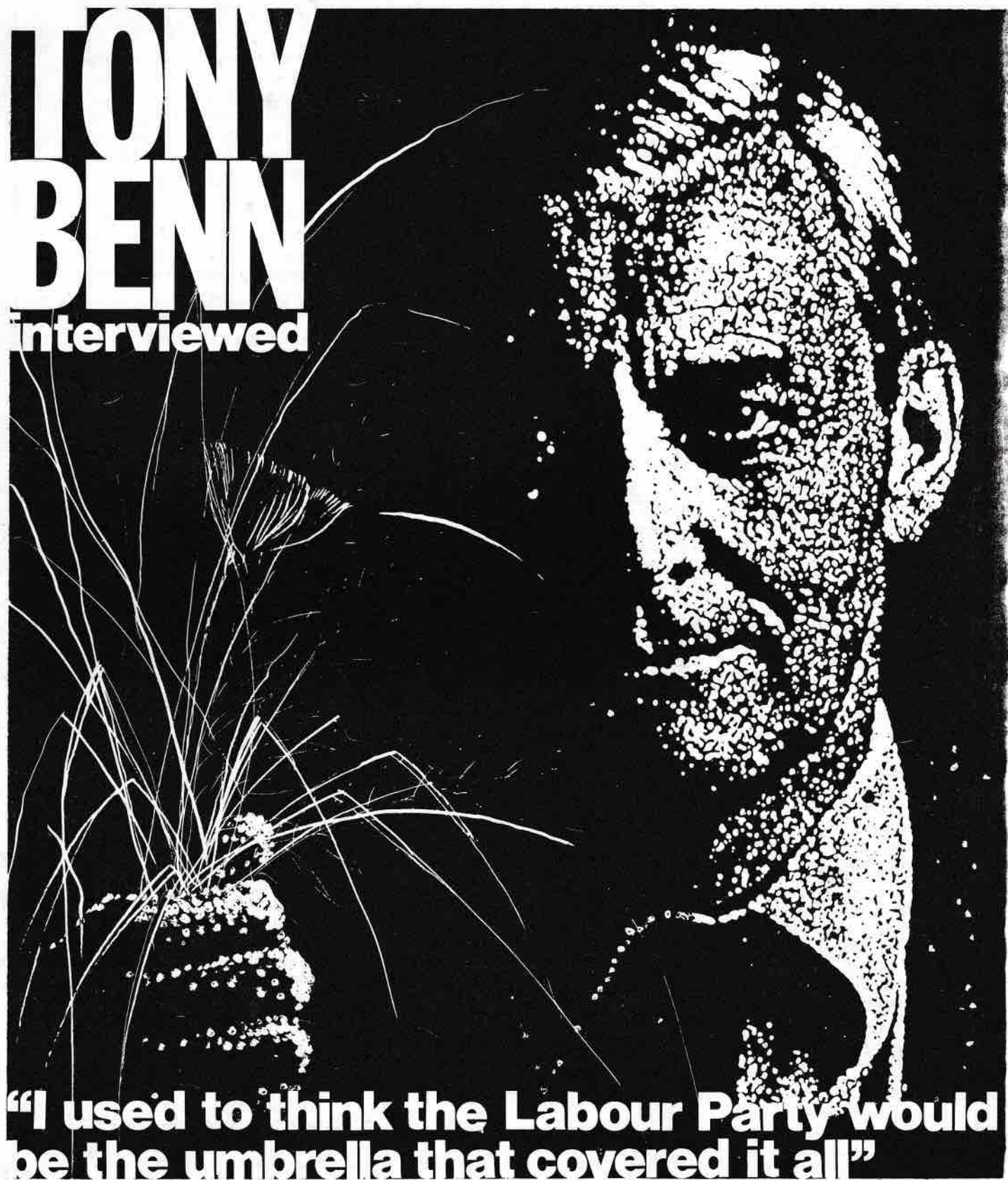


GREEN LINE

Magazine of the green movement. No 10 March '83 30p

**TONY
BENN**
interviewed



**"I used to think the Labour Party would
be the umbrella that covered it all"**

GREEN LINE

No. 10 March '83

Editorial address: 14 Alexandra Road, Oxford (0865 245301/246079).

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TWO OPPOSED strains of contemporary politics appear in Green Line this month: Tony Benn (a trifle less radical than some might have expected?) and the SDP - the latter open to considerable green input but essentially intended, it would appear, to implement policies anything but green - at least on the international scale.

Next month, our energy issue looks especially at Sizewell and the state of the art of the various benign energy sources. We shall also report on the Ecology Party's spring conference, where E P Thompson will be speaking on the need for a broadly-based peace movement, and Des Wilson talks on 'green politics'.

Also in the pipeline: Digby Dodd on long-term agriculture in Britain, Tim Eiloart on how to call a 'Town Poll', a report on the West German federal elections, and a report on the perils facing conscious objectors in France and West Germany.

Flu delayed Stephanie Leland's article this issue, but we shall be carrying reports and articles each month from the eco-feminist movement.

We welcome readers' articles and letters. Cartoons would be much appreciated too. And is there anyone in or near Oxford who could help with typing?

Rudolf Bahro SOCIALISM AND SURVIVAL

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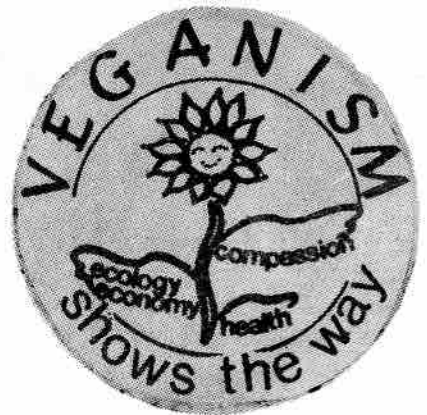
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TONY BENN interviewed by Jonathon Porritt

JP WHEN RUDOLF BAHRO spoke at the Ecology Party Conference in October, he said a lot of things that were very exciting for us - some of them quite difficult to take, and some quite challenging in terms of our understanding of Eco-politics at the moment. A lot of the things he said indicated the need for a drawing nearer between some people who formally see themselves in the Green movement and some who see themselves in the traditional socialist movement. Is that just pie-in-the-sky at the moment, looking at it from a socialist point of view?

TB First of all, I welcome the discussion, because in most countries the Green movement is more what I would call 'politically conscious' in a way than the tradition of a non-political conservationist or ecology movement here has been. There's a strong case for having a very deep political analysis associated with the ecological movement. Secondly, I am bound to say - if you don't misunderstand me - that there is no necessary connection between socialism and the Labour Party. There are socialists in the Labour Party, which has a constitution which is socialist in character. So I don't really want to discuss the Labour Party as such, but the socialist tradition and where socialism came from.

Now it seems to me that if you look at it all in that way, in a detached way, you see two things. First of all you find that many of the expressions of pre-socialist ideas - pre-socialist in the sense of pre-Marxist or pre-Robert Owen - related very closely to the environment. You go back to the Garden of Eden and what John Ball said ("When Adam delved and Eve span, Who was then the gentleman?"), and you've got that tradition; you've got the tradition of the Levellers and the Diggers who talked about the earth as a common treasury; you've got the whole common ownership tradition of which Thomas More and others were a part, and a very strong sense of commonality and the idea that we are all brothers and sisters and stewards of the land which belongs to all of us, which I would regard as being part of the socialist tradition.

In addition to that you have got two other elements that bear directly on the ecology interests. One is the fact that, contrary to what is normally understood, the Trade Union movement was the first environmentalist movement, because the working environment or working conditions were absolutely essential to them. The second thing that comes out of the socialist tradition in its more developed and advanced and analytical form is that you cannot really control what you don't own. If you look in detail at the rape of the environment, whether it be with urban sprawl, whether it be with pollution of rivers or whatever it happens to be, you are actually dealing with

expressions of economic and industrial power.

All that seems to me to be what I would call the socialist contribution to any serious ecological thinking.

It's international in character, because pollution knows no boundaries. You are really talking about ownership, accountability, and moral responsibility, and those are the themes that socialists have been interested in over a long period. I would have thought that incorporating those ideas in the thinking of the ecological movement would be helpful to you in making sense of what otherwise would be little more than Nader's raiders, who dash in and find an abuse and then withdraw again to an encampment in which there is no consistent approach to the problem.

JP That is one of the characteristic differences between the ecology movement in Europe and the way it has developed in America. They are doing a great deal, but not consistently linked to any real challenge to the dominant industrial ethic, or indeed to the whole American ethic. However, one couldn't exactly say that even in those countries where the earth has been communally owned, that they have a very much better record of preserving the earth than perhaps we in capitalist countries. Certainly it is a part of the Green understanding that really conventional Marxist analysis was quite contemptuous of what we would call a naturalistic bias in politics.

TB You've got then to differentiate between what I would call the dominant political ideology, whether it be capitalist or communist, and the democratic argument. The truth is that if you have a democratic accountability imposed on the state or organs of the state or the local authority or whatever, then you are in a position to use the common ownership of the means of production which include the land in the public interest. If you don't have a democratic structure, then on the one hand you've got a state apparatus and on the other hand you've got a multinational apparatus. I've thought for a very long time that democracy was the central and the most controversial question.

You can't really have accountability in dealing with an external multinational company because their ownership is abroad, they have power to move their industries and so on. If you are dealing with an organisation that is an agent of common ownership in a democracy, then you are dealing with those who can be defeated in an election, held to account, re-selected and so on - so you do have a better chance. I cannot for a moment pretend that common ownership of itself does it: but without common ownership I don't think you're going to make a lot of progress.

On Industrialization

JP Moving on to the concept of re-industrialisation, the Green movement is trying to establish that hopes for re-industrialisation may in themselves be suspect, and that such costs and damages may be incurred as a result of attempting to pursue that notion of social and human progress that it won't really be worth it in the long run.

TB As a Minister I developed an interrogative form which all related to this question: Who will benefit and who will lose? And of course you do have to ask these questions because technology itself is neutral.

JP Do you actually still believe that after...

TB Oh yes, it has an impetus of its own but it is actually possible to use science and technology to make war and peace. What technology does is to open up choices, and when choices are opened up then of course the political and democratic elements become dominant. And then you have ask yourself, "What are the side-effects of certain courses of action?" In the end it's a question of putting the right questions.

JP Do you think one can ask the same sort of questions for employment instead of just saying, "What we need is more employment"? Do you think one should start asking Jobs for what? Jobs at what expense? Jobs for whom? Jobs where? Jobs for what sort of future?

TB Oh yes, of course.

JP One gets the feeling that calls for putting people back to work aren't very aware of the concept of the quality of work...

TB Oh, I don't think so. I think it depends entirely on what you do. For example if you can produce what the nation needs to live, and we are a fairly sophisticated society now: we need electric batteries, we need transportation and communication equipment and housing and so on. If technology allows you to do that with far fewer people then one of the choices is, do you go for the four-day working week or do you have half the nation on overtime and the other half permanently unemployed? The other question that we ask ourselves, especially in the Labour Party, relates to this dilemma: if you don't re-equip industry then they may collapse if they were non-competitive, but if you do re-equip it may shed labour because they've got new technology. Therefore you ask yourself, "Where is the great growth going to come from in the future?" - and the answer is in the services: it's going to come in health, in education and in housing. The ecological argument that lies behind our demand for a big housing programme and a big health programme, for 24-hour-a-day care for the old and for raising the school-leaving age and so on is really based on an analysis very similar to the one you're hinting at.

