

GREEN LINE

30 p.

THE MAGAZINE OF THE GREEN MOVEMENT.

MIXED GREENHAM
DEMO.
AFTER CRUISE.
RAYMOND WILLIAMS.
BRITAIN RAPES
THE PHILIPPINES.

No. 18. DECEMBER 83 - JANUARY '84



WELCOME TO GREEN LINE!

We reflect a diverse but converging movement. Green Line is independent of any one group or party: writers and readers alike are sharing the discovery of what is in essence 'green', and what brings them together.

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

If you are a new readers, we hope you will become a subscriber (see below) and stay with us. We can learn from each other.

DEADLINES: We shall be monthly again from February 1. We are as flexible as possible, though in general articles must reach us by the 7th of the month to be considered. If in doubt, ring us especially if you have something particularly topical. Items for Network or the Diary can often be included as late as the 15th.

SUBSCRIPTIONS: 10 issues (1 year) £4 (overseas £4.50).

BULK ORDERS: 5 copies post free for £1.25; 10 or more copies post free for only 20p each. Standing orders on request. We DON'T do sale-or-return normally (we give the big discount instead), but we WILL come to special arrangements for special events - so ring or write with your request.

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ARTICLES: We welcome your articles and letters. Don't ask for your article back: it may be some months before we can use it anyway. If you want a copy, make one before you send it to us!

Next Issue (February 1984)

will carry the rest of the Raymond Williams, and the text of Simon Griffin's Schumacher Lecture as given in London (not the Bristol one).

GREEN LINE

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Regional Actions in December

GLOUCESTERSHIRE - action at prospective USAF hospital at Little Rissington, date to be fixed.
BATH and CORSHAM (Government war bunker complex) - Sat 17.
EASTGWOLD, Yorks, Thur 8 - Sat 10: Alternative teach-in on Civil Defence in York, 9th.
LICHESTER - possible action at Cottesmore Tornado base Fri 16.
HIGH WYCOMBE, Mon 19: Blocade of USAF Daws Hill, procession in High Wycombe, tree planting at Nap Hill. (0865 726441).
MAIDSTONE, Tue 20: actions centred on County Council offices and Springfield regional bunker nearby.
CARDIFF, 2 - 3: blockade of ROF Llanishan (2nd) and Welsh national rally in Cardiff (3rd).
ST MANGAN (Cornwall) USAF base - date not fixed.
 Phone CMD for latest information: 01-263 0977



Schumacher Tapes
 Cassettes of the Schumacher lectures are available price £3.50 each from Wrekin Cassettes, Dove House, Little Terns, Herefordshire (0487 540224).



GREEN LEAF BOOKSHOP, 82 Colston Street, Bristol BS1, (0272) 211369. We are an environmental bookshop co-operative now offering a MAIL ORDER service. Lists available on: Solar, Wind and Water Power; Heat Pumps; Third World issues; Peace Education; Disarmament; Gandhian Politics; Wholefood Cookery; Organic Gardening and Self-Sufficiency; Childbirth, Health and Healing. Further lists to follow soon. Send s.a.e. plus 30p for complete booklet.

SENIORS FARMHOUSE. Meeting place for 'withdrawal and return'. Explore and reflect on all aspects of the peace journey, especially the relationship between inner and

DIARY

Dec 3 - 6 Despair Workshops and Training Sessions with Joanna Macy, all fully booked.

Dec 11 FASLANE Peace Camp, march from Helensburgh at noon

Dec 11 FASLANE Peace Camp, march from Helensburgh at noon. Entertainers welcome.

Dec 12 FASLANE mass action.

December is "Cruise Month". Monday 12th is "Refuse Cruise Day" - the 4th anniversary of the NATO decision to install cruise. 5-minute work stoppage at 2 pm preceded by ringing of church bells. Look out for lunch-time events, and work through your local peace groups.

Dec 15 CAMDEN FoE Countryside Campaign Meeting. Talk: "Crisis in the Countryside" by Chris Rose of FoE. At Inter-Action, 15 Wilkin Street, London NW5 at 8 pm. Bar! (01-272 3449).

