necessarily supports all or part of the contents of any issue. We hope everyone will be happier with the new masthead.

GREEN LINE WELCOMES LETTERS for publication. But as we have said quite clearly before, this is not the place for letters about the internal politics and workings of the Ecology Party.

DEADLINE for the September issue is August 15. Please give us the longest possible notice of anything you intend to write.

BULK SALES: buy 10 or more from us and pay only 17p a copy. Or we'll send you 5 for £1. Sell Green Line and make funds for your group.

THE GREEN GATHERING

SPECIAL ISSUE

THE 1982 GREEN GATHERING takes place at Worthy Farm, Pilton (between Glastonbury and Shepton Mallet) from July 27 to August 1st. It's the biggest single green event of the year. Admission for the six days is £9, or £5 for the weekend (Friday - Sunday). Bring a tent. Food (cooked and uncooked) is on sale on site.

In this GREEN LINE, the articles on pages 5, 6 and 10 - 12 serve as discussion papers for several workshops, and on the back cover you will find the provisional programme.

SUBURBAN COMMUNITY: help to start a community of families living co-operatively but in separate houses. Write for details to: Gil Burton, 21 Churchfield Road, Oxley, Wolverhampton.

CONSERVATIONISTS - now read Eric McGraw's "Proposals for a National Policy on Population." 65p post paid from Population Concern, 27/35 Mortimer Street, London W1.

STUDENT ECOLOGY MOVEMENT newsletter £1.60 for four issues from Robin Wiles, The Hawthorns, Keele University, Keele, Staffs.

ANTI-SEXIST MEN'S newsletter. Now from 28 Connaught Road, Roath, Cardiff. 50p an issue incl. p&p.

SMALL ADS.

EARTH'N'WEAR, 389 Cowley Road, Oxford's Eco-shop: bike trailers, badges, T-shirts, cruelty-free toiletries, secondhand goods, and much more. Visit, phone (0865) 776628, or send s.a.e. for list.

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"**DAY BY DAY**" provides stimulating ideas and facts on disarmament, conservation, racialism, industrial democracy, non-violence, social justice, world hunger, decentralisation, etc; reports of peace meetings; poems; reviews of art, plays, films, books, opera, musicals, cricket. Subscription £4.15. Specimen 34p. 141, Woolacombe Rd, Blackheath, SE3.

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THE ECOLOGY PARTY has a branch near you: to get in touch, send a s.a.e. to the Ecology Party, 36/38 Clapham Road, London SW9 0JQ. Annual subscription £6 (couples £9) - claimants, students and OAPs half rate.

ELECTRONIC STENCILS improve your duplicating. Send £1 with your artwork to Oxford West Ecology Party, 14 Alexandra Road, Oxford.

POSTAL BOOKSELLERS covering earth mysteries, meditation, mysticism, parapsychology, theosophy, Alice Bailey; stamp please for list: Wessex Dragon Books, PO Box 61, Reading RG4 7LJ.

Subscriptions

Keep me moving with the greens!
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PETRA KELLY

and the anti-party party



HAMBURG, JUNE 1982: the Greens have taken 7.7% of the vote in a local election, their best ever and 1% more than the Alternativen polled in Berlin. Suddenly the Greens are regarded as the third political force in West Germany. The weekly magazine *Der Spiegel* immediately ran a five-page interview with Petra Kelly, who retires in October (in accordance with the party's two-year rule) as chairperson of *Die Grünen*. The interview will remind the British reader of some of the marked differences between the British and the German political scenes; it also shows us what an essentially revolutionary platform the Greens stand on in Germany, and the nature of their threat to the political status quo.

What follows is a condensed version of Petra Kelly's replies, omitting some material of purely German interest.

'THE GREENS ARE a direct expression of the discontent with the SPD' (historically Germany's socialist party) who 'could have forestalled the whole development of the Greens if they had done justice to their historic claim.' If the Greens are taking some of the SPD vote and letting conservatives in, that's the SPD's problem. You can't start asking which of the other parties is 'the lesser evil' when you're considering 'the global questions of survival: the danger of war, exhaustion of raw materials, population growth, human misery.' Individuals among the SPD are sympathetic to what the Greens are saying - 'but the old men oriented to growth and arms remain in power.'

Except for policies of detente, Petra Kelly sees no difference between the policies of the conservatives and the socialists in arms, energy, Third World, health, and womens' politics.

A FEDERAL FORCE

At the time of the last German federal election, voters didn't take the Greens seriously. If there were an election today, Petra Kelly thinks the Greens would poll 5% to

6%. 'There is a strong grassroots feeling that we need a fundamental and uncompromising opposition in parliament to the industries of arms and growth, to the entangled hierarchy, and to the politics of deterrence.' But this will not be achieved simply by winning seats: 'As civil disobedience and nonviolent resistance develops on a local and regional basis, the more citizens will start to take their own initiatives and set up models of self-government, bringing us all the nearer to a truly democratised society.'

Parliamentary democracy doesn't mean compromise. 'It must be accepted that there is a fundamentally anti-war party, an ecological-nonviolent party, which can join no coalition. The system has to realise that opposition takes place outside as well as inside parliament.' And 'the day the Greens send ministers to Bonn, they cease to be the party I wanted to help to build.'

PARLIAMENT: NOT THE AIM, BUT PART OF A STRATEGY

'For us parliament is somewhere - like a market place or a building site - where we can speak, take our points of view, and bring back information. But it's not the place where decisions about the arms build-up are made: these were made long before, and set in train by, for example, the arms lobby. I would like a strong grassroots movement like ours to have a voice in parliament, but not in order to join a coalition and win power. We want to have a free voice when it comes to legislation, to take nonviolent protests into parliament, and to let people see the decisions for what they really are.' 'The big questions of life have to be decided: I should like to broach them in parliament and thereby strengthen the resistance taking place on the streets, the runways, the construction sites. Parliament is not the aim, but part of a strategy. We are the anti-party party.'

THE RISK OF COMPROMISE

'There is the danger of getting into the parliamentary frame of

mind and forgetting the streets. But this is not my way, not the utopia I have built up in my dream. A radical opposition can indeed achieve something in parliament, but the most important thing is to work and to achieve change at the grassroots: together with women building eco-houses, solar collectors, self-help centres, defence centres - and to co-ordinate all this with parliamentary means. But maybe one day it will turn out to have been a mistake to have gone into the parliaments.'

Electoral successes may well thrust the Greens into seats of power. They already have to fill the post of county vice-president in Lower Saxony. But this does not mean compromise, and the Greens may well tolerate minority governments. 'If the SPD stops all work on nuclear power stations, ends the arms build-up, and builds ambulances instead of tanks, then we can start talking to them.' As to the temptation to hang onto power once elected, Greens must retire every two years (another Green replaces them, there is no by-election), all income over 2,000 marks a month (£100 a week) is paid to the party, and no one may hold onto a seat. 'What we have to do, for God's sake, is not just to take over concepts from other people, but to know where it hurts.'

Indeed, 'I am sometimes frightened that the Greens will suddenly poll 13% and become a party of power. We would do better to remain around 6% - 7% and stay uncompromising in our basic demands, than to appoint ministers.' But coalitions may come. A coalition partner 'would have to abandon civil and military use of nuclear energy, and exploitation of the Third World, and envisage a non-military alternative defence policy.'

After touching on the problems she has faced as a woman - many men felt threatened when she became leader of Die Grünen - and the task the Greens face of representing in parliaments the disenfranchised of the earth (the plants and the animals), Petra returns to her point that the Greens will not avert 'the catastrophe' by working in parliament: 'We are not strong enough to demonstrate to everyone that it is five minutes to midnight; we are still far too underdeveloped in our forms of action.'

THE IDEOLOGICAL CONTEXT

All is not harmony within the Green movement. There are some 'Green Lists' of candidates from which Die Grünen disassociate themselves completely. Ideological discussions are taking place with the Democratic Socialists (the DS are a splinter party set up by two people thrown out of the SPD and who want to co-operate with the Greens) - 'though that doesn't mean we're falling into each other's arms.'