JP That's true; I suppose it's questioning a little bit more the extent to which some of the social costs have not always been included in the equation. You've got this wonderful global figure of GNP which gives an apparent indication of the wealth of the country, although it glosses over most of the things that concern the real wealth of people.

TB Oh, I agree with that. I think that the whole idea that you can mechanise everything and turn it into a set of figures in a cash-flow forecast can be

a delusion, and it's an illusion that has been built up because it is highly advantageous to a certain section of society - or, dare I say, a class of society - that the analysis should be done, because it's provided an apparently objective justification for keeping wages down and sacking people, putting them back on the state because they didn't have to be paid for by the employer, and the whole broader analysis of social cost which is the whole heart of the socialist approach is left out of account.

Take free fares or cheap fares in London. How do you calculate the impact of this in terms of the happiness or mobility of the unemployed? How do you rate it in terms of the cost of employing people in a big city where transport is very expensive? How do you deal with congestion, how do you deal with damage to the roads, how do you deal with the amount of petrol vapour that's released into the atmosphere? These are the social costs of a high-cost public transport system. So I think you'll find - and I'm not trying to defend everything we've done - but I think you'll find that there is a high ecological content in most socialist thinking. At the same time there is a recognition that if you try to go for a different sort of society without thinking it out and phasing it you can have terrible side-effects from peremptory and sudden changes in strategy which could throw lots of people out of work and leave them without any help.

On Planning

JP Thinking about some of the Labour Party's plans for extensions of planning, for instance, do you not think that they will assume a similar pseudo-objective status in the way they control economic investment, and cease to do the job which they might do, which is to revitalise the local economy and bring about an increase in well-being at that level?

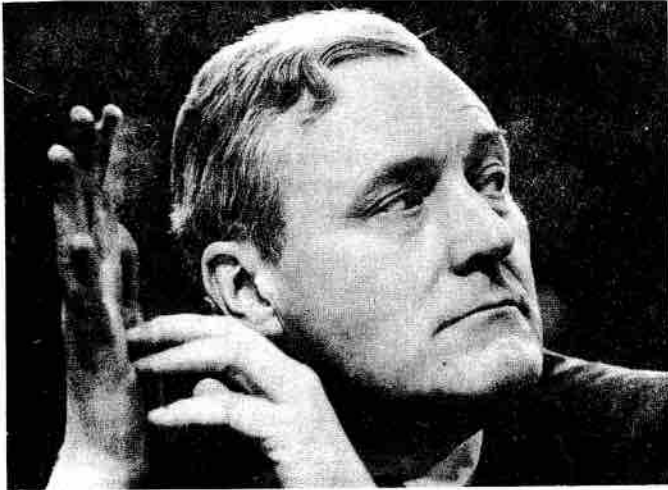
TB It depends which view prevails. There obviously is a corporatist tendency in any state machine. But if you look at it at the shop steward's level, and if you look at the co-operative movement, if you look at Robert Owen, if you look at the work that is now being done to revitalise municipal socialism by Ken Livingstone or David Blunkett, or what's happening in the West Midlands, then you find a wholly different scale; and if you look at the pressure for workers' control you are talking in very practical terms about a highly decentralised system.

But I must say this; that if a government came to power with 5 million unemployed and the public services in a state of complete collapse, it would also be necessary to take very, very clear action at the top as well.

But I think you will find that the most severe critics of nationalisation are now to be found in the Labour Party.

JP Do you still think that nationalisation is compatible with the decentralist tradition?

TB Well, I think without it you're sunk. If you nationalise, you do get one advantage; you blank out the possibility that industrial stultification in the interest of profit takes place. Secondly, you do make it possible - just possible - to plan. I think the mining industry is a good example of that; mining and railways were both on their backsides in 1945, and



without the public ownership of the railways and the mines we would not have developed those. The deficiencies are that it has been centralised, it has been secretive, it has been state-capitalist and corporative in character, and it hasn't opened itself to influences at the local level or to the pressures of industrial democracy. But having said all that, I don't believe that if the mines were privately owned or the Inter-City railways were transferred to the old railway companies, that we would be in a position to do anything at all.

JP I was looking at the Labour Party's political programme for the next year. Although there is obviously some very good thinking about co-operatives and so on, a lot of the emphasis is still very much on highly centralised, highly structured, hierarchical economy.

TB To some extent, but I think there's been a much bigger change than you recognise. What you're touching on is not something so separate that it comes in a different category of thought from what's going on in the Labour movement, but something that's being debated within the Labour movement.

JP Looking at the centralised energy monopoly in this country: that has been responsible for overriding all sorts of local initiatives or alternative thinking, and starving the alternatives of funding. To some extent the very dangerous energy future that we face is largely the result of the inability of those institutions to think ahead and to avoid being trapped by the vested interests that seem to control them.

On Accountability

TB That's a criticism really of the past lack of openness or accountability of the organisations concerned; that is, a criticism of the people who run them, including Ministers. I don't know if you've had a chance of looking at all at what I tried to do in the Department of Energy. First of all I published everything. Everything that came to my desk, unless it had some deeply commercial secret - which few things did - or touched on some very sensitive technology like how to make the Bomb, we published. We set up an Energy Commission and published a Hansard of it so you can read it. We also encouraged and

doubled or trebled the amount of money spent on conservation, which is a highly decentralised energy source.

What is happening now is that they are becoming more secretive and more centralised, and if you look at the Sizewell and the FWR pressure - that is a deliberate political decision taken by a government working absolutely hand-in-glove with the most powerful lobby in the world, which is the private nuclear lobby. I know there are people in the public sector who want it, but they can easily be controlled. Much harder to deal with are some of these multinationals and nuclear companies that are desperate for orders and are trying to plant their little FWR in Britain when it isn't acceptable in America any more, and when there is a worldwide cancellation of nuclear orders.

JP Certainly the Labour Party has got a very strong position on the FWR. But don't you feel that looking at the other arguments - for instance the links between nuclear energy and nuclear weapons, the horrible costs at every stage of the nuclear cycle from uranium mining onwards - that for the Labour Party still to endorse the contribution of nuclear power to the overall energy needs of this country is really quite anachronistic?

TB I ran the nuclear power programme in Britain as a Minister for longer than any other Minister in Western Europe - for four years from '66 to '70 and for four years from '75 to '79. I began with the briefs that were given to me by the Department about nuclear power and ended up totally converted by my own experience against it. And if you look at our programme, what we actually say in the programme - which is an amazing statement given the number of people employed in nuclear power, is that any further development of nuclear power will be looked at in terms of safety and cost and alternative possibilities. Now that, I believe, is a pretty fair guarantee that it won't develop.

On Disarmament

JP To come on to the whole issue of disarmament and peace, do you think the present position of the Labour Party has got sufficient clarity about it to win people over? Some people are critical about the prevarication over NATO; some people wonder whether you might not go further in developing an alternative defence strategy.

TB The policy of the Labour Party has not come down from the top. It developed quite the other way around, and all change begins from the bottom. Labour Party policy is that we should adopt a wholly non-nuclear defence strategy: no Trident, no Polaris, no American nuclear, chemical or biological bases and no British nuclear bases. I don't think you could have a clearer statement.

JP Bahro clearly draws out that nuclear weapons are not something that are almost an unaccountable aberration in an otherwise rational society, but they really are part and parcel of the whole tendency in politics to destroy rather than to create; to bring

people to very dangerous decisions, which is obviously the position we are in now. One of the things he says is that as a consequence of that, all major industrial countries, whether they are governed by parties to the right or left, directly and indirectly contribute to that state of tension; and therefore, although they may declare themselves to be anti-nuclear in their position, many of their other policies enhance international tension in such a way that the world is no safer for that disarmament.

TB It's a perfectly proper warning to give. I think I take a rather simpler view. The military are and always have been the possessors of the most advanced technology of the time. The military have always been able to command enormous resources without people knowing exactly what they were doing: they have then become an enormously powerful lobby. Then they have turned to the second part of their campaign, which is to see that we always have a foreign enemy which is presented in such a way as to make it necessary to spend more. Now that's not a new thing: what is new about it is that we are now talking about weapons of mega-deaths and multi-mega-deaths that could destroy humanity. And out of this has come a very, very old argument; namely, that we have the right to control the military.

So to present it as though the whole nature of the problem is new is a mistake; but to say that the scale of the priority now makes it the number one priority is correct.

I happen to think that the country isn't defended anyway. I'm not a pacifist, nor a believer that nonviolence is the only answer (and I'm not an armchair strategist either), but if I look at the British defence budget at the moment, I don't think we are defended. We've got some troops in Germany as a trip-wire; we've got some troops in Northern Ireland who shouldn't be there; we've got 4,000 troops in the Falklands and a few scattered about. And the troops in Britain have two main functions: one is to defend the British and American nuclear bases, and secondly to be held in reserve in case it's necessary to repress a rising - and a rising might occur after a nuclear war, so Civil Defence is really something quite different. Now if you were to look at defence in the proper sense of being a defence in depth against the possibility of occupation, then you come nearer to a Swiss or Swedish conclusion, and I think the defence argument needs to be looked at in that way. If you do look at it in that way, then of course the weapons of exterminism are no longer necessary.

On NVDA and the Greens

JP When the Greens come over from Germany, one of the things they talk about is the difficulty of matching their very radical demands in opposition to the actual process of responsibility in power. In particular of course they refer to their problem of remaining committed to nonviolent direct action as a part of their politics. Now that debate has certainly been current in some socialist thinking as well. Do you think this is an important and new contribution to late 20th century politics?

TB You have to be very, very careful when you use particular words to describe particular political parties. When you talk about the 'Greens' you are

really talking about a movement with certain political objectives. Now, many of those objectives are reflected in Britain within different movements. I'm not saying that the Ecology movement isn't part of it, but it isn't the only part of it. When you translate language to describe political movements from one country to another you've to recognise that it's not just a translation from one word to another; it's a translation to a movement and what's going on, and I think the Women's movement for instance is intensely radical in Britain and it has taken up a lot of the issues that in Germany would be under the umbrella of the Greens.

JP As you say, many things which in other countries are now coming together, in this country are still fairly diffuse. I don't think that we have yet made quite the links that we need to establish ourselves as a real moving force in changing people's values and changing their political perceptions.

TB But I don't think you should think of it in those terms. You see, this idea that you should gather everyone who could share some part of your aspirations into a political party and then stand as a candidate and the candidates would solve the problem ...

JP ... I was referring to the movement, not particularly the Ecology Party ...

TB I think what's interesting is ecology, and the issues that have been raised by green politics are discussed everywhere. Debates about the future, if they are going to be helpful, are going to be about different aspects of what I would broadly call socialism. In Britain we really ought to look to a society where everybody is thinking about the issues raised by socialism in which the control of the environment, the nature of society, the enrichment of life, the liberation of people, the freedom from domination and exploitation are a part, and within that I think you'll find that even the Conservative Party have some discussion of ecology and some discussion of women's rights - and women's rights are very radical, they're just a carrier for many arguments that properly defined would just be seen as part of the socialist challenge to the existing order.

JP What gave birth to the Ecology Party was the fact that political ecology was not getting onto anybody's political agenda fast enough. It's not that we have any doubt whatsoever that eventually it will indeed dominate the political agenda ...

TB ... It will be on everybody's agenda ...

JP ... It has to. We're quite clearly not looking for the Ecology Party as the new political party of the future: as far as we're concerned it will be infinitely preferable to have a plethora of different political parties, all of whom were ecological, and I think that's the essence of it.