Dec 17 SWANSEA Green Group Christmas Community Fayre, St James' Church Hall, Swansea, 2 - 5 pm

New Sizewell Peace Camp planned

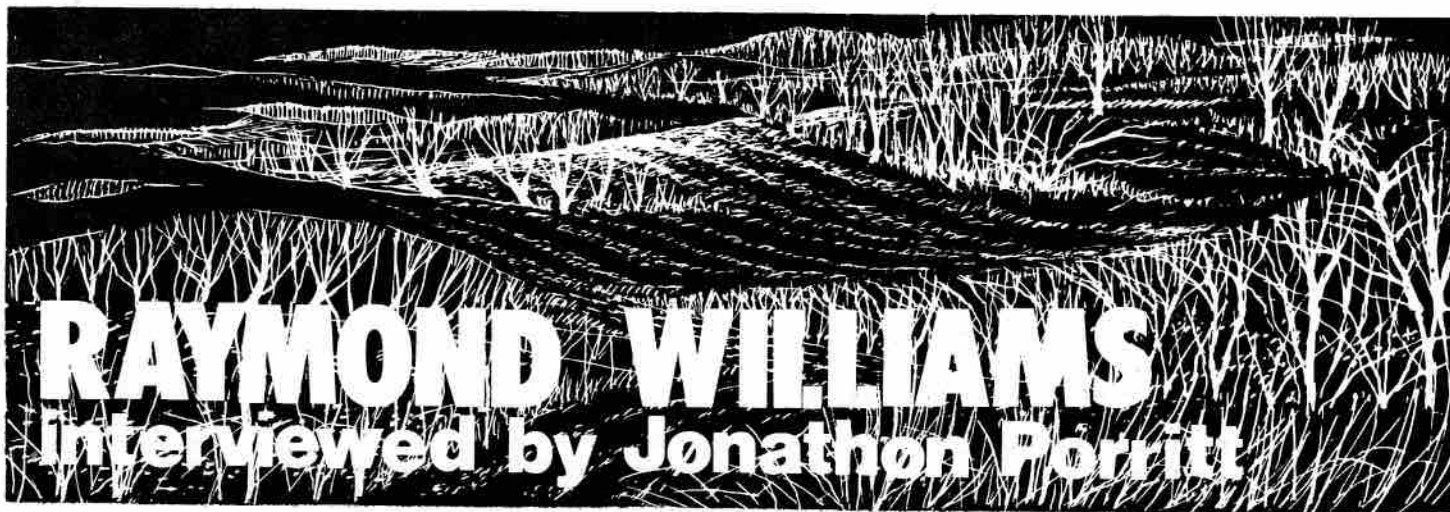
A workshop to set up a new Peace Camp at Sizewell has been planned for Sunday December 18 at Centrepeace; 2 St Helen's Street, Ipswich. Contact Marcus on 01-607 5093.



SMALL ADS 5p/word

outer peace. Courses, facilities for groups, personal retreats. December 9 - 11 "Building a more balanced lifestyle"; January 20 - 22 "Eric Gill: peace through arts and crafts". Semley, Shaftesbury, Dorset. 0747 3961.

INFANT AND EMPEROR - poems for Christmas by E P Thompson, £1.95. **Housmans Peace Diary**, £2.50. **Better Days Peace Calendar**, £2.50. **Defence Without the Bomb** (Alternative Defence Commission report) £4.45. **Ecology for Beginners**, £1.95. **Towards 2000** (Raymond Williams), £9.95. All post free from EOA Books, 34 Cowley Road, Oxford.



** RAYMOND WILLIAMS' latest book, 'Towards 2000'
** (Chatto and Windus, £9.95), outlines some of the criteria for a politics which would see us through this decade and the next. Raymond Williams is well-known already to members of the Socialist Environment and Resources Association (SERA) for his green views, though his reputation has been built around his many writings on cultural and literary history and philosophy. JONATHON PORRITT interviewed him for Green Line.

JP Can I ask you to start with how you use the word 'ecology' now. In the book you sometimes use it as a synonym for environmentalism, yet on other occasions you use it for a very much broader position.

RW There is a history inside the word itself. At a certain stage it was primarily an argument about the narrower set of issues which would now better be called environmentalism. It is really only in the last ten or fifteen years that it has taken on in my mind this wider connotation which is a whole case - a surprisingly worked out case now - which is to do with the nature of industrial society, the nature of production, the nature of growth, and even the nature of government. So I'm sorry if in fact I've used it inconsistently, but that's the way it's happened. Still most people translate ecology back into environmentalism, whereas the real case now is that it's a whole politics, I think.