The Greens have insisted on making their position clear with regard to the anti-missile demonstrations: 'We are not an anti-missile movement, but a demilitarisation movement which transcends the power blocks, which is in solidarity with moves for disarmament taking place at the grassroots in East and West.' Within Die Grünen Petra Kelly finds a consensus of social analysis. Communists and conservatives, she says, should not be expelled: within Die Grünen they start talking to each other and stop tearing one another apart. 'This is the novelty of our party.'

Violent groups cannot necessarily be identified in advance: 'of course, I distance myself from every stone that is thrown.' Under no circumstances are stones used as arguments by the Greens. 'Nonviolence doesn't just mean no violence, but also the setting up of a positive force for a non-hierarchical society. We have not yet developed a democratic culture of nonviolence.'

Finally, where do Greens stand on the left/right axis? It has been said that the Greens are neither left nor right, but at the front. To this Petra Kelly replies: 'These are not my words. We are working for a form of ecological, self-governing, emancipatory socialism such as there has never been in the whole of history.'

Translated and edited by
Jon Carpenter

Victory for Guernsey Green!

DEPUTY PETER ROFFEY was elected to the States of Deliberation (Guernsey's parliament) on March 17 - on what can confidently be described as a very 'green' ticket. But in the world's second oldest continuous democracy political allegiances are refreshingly difficult to define, since there are no political parties.

At 23 Peter is the youngest deputy ever elected. And not only his age seemed set against him. His hair is (almost) shoulder-length. He refused to replace his Guernsey sweater and jeans for a suit, even on formal occasions. His past reputation included campaigning for the legalisation of cannabis. And his manifesto was widely considered to be an act of political suicide.

This manifesto grouped the policies under three headings: constitutional reform, social reforms, and environmental protection.

Constitutionally, the island certainly appears relatively undemocratic from across the Channel, and Peter's manifesto included proposals for improving accountability and for increasing the powers of the Guernsey equivalent of the parish council.

In terms of social welfare the island is likewise backward. What is a tax haven for the rich is a poverty trap for the poor, who may be paying just as much tax as their equivalents in Britain while drawing few benefits. Peter Roffey's manifesto argued for free medical and dental treatment, a comprehensive legal aid system, and free state-run public transport. Unemployment benefit should be increased. And it should be illegal to pay women less than men for doing the same work.

Dominating environmental concerns is the big French nuclear presence on the mainland. Rapidly rising levels of radioactivity in local shellfish have been much publicised on the island, and are of wide concern. Peter is opposing plans to buy French electricity on the grounds that 25% of it is



nuclear generated. But Guernsey is over-crowded too: on this island 'immigration controls' mean keeping out the tax dodgers to try and preserve the environment, though Peter is at pains to stress that there is no element of racism here, and he eschews the support of Guernsey nationalists.

There's no chance of an Eco party being set up in Guernsey. "People are rightly proud of our non-party system," Peter told Green Line. But the absence of parties doesn't mean that vested interests play no part in the election process. "The business world and the chamber of commerce (local CBI) already encourage people who they consider to be the right type of person to stand and are supportive of them during their campaigns." Local environmentalists hope to play a comparable role in encouraging sympathetic people to stand for election, and to be a means of introducing some of the ideas current among the green parties of Europe to the islands of the Bailiwick of Guernsey.



Earth'n'Wear

A NEW ECOLOGY shop, Earth'n'Wear, has opened in Oxford. A co-op selling everything from cycle trailers to secondhand clothes, Earth'n'Wear is run by volunteers and one paid part-timer. It was started by a group of people, many of them members of FoE and Eco, and shares its premises with the Oxford FoE office, a recycling project, and a community print shop.

Your news is good news

GREEN LINE wants reports of your local campaigns and initiatives. Write now to Martin Collins, Grassroots Editor, 46 Hythe Road, Ashford, Kent, for their inclusion in the next issue.



THE GREENS ARE GATHERING

THE GREEN GATHERING COLLECTIVE IS AN INDEPENDENT GROUP OF PEOPLE CONCERNED WITH UNITING THE WIDER GREEN MOVEMENT. WE HAVE ORGANISED THE GREEN GATHERING AT A TIME OF UNPRECEDENTED POLITICAL DISARRAY AND UPHEAVAL. IT IS BOTH A RESPONSE TO THE SITUATION AND AN ANSWER. WE BELIEVE THAT THE TIME HAS COME FOR A FULL AND GENUINE RE-ALIGNMENT OF RADICALS IN THIS COUNTRY. THE IMPOTENCE AND FRUSTRATION FELT BY MANY COULD THEREBY BE ANSWERED WITH A UNITED AND RADICAL CHALLENGE TO THE EXISTING SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ORDER. THIS ARTICLE IS AN ATTEMPT BY THE COLLECTIVE TO PUT SOME FLESH AND BONES ON WHAT WE KNOW AS GREEN POLITICS. WE HOPE IT WILL BE USEFUL IN THE GREEN SOLIDARITY WORKSHOPS ON THE SATURDAY. IF IT STRIKES A CHORD WITH YOU, IF YOU ARE A 'GREEN', THEN JOIN US IN THE VITAL WORK OF UNITING ALL 'GREENS' INTO A FORCE THAT WILL BE CAPABLE OF SPARKING REAL POLITICAL CHANGE.

There is a Revolution Going On

There is a revolution going on. It is not like revolutions of the past. It has begun with individual and cultural change, and will go on to change the political structure. It does not require violence to succeed and cannot be successfully resisted by violence. This is political evolution, a change in our consciousness that challenges every aspect of our social, environmental and economic life. With its roots stretching into the distant past, this movement started to come together in the 60s and 70s. Now, stronger and more mature than ever, it could emerge as the most powerful political force of our times. A new politics is emerging, challenging domination by 'leaders', men, materialism, violence and technology. Many of us holding this vision are asking the question: "What's the spark that can lift and unite us. How can we make this vision a reality?"

The Power of Nonviolent Action

Power is usually seen to reside in the possession of armies, authority, wealth, and the media. To tackle that power we do not need to recruit soldiers, establish our own hierarchy, or amass enormous amounts of wealth. We look for a source of power in ourselves, in our relationships with each other and the earth; a power based on a fresh understanding of the value of each individual and the environment. This is the dynamic power of feeling, rather than the dead hand of possession.

Our vision of a decentralised society can only be realised through the direct involvement of those

affected by decisions supposedly taken in their name. We need to realise our own creative potential, develop skills, and play a rewarding and self-determining role in society. Such a power, the power of life and people, is the only energy that can bring about the change in consciousness we so urgently need.

Once fully realised, nonviolent power can deal with the most urgent task facing humanity today - that of resisting the nuclear threat. We are the first generation that has to hold the vision of world peace as a real possibility and not just a utopian ideal. If the peoples of the world cannot come together to resist this threat, then what hope of them ever coming together? Nonviolent action is the natural outcome and expression of the human spirit, it is the power to build a genuine and lasting peace.

Nuclear weapons are not a nasty mistake in an otherwise healthy world. They are the logical outcome of the kind of society we have created for ourselves: a society based on patriarchy, economic growth, centralism, and militarism. The peace movement will therefore only be successful in preventing war if it becomes the cutting edge of a far-reaching shift in values and political institutions.

The Challenge of Feminists

All of us, women and men, suffer from society's distortion of what it is to be a 'perfect woman' or a 'real man'. We forget that all of us have both masculine and feminine attributes - however concealed, repressed or distorted they may be. In our culture men

generally repress the feminine in themselves and cause women to repress the masculine in themselves. The challenge of feminists - to re-balance feminine/masculine duality in the personal and political world - is therefore a spark to ignite change in homes and communities everywhere. It is a challenge that must underpin any comprehensive programme for change.