TB It may be that the process of permeation, which is what I'm more interested in, the permeation of a different analysis and a different understanding, has to be seen as a slightly different function from the organisation of a political party. I'm not sure about that, but I have a feeling that that's the way it will be.

On Socialism

JP Some people in the Green movement would say that if the debate of the future were to centre on socialism, that might exclude people who felt that the concept of socialism had perhaps come to the end of its useful life. One of the things that Bahro says which is very challenging to us is that the politics of class have come to an end, and the politics of life are beginning.

TB What is the exploitation of the Third World but a class conflict? The poor blacks are dominated by the rich whites. Without the help of Karl Marx you can't explain that, or without the help of those who did identify analytically and scientifically that there was a difference of interests between those who owned wealth and those who created wealth, to put it at its very crudest. To say that there is a common interest in survival is obviously true. There is a common interest in all sorts of things, but the reality is also that there is a very sharp conflict of interest. I think there's a sort of cosy idea about some thinking which suggests that if everybody all got together - if only we could get away from division, if only we could get away from the party debate, then somehow we would all pull together, and I think that's a very deceptive approach.

JP I think Bahro wasn't against the notion of division in politics. What he was saying is we're dividing it down the wrong line. There are some people in life, whatever class they come from, who in a way emphasise life-enhancing politics, and there are some people in life by virtue of their attitude who do exactly the opposite; and those people could come from any background, any class. Certainly he is very critical of the inability of some parts of the Trade Union movement to respond to some of the challenges of the Green movement, and he does look upon them as one of the very slow-moving reactionary forces in contemporary industrial politics.

TB That is an error. The first campaign for a decent environment was Trade Union led, and anyone who ignores that environmental aspect of Trade Unionism is simply not understanding it. I get more letters about what I would call health and safety and working conditions and security of employment and traffic and all those things than I do on anything else, and they come from the Labour movement. I don't think that if you take Trade Unionism in its fullest and oldest and deepest sense that it has been anything other than something of a moral crusade; and if you exclude the analysis of class you really are trying to cover up something that is important because it explains things, and if I didn't understand that, I wouldn't know what was going on. I'd think it was good people and bad people, life enhancers and life destroyers - what does that mean? It's a load of rubbish. When I meet somebody, how do I find out whether he's a life-enhancer or not? He may be a very rich man who makes a lot of money out of exploiting the tea plantations in Sri Lanka and gives a lot of money to orphanages because he's so rich. Now is he a life enhancer or a life destroyer?

JP Is that any more phoney a division than the class division?

TB Well, the class division isn't reflected in political voting anyway, because without the working class votes the Conservatives would never win. The point is if you try to deny that conflict of interests then you're also denying yourself the only possible analysis that will help you to get control of power. Power does rest with those who own land, the banks, industry, the media, and those who control the army and the civil service.

JP But many of the people in those positions have reputedly been socialists, and the power they have wielded has not been that different...

TB But it isn't about individuals. It's strange that I - not regarding myself as a Marxist - should find myself defending the Old Master, but he said it was a function of working people to liberate themselves. He didn't believe, and I don't believe, that all you've got to do is put a man who's got a Labour Party card in power and it will come all right. All history points against it. Consider Ramsay MacDonald, Ray Gunter, George Brown, Roy Jenkins and so on. When they got to the top via the Labour movement with a party card in their hand, they did quite the opposite. That's why democracy and accountability matter. But deny yourself the Marxist analysis (or I'd rather call it the socialist analysis) and I think you flounder about without a map. All socialists have ever done is provide people with a map, and it's very helpful.

JP I suppose the question is whether that map is any longer going to be sufficient to give people all the different routes they need; and in particular, thinking of the emphasis that map lays on materialism as the dominant philosophy, whether it means...

TB But what does materialism mean? I'm not a philosopher, but I think materialism means, doesn't it, that you study the circumstances of your time and build it up from material evidence, rather than an idealism that comes from above and has to be applied? Now you'd have to talk to a better philosopher than me, but I don't think historical materialism means you are only concerned with consumption. I would never take it that way, because I don't agree with it; it's a philosophical concept. After all, a lot of socialist thinking has been philosophical; it's been trying to deduce lessons from experience, rather than apply them from some pre-conceived idea.

JP What bits of the map would you like to be more strongly emphasised?

TB One of the reasons I am not a Marxist (as I explained in a lecture on Marxism last year) is because I think if you ignore the moral dimension and the idea of inherent moral rights and so on, you can't explain why people are entitled to their rights. Marx simply says that some people exploit other people, but that in itself doesn't prove it's wrong. Then you come to the moral dimension, but a lot of things are going on, and in the end politics is about morality.

There are four levels: that of personality which I find very boring; the policy level which may change with circumstances; below that there are institutional arguments which are much more important, about who has

power and the argument between the democratic or authoritarian systems. But at the bedrock of it all is how you regard your duty to your fellow men and women, to those who came before you and those who will come after. I think ecology has got an appeal in part because it is built on that moral bedrock. But so are a lot of other things as well; the women's movement, the peace movement, the black movement, the socialist movement have also got a very strong foundation dug into that bedrock from which they draw their strength.

JP So if there is to be a drawing together, perhaps that's the level at which it will start rather than the other levels to which you referred.

TB I think a society that hasn't got some moral concept about the obligations you owe to other people is a society that will go wrong. The worship of money now, and monetarism is about that, is going wrong, it is a vicious society. And above that we must all be concerned, whatever our view, with the right to control our destiny, which is the democratic dimension. You will find a lot of people with different opinions prepared to argue it out. Above that you get into the area of policy where you do come to differences of interest because clearly there are clashes of interest - not only on class, but there are clashes of interest between the old and the young, between men and women, between those who

want work and those who think that work will destroy their environment. And above that you've got to decide which individual you're going to vote for every five years on polling day - which is arguably the least important. But that's a decision to be taken when polling day comes. You have to decide whether to entrust your power of executive authority to one group of people or another. And within that very broad sort of framework of thought and action there is scope for a great deal of co-operation. But I don't want to line everybody else up in one particular movement; I used to think that perhaps the Labour Party would be the umbrella that covered it all, but I'm not sure I do think that any more.

I think the Labour Party is the carrier of a very important interest and a very important tradition, but I recognise that outside it are a lot of socialists who don't want to join or who try to join and get expelled. There are people in the other movements I have mentioned who have got an awful lot to offer; and if you can permeate society with decent values and a respect for democracy and have a discussion about policy then you've got the best possible chance (a) of survival, in which we all have a common interest, and (b) in enriching the life and liberties of people as a whole. Now I hope that doesn't sound too divisive: it's an attempt to find a consensus which gives us a chance of living and of seeing a life that is life-enhancing for everybody.

THE DEFENCE POLICIES of the SDP are rooted in the cold war. Western Europe is seen as irrevocably bound to the US. Commitment to NATO is the most important element of foreign policy. And the fierce antipathy shown by the SDP leadership towards CND illustrates the essentially anti-neutralist stance the party takes - from the top echelons down to a lunatic fringe. ROGER WINTER, secretary of SDP CND, looks at the history of cold war politics in this country, and examines links between SDP and other leading politicians and the supranational pressure groups, the Trilateral Commission and the Bilderberg Group.

(The Trilateral Commission was created by billionaire David Rockefeller and first met in 1971. It develops a consensus of 'overworld' strategic policies among top multinational bosses, statesmen and labour leaders from the three 'lateral powers' - the US, western Europe, and Japan. President Carter's administration was heavily manned by Trilateralists.)

The Bilderberg Group, first convened in 1954, is another top secret group of politicians and businessmen from the US and western Europe. Members include Hugh Gaitskell, David Owen, Paul Nitze, and Keith Joseph, and most British prime ministers since the war. Also: Roy Jenkins, Evan Luard (SDP PPC for Oxford), John Roper (SDP MP), and Denis Healey.)

WHY ARE the SDP leaders so hostile to CND and its unilateral call to the politically neutral people in Britain and (through END) Europe? To discover some of the reasons we must return to the roots of the cold war, to Yalta and beyond to the very success of the Bolshevik Revolution. It is ironic that the money from Wall Street which helped finance the Bolsheviks was later provided to support Hitler - but

SDP AND THE

that is how capital works at the higher, invisible levels which allow no place for simplistic nationalism. Multinational business corporations, mostly US-based, did very well from the heavy industrial production generated through WWII. It was Europe that suffered, emerging weak and divided.

In 1948 NATO was formed as an alliance against the Soviet Union. Churchill helped launch the European Movement, a CIA-funded front organisation which was to promote the re-armament of Germany.

Recently we have seen the effects of CIA intervention in Chile, Turkey and El Salvador, where brutal regimes are kept in power by Washington. In less turbulent areas like western Europe, the CIA has intervened to support to support the neo-Conservatives and 'liberal' Centre-Right among European Social Democrat parties. It is thought to have been behind the downfall of Chancellor Willy Brandt and his replacement by the Bilderberger and Trilateral Commissioner, Helmut Schmidt.

Perhaps the biggest front organisation representing US interests in western Europe is NATO itself. But non-military institutions were also needed, and a series of 'Atlanticist' and profoundly anti-Soviet groups were formed.

Lane Kirkland, president of the AFL-CIO (the US equivalent of the TUC) and himself a member of both the Trilateral and Bilderberg groups, channels money from American business corporations and the CIA to European labour organisations. Kirkland is also a member of the Advisory Committee on European

Democracy and Security (ACEDES), and the Committee for the Free World (CFW). Directly and through ACEDES influence is brought to bear on the Labour Party and labour movement through front organisations like the Labour Committee for Transatlantic Understanding - whose monthly newsletter (Labour and Trade Union Press Service (LTUPS)) is sponsored by Kirkland, Bill Rodgers, David Owen, Frank Chapple, and Terry Duffy. (It is not clear if Rodgers and Owen are still associated with LTUPS).

Gaitskellites and Atlanticists

In the Labour Party of the '50s the Atlanticist tendency was represented by those who supported Gaitskell. They began to steer the party away from its tradition of Christian, philanthropic and Marxist socialism. They wanted the party to change its name and model itself on the US Democratic Party.

With the end of the industrial and consumer boom of the '60s, the Labour Party came under pressure from radicals and the Atlanticists began to lose hope. Instead they formed, first, the Social Democratic Alliance, and then the original Council for Social Democracy (not to be confused with the present Council of the same name).

Undoubtedly, a major reason for founding a new social democratic party was the failure to stem the tide of neutralism which lay behind the increasingly popular support for CND. A pro-NATO party would need to be set up from scratch. The Atlanticist line could not be guaranteed much sympathy among Liberal radicals and activists who, notwithstanding the Alliance, still harbour distrust of the SDP.

Those who consider this writer unfair should bear in mind that the embryo arguments for trilateralism have become SDP policy. Without such a rationale it is impossible to make sense of the pro-Cruise fanaticism

BILDERBERG CONNECTION!

which seems to predominate among the party leaders. The Trilateral Commission's policies have not worked: in short-circuiting the democratic process it has given the US business corporations (many deeply committed to arms production) every power to control western foreign and defence policy which the Reagans and Thatchers simply parrot.