JP Including, as you say, the issue of production and the control of production. Later on in the book you mention quite often the considerable importance of these movements - the peace movement, the ecology movement, the women's movement - relating to that central issue of the economy. Because it's going to be impossible for them to articulate some of their concerns unless they can be articulated in that framework.

RW It's the same problem, in a way, if you take the feminist movement - which in one sense can be defined very narrowly as a group about discrimination against women or emphasising subjects of special interest to women. But at a certain point feminism becomes an alternative politics and is then not even confined to women. It's a very odd term when it's become that. The peace movement similarly can have a narrow base in which it's simply about weapons, or it can have the wide base which is all about the Cold War, the political structures, the economy and the like. The

argument I was making towards the end of the book was that at one level those three key movements operate - or are perceived by others who are not in them to be operating - as these specialised concerns; and all are I think stronger in what were as it were the defining concerns, the first things that brought them recognition. But each is growing towards a wider implantation, and once they do then there is I think a common core between them - or could be.


JP Taking the issue of disarmament first. You rightly take the users of loose terminology to task for ways in which they have perhaps got things a bit muddled. I found it very interesting that you describe deterrence as both a strategy and an ideology. The peace debate has got a bit bogged down on whether people discount deterrence totally, or whether they continue to see it as a credible component of our defence strategy.

RW Except for pacifists, deterrence in the simple sense is an understandable strategy. It is one possible way of avoiding war. It already became a very doubtful case when the nature of nuclear weapons altered that whole kind of 'balance of power' thinking: but nevertheless it is still distinguishable, because it has a rational core, from deterrence as an ideology - which is really deterrence against change. The real justification that is given, sometimes quite candidly, is that people are not going to be allowed to do certain things in the world and the function of this kind of military power is to show them that they can't. The trouble is that a lot of people have learnt from old weapons systems the notion of deterrence in a simple sense, still with some rational core. The only explanation you can give of the new understanding of deterrence, unless you are to say that those political leaders are insane, is deterring

UNILATERALISM ?

change, deterring people changing in certain ways, in particular deterring certain kinds of revolution, certain kinds of economic or political intervention which would damage their interests. That's what they're deterring. And that ideology has got mixed up with the strategy, and a lot of people are still supporting what they think is the strategy and becoming prisoners of the ideology.

JP You're quite tough too on the unilateralist movement today. You often refer to 'genuine multilateralism' as being preferable to unthought-out unilateralism, and you argue against narrow-



minded unilateralism: you say European-based unilateral initiatives would be better than UK-based unilateral initiatives.

RW I was a unilateralist in the late 50s and early 60s at that stage of CND, although I had some doubts about it. At that stage in the development of nuclear weapons it was a first step which would prevent proliferation: it was something that could fairly readily be done because the British weapons were in an early stage. Though in the course of the argument at the time I remember having some doubts about it. But when there was the revival a few years ago it seemed to me a pity that many people slipped back to the position which made more sense than I think it does now. As I said in the book, for a pacifist the unilateral act is wholly coherent and cogent. (...) It implies multilateralism: you show good faith, and this is the only way people ever trust each other. You make the first move, you don't ask for guarantees in advance. But the problem is that that gets to a certain point and sticks, and there are far more

LABOUR WAS ARGUING ABOUT HOW TO USE A WEAPON THEY HAD ALREADY GIVEN UP.

people against nuclear weapons than are prepared to take that position. And there is absolutely no need now to argue that simple, British-centred position as if it were the only way forward. The fact is that there can be thinking about agreed reductions of a multilateral kind and progressive steps - this is waiting there and is being damaged by the easy political victories that the supporters of nuclear arms are winning against a position which they can isolate as if it were a pacifist one when many of the people who hold it are not in fact pacifists. I think this is a confusion that can't go on.

JP Did you feel that particularly about the Labour Party campaign during the General Election when they were certainly made to look like that?

RW They were arguing both things at once - they were talking about how they would use a weapon they had already given up! It was clear that they hadn't thought it through. A lot of good people have been holding the core of the movement together from the original unilateral position, and when the revival came that was the position they put. But to me the important intervention by Edward Thompson about European nuclear disarmament seemed to be the crucial step forward. He put it in a contemporary phase, as distinct from the phase when he and I were unilateralists in 1960 or so: then there weren't corresponding movements in Europe, but now we're just one of many movements.