Patriarchal control is based on physical and spiritual violence to both planet and people. This violence governs society's attitude to all life. Economic power rests with men both in the home and in global institutions. Economic growth is the means by which they extend their control; it can only be maintained through the suffering of billions, the starvation of millions, and the rape of the earth. Such wilful blindness is impossible to imagine except in a society dangerously short of compassion, caring, and sharing - values which are often labelled as 'soft' or 'effeminate'. Such an attitude reveals something of the psychic imbalance at the heart of society.

Any organic living entity which exists in a state of imbalance exists in a state of disease. The dominant technological culture in Britain is based on a distorted balance. The way to heal it (heal meaning to make whole) is to re-unite the twin halves of the circle - the feminine and the masculine - by creating a dynamic balance between them on the personal, cultural and political level. We cannot build our power by copying the negative tendencies of the dominant masculine consciousness. The energy gained through such a re-balancing cannot be separated from that gained in discovering the power of nonviolent action.

Liberating the Land

Who first said, "I own this land"? Many generations lived happily as 'people belonging to the land', nurturing it and loving it. Now, 'the land belongs to people', people who are obliged by the system to exploit and abuse that land. We, the people, now have to go to these landowners either directly or indirectly for the means to live - employment, food, recreation, housing, and so on. Land is therefore the missing factor in conventional political and economic thought. Capital can only be produced by applying labour to land. Labour can only exist through the life-giving qualities of the land. Access to land rather than access to capital is thus the key to economic evolution.

Land use is determined by material values, by frenzied consumerism and economic growth. No wonder our air, water, food and earth are poisoned. Economic growth is made possible by the unrestrained consumption of non-renewable resources. In a finite world however it should be obvious that there is a finite supply of resources, and that increasing scarcity of those resources is the key factor in producing inflation. Our wealth is gained at the expense of the land and sea. We cannot continue to mine for ever the finite fossil fuels and raw materials needed to feed an ever-expanding economy. As ecologists we understand the principles and basic scientific laws which govern our relationship with this planet; the need to put back what we take out; to tread more lightly and live more simply. What we lack is the political unity and courage to build a world in which these are more than daydreams.

Let us not forget those who, like us, depend on the health of the natural environment for their survival - the animals. Globally they are completely dependent on the decisions of the multinational companies, national governments, and the human race in general. We have a responsibility not just to the land, but to all life. Animal activists, like all other pressure group activists, depend in the long run on wholesale political and economic reform.

Direct Democracy

As human beings we each have a personal responsibility for the welfare of the planet, its animals and people. Yet our 'elected dictatorship' effectively ensures that we do not have sufficient power to exercise that responsibility. Without personal responsibility and participation, all ideas of a genuinely decentralised society become a nonsense. Personal responsibility is not just a theory, it is our birthright, our natural inheritance and our duty. When we decide to claim our responsibility and to exercise it, we are releasing an untapped source of strength, the power of choice. We do not have to accept the pattern or lifestyle that society has formed for us. We can choose for ourselves, but that takes courage.

Direct democracy can be defined as 'those community actions that change society now, rather than those actions which hope for the election of a 'friendly' government in the future.' If we fully exercise our personal responsibility it might bring us into conflict with the law, when it is seen to be

protecting those who exploit other people or the planet. In such circumstances we have to make a choice: which is the more important, the law of our conscience or temporal law?

In exercising our freedom to choose, we are building the sustainable society now - in our own lives. There are many forms of community action. Some people build co-operative structures in their workplace and homes, others launch all kinds of new businesses. We are slowly building the infrastructure of a green economy.

Technomania

The worst psychological legacy of the industrial revolution must be the tendency to worship technology for its own sake: technomania. Not only are we pushed into de-humanising, machine-like jobs on production lines, we are also pushed into believing the 'experts': technocrats in white coats suffering from illusions of the importance of technojargon superiority. In this video-game age we are immunised against the human costs of war with words like 'lethality index' and 'demographic de-population'. We see the fruits of technomania in nuclear power and the grossly expensive 'race for space', while here on earth thirty children die every minute from starvation.

The choice is not between a return to the 'dark ages' and crashing through into the 21st century in a stainless steel hyper-drive of mega-technics. We live in a society slowly crumbling into a polluted and de-humanised mass of technological confusion, but we don't have to. We can move forward into a society in which technology is guided by and used in the service of a higher wisdom and a broader set of values.

Wealth Re-distribution

A society dominated by the need to separate and compete is a society which downgrades our instinctive need to share and co-operate. Such an instinct demands a radical redistribution of the world's wealth and a complete restructuring of the world economic order. But the end of economic growth will only be acceptable to the countries of the Third World in combination with redistribution. Moreover, real social justice does not just lie in guaranteeing basic material security and democratic participation. It also has to create the conditions for social security and personal development through which we can each find fulfilment - with friends,

a clean environment, satisfying work, and healthy food.

Working and Playing

Work is not just a job, it should be the natural creative outlet of human energies. It is a vital part of our whole personality, not something that can be isolated between the hours of nine and five. Work satisfaction is determined not just by money, but by how much one can set one's own pace, how communal and social the activity is, how voluntary, how much respect one feels for oneself, whether one works to exhaustion, and whether there are moments of leisure and distraction. Traditionally work and play are seen as mutually exclusive, and play is pushed to the margins of social activity. Play is more important than that: it could turn out to be the most important spark of all in uniting the wider movement!

Breaking the Real Mould

In contrast with the decades of slow-moving political dinosaurs, we are now in a position to begin bringing about genuine and complete political mould-breaking. The splits in the Labour and Liberal parties, and the manufacture of the SDP, are symptoms of this change. Such upheavals are both the beginnings of, and a call for, a clear-cut fundamental regrouping within British politics. All of us could benefit from such a regrouping, a growth in radical and green solidarity. Many thousands of people, whether loyal to different political parties or to none, share a common vision, a common understanding of what we call 'green' principles. Perhaps it is a new age consciousness, perhaps not.

We don't mind what you call it, but we feel that you all know what we're referring to: an alternative, green and radical movement that has the potential to change the very nature of old era politics - of domination, hierarchy and exploitation.

We all have a role in this task. We shall need to set up green groups in all parts of our social and economic life: groups which are loose enough to include all those in the wider movement, yet tight enough in principle to present a coherent green message. If this is to succeed, it will only be because we put our principles first and our existing organisational loyalties second. We are in the game of building bridges, in our homes, our communities and our country, uniting the movement in principle and action so that it can effectively challenge the old order. Diversity and unity will be our strength.

Local groups control FOE

NATIONALLY, FRIENDS OF the Earth is entering a period of change. They have just completed their move from Poland Street, their home for most of the last decade, to more spacious quarters at 377 City Road near the Angel, Islington. Also, perhaps more significantly, they have just taken their biggest ever step towards democracy in the organisation as a whole. As a limited company, FoE has to have a board in whose hands the ultimate decision-making power legally resides, though they chose until recently not to exercise that power. Now, after a few months of constitutional wrangles, a new structure has emerged which gives the power to elect the majority of the members of the board to FoE's 250 local groups. Oddly enough, this is the first time that the local groups have had any such formal powers, though it has long been recognised that they form a large part of FoE's strength as a pressure group.

How is that strength to be used in the coming months? A large part of FoE's efforts will obviously be devoted to the campaign to stop the Pressurised Water Reactor being introduced into Britain, and this means particularly stopping the construction of the Sizewell B power station. Opposition to this will be focussed on the forthcoming public inquiry, but whether or not FoE will be participating in this in a formal way is still not finally decided. Some questions remain unresolved, such as the adequacy of the information that will be made open to objectors, and the prospect of government funding (FoE estimate that it will cost them £200,000 to assemble a thorough technical case in opposition to the Electricity Board's.)

At the same time we should see a much greater concern with the issues raised by modern agriculture, especially its impact on the British countryside and its dwindling wildlife. All the signs are that this is a cause for the deepest concern among many people, but as yet no one has been prepared to organise an uncompromising opposition to the destruction that is going on all around us. FoE seem uniquely qualified to fill that gap: let us hope they are successful!