Rogers and the 'Campaign for Democratic Socialism'

In February 1960 Bill Rodgers organised a letter in support of Gaitskell signed by 15 young parliamentary candidates. A steering committee was set up (Roy Jenkins was a member) to prepare a Manifesto for release should the party conference defeat Gaitskell's anti-unilateralist stance. In the autumn, CND won its campaign: 25,000 copies of the manifesto were distributed, a large anonymous donation was received, and the 'Campaign for Democratic Socialism' was set up with full-time staff. Rodgers was full-time, paid chairman of the executive.

A year later the party reversed its previous decision. Rodgers has never revealed the source of the funding, but it is generally believed that the money which defeated CND came from the CIA.

Ever since, the Gang of Four has remained staunchly anti-CND. David Owen has told us that, while individual CND supporters were welcome in the party, there was no place for an organised group like SDP CND. He sees SDP CND and those who oppose US hegemony in Europe as "infiltrators". A spectre from the past has returned.

Bilderberg and the Trilateral Commission have always been at the influential end of the cold war simply because its founders were the richest men on earth. And while they work to influence leaders already placed in highly respected and powerful positions, lesser Atlanticist organisations exist to win support from the rest of us. Their supporters are invariably placed in key social positions. Collectively, these organisations form a web of intrigue for the CIA spider, and a principle victim for their attacks are national peace movements and groups.

One of these groups, the Committee for the Free World (CFW), numbers among its members many prominent public figures in the US, western Europe and Israel, as well as some SDP and Tory personalities. Third world figures have been excluded on the grounds that they would 'fudge' the anti-communist imperative. At the February 1981 launch in London one of its organisers, Melvin Lasky - editor of Encounter - described the CFW as a "Committee for the First World". Its founding statement reflects current US foreign policy concerns, borders on racism, and claims that "the struggle for freedom may in the end be won or lost not on the battlefields, but in the books, newspaper broadcasts, classrooms and in all public institutions where the determination to remain free is enhanced or undermined." The CFW obviously influences the public through its supporters using the media as its ideological mouthpiece: many work in British universities. Its purpose was inadvertently spelled out by Professor Hugh Seton-Watson (who also works for another Atlanticist front organisation, the Institute for the Study of Conflict) when he explained that, whilst governments were hamstrung by the prejudices of parties and public opinion, organisations like the CFW could carry out a cold war crusade "unhampered by doubletalk and nonsense".

CFW member Douglas Eden is Haringey SDP's Council for Social Democracy representative. He has attacked SDP CND and, in a diatribe against CND in last December's 'Social Democrat', revived the Red Gold lies. Dr Stephen Haseler is a principal lecturer in politics at the City of London Polytechnic. He and Eden are ultra-right wingers who with others like Dick Taverne helped form the Social Democratic Alliance - which, it was hoped, would be at the ideological core of the SDP, though there is considerable animosity between the SDA and the new party activists.

Outside the SDP, British CFW members who keep the anti-Peace Movement poison flowing are: Lord Chalfont (who sometimes writes leader articles for the Daily Telegraph); Paul Johnson (obsessed with red conspiracies); Vladimir Bukovsky (author of the slanderous booklet, 'The Peace Movement and the Soviet Union', now lecturing at Stanford University, California); Robert Conquest (author and guest columnist for the Telegraph); General Sir John Hackett; Peregrine Worsthorne (who advocates a military coup against a future British government implementing unilateralism); Frank Chapple (ex-EEPTU leader whose recent piece attacking CND was published in Readers Digest); Clare Hollingworth (Daily Telegraph Defence correspondent who in 1980 presented the Cruise/Pershing decision to readers as a fait accompli); Air Vice-Marshal Stewart Menaul (proponent of NATO first-strike capability); Sir James Goldsmith (publisher of the defunct NOW! magazine); Robert Moss; and Leo Labedz.

In an article commissioned by the Sunday Times in 1972, but never published, it was observed that "in the aftermath of Watergate and with the truth emerging about the regimes in South Africa, Latin America and the Middle East, it is now becoming increasingly indefensible for any socialist to continue to support United States foreign policy. Those prepared to do so must also be prepared to accept a growing alignment between social democracy and fascism."

Since that article was written, it would seem that such an accommodation is now in the making - or at least being attempted. Those who have joined the SDP through a genuine desire to create a 'new politics' would do well to consider where this could lead. It is for this reason that the East-West foreign policy proposed in the party's White Paper, Policy Document #5 is so important. For what reason is its view of world affairs so very one-sided? Why is the violation of human rights by the USA ignored and made into a weapon for anti-Soviet propaganda?

Why must Britain remain a nuclear power so long as

the USSR also possesses such weapons? Why does the Paper try to legitimise the highly questionable US 'nuclear umbrella' over western Europe when respected organisations like SIPRI reject it? Why is neutralism (or, indeed, non-alignment) ruled out as a feasible option for Europe, and why is a European Nuclear-Free Zone ridiculed as a "cruel hoax"? In a party of moderates, our leaders express a remarkable lack of that quality.

Towards the end of the Sunday Times article that was never published the writer cuts close - and as it transpires, a little too close - to the quick:

"So for those who have unwittingly travelled with (and dined off) the CIA - overlooking their naivete in not questioning where the money came from - it is not sufficient for them to claim that they were never consciously influenced by their mentors. The fellow-travellers of the State Department - like those of Moscow - were picked out in the first place because of their blind devotion to one side in the cold war."



The Politics of Eating LAND FOR THE PEOPLE



The second in KATHLEEN JANNAWAY's series of articles on food and food politics.

"THIS IS true religion that every man has a plot of land to manure."

So wrote Gerard Winstanley, leader of the 17th century Digger movement. He lived at a time when "sheep ate men"! Thousands of peasants had been driven off the land where they had grown their own food so that it could be used for sheep. The landowners grew rich from the sale of wool - and the poor starved. Winstanley and his followers tried to take the law into their own hands and make themselves settlements on Cobham Common, claiming that all men had a right to grow food for themselves and their families. Quaking at this practical demonstration of a truth that challenged their power, the surrounding landowners time and time again destroyed the Diggers' crops and burned their shelters. Both persecutors and persecuted have disappeared into the pages of history - but the forces they represent struggle on. The peace campers of today demonstrate that land should be used to support life, not to promote death, and the powers that be send bulldozers to crush their plantings and to flatten their tents.

Everywhere money is worshipped for its own sake instead of being used practically as a means of facilitating necessary barter of goods of genuine value. In the House of Commons the Chancellor still sits on the 'woolsack', symbol of the nation's proud rise to dominance and of the people's misery. Young men have lost life and limb recapturing barren islands thousands of miles away in the South Atlantic, while large fertile estates in their homeland are surrendered without a murmur to any foreign potentate who can meet the grossly inflated sale price. Meanwhile many young people seeking a way of life based on real values long for a chance to form communities and show that they can, in co-operation not competition, grow their own food.

We are told that "India is self-sufficient in food". With Western methods enough is grown to feed all the people - if they can afford to buy it! As it is, unable to compete with the big landowners who alone can afford the inputs from the West, many small farmers have had to give up the land on which they eked out a subsistence, and swell the numbers rotting in the shanty towns round the big cities. They are more malnourished than ever and more hopeless. The India of the Western educated

elites forges ahead to become a major industrial power, proud of being able to explode their own bomb, while the India of Gandhi starves. And good churchmen here rouse themselves out of their complacency to welcome the Brandt report.

As the gap between rich and poor grows greater - as Brandt admits - and more people starve, the truth that you can't eat money but only food grown on land is slowly being admitted. Books like those listed at the end of this article are being widely read and it is being recognised that people throughout the world have, as Winstanley claimed, the right to land to grow food for themselves, the land now growing luxury crops for the rich and making profits for the multinational companies. McNamara, erstwhile of the Pentagon, grasped the truth that if you want to solve the world food problem you have to try to get help through to the subsistence farmers. This is easier said than done. Their cultures have been subjected to the vagaries of the economic climate, as unpredictable and uncontrollable as the weather, and only a major rethink of values and a re-orientation of power will free them. 'Land for People', not for the powerful or the state, and controlled by local participatory

democracies linked in a worldwide network, is the way forward for the West and Third World alike.

A CHANGE OF DIET - NOW!

There is little prospect that the UK manufactures will ever again dominate world markets, and sooner or later we shall have to depend on our own land to produce our own food and other necessities. This can be done if we free ourselves from addiction to animal products and rescue the over 90% (sic) of our land now devoted to 'livestock'. We can 'Live the Future' now in this respect by changing our own diet at once to one that is possible for all the world's people. The land-extravagant animal-based diet is not. As a bonus we can discover a way of eating and living that is healthier for body, mind and spirit than the drugged, packaged and canned existence of the Factory Farm, the Supermarket and the TV set.

But can we make a fundamental change and grow our own food and become really independent of the market economy as some of us would like to do? Inflated prices put land purchase far beyond the reach of those most willing to labour on it. Any enlightened government would give priority to revising land tenure laws, and we should all campaign vigorously for this. The only hope for most individuals at the moment is allotment working and the activities of movements like the New Diggers.

Various Acts of Parliament since 1908 have laid on local authorities the obligation to provide land for allotment holders. Every town has derelict land that with sufficient will and energy could be used as allotments. From the standard 300 square yard allotment 1.2 tonnes of vegetables can be produced (one sixth of the tonnage being inedible but invaluable for compost). This in terms of real resources of land and energy represents true economy, and with vegetables at their present price makes good sense in money terms too.

As well as allotments, the 'New Diggers Scheme' is also worthy of promotion in every town and perhaps every village in the country. The area of private gardens in the UK is estimated as about 10 times greater than that of allotments. A survey undertaken by Best and Ward in 1951 showed that suburbia produced on average nearly as much food per acre as the best farmland



despite the fact that 80% of the area was given over to homes, roads, flowers and lawns. Many gardens are neglected because they belong to elderly people no longer able to work them, or to 'too busy' one-parent families. The formation of teams to cultivate neglected private gardens on a 'share-crop' basis, such as the New Diggers organised in Coventry in 1975, could do much to further ecological ideas as well as to grow valuable food. Difficulties are obvious but the development of the sensitivity and discipline necessary to deal with them are essential pre-requisites of a New Age. Groups practising inter-counselling may well succeed where individuals would find the difficulties of personal relationships too great. Success would not only produce the sort of food most needed by the elderly but would help to integrate into the community once more. It is an essential feature of our philosophy that people, not bureaucracies, should meet people's needs. Some ideas of what to grow, and how, can be gathered from the Vegan Society's publication "First Hand, First Rate".

It is significant that Gerard Winstanley in the quotation at the beginning of this article says "plot of land to manure" - not exploit. It is essential that attention should be given to the making of good compost to build up and maintain the fertility of the soil. A good guide to this is "Compost Making: the quick return method", by Maye E Bruce.

The trend against artificial fertilisers, pesticides and herbicides is gaining momentum - in the West at least. It is very wrong that the Third World countries are still being encouraged to become dependent on them. It takes 5 tons of fossil fuel to make 1 ton of artificial fertiliser, and 3 tons to make a ton of pesticide. Artificial fertilisers may increase yields but at the risk of long-term damage to the health of people, the soil and the environment. Moreover, as Dr Vogtmann said (quoted in Roland Clarke's

article in GL9): "It is optimum, not maximum production that should be the goal."

From 1960-72 Professor Schupham of the Netherlands conducted an experiment on the 'Nutritional Value of Crops as Influenced by Organic and Inorganic Fertiliser Treatment'. He grew potatoes, spinach, savoy and carrots on carefully controlled plots with (1) stable manure, (2) bio-dynamic compost, (3) stable manure plus artificial fertilisers (NPK), and (4) NPK alone. Yields from plots (1) and (2) were 20% - 50% less in overall weight but on average they had 23% more dry weight. Schupham maintained that "a particular property of chemical fertiliser usage is an increase of water content. So a considerable proportion of the much vaunted increased yields is just water!