Election Alternatives

THE ECOLOGY PARTY'S first local attempt at an 'alternative' election campaign took place during the Beaconsfield by-election campaign.

Slough and Area Eco challenged the candidates of the other parties to a public forum on everything from pollution to the Falklands. In the end, just the Labour candidate took part in a public meeting organised by the branch: almost all the 20 people who turned up were members and friends, who appeared very impressed by the Labour candidate's evident openness and his ecological ideas!

The meeting was also addressed by Jill Townsend, a local resident (and, to the media's delight, an actress) who had researched a major local pollution issue, that of toxic waste dumping. From being initially involved with Eco, she had found however that the Labour candidate was able to offer considerable practical help in her campaign: far from being an Eco 'scoop', she was soon being given a platform at Labour meetings too!

Eco tried to underline its challenge by taking a mobile display of maps and press cuttings on the pollution issue to other candidates' public meetings. While Labour and Tory parties helped to give the display prominence outside their meetings, the Liberals ushered the display clear of the grounds of the school where they were holding their meeting.

Press coverage of the campaign focussed exclusively on the dumping issue without mentioning a wider context - ecological or otherwise.

Local verdicts seem to be that the alternative campaign was useful, if not conventionally a success. It has helped ease campaigners into a constituency which they did not know, and has enabled them to conserve resources for a vigorous General Election campaign. Clearly the party has a long way to go before it can undertake this kind of campaign with confidence; yet if election deposits are raised substantially, such campaigns could become the rule rather than the exception.

SERA's consensus

SERA (SOCIALIST ENVIRONMENT and Resources Association) held its AGM in London at the end of June. About 50 members (out of 700) came to an amicable consensus on most matters.

On transport, SERA decided to continue to promote practical (public transport) solutions rather than the utopian (walk or bike) solutions which presuppose a radical reorganisation of society. The group is also to show greater interest in youth, with the appointment of a youth liaison officer; and voted to affiliate to CND (while expressing some concern at the fact that it is not possible to send delegates to Green CND meetings). Hilary Wainwright spoke on Popular Planning for Social Need, under which people would create planning policy by representing their actual needs through democratic organisations, as distinct from indicative planning and state planning procedures.

One member remarked afterwards that he could not remember anyone mentioning the Labour Party.



UK conservation issues are dwarfed by the crisis of environmental and species destruction in the tropical rain forests. Highly ecological societies are being decimated, and they have invaluable knowledge of the food, medical and other value of millions of tropical species. Help us to help the peoples of the world to see the beauty of the forests rather than the quick asset-stripping value of the timber.

Otherwise, soon it'll be too late, and only deserts and eroded scrublands will remain.

So send £4 (annual membership fee) to:

WORLD FOREST ACTION, 3 RUGBY STREET, LONDON WC1 4LG.



SUMMER GA

"THE RED PHILOSOPHY IS THAT ALL LIVING THINGS COME FROM ONE MOTHER. EONS AGO WE LOOKED AROUND AND SAW THAT EVERY LIVING THING HAD A DIRECTION AND A ROLE TO PLAY EXCEPT THE TWO-LEGGED CREATURE — THE HUMAN BEING. WE DECIDED THAT HUMANS WERE THE WEAKEST THINGS ON EARTH AND WERE CURSED WITH THE POWER OF REASON, SO WE DECIDED TO LEARN FROM OUR SUPERIORS, AND THAT IS HOW WE BUILT OUR CIVILIZATIONS. WE LISTENED TO WHAT THE EAGLE AND THE SPARROW HAD TO SAY, WE LISTENED TO THE DEER AND THE SPIDER. WE FOUND OUR PLACE IN LIFE, AND THAT IS WHY THESE POWERFUL SUPERIOR BEINGS SHOW SUCH GENEROSITY BY GIVING US THEIR BODIES, THEIR LIVES, FOR OUR WELL-BEING. THE ONLY WAY WE CAN PAY THEM BACK IS TO BE BURIED WITHOUT A COFFIN AND TO RETURN TO THE SACRED MOTHER EARTH TO FERTILIZE HER, AND THEREFORE TO FEED ALL HER CHILDREN.

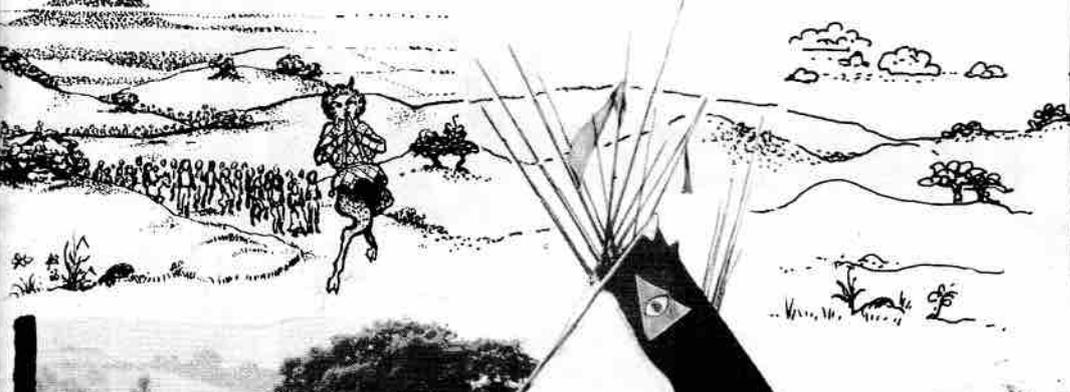
NOW, EONS AGO WHEN THE WHITE MAN LOOKED AROUND, HE SAID HE WAS BLESSED WITH THE POWER OF REASON, AND THAT'S WHEN HE BLEW IT. HE SAID THAT HE WAS SUPERIOR TO ALL OTHER LIFE, THAT HE WAS A GOD AND THAT HE HAD THE LICENCE TO EXPLOIT AND MANIPULATE. LOOK AT YOUR FILTHY WATER AND AIR. LOOK AT THE TASTELESS MANUFACTURED FOODS AND PILLS THAT CAUSE CANCER. TO PROVE HE WAS A GOD, THE WHITE MAN CREATED SCIENCE. FROM THE SCIENCES CAME THE ETHNOLOGIST, THE ARCHEOLOGIST, THE PSYCHOLOGIST, ALL THE "OLOGISTS". THEY WERE THE WHITE MAN'S GOPHERS, DIGGING UP, COLONIZING, IMPRISONING, INSPECTING, DISRUPTING ALL OF LIFE IN ORDER TO BRING BACK INFORMATION SO THAT THE WHITE MAN COULD TELL HIMSELF THAT HE HAD JUSTIFICATION FOR FEELING SUPERIOR. M...

RUSSELL MEANS





ATHERING 1981.



Technomania

Richard Oldfield

AT THE HEART of our techno-industrial society lies a psychic split, with prehistoric roots. Before the Judaeo-Christian era, pagans used natural objects as focal points for their worship, worshipping not the objects themselves but the greater reality behind and within them.

The new religion saw only the surface of their worship. The new, male God was remote: human beings were now 'fallen people' on a world that, far from being revered, was seen as sinful and contemptible. People were no longer to be care-takers of the Earth, co-children on the Great Mother: man now had dominion over the earth and all its creatures. Through the centuries this climate of psychic divorce from the natural world matured. It prepared the ground for the Age of Reason, the subsequent Industrial Revolution, and the technomania we face today.

Judaeo-Christianity began the attack on earth magic and

consciousness: its child, technomania, is trying to finish the job. A substitute religion, it comes complete with its own high priests, the scientific experts. 'Objectivity', 'reason' and 'proven' deductions are articles of its faith. It can be defined as a manic obsession with technology; technology out of control, with people as its servants. It has a terrible momentum and logic of its own: what can be done, technically speaking, is very probably what will be done. We try to fill the void left by the apparent death of magic and mystery. We even try to duplicate the Sun here on earth, with research into nuclear fusion and by tinkering with atomic particles.

The splitting of the atom is only the latest in a long line of 'splits' which have followed the original psychic divorce from the earth. The artificial splits between 'feminine' and 'masculine', objective and subjective, and East and West are simply reflections of a culture divided against itself.

The measure of civilisation becomes technical progress rather than wisdom, compassion or co-operation. Giant, inappropriate and destructive technology wins the lion's share of investment funds. The exploitation and degradation of the earth's 'fallen people' is only to be expected. In any case, as science tells us, we are only animated lumps of protoplasm sparked by electro-chemical interactions, so what are we complaining about?

Everything is so complicated. Perhaps we'd better leave it all to the experts and allow the behavioral psychologists and social engineers to get on with programming utopia. Perhaps the sooner this messy, inefficient planet is re-designed by computer and re-built by robots the better it will be for all of us. Technomania rules OK OK?



Eco-feminism

Leonie Caldicott

FOR ECOLOGISTS, green feminism is about the full human implications of creating an ecologically sound world. For feminists, it is a question of what sort of society would in the long run offer women the best chance for a renewed, worthwhile existence. An existence in which they were themselves, rather than pale, truncated, subservient shadows of themselves.

I recently read an article entitled Daughters of Creation by the American Indian storyteller Manitonquat. In it he expresses women's need for a world that respects the ecological balance, and by extension the need of our presently wildly unbalanced world for strong, powerful women.

"One might suppose that a rational and healthy society would enthusiastically honour and empower their female members. In the dominant cultures of today we find women demeaned, degraded, condescended to, trivialised and exploited. It is another proof, if one were

needed, that this civilisation is neither rational nor healthy.

Tribal societies, on the whole, were far wiser in this respect than societies of today. Whether the people were wanderers or settled, hunters or farmers, they lived close to the cycles of nature. As they honoured the earth, so they honoured the daughters of the earth."

Of course it's always a question of what you consider to be honouring and empowering. Manitonquat freely admits that in most Indian peoples men and women had clearly defined roles, although those who chose unconventional roles were not only respected, but held in a certain amount of awe. I don't claim that we can, or even want to, go back to the kind of tribal society that once existed. But there is surely a source of inspiration, a cause for reflection, in Manitonquat's words.

Something that never ceases to amaze me is the unwillingness of some men and even some women to hear what feminists say they find empowering as women. This is a shame, because we are never going

to effect the far-reaching changes we need so urgently if we don't have that crucial resource: the energy and commitment of women acting in their own way. "If society is blighted," says Manitonquat, "there are also signs of health and hope. All liberation movements are allied to one another in a common effort to make humanity more human, but I believe the most important single force to emerge is the women's movement. I say this because men, locked into roles of dominance and competition, have needed the women's force and example to break those locks and re-learn how to nurture and how to co-operate."

He is not speaking of women who compete with men on their own terms, nor of women who passively accept those terms without participating in them. He is speaking of women - and by extension men - who want to change the terms themselves. And that means a change from a greedy, materialistic society to a green one.

Babyarchy

Nicholas Albery

BABYARCHY - not matriarchy or patriarchy. That would be a better safer world worth struggling for. Societies in which the baby's and young child's innocence and needs are absolute standards in the creation of safe and lively environments.

Two biblical injunctions would have to be incorporated in the bill of rights for a babyarchy. Thus 'better to die than to offend against these little ones' would be a terrible warning to the chairmen of Shell, BP and Associated Octel, profiting from damage to children's brains through lead in petrol. And

'to have to become like children to enter the kingdom of heaven' would mean, among other things, designing societies in which the child within all of us is given more play. The socially valued qualities for all ages would then include emotional openness, immediacy, vulnerability, playfulness, imagination, creativity, physical warmth, trust, and ease in making friends.

Babyarchy activists, like matriarchy ones, would inevitably create new mythologies. To a babyarchist, it is clear, for instance, that human evolution and progress developed through child's play. The best illustrations of this today are the Japanese Show Monkeys. With these monkeys, it is the children who through play have discovered the delights of the hot pools on a cold day, and now their discovery is slowly permeating their society. Already some of the more adventurous mothers have dared to mimic the children, submerging themselves in the hot pools, but the fathers still stay away, rigidly distrustful.

I'm working on new babyarchist

creation myths. My best attempt so far adheres closely to the 'big bang' exploding-contracting theory of the universe, with the universe as the womb of one Goddess among many. The play begins with her impregnation by the sperm from one God among many. The sperm are the galaxies, the planet Earth a fertilised ovum. We human beings are one of a host of live embryos in the womb, some destined (unless they miscarry) for eventual birth through a black hole birth canal.

On reflection this pregnant universe myth is more fitted to embryo power and anti-abortion propaganda than to baby power. I think I'd better think it out again.

("How to Save the World", edited by Nicholas Albery and Yvo Peters, has just been published by the Fourth World Educational and Research Assn. Trust, 24 Abercorn Place, London NW8, price £6.90 incl p&p. Subtitled 'A Fourth World Guide to the Politics of Scale', it has articles by over 100 Fourth World authors, including Jill Tweedie, John Seymour, Ivan Illich, EP Thompson, Gwynfor Evans, Kit Pedler.)

were getting somewhere: much, much worse is the indifference of being ignored!

So let's ignore what we dislike, and build on the positive. We must do both - leave the negative and work on the positive - the two aspects are crucially interdependent. If we ignore everything and go to sleep, we are being apathetic. If we applaud and build on and encourage that which we wish to develop, it throws what we are ignoring into greater relief.

Party politics can be left behind: let's build up the Green Gathering, work for Peace and disarmament. Let's ignore the supermarket and buy from the corner shop; buy local food; use pub' > transport; pay for clean electricity only; promote the Peace Tax fund; be a hitchhiker or give a lift to one; if we are claiming unemployment benefit go to free festivals and activate the black economy. In general, react to positive changes in our environment.

In every area of our lives we should have time only for those plants we wish to grow - let the others die, for they surely will eventually.

And we shall have achieved self-determination by doing it.

the way to wrest control is through elections. If we wish to change society by getting ourselves and like-minded people elected onto councils and bodies and governments, we'd better be aware that the process can cheapen us. We get involved in lies, tricks and advertising gimmickry, becoming blind to the virtues in others.

As for Parliament, forget it. As an institution, it is far stronger than any individual or group. Time and time again we see angry revolutionary people go there full of fire and zeal, only to give up - or be converted by a Christmas card from Charles and Diana. Confrontation and attempts to reform from within only reinforce its status: we will end up being reformed instead. The best way to render it impotent is to ignore it: if we don't recognise its authority, it has none.

After all, the reason why women have allowed ourselves and our achievements to be devalued is because we were ignored. If the Ecology Party were to be criticised, attacked and reacted to, the members would regard it as wonderful because they would know they

Self-determination

Sandy Brown

IF THE WISHES of the Falkland Islanders are paramount - if they, a small community of 1,800 (well, a few less now) can be positively encouraged to be self-governing, surely we can now all claim the right to do likewise. How to achieve it, though?

Power, and therefore control and the right to self-government, is something which cannot be given away: power must be taken. If a parent says to a child, 'Go forth, you are now independent,' and the child goes, that is not independence but obedience. Independence and self-determination come when the child decides, 'I'm going, ready or not.' But there are some warnings for those who feel that

TAKING BACK THE POWER

The Theory of Nonviolence, by Trevor Houghton

WHAT'S SO GREAT about direct action?

In taking direct action we are reclaiming the responsibility for our own lives from the many people who have authority over us. Each time we vote at an election we are in fact giving up some power over our lives and telling the people we elect: "You decide for me." In many situations this might seem reasonable, but those people we elect usually take more power than they have been given. The nuclear arsenals of the world bear witness to that. So to take direct action against the power structures which create these weapons is a way we as ordinary people reassert our own power.