Crops from plots (1) and (2) also showed the following difference on average: 18% more relative protein, 28% more ascorbic acid (i.e. Vitamin C), 19% more total sugars, and 23% more of the important amino acid methionine. They had 18% more potassium, 10% more calcium, 13% more phosphorous, and 77% more iron. They had 42% less free amino acids which are, Professor Schupham says, unwanted in human nutrition but encourage aphides. We need more experiments of this kind to show that the higher biological value of crops with manure and compost more than compensates for the lower yields.

Much discussion and research still needs to be done. We must not hanker after 'going back', but achieve the further turn of the spiral to a truly sustainable and just society.

Recommended reading

- Land for People - Claire Whitlemore (Oxfam).
- Food for Thought - Jonathan Fryer (World Council of Churches).
- Against the Grain - Jackson and Eade (Oxfam).
- Economic Growth (allotments campaign guide) - F.O.E.
- Compost making - the quick return method - Maye E Bruce.
- First Hand, First Rate - Kathleen Jannaway (Vegan Society)

The last two can be had for 50p each plus 15p each p&p from the Vegan Society, 47 Highlands Road, Leatherhead, Surrey.

Die Grünen's Peace Manifesto

PETER CADOGAN has been reading the Peace Manifesto recently published in English by Die Grünen...

THE PEACE Manifesto is new. It is not only an instant charter for the 80s. It distills all the lessons that people in the peace movement have learned since that far-off annus mirabilis 1956, the year of the Khrushchev speech, Suez and Hungary, the beginning of the protest movement. And thoughtfully Die Grünen have produced an English version of their sixteen pages.

The Germans have had to go back to the beginning and start again. "We want to make a recognisable break with the German tradition of subjection, war and genocide and find a way of our own." At the same time they are the only people who straddle the Iron Curtain and, not having yet had a peace treaty, they are still an occupied country. (The Japanese got their peace treaty at San Francisco in 1952.) They have so much to say that the best thing is to let them say it for themselves.

The international chord is firmly struck right at the outset. "Governments give little ground for hope. Hope lies rather with the people. The power for, and the concept of, the creation of a new world without war is growing in the hearts of many millions of people in East and West. Only by a movement from below can we achieve our aim of peace."

Both superpowers use the other as an excuse and scapegoat: "The US government sees Moscow-directed terrorists in every corner of the world; the Soviet government sees an agent of 'world imperialism' in every dissident."

The gulf between the personal and the political is bridged (the translator has had trouble with this sentence but the meaning is clear): "The belief that there is good that CAN BE AWAKENED somewhere in every human being is an essential precondition for change in an attitude and behaviour towards people who we have thought of as enemies; and that therefore the credibility of our work for peace depends on the verbal, physical and psychological way in which we treat our political opponents, those in government and the representatives of public force."

So to the first principle of all Greens: "that all life should be

respected and valued - the basis of our political aims both for ecology and for peace."

The new Cruise-Pershing danger is clearly identified: "When one side is able to destroy the opponent's ability to retaliate, by for example putting his headquarters out of action, then atomic war is possible again, because the military believe they can win."

Both Pentagon and Kremlin nettles are firmly grasped: "Since Reagan came to office the USA has been openly intent on arming the USSR to death." The Russians' reply only intensifies the militarisation of their policies: "The Soviet military power has become so intimately bound up with the political machine that the military now has a dominant interest in extending their sphere."

But then to the opposite of this mutually suicidal back-breaking exercise: "We want to free ourselves from the logic of this power-bloc confrontation. We replace loyalty to the power bloc by loyalty of the people to one another and to their peace movement; our aim is a demilitarised Europe free from atomic weapons, a neutral Europe freed from the power blocs."

And on human rights there is no prevaricating: "Such a new peace movement must also support political rights in East European societies, since disarmament in these countries, too, depends on resistance from below. They too stand for the same principles of social justice, fundamental democracy and freedom without violence."

To unite a demilitarised Europe is to solve the problem of a divided Germany: "Two German states that are free from pacts would make a solution possible of many problems that seem unanswerable today. A basis would be created for overcoming the division of Europe and thereby also the division of Germany."

In uncompromising non-alignment the Greens equally indict the Soviet Union's "war of aggression in Afghanistan" and the US exercise in wanting "to bomb the Vietnamese back 'into the stone age', as one of the generals in charge of the western command forces put it." And offer some excellent advice: "The peace movement must show its solidarity with the liberation movements and countries of the 'Third World' in their attempts to free themselves

from their dependency on the superpowers and to find their own, independent way."

They open up the difficult new territory of 'social defence'. This means "strikes, boycotts, blockades, putting facilities out of action, influencing occupying troops, creating an efficient communications system of one's own, etc..." However, they say: "We do not wish to denigrate those who have decided otherwise and who prefer to rely on the protection afforded by existing military forces." In this way they do not cut themselves off from mainstream public opinion and add, significantly: "we are trying to involve the Federal Army in the discussion on the concept of social defence."

The working rule is: "Reduction of military arms, increase in the capacity for social defence. Under present atomic-age conditions, it is impossible to defend the FRG militarily." They are entitled to say that with some feeling, for "the Federal Republic has now the biggest concentration of atomic weapons of any country in the world." We know that means some 6,000 warheads.

Nothing if not thorough, the Greens of Germany take the anti-war cause to the level of the personal: "Civil disobedience must begin with our own language, which is permeated with jargon: we must free ourselves of modes of thought expressed in such terms as 'making a common front', 'pincer movements', 'finish them off'."

And they know that in dealing with war they are into the deepest waters: "Nonviolent action covers a wide range of graduated forms of behaviour, from legal protest and symbolic acts of emancipation to specific or general campaigns of civil disobedience that repudiate the existing social order."

The last paragraph deserves to be quoted in full:

"Not the power of the 'powerful' of this earth, not the cunning of politicians, not the cold-blooded strategists will achieve peace. No: truly 'disarming' are the warmth, the hope and the courage of millions who, individually 'powerless', are together irresistible."

** The full text is available for a SAE from Peter Cadogan, Studio House, 1 Hampstead Hill Gardens, London NW3.

WHITHER ECO?

Ten years ago, when the Ecology Party was founded, there was little awareness of ecological problems. But eco-politics has come a long way since then and the green movement is broader than just the party. Quite aside from the mainstream of eco-politics, the peace movement and the women's movement are converging in a new and immensely powerful new political force... with many of the essentially 'green' ingredients there for all to see. CHRIS SAVORY asks: what is the future for the Ecology Party if it doesn't participate in this political mould-shattering event?



WHEN THE Ecology Party was started in the early seventies, it was at a time when there was little awareness of ecological problems. It was however at a time of social upheaval in Britain with the government being confronted by workers in key industries. Radicals were right, though, to realise that traditional Labour politicians just didn't understand enough about the world's problems, and a "Real Alternative" (the title of the party's 1979 manifesto) was necessary. Ten years later things have changed. We've been wanting to 'break the mould' of British politics - but I believe the mould is being broken right now, and many people aren't aware of it.

I'm referring to the coming together of the women's movement and the disarmament movement, focussed at Greenham but spreading influence all around the country.

Radical ideas have been around for a long time, but effective and radical ways of doing things happen much less frequently. In the last 18 months a tremendous amount of energy and creativity has blossomed out. New and effective ways of campaigning have been developed and people's awareness has been raised a great deal. (Opinion polls now show that women are 4 - 1 opposed to Cruise. So the first thing I ask is that you think long and hard about what's been happening at Greenham.

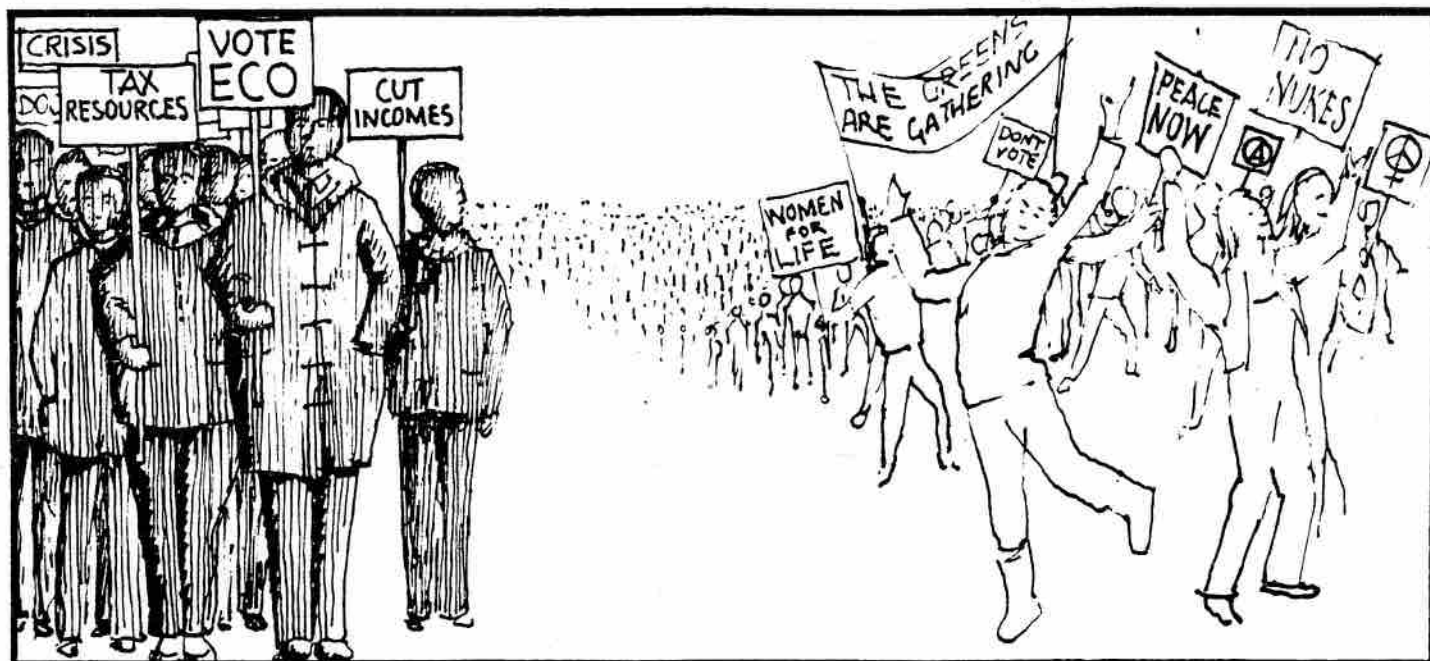
Something else is going on in the eighties, namely the largest and most rapid expansion of nuclear weapons ever. It is largely unnoticed, so worth stressing. For the US this means: (i) the deployment of new, larger and more accurate warheads on Minuteman III ICBMs; (ii) deployment of the 10-MIRV M-X with an undoubted counter-silo potential; (iii) retro-fitting of longer-range Trident C4 missiles to Poseidon-missile submarines; (iv) deployment of the very large Ohio class of missile submarine carrying the largest number (24) of ballistic missiles housed on a single submarine by any one country; (v) deployment of the counter-silo Trident D5 SLBM; (vi) deployment of some 4,400 air-launched Cruise missiles on B52 bombers; (vii) development of the B1 strategic penetration bomber; (viii) development of the advanced technology "stealth" bomber; (ix) the improvement and expansion of medium range and tactical systems - including ground and sea

launched Cruise missiles, Pershing II ballistic missiles, and new nuclear munitions for guns and battlefield missiles.