POLITICAL OR DIRECT?

Direct action can be contrasted to political action. Political action

is aiming our activities at parliamentary or legislative change. Basically it is asking someone else to make the changes you want.

Direct action is where you make the changes, whether it be insulating your house to cut energy consumption or blockading Greenham Common to stop Cruise missiles.

We also often forget the simple constructively direct actions such as insulating our houses, and dwell exclusively on confrontational direct action where we are intervening to stop something. But in many cases it is these simple positive actions which will achieve our goals. When we start intervening it requires more support, greater organisation and a preparedness to take risks if we are to achieve the changes we want. Most fundamentally it involves us in recognising what is within our power to change.

THE CAMPAIGNING CONTEXT

For example it is open to question whether the peace movement is strong enough to stop Cruise. It is certainly a question that those of us who advocate direct action should be asking. If we are to be able to go beyond one or two short-term blockades at Greenham into a full campaign of harassment we are going to need a great groundswell of support, good planning, organisation, and large numbers of people prepared for the risks involved in taking action. Do we have that kind of strength?

It must be said that it is no good thinking of direct action outside the general context of campaigning. What has happened at Greenham so far would not have been possible without the growing consciousness of the nuclear issue generated by the conventional campaigning of CND and peace groups throughout the country.

NONVIOLENCE

If we are going to directly intervene in something like the nuclear arms race, why do it nonviolently? First, because the power we are confronting outguns us. More importantly, nonviolent action is based on the idea that the powerful can have their power

drained away from them by us withdrawing our support for them. After all, it is we who legitimate their power either through the ballot box or just through our passive acceptance of their position. It follows from this that nonviolent action will not substitute one powerful elite for another but will decentralise power, and therefore work against centralised military power.

Nonviolent action is a broad term encompassed by the following points:

- (a) openness about planning actions
- (b) recognising an opponent as a fellow human being, not just part of the enemy
- (c) keeping all means of communication open with your opponents
- (d) exhausting all non-confrontational means before turning to confrontation
- (e) willingness to accept the consequences of your actions.

I'm sure these five points could be added to: they are only an indication, not principles but ideals we aspire to. It will be up to each of us to agree on the workings and understandings of nonviolence in the groups and coalitions within which we campaign.

PREPARATION

One point not on the list which I would add is preparation or training for action. There is a great mystique around NVDA training, but to me it is very straightforward what it is about. It is primarily a period when people can mentally and emotionally prepare themselves for action by exploring their fear with supportive comrades and feel the strength of working in a group. It is secondly about organising ourselves so that decisions can be made with the involvement of everyone, so that everyone has the confidence to carry them through. Thirdly it is so that we can learn techniques to plan our tactics and strategies using the imaginations of all involved.

Nonviolent direct action could take us a long way - provided we use our imaginations, prepare carefully, and discover our collective strength.

THE HEAT IS ON!

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HARD ROCK

FROM 29th SEPTEMBER to 5th October this major civil defence exercise will be boosting and testing government plans for local

authority and voluntary involvement. Five days of simulated conventional war will be followed by a simulated nuclear attack (councils can refuse to co-operate with the latter part).

Nationwide, organisations are accumulating evidence which proves Hard Rock to be no more than a PR exercise to prepare us for war, not save us from it. This was so with the last exercise - Operation Square Leg (1980) - which was more concerned with maintaining law and order than monitoring fallout, warning people of its spread, and saving lives.

The myth of civil defence has already been fully exposed by Phil Bolsover ('Civil Defence: the Cruellest Confidence Trick', CND 80p). Now is the time for action, and so it is pleasing to see a Direct Action Handbook, 'Civil Defence is No Defence', produced by people in Yorkshire and Humberside, which outlines home defence measures in the region and gives advice on finding out more and expressing concern.

The handbook suggests three types of action: constitutional (intellectual argument), symbolic (emotional expression), and direct (confrontation). It also gives useful advice for those contemplating direct action.

A few ideas to begin with include:

Before Hard Rock - press your local authority not to co-operate, question politicians and officials about preparations for local people (and publicise their replies, or lack of, in the media) and press them to close bunkers down or open them to the public and to publish war plans.

During Hard Rock - demonstrate at bunkers and demand admission, keep pestering officials with questions, ask them how they are coping and what would be happening to their wives and children, erect signposts to targets and bombed areas, keep using the media.

After Hard Rock - use it to illustrate the inadequacy of civil defence preparations and remind people 6 weeks later how many would still be dying.

It is essential that we organise together to expose this 'whitewash' and stop the government getting away with it. CND want to hear of any information you acquire on plans for your area. They will shortly publish an action pack and are willing to help people organise NVDA training.

The producers of 'Civil Defence is No Defence' would also like to hear what you find out about your area and what action you are planning; they will be producing a supplement based on this.

Caroline Raine

** 'Civil Defence is No Defence' is published by Peace Data Association, Box 110, 2 Lascelles Road, Leeds 8. Single copies cost 5p plus an A4 s.a.e. (20p stamp); send a further s.a.e. 9" x 4" for the supplement. There is a 30% discount for ten or more.

SIZEWELL

WHAT CAN WE do about Sizewell?

A frequent cry, to which there's no easy answer. It depends on where you live, what kind of group you're involved in, if any, and what it does best.

ANTI-NUCLEAR CAMPAIGN The ANC is co-ordinating a Trade Union campaign against the PWR (Pressurised Water Reactor). If you are an active trade unionist, you could try getting your branch involved. The ANC also have good anti-PWR leaflets and a selection of related badges. Contact Harold Immanuel at the ANC office, PO Box 216, Sheffield S1 1BD (0742 751691).

LOCAL COUNCILS The Town and Country Planning Association is co-ordinating opposition from several local authorities in different parts of Britain. If you have a sympathetic (Labour or Liberal controlled?) council in your area who could in any way be affected by Sizewell B - waste transport, refugees in the case of an evacuation, increased activity at Windscale, etc. - they could still join in and make some kind of submission to the Public Inquiry. The TCPA are based at 17 Carlton House Terrace, London SW1Y 5AS. David Hall is the contact.

WEAPONS LINK The ANC have produced a good cheap briefing document on this. Howard Clark's CND pamphlet 'Atoms for War' is very useful too. There is almost no part of Britain which does not have a CND group, and the proposed programme of new reactors (of which Sizewell is only the first) will produce lots of plutonium, the raw material for bombs. This is another area on which everybody can work, just by spreading awareness of the links.

WASTE TRANSPORT More operating nuclear power stations mean more nuclear waste travelling by road and rail around the country. The London Waste Transport Campaign, c/o 15 Klea Avenue, London SW4, can tell you if it comes your way (you may be surprised!)

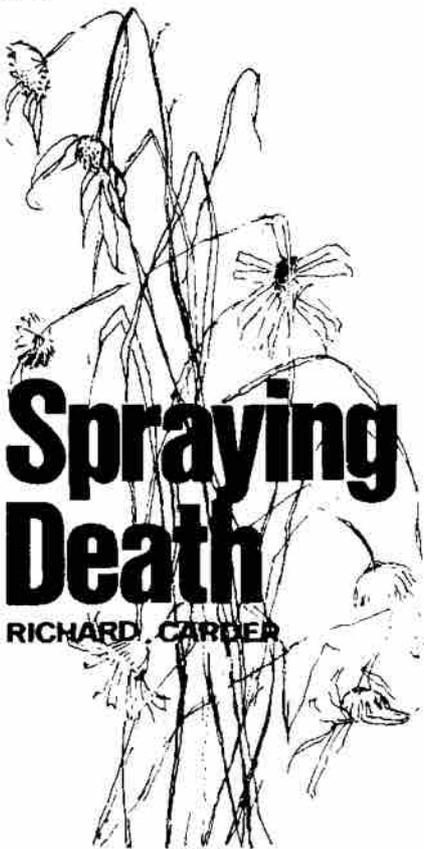
SIZEWELL ACTION FUND Jointly sponsored by the Ecology Party, Greenpeace, and Green CND, this aims to collect money for actions NOT connected with the Public Inquiry. If you or your group has an idea for some action in opposition to Sizewell, or would like to contribute some money, write to SAF, Church Street, Eye, Suffolk (or ring John Matthissen on 0359 70491).