The USSR is pledged to match these developments.

These facts are taken from Paul Rogers' 'Guide to Nuclear Weapons' and he goes on to say: "The very pace and complexity of these developments makes it almost impossible for negotiations to succeed. Moreover the very accuracy of many of them serves to increase steadily the trend towards counter-force targetting leading ultimately to disarming first-strike postures which destabilise any vestige of deterrence remaining. On present trends the decade of the 1990s is likely to be the least stable and most critical since nuclear weapons were first developed." Britain, France and China are also going for massive increases in their nuclear arsenals, and apart from India, Israel and South Africa some 10 other countries must be expected to develop nuclear weapons in the next 15 - 20 years. The degeneration of the world into an unstable 'nuclearised' state is then probable. So - to conclude, we have 10 - 15 years to start disarming, otherwise it will probably be too late.

As I said above, I believe the disarmament movement and the women's movement to be the major movements for social change in Britain since the Second World War. Their coming together in the struggle against Cruise missiles is very significant. As well as coming together, these movements



are challenging the core of our state's power. The possession of nuclear weapons is of central importance in maintaining the status quo. If this challenge to the state fails then we will be much nearer a nuclear holocaust. At the same time the state would probably feel the need to reassert its power and we would find ourselves living in a more authoritarian society.

But if the challenge is successful and we do get some real disarmament in the next 10 - 15 years, then we will be entering a period of enormous social turbulence. People for the first time would have felt their collective power, and this would mean a significant democratisation of our society. This would release a great amount of energy to make other changes. Disarmament would also lift a great burden from people's minds: hope would have some real meaning, and a great surge of creativity would be released. In this situation it would be hard to predict the changes in the political system. We would just have to be flexible enough to react to the situation.

At the same time I would argue that the chance of any significant Green electoral success is very slim indeed in the next 15 years.

The major parties show no sign of understanding what greens are saying. The Ecology Party is by no means 'green' itself, and anyway there is little hope of Eco making a political impact. Social change does not of course have to come only through the electoral system; but there is also no extra-parliamentary green revolutionary movement that would be able to successfully challenge state power.

However, I have discussed the importance of the disarmament and women's movements. Nonviolence and feminism are meant to be core elements of green philosophy. So shouldn't we as greens be working much more closely with our natural allies in these movements? As well as trying to get other people to think about green ideas, we should be open to other people's ideas. People are being forced to think about nonviolence and feminism and we should look to build on that opportunity to get our ideas discussed and improved.

So where does this take us in practical terms? In electoral politics we need to put our efforts into getting unilateralist candidates elected. The nuclear-free local authorities are playing a very important role in the

struggle for disarmament. They need to be strengthened and encouraged, particularly as many have small majorities and they are facing a major challenge from the government over civil defence. Disarmament must be made the most important issue in the next general election. Obviously tactics would vary greatly in different places and I'm not ruling out straight 'ecology' candidates.

In non-electoral politics greens need to get much more involved in the peace movement. We could be getting together into green affinity groups for NVDA. We could bring green ideas to existing peace groups - in a practical way influencing the structure of groups, the way meetings are run, and how demonstrations are approached. On a larger scale we could start organising green/peace networks. The forthcoming publication of 'The Green View of Peace' should help boost Green CND and hopefully more and more greens will organise together in the peace movement.

We need to be flexible. We need to look with fresh eyes at what is actually happening. It is only too easy to get so involved in what we're doing that we fail to respond to what others are doing.



PERSONAL GROWTH

Life-skills for radical change

HUMAN RIGHTS (1)

IN THIS issue and the next, Robert Fielder takes a broader view of some of the issues which underscore the discussions on violence (GL8) and direct action (GL9). The emphasis is still on intimate personal experience as a way of expanding our understanding of the world, and greater effectiveness in working towards a holistic society.



IN THE last issue of Green Line, the subject was Direct Action. The majority of people take to public protest very much as a last resort, usually in circumstances where there is a feeling that basic 'rights' are not being acknowledged. It is 'rights' than transcend the laws of social convenience, and not simply 'rights' in temporal law, that fire mass demonstration. Under this

heading come the mistreatment of animals, of humans, and increasingly of the Earth itself. Most of the remarks made from here on will relate to each of these areas, but it is to 'human rights' in particular that the following is addressed, by reason of our individual humanity which is our natural starting point.

The statement that human beings have basic rights is an irrational one (by what authority do we have any rights?), which is sufficient an observation for many to dismiss objections to 'rights' violations and to justify offensive policies on more 'concrete' grounds: economic 'necessity', political expedience, et al.. This clearly will not do, since the sense of injustice, when it is felt in the heart, will not be explained away

people to deny need satisfaction to others. In fact we rarely hear the term human rights other than in situations where people feel that such 'rights' are being violated. Usually, in each case, it is a need, or the needs of a group, that are being violated or denied.

The perpetrators of those acts which 'violate human rights' also claim, customarily, that there is a need to take those actions. There appears to be a conflict of comfortably. It is therefore necessary for us to be increasingly clear what we mean by 'rights'.

Human rights is to me a collective noun used to cover a wide range of issues in a holistic sense. It has nothing to do with 'rights' in a colloquial sense, but rather has to do with needs and what motivates

needs. Our culture in particular has been quick to embrace a survival-of-the-fittest model, hideously distorted, in order to explain this apparent conflict of needs, largely perceived as conflict of 'interest', and to justify repressive behaviour - and the matter, in all serious consideration, stops there. What remains is a balance of expedience; a thin veneer to cover up psychological disorder and spiritual bankruptcy. If we wish to try and build a world of social balance and harmony, we must (among other things) be able to resolve the problem of the apparent conflict of needs.

In order to be effective in tackling the problems posed by these conflicts, an understanding of how psychological needs operate in human beings is necessary. The only way that we can fully appreciate the difficulties of recognising and meeting needs is through personal experience. Certainly intellectual reflection and analytic research can show us a great deal about the problems involved, but unless we can experience what it feels like, we remain unable to engender in others sufficient confidence and trust to begin the difficult task of change. If we are to win that confidence from people whom we wish to persuade to think again about their 'normal' attitudes, and to bring about change through understanding rather than conflict, we must get deeply in touch with those things in ourselves that relate to the problem: to face up to our own intolerances, greed and apathy. Our own power-seeking, child-related needs, tendencies to dominate or to conform or be obstructive, violence, blind faiths and inhibitions must be tackled if we are to ask as much of others.

Perhaps the most fruitful area of inquiry, initially, is that of child-related needs; that is to say, needs that are related to experience of, and in, childhood. Needs which we may have, we may be totally unaware of. These can motivate and direct our patterns of thought and behaviour throughout our lives unless we make the effort to bring these into conscious awareness.

Possibly the most basic of psychological needs is the need for self-acceptance. In childhood this need is satisfied or partly

satisfied through interaction with those adults with whom we have the most intimate relationship: usually, though not necessarily, our parents. The concept of self-acceptance is, naturally, not available to our infant minds, but we learn by what we feel in relationship. We learn to accept ourselves by being accepted, in the way we express ourselves, by our parents... or models. If by expressing ourselves we find disapproval, we may modify our behaviour (conditioning) and/or we may learn that some parts of us are unacceptable. Thus piecemeal we may learn not to accept ourselves.

Since this does not feel good, we then learn to seek approval even at the expense of 'being ourselves.' Approval from others is however not the same as self-acceptance, and in our youth and adult lives seeking approval may become an unconscious activity. It will of course never meet the need for self-acceptance and so each 'approval' is tainted with some sense of disappointment. This leads to further attempts, further disappointments, and so on. There is nothing in this description that I have not experienced directly in myself through personal growth work. By allowing myself to reclaim, by re-experiencing, childhood feelings, I have been able to learn to accept parts of myself previously alienated, releasing energy for useful work in the process.

There are two main points to be summarised. Firstly, an unconscious need generates a perceived need. The satisfaction of a perceived need gives rise to a degree of disappointment and the pattern is repeated. The tendency to repeat patterns of behaviour is typical of an unconscious need in operation and is inherent in (for example) the accumulation of wealth and greed and excesses of all kinds. It is to be found in the superfluous consumption of food (commonly a substitute for close association) and possibly in other types of excessive consumption.

Secondly we may gain self-acceptance through behaviour which is accepted by our models and (perhaps to compensate for other parts of ourselves where we have not learned self-acceptance) base our emotional security on that behaviour, albeit quite unconsciously. Thus we may pursue with passion those activities which get

'approval' in the unconscious. Under this heading may easily come exploitation (business acumen), violence (killing for sport or 'national pride'), social discrimination, and other like attitudes, as well as positive and life confirming ones. We humans can be quite a mixture.

It may be observed that over the centuries our culture has gradually turned away from the many excesses of abhorrent values as succeeding generations have questioned the attitudes that were passed down to them through conditioning. In an age such as ours, when the evolution of consciousness is moving rapidly forward (indeed, it has become an imperative of survival), some of the attitudes and responses learnt in our early years may rapidly become inappropriate, perhaps even damaging.

I have attempted to show that many actions and reactions may be driven by unconscious needs; that the needs are felt, even when they are unconscious, and work through us giving rise to perceived needs. Perceived needs then become the basis for inappropriate measures to secure satisfaction, and it is the contention here that these inappropriate measures are a significant contribution to the conflicts between individuals and groups - even nations - and no one achieves the inner peace that is basically sought. Thoreau put it most succinctly when he said that most of us live lives of quiet desperation.

Certainly there are times when our outrage must be clearly heard and co-ordinated into protest, but we must learn also to communicate and educate, and demonstrate our understanding with compassion. Since needs and difficulties vary from person, it seems useful that we share our experiences in order to gain (among other things) a broader view of the problems involved and insight into the similar ways in which we succeed in convincing ourselves that we haven't got them.

Such interaction requires a framework of trust, openness and acceptance, and this is a prime function of the personal growth group. A group situation can provide us with the opportunity to explore not only our weaknesses but our strengths also, in an atmosphere of experimentation which is often not possible in our day to day lives.

The front line of hard-nosed politics

MIKE BELL recently set up the SDP Green Group, and already has friends in high places. DAVID TAYLOR interviewed him for Green Line.

DT What inspired you to set up the SDP Green Group?

MB As a member of the SDP I was becoming increasingly dissatisfied by the fact that people didn't seem to be discussing the things which seemed important to me. Last summer at the Green Gathering I discovered that 'Green' was the word people who thought like me were using to describe themselves. I then realised that Greens knew precious little about political realities, and politicians knew precious little about ecology - so I set up a group to bridge the gap.

DT I'm sure a lot of readers of Green Line would be a bit bemused by a SDP member who also considers himself to be a Green. Don't you sometimes feel a bit of a hypocrite?

MB Not in the slightest. You could put it the other way - I am a Green who is also a member of the SDP. I very much hope that people will start to see the connection between green thinking and Social Democracy (rather than the SDP public image). It's not just that both Greens and the SDP back de-centralisation, or workers' co-operatives, but that the SDP - probably quite unconsciously - has made a philosophical leap forward in the same direction as the Greens. If Green is a cultural change, the SDP is a symptom of it.

If we examine middle-of-the-road thinking, or if you want to use a Buddhist approach, middle way thinking, you discover that a healthy society balances opposite but linked forces - the Yin/Yang balance. Now, part of the basis of Social Democracy is its recognition that in the pursuit of freedom we must balance the opposite and linked forces of an anarchic pursuit of liberty with a centralised bureaucratic pursuit of equality - the balance being achieved through fraternity. In using the slogan Liberty, Equality, Ecology we have simply expanded the use of Fraternity to incorporate the fraternity of all living things, and of the earth herself.

To give another example: in defence, strong views are expressed by both Hawks and Doves, one who fears red, the other who fears being dead. Green thinking, of

course, recognises that peace is achieved by a balance of these two forces. I do not happen to agree with the precise position held by the SDP on defence; but faced with a Labour Party who ignore security and Conservatives who ignore the nuclear threat, any middle way must be greener.

So that in order to make the SDP green we have only to push that central notion of balance to its logical conclusion. The Alliance is therefore the most likely parliamentary group to turn green.

DT What is the most important contribution the wider Green movement is bringing to the political scene?

MB They are a catalyst. The stronger the wider Green movement is, the easier it is for people like myself to push major parties in the Green direction. I'm not saying that we can win immediately, but for instance the women's Embrace the Base at Greenham actually did a lot to move SDP policy.

SDP GREENS began with a letter printed in The Social Democrat at the end of November 1982. About 70 people are already on the mailing list.

DT How do you keep in touch with your supporters?

MB There's the newsletter, called Green View. But we're going to produce quite short documents, 'Green Views', which will be more valuable and will give the Green perspective. We won't spell out our policies to the letter, simply give people a picture of the way greens look at - for instance - energy.

DT Do you have any members who are on the Council for Social Democracy, the SDP policy-making body?

MB Yes, we already have two or three, which is better than I had expected. When you consider that it only needs five to put an amendment, we're halfway there.

DT The SDP is largely dominated by men. They have in the early stages made noises about greater participation for women. This would be a matter of great interest to the Greens, I should imagine.

MB I am acutely aware of the importance of the feminine - so that in the very near future I will be contacting the 'Women for Social Democracy' which is a large group seeking far more participation by women. Many of us were very disappointed by the result of the vote on women's representation. (The leadership proposed that each area should elect one man and one woman to the Council for Social Democracy - the vote went against them 45% - 55%.)

DT So on that issue the leadership is more green than the membership.

MB Same goes for decentralisation: the Gang of Four think its vital, the membership don't want any more government reorganisation - they miss the point.

DT Can SDP Greens influence policy in the run-up to the General Election?

MB The policy-making process is very democratic and therefore rather long-winded. A policy group dreams up a discussion document which is then available to anyone to comment on. Their comments are included into a White Paper which then goes to the Council for Social Democracy where it can again be amended. We see our major role as consciousness raising, and this will take time. But we can influence some of the unmade policy by firstly sending our views to the relevant policy group, secondly by requesting seats on these groups, and thirdly by putting resolutions to Council. We expect that politically uncontentious issues such as recycling or renewable energy research will go through on the nod.

DT What policy areas are you going to focus on?

MB The group as a whole will not focus on any particular issue - we are not a single issue pressure group. Individual members will pursue their particular speciality; we have several members on the environment policy group already and at least one on the energy group. It's far more important to do the type of consciousness raising that for instance Green CND do - which is to explain the links between nuclear power, nuclear weapons, domination of the earth, etc.

DT Do you find yourself keeping

silent on any particular issue for political reasons?

MB Cannabis!

DT There's been talk of a green federation emerging in the next year or two. Can you see SDP Greens having a role to play?

MB I would hope - perhaps this is wishful thinking - that as soon as possible a powerful non-party

political green federation, movement or whatever would identify itself. That is, that people who now call themselves anti-nuclear, or Animal Aid, would start to call themselves Green. This would be the most positive thing for us in the front line of hard-nosed politics. This federation would give ourselves and the Liberal Ecology Group a large boost of interest within the Alliance and it should be possible

for that green federation to find political expression through the Alliance.

DT Finally, in your heart of hearts, what are your most optimistic hopes for SDP Greens?

MB That we can become strong enough to change the Alliance, that the Alliance would win through and promote policies leading to a sustainable society.



GREEN CND ROUND-UP

Report by JOHN MARJORAM, secretary of Green CND and the group's rep on CND National Council.



General Election Strategy

While the political machines are gearing up for the General Election, CND has produced its own statement. It will not be endorsing any individual candidate or particular party. Rather it will systematically promote its policies for nuclear disarmament through a doorstep 'peace canvas'. "Voters will thus be able to use their vote in an informed way to elect a parliament pledged to work for genuine nuclear disarmament." - CND officialdom!?



Sizewell Public Inquiry

While the CEBG's QC drones on for a meere payment of £1,000 a day, objectors are wheedling out useful information. The inspector has forced the CEBG to disclose rail routes and flask design for PWR waste. It has been disclosed that a new irradiated fuel storage will have to be built together with a reprocessing plant for the PWR programme. No site has yet been chosen!

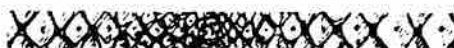
The Energy Secretary, Mr Nigel Lawson, has on several occasions said that the alleged linkage between the CEBG's nuclear power programme and nuclear weapons is wholly without foundation. Through his denials he is probably hoping that this very sensitive area will not be exploited at the Inquiry. However, CND Sizewell Working Group is receiving substantial scientific evidence that the contrary has always been the case, and this will be presented at the Inquiry. Oxford ANC are preparing a pamphlet around the CND evidence.

The one gap in the objectors' front has previously been uranium mining. Now Linda Hendry from Scotland and Brig Oubridge from Wales Ecology Party are preparing a case. As witnesses they will have four North American Indians and four Namibians who will tell how their lands have been raped by uranium mining corporations. Another witness to appear for Linda and Brig is Tony Benn...



Berlin END Conference

A contentious conference even before it starts! (See New Statesman over the last two months.) Green CND will be represented by Peter Cadogan, a doyen of international peace politics. Peter will be backing the view that human rights cannot be divorced from East/West disarmament. Hopefully contact will be made with the green movement in Europe. Green CND has re-affiliated to Solidarity, considering that ultimately it will be people and not governments who will make peace. The Green CND International Group needs more members - contact Peter Cadogan, 1 Hampstead Hill Gardens, London NW3.



Future National Events

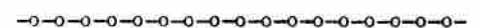
- March 5 - 7: festival at Burtonwood peace camp (Warrington 33013).
- 6: 'Flaming Women' blockade at Faslane.
- 6: human chain Capenhurst - Neston (Marconi factory). (051-336 3334)
- 20: festival at Faslane peace camp.
- 23: surround Wandsworth Town Hall, against civil defence: 7-8pm, bring candles. (01-673 2918).
- 31: Greenham - women's blockade of all gates; Burghfield - mixed blockade of all gates. 6 am to 6 pm.

- April 1: 14 mile human chain Greenham-Aldermaston-Burghfield (needs 48,000 people). Link at 1.00. Rally at Aldermaston.
- 2: Glasgow Anti-Trident rally. George Square, 11 am. (041-331 2878).
- 10: Green CND bi-monthly meeting, Oxford (0865-53718/246079).

May 7: Youth CND Festival, Brockwell Park, Brixton. (Green speaker needed - volunteers contact Annajoy David at CND).

June 4: London: human chain between US and USSR embassies. (Greens should support this: good to see CND putting pressure on the Russians.)

July 4: American Independence Day, when we take a simple declaration to every USAF base asking for our independence back!



As Green Line goes to press, it seems that the civil defence exercise Hard Rock has been cancelled for a second year. Keep up the pressure on every front!



GREENHAM VIDEO

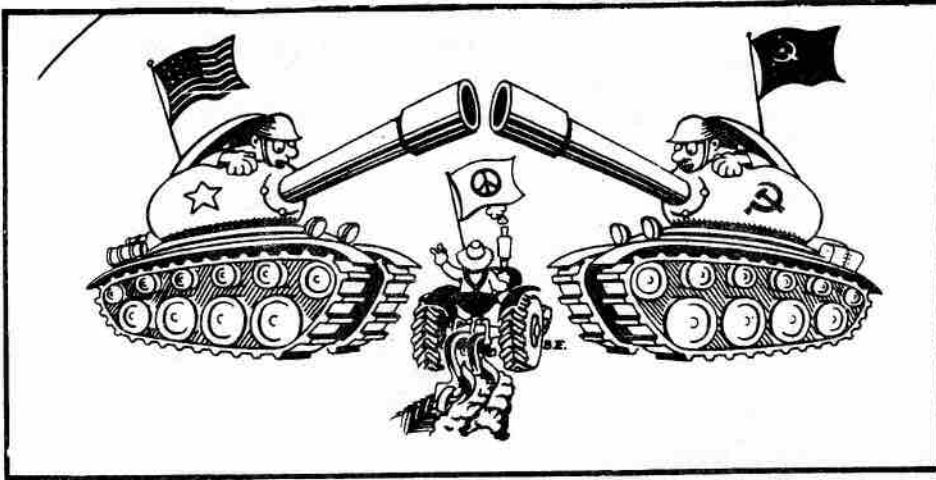
A 60-minute video of the embracing and closure of Greenham on 12/13 December is available price £10 from Nigel Swanton, Craig ddu Uchaf, Llanfairclydogau, Lampeter, Dyfed, Wales.

TO JOIN GREEN CND

send £2 (unwaged £1) to Green CND Membership (GL), 45 Hoblands, Haywards Heath, West Sussex. You get a vote at the bi-monthly meetings plus an excellent bi-monthly newsletter. Membership now exceeds 500.

Send information for inclusion in future editions of this Green CND round-up to John Marjoram, 23 Lower Street, Stroud, Glos.





Nameless Cheltenham

Sticks and stones may break my bones,
But names can never hurt me.

SO RUNS the old proverb, but when it comes to radical political groups a name can be a positive millstone. Take 'green', for instance. As soon as you accept this tag, you are expected to take on board everything from muesli to matriarchy. When we started our 'green' group in Cheltenham a few months ago, we decided that due to an aversion to milk-sodden porridge oats experienced by some members of the group, we would have to find another less compartmentalising name. Having considered and rejected dozens of possibilities, we decided to remain nameless, and refer to ourselves merely as 'the group'

Being nameless has many advantages as we have already discovered. Firstly, it gives us the aura of a secret society, and membership carries a sort of kudos which attracts people to the group (though in fact we don't want more members, preferring them to form their own group).

Secondly, it can be quite disconcerting to political opponents if they cannot attach a label to you... If you ask awkward questions at public meetings, as we are fond of doing, the speaker cannot condemn you as an Eco-freak but must confine his reply to the topic under discussion.

Another advantage is the ability to skip in and out of roles at will. When writing to councillors or the local press over a particular issue, we can (and do) call ourselves the such-and-such Action Group, or alternatively write as 'concerned individuals'. We can thereby ensure that further communication sticks strictly to the issue.

Also, as a small, nameless group of activists, we have no need for newsletters, constitutions, officers or manifestos. Consequently we have few organisational running costs - no need for jumble sales, coffee mornings, or sponsored muesli-eating.

The word 'green' may soon become as much a political straitjacket as 'ecology'. Instead of uniting under the banner of a 'Green Declaration', we should be quietly and efficiently be putting our energies into bringing about the changes we would like to see. An umbrella may give a sense of security for a while, but it's bound to leak in the end.