CONSUMER CAMPAIGN Anyone with an electricity bill can protest about nuclear generation by withholding a symbolic 1% (the percentage generated by nuclear stations) and paying it into the Trust Fund set up by the ANC. This helps show the electricity boards we are not just mindless consumers, but very much aware of and concerned about their generating methods. Details from 322 Mill Road, Cambridge (0223 240293).

EAST ANGLIAN ALLIANCE AGAINST NUCLEAR POWER (EAAANP). This co-ordinates opposition from a variety of ANC, FoE, CND and party political groups. If you are part of an East Anglian group which is not yet affiliated, contact Roy Thompson, 2 St Helen's Road, Ipswich (0473 214308).

The LONDON TO SIZEWELL MARCH (Stomp for a Safe Future) will start from London on September 5 and finish at Sizewell on the 17th, after which there will be a week-end fair. Marchers and sponsors are needed NOW. The organisers are Ann, Ben and John Stringer, 1 Fell Road, Birdbrook, Halstead, Essex, CO9 4BG (Ridgewell 044 085) 440. This is something everyone can get involved in, no matter where they live.

Oliwyn Fletcher



NOW IS THE season when farmers, foresters, and gardeners are merrily spraying fields, woodlands and hedgerows with some of the most dangerous (ecocidal) chemicals ever invented by mankind, for killing those members of the bio-sphere he - it invariably is a 'he' - considers to be his enemies.

The threat of man-made chemicals to the bio-sphere is greater than it ever has been. Over 2,000 new chemicals are marketed every year, and not more than a tenth of them have anything near adequate testing for their long-term effects on the environment. The Director of the National Cancer Institute in the USA, Dr Rauscher, has predicted an epidemic of cancer within the next 20 years as a direct consequence of this irresponsibility.

Many of these chemicals are used in agriculture, where a clear distinction must be made between natural poisons such as nicotine and pyrethrum, which are re-absorbed harmlessly into the eco-system, and man-made artificial chemicals which have not had millions of years to integrate with the rest of nature and may well cause genetic damage or cancer (as with the dioxin in 2,4,5 - T, the notorious herbicide).

The utter inadequacy of the pesticides advisory committee (ACP) to control even those chemicals which are known to be dangerous - through the voluntary Pesticides

Safety Precautions Scheme - was shown by the recent government study of the use of organochlorines (DDT, Dieldrin, etc.), whose use actually rose by 5% during the 1970s (New Scientist 15.10.81).

Dieldrin is responsible for the drastic decline of otters, and has been banned for agricultural use by the EEC. However it can still be used for treating wood: as such it hit the headlines last October when a recently treated junior school in Cornwall had to be closed when all the children were made ill by the fumes.

That the ACP selects its evidence so as not to upset the 'Aggro-chemical' (sic) industry was clearly shown by Dr Jenny Martin in a vigorous exchange of letters to the Guardian last June between herself and Dr Hessayon, chairman of the British Agrochemical Association.

Hessayon claims that "since 1969, the use of DDT has been reduced to almost nothing. Yet the government study shows that, on the contrary, there has been very little decline in the use of DDT in the last 10 years, and it is still by far the most used organochlorine in the business (about 70 tons a year).

No one should believe re-assuring statements from the BAA since their deception over the usage of 2,4,5-T was exposed by Dr Roger Thomas MP.

When eventually we ban a dangerous pesticide - such as Toc, which has been used for 20 years for growing swedes and is now known to be carcinogenic - it is likely that the makers will export the rest of their stock to another country where no ban exists. This nasty practice is likely to rebound on us, however, because many imported foods from the tropics such as rice, vegetables and coffee beans have a high pesticide content, since precautions are often ignored - if understood.

It is commonplace for beekeepers to lose half their bees when neighbouring farmers are spraying herbicides (never mind pesticides) on fields full of wild flowers. Such practices are forbidden in West Germany, but not here.

Such spray-drift, caused not only by wind but also by evaporation, can also wipe out a field of lettuces or produce giant, mis-shapen strawberries or tomatoes; or, as happened in May in Warwickshire, settle as a cloud of gas over a village (Guardian, May 17).

This last incident has particular irony, because one of the villagers was a prominent civil servant from the Ministry of Agriculture who

had recently been extolling the virtues of pesticides in an article in the Guardian. He is now beginning to change his tune!

The writing is clearly on the wall, or in the fields: we must heed the warnings and return to the proven methods of organic farming if we want to avoid catastrophe.



Eco-Action

WE SUFFER FROM a severe lack of dogmatism. While I hope this can continue, it is interesting to see where and why politicians use dogmatism to advantage. Mainly it makes issues look black and white, which of course they never are. It is useful to persuade people that you know what you are talking about when you do not: the recipient can act likewise because he/she has heard it all before.

"Thatcher Out", "£90 a week minimum wage for all at 18", "Jobs Not Bombs" are all meant to signify radical thinking and the public like it. But "Decentralise or Die" will not fit onto a badge, and is not a credible asinine chant for a CND demonstration.

Faced with this problem, how can we get our message across? The answer must be, by example. We must be able to point to organisations within our communities that are run along the lines of our beliefs. This 'alternative' economy must take as its example the present 'informal' economy - the part-time jobs or voluntary work that people do. The important characteristics of this informal economy are: flexibility, fulfilling a local need, dependence on human energy and creativity, no large capital investments, and independence from fossil fuels. It must also aim to be sustainable.

The importance of the 'Eco-Action' project is to show that not only is this type of economy beneficial to society; but that it is also beneficial to those involved in it, in terms of quality of life. Work must cease to be "The 40-hour week" with its dehumanising effect as individuals become "The workforce".

In the Eco-Action workshops at the Summer Gathering we hope to provide some examples of people who are already working along these lines. These workshops will provide a starting point: have a go yourself!

Alistair Danter





The Links

THE LINKS BETWEEN nuclear reactors and nuclear weapons have become steadily clearer, and this 'shadowy' area has now been brightly lit by two publications, "FUELLING THE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE" by Sheila Durie and Rob Edwards, and "ATOMS FOR WAR" by Howard Clark.

The first is a paperback (Pluto Press, £2.95), the second a pamphlet (CND, 50p), so there isn't quite the clash there might be. But it's hard to recommend one above the other.

The pamphlet is straightforward with lots of small sections clearly headlined. A brief historical outline leads into a detailed look at the various aspects of proliferation and the prospects for 'de-nuclearisation.' It's very non-technical - at times almost too simple, perhaps. Howard produces a number of new points including the fact that Britain, by taking nuclear weapons from the USA, is already violating the non-proliferation treaty. He could have taken some arguments further, but obviously a pamphlet has its limitations.

No such limitations exist in 'Fuelling the Nuclear Arms Race'. Rob and Sheila have been heavily involved in SCRAM, and this book oozes useful facts and information on all things nuclear in much the same way as SCRAM's excellent Energy Bulletin. Sheila in particular has been a very active campaigner - indeed I can think of few people who have given so much time, energy and commitment to the anti-nuclear movement in Britain. Consequently their book is the result of the shift of emphasis from power to weapons that the movement has seen, and includes the typical depth of factual back-up that emerged with the anti-power movement.

For all that, it is very accessible and readable. It draws the many and complex strings of the argument

neatly together, pausing on the way to demolish the idea that we 'need' nuclear reactors for our energy needs. The authors also point out the risk to world peace posed by the plans of Walter Marshall (head of the CEBG and ex-UKAEA) for exporting conventional reactors to feed British fast breeders. This paradise for imperialists will involve a whole new set of risks, and no other country seems to be striking out in this direction. It is a problem that the British disarmament movement must face up to very soon.