Once we've made sure that names cannot hurt us, maybe we can do something about the sticks and stones. Grenville Sheringham

Alternative Parliament

REPRESENTING THE British electorate, 602 men and 23 women sit in parliament to fulfil the wishes, fears and aspirations of us all.

Many women feel alienated by the ethos and panoply of parliament, and feel that rightly or wrongly the women's viewpoint is as ignored as it was in the days of the Suffragettes; that what has happened since is but the first step on a long journey.

We propose to hold an ALTERNATIVE PARLIAMENT - 23 men, 602 women - over a working week in a hall in central London: a half-day for each major government department, calling for contributions from all interested women's groups in the form of white papers which will be proposed by leading women in each of the subjects, with contributions from the floor (limited to 5 minutes per speaker); the debate to be summed up by an elected spokeswoman

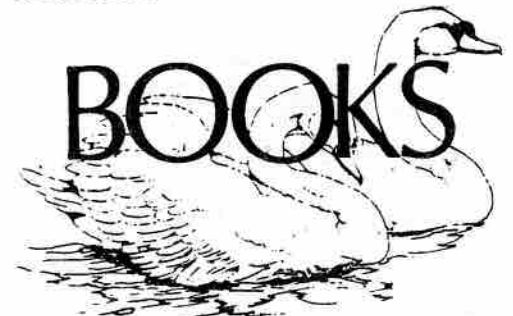
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for each subject; the report to be put to the vote and sent to parliament at the end of each debate. The business to be conducted on similar rules of procedure to parliament.

This would provide the material for a very lively television series, and would provide a unique compendium of the women's view of all the serious issues.

Who has the imagination to sponsor this?

If you are interested in taking part in this, or can help in any other way to set this up, please contact: Thalia Campbell, Glangors, Ynyslas, Borth, Dyfed. (Phone Borth 360).



THE TURNING POINT: Science, Society and the Rising Culture. Fritjof Capra. Wildwood House, £10.

THIS FAIRLY large book (466pp) would be useful to lend to people you want to convert or to brush up your own arguments. I felt I had read a lot of it before.

It is about the new vision of reality based on awareness of the essential inter-relatedness of all phenomena - physical, biological, psychological, social and cultural. The first half provides very useful historical summaries of science, physics, biology, medicine, psychology and economics. Don't be put off, folks! It puts all those names you think you know about into their right slots and will provide invaluable aid to speech-writers or people with good memories who want to impress with name-dropping (for example, Jacques Monod, geneticist and Nobel laureate - but of course you knew this - said, "Chance alone is at the source of every innovation.")

The chapter on economics is of particular interest to Ecoites. "Economists generally fail to recognise that the economy is merely one aspect of a whole ecological and social fabric; a living system composed of human beings in continual interaction with one another and with their natural resources, most of which are, in turn, living organisms." Fragmentation and compartmentalisation have caused havoc together with the Cartesian paradigm and the methods of Newtonian physics.

The mechanistic Cartesian world view has had a powerful influence on all the sciences and on the general Western way of thinking. The method of reducing complex phenomena to basic building blocks, and of looking for the mechanisms through which these interact, has become so deeply ingrained in our culture that it has often been identified with scientific method. Views, concepts or ideas that did not fit into the framework of classical science were not taken seriously and were generally disdained, if not ridiculed. As a consequence of this overwhelming emphasis on reductionist science our culture has become progressively fragmented and has developed technologies, institutions and life styles that are profoundly unhealthy. (Cartesian - of Rene Descartes, 17th century mathematician.)

That the fragmented world view should also be unhealthy is not surprising in view of the close connection between 'health' and 'whole'. Excessive technological growth is explored in the chapter

headed "The Dark Side of Growth" (nuclear power; arms race; food; pharmaceuticals; agriculture; health care.) This is an American book and it does not draw hard political conclusions - more's the pity. So it is interesting as a summary of how we have arrived at the point we are at - at the end of a declining culture and in the process of transformation.

"As the turning point approaches, the realisation that evolutionary changes of this magnitude cannot be prevented by short-term political activities provides our strongest hope for the future." Networks and coalitions (like feminist and environmental groups) of non-hierarchical, non-violent groupings will join up round the world and coalesce into new political parties which will bring the non-voting population back into the electoral process - "to turn the paradigm shift into political reality."

In 1976 a study showed that 5m Americans had reduced their incomes and withdrawn from the consumer society in favour of a lifestyle of voluntary simplicity.

Another 10m people practised frugal consumption, ecological awareness and concern with personal, inner growth. "Those who follow the natural order flow in the current of Tao." Fritjof Capra is a physicist at the University of California at Berkeley and author of The Tao of Physics, an exploration of the parallels between modern physics and eastern mysticism. The opposite of "deep ecology" is "shallow environmentalism" which is concerned with more efficient control and management of the natural environment for the benefit of 'man', but the "deep ecology" movement recognises that ecological balance will require profound changes in our perceptions of the role of human beings in the planetary ecosystem. In short, it will require a new philosophical and religious basis. Indeed, the passage to the Solar Age (methane gas) is open, yes sir! It's all happening right now. This is an optimist's book. A good refresher course, a great rounding up of greenness to date. (Could be the new testament?) New readers start here.

Sally Willington



Dear GL,

Richard Hunt's analysis of the relations between two of the superpowers does not seem to me to fit the facts.

If, as he avers, Russia has a presence in Eastern Europe and the USA in Latin America simply to keep the other out and that this is the cause of the cold war, then where does China's rivalry with Russia fit in? Or is it 'friendship' with the USA?

Personalising the issues in terms of Andropov and Reagan is dangerously misleading and tends to befog the real dynamics of the war danger.

All major countries are on a primrose path of armaments and war because they cannot stop themselves from being so. Power is not a static, it is a dynamic with its own momentum. The only force which can control power is rival power or morality. Power decisively broke free from the bonds of

community morality in the early stages of the industrial revolution with the defeat of the Luddites.

There is no other form of morality in a collectivity except community morality. As Gandhi insisted, "You cannot have morality without community."

But the forces of technology were used via the defeat of the Luddites to destroy the political, economic and cultural identity of our village and human-scale urban communities so that they could achieve their own ends. These ends were (and are) rooted not in morality but in power.

Power for what? Power simply as an end in itself with its side-kicks of privilege, easy living and so on.

It does not much matter what name we give these giant systems of dynamic power-questing, their collision is quite inevitable because they have destroyed the base of morality-in-community which might otherwise have controlled them. This is why the first global collision of 1914 occurred when there was not a single communist government in the world. And who really wanted that war?

The real enemy is not communism nor capitalism but giantism. Giantism is now public enemy

number one of the human race, and if we do not soon destroy it, it is very soon going to destroy us.


Pacifists are really latter-day military Luddites (I hope the reader is clear by now that I use the word not - as is customary - as an insult but as a compliment) fighting a battle already lost because the basis of an effective struggle in community morality has already been destroyed. The way forward is the way back; which is just as well, because only a fool would continue to advance towards the nuclear chasm that has opened up before us.

We need urgently to re-create our human-scale community and village civilisation and to assert the right to decide and to dissent over every field of our lives within it. Only then will our moral judgements be automatically reflected in the way our societies behave.

There are far too many war-haters who think they are peace-lovers because they have joined CND or subscribe to pacifist movements or journals. They behave as if there are short-cut solutions to the problem of war.

There are none at all.

John Papworth
24 Abercorn Place
London NW8



For your diary

MORE PEACE
EVENTS ON
PAGE 17...

SIZEWELL DIARY (tentative)

March 26: Harrisburg Saturday
March 29: rally at Snape
June 4: demo to mark move of
Inquiry to London
August 27/29: rally (?) on Sizewell
Beach before Inquiry re-opens

Check details nearer the time:
more in the pipeline. "Watch
this space!"

GREEN GATHERINGS

July, 1st week: Norwich Green
Festival.
July 16/17: Peace on the Heath
(Hampstead Heath) - unconfirmed.
July, 3rd week: Green Moon
Gathering (Pry House, Nenthead,
Alston, Cumbria, CA9 3PY).
July 26 - 31: Green Gathering,
Lambert's Hill Farm, Pilton, Nr
Glastonbury. (Advance tickets
£7.50 from Dean Holden, 5 Tor
Park Road, Paignton, S Devon.)
August 6+: some kind of reception
expected as Faslane and Star
Marches arrive at Greenham.

STOP PRESS

SOW THE SEEDS OF PEACE at
Molesworth (proposed cruise missile
base west of Huntingdon) on Easter
Sunday, April 3rd. A planting
festival has been arranged by the
People's Peace Camp

March 8: International Women's Day. Start of marches across Europe, and Women's International League for Peace and Freedom demo in Brussels to launch STAR (Stop the Arms Race) Campaign. Info: WILPF, 29 Great James Street, London WC1N 3ES.

March 10 - 13: Ecology Party spring conference, Malvern.

March 12: Anti-Seal-Hunt Rally, Trafalgar Square, 2 p.m.

April 27/28/29: Green Rallies in London/Sheffield/Bristol, FoE.

May 9 - 14: Second END convention in Berlin. Info: Bertrand Russell House, Gamble Street, Nottingham 7.

May 19: Faslane March leaves. Itinerary includes: Glasgow (21/22); Edinburgh (28/29); Torness (June 1/2); Harrogate (20/21); Manchester (26/27); Nott'm (July 5/6); Derby (8/9); B'ham (14/15); U Heyford (23/24); High Wycombe (28/29); arrive Greenham Aug 6. More details: 01-806 4615 (31 Ickburgh Road, London E 5).

May 21-3: Peace Pentecost. Sat: march Bicester-U Heyford; overnight vigil. Sunday: carnival, theology workshops, NVDA training. Monday: blockade.

May 24+: U Heyford blockade.

June 5: World Environment Day.

June 11 - 12: Leamington Festival.

August 6: Hiroshima Day
9: Nagasaki Day

September: action against Royal Naval Export Exhibition. Info: CAAT, 5 Caledonian Road, London. 01-278 1976.

September 1 - 4: Ecology Party Annual Conference, Malvern.

September 11 - 12: Otmoor Fair, north of Oxford. (F.O.E.)

September 14 - 16: Christian CND peace week.

October 22: CND national demo in London (date to be confirmed).

October 22: Schumacher Memorial Lectures, Bristol (Petra Kelly, Sigmund Kvaloy, Rupert Sheldrake)

Eco pact with feminists

PLANS ARE being laid for joint Women for Life on Earth / Ecology Party candidates to stand in selected constituencies in the forthcoming general election. A short list of constituencies has been drawn up where particularly 'bad' Labour candidates will be standing, and these are the prime targets.

WFLOE is a network, and members of the network don't need conference or majority decisions to go ahead with the idea. Local Ecology Party branches are playing it by ear, but the indications are that the initiative is being widely welcomed. Wales Eco has offered its "full and whole-hearted support" to the women candidates, and agreement has been reached to ensure that Eco and WFLOE

candidates do not stand against each other.

So far, Simone Wilkinson is expected to stand against Mrs Thatcher in Finchley, Sue Lamb against Brynmor John in Pontypridd, and Rebecca Johnson against Michael Heseltine in Henley. Others are expected to follow. In some cases the description on the ballot paper is expected to read "Women for Life on Earth / Ecology".

At its spring conference in Malvern in March, the Ecology Party will be asked to endorse the fullest possible co-operation with WFLOE in the coming election campaign. If this proposal is approved, options open include the possibility of a jointly planned TV party political broadcast.

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