Chris Church



Labour's green tradition

SOCIALISM AND ECOLOGY: Raymond Williams (SERA, 75p).

This pamphlet is a reprint of a lecture given to SERA members by Raymond Williams which, in a gentle, almost tentative manner, sketches out the links between socialism and ecology. Ecological socialism is what SERA attempts to propagate both in the labour movement and to a lesser extent in the environmental movement. This pamphlet can in many ways be seen as an eloquent statement of that link. In it Williams looks back - to the Industrial Revolution, to Blake, Cobbett, Ruskin, and most importantly to William Morris - and traces the development of their ideas, their fierce critiques of the industrial squalor they saw around them, and their (in some cases) visions of a socialist future; and then looks forward to where these, sadly rather submerged strands in socialist thought are now.

Discussion of material limits, 'non-political' ecologists, poverty and the national cake (or why it's not enough merely to increase the national cake to eliminate poverty), the North-South debate, and the peace movement are where these strands re-appear.

'Socialism and Ecology' is an excellent introduction to the ecological traditions in the labour movement, and why the socialism of SERA as it is now expressed is critical for the success of green ideas in Britain. Non-socialists will find a non-doctrinaire explanation of the links and the vision; those who are already committed will find the eloquence of the expression of that vision refreshing and reaffirming.

Martin Stott

Begin here

ECOLOGY FOR BEGINNERS: Stephen Croall & William Rankin (Writers & Readers, £1.95 pbk).

One of the series 'Documentary Comic Books for Beginners', its title is self-explanatory, and the format - a series of witty comic strips with racy commentary - makes it immediately accessible to all ages and intellects. But eco-buffs should not turn their noses up at it, as it is full of well-researched and useful information and its content is serious indeed.

The book starts with an historical survey of the disastrous reign of mankind, heedlessly squandering the riches of the earth from the beginning of civilisation up to the present day, and then proceeds to depict a quite horrifying but completely convincing description of 'a day in the life of the eighties'. Yet even with such depressing contents the authors always manage to entertain, and the drawings are lively and stimulating.

The human race is shown to be heading inexorably for ruin unless it changes direction very shortly, and the rest of the book tries to suggest the direction in which to go. Capitalism, Marxism, Socialism without Ecology, and Ecology without Socialism are all discussed and rejected as inadequate. The solution for the authors is a sort of International Eco-Socialism where "we're all responsible for everyone alive today, for future generations, and for the Earth, which is our common home". We must "give up draining the Earth's capital and live instead off the interest", we must replace "production-for-profit with production-for-needs".

Utopian? Yes. Possible? Well, why not - if there are enough Green-liners around.

However, this is certainly an ideal handbook for all ecologically minded people to leave on their coffee tables for their guests to browse through: it should result in quite a few instant conversions. One word of warning: do encourage your friends to buy their own paperback copy at the very reasonable price of £1.95 rather than loan yours out: the binding is so fragile that with frequent handling the book will rapidly fall apart.

Renee Lauffer



gathering guide

Resources Tues

RESOURCES RESEARCH - low energy housing, water/space heating, natural sanitation, wind power. Exhibition for whole event.

GREEN DESERTS multi-media, spectacular, greening the deserts.

FRIENDS OF THE EARTH workshops

ALTERNATIVE TECHNOLOGY Patrick Howden, and working models

DIB JAK music and theatre. (Hope to be here all week)

CONTINUUM THEATRE GROUP special anti-nuke show (will be here all week).

JEREMY AND PHILLIPPA singing and * dance (until Saturday)

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NONVIOLENCE TRAINING

WOMEN FOR LIFE ON EARTH from Brawdy Peace March

UPPER HEYFORD PEACE CAMP

BURGHFIELD PEACE CAMP

VOICE WORKSHOPS - Navis Savdy

There will be a series of NVDA training workshops during the gathering: details from Info tent.

Land and Energy Wed

TURNING POINT the future of work.

STUDENT ECOLOGY MOVEMENT workshops all week

SANE: STUDENTS AGAINST NUCLEAR ENERGY

TONY CERERA spectacular mine performer (all week).

ERSATZ COMBO BLAMAGE anarchist theatre group all the way from West Berlin. A play about squatting. (Here all week).

URBAN CENTRE FOR APPROPRIATE TECHNOLOGY

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ALTERNATIVE HEALING MARQUEE

NAVAHO BACK ADJUSTMENT

COMMUNITY HEALTH FOUNDATION acupuncture reflexology yoga macrobiotics metamorphic foot massage

A special marquee for many, many different kinds of healing: the above are just a sample

Animal and Human Rights Thur

MARSEY HUNT SABOTEURS

BRISTOL ANIMAL ACTIVISTS

ANIMAL AID

WOMEN FOR LIFE ON EARTH

Norma Benney: ANIMAL RIGHTS & FEMINISM

MEN'S ANTI-SEXISM J Goldthorpe

RIGHTS OF TRAVELLING PEOPLE J Sandford

FOURTH WORLD Jon Papworth

CLAIMANTS UNION

ENERGY WORKSHOP for kids - Chris Church

DIRECT DEMOCRACY AS AN ALTERNATIVE POLITICS - Peter Cadogan

ASSERTIVENESS TRAINING FOR PREGNANT WOMEN - Margaret Wright

DEPENDANTS RIGHTS - Alan Alder

CLOWNS GRAND CENTRAL Extra Hot Mango Chutney Ceilidh Bands

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WOMEN

A women's info tent is planned, and a series of women's group meetings

Peace and non-violence Fri

PEACE PLEDGE UNION

GREEN CND

WOMEN'S PEACE ALLIANCE

MEDICAL CAMPAIGN AGAINST NUCLEAR WEAPONS - Dr Richard Lawson

EAST ANGLIAN ALLIANCE AGAINST NUCLEAR POWER The Sizewell Campaign

OXFORD ANC - weapons/power links & disarmament, development & the environment.

SIZEWELL NVDA Ben Stringer (planning meeting)

GREENHAM COMMON NVDA Bruce Garrard (planning meeting).

SISTER SEVEN feminist theatre group

RICHARD LANCASTER wild drumming up a tree!

EDUCATION OTHERWISE FOR PEACE

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KIDS

Creche Adventure playground Swings Clowns Face painting Punch & Judy Albion Kids Show

Green Solidarity Sat

GREEN SOLIDARITY WORKSHOPS

lots of small workshops on this same basic theme:

led by members of the Green Gathering collective, to discuss the Green Declaration

WESSEX REGIONALISTS

DANCE AND MIME workshop for children

GRAND GREEN PLENARY

CLOWNS

WORD IN ACTION participatory theatre

ERSATZ COMBO BLAMAGE anarchist theatre

GREENHAM COMMON FILM

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COMMUNITY ACTION

UNDERCURRENT: COLLECTIVE putting a magazine together

ECO-POLITICS AND COMMUNITY ACTION - John Foster

LAYING UP LEAFLETS

SILK ACREENING

CO-OPERATIVE DEVELOPMENT AGENCY

LONDON RESCUE NETWORK

and many more examples

Celebrations Sun

A CELEBRATION! PAGANS AGAINST NUKES a grand sabbat for the festival of Lammas

WORD IN ACTION

SITE MEETING next year...?

BRUCE LACEY a ceremonial freak-out

The fabulous TIBETAN UKRAINIAN MOUNTAIN TROUPE performing 'Absolutely Nothing'.

SUNDAY HAS BEEN KEPT LARGELY FREE FOR SPONTANEOUS HAPPENINGS

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THIS PROGRAMME HAS BEEN PREPARED IN ADVANCE - but it's in the nature of the Gathering that no one knows every thing that's going to happen: the above is just a glimpse! For full and final details, go to the Info Tent for separate info sheet on Alternative Healing, Green Feminism, Alternative Technology, Entertainments, Community Action, and Nonviolence Training. P.S. Make sure you don't miss anything!