JP Why do you think CND allowed its strategy to be formulated in what you - quite rightly, to me - point out to be archaic terms with an archaic concept of the security problem of Europe at this time? Do you think they can change that way of looking at things?


RW I hope very much they can. The slogans for this demonstration (October 22) were positive slogans of a more contemporary kind. After all, you can unilaterally refuse an escalation of nuclear armaments - which is what is now happening with the new missiles; you can unilaterally decide to put the British weapons into negotiations, which is a move that has been asked for; you can support the Freeze, which is much more broadly based - which to a pacifist or a unilateralist doesn't have much meaning, but is an interesting political first step. Those were the main slogans of this demonstration, and it seemed to me that people are trying to do it; but I think there's a very curious balance in political movements - you see the same with socialism - that people have certain positions which for very good reasons that I respect become for them kinds of moral absolutes, and it does seem to them that the cause depends entirely on holding to these moral absolutes. That I respect, but there is a difference between a moral absolute and a phrase which at a certain period was a political expression of a moral absolute. And this I think is what has happened; because to many people it would be giving up their faith to compromise at all on, say, unilateralism - which is not the key thing.

JP No, but it is so closely linked in some people's minds with those moral absolutes (and talking now as an ecologist, it's also linked with ecological absolutes, because the projected use of a nuclear weapon in any circumstance is so abhorrent to an ecologist, over and above the appalling moral implications) that we cannot be anything but unilateralists.

RW Well, why unilateralists? One could easily get to saying that one could not be anything but a pacifist about nuclear weapons. But I wouldn't have included the critique of unilateralism if I hadn't followed it immediately with a critique of multilateralism, which is mostly a code for going on with the arms race or, even worse, code for bilateralism which means that the great powers negotiate over everyone else's heads and we don't even have a chance to intervene and move the negotiations along. I just think that getting stuck in those terms has diverted people from the argument - which is the argument against the absolute unacceptability of these weapons. Which is what I think people mean when they say "I'm a unilateralist, I'm totally against these weapons, I don't want to see them used." From which then the politics follows: which steps do we take to maximise the forces that will get rid of them?

GROWTH ?

JP At one stage you also move from the argument about nuclear weapons in themselves and you start looking at them as a symbol, a reflection of the dominant culture of today. That clearly links up with other problems you talk about - the unthinking acceptance of growth and the dominant mode of production. Can I ask you how you feel when you read a lot of contemporary socialist economics which is still very firmly linked to that type of



economic theory - namely that universal prosperity is achievable only through increases in production and consumption.

RW I feel very depressed. I understand it historically: I understand the movement which came into existence around visible poverty, took from the very society which was causing the poverty the notion that poverty would be cured by increased production. It didn't even get beyond the generalities of production, to seeing what kind would reduce poverty

LABOUR THOUGHT THAT POVERTY WOULD BE CURED BY INCREASED PRODUCTION.

and what didn't. The whole movement centred on that. It's very deep in the whole trade union and labour interest, since it relates directly to the immediate interests of trade unions and employment in that kind of economy which is indeed beginning to disappear.

But nevertheless when that is re-emphasised, when a new leader like Kinnock is choosing the word "grow" - you know, grow, produce more to succeed - I feel very depressed that the socialist case is stuck in that position for all the reasons I've given.

In fact it was a minority tendency inside the socialist movement from the beginning that said that how you produced and what you produced determined the distribution and that therefore production in itself could not be increased as a way of reducing poverty, that the increase of production didn't bring about the reduction of poverty. They're all quoting Tawney now - I suppose he's the OK quote-figure - but Tawney made this argument in this century and it's an old nineteenth century one: if you say produce, produce, then our question must be, produce what? He talks about producing health or producing education: the notion that production was this simple absolute that would cure poverty or create social justice was already rejected - they don't quote those bits! Yet it's the centre of his whole argument in "The Acquisitive Society". I find it very depressing that it is so, and I think that there is now a great job to be done to talk to people who are genuine socialists and not simply a reflection of existing interests, to win this argument.

THE INSTITUTIONS

JP Politicians are as much trapped in the fantasy of increasing production as I suspect the electorate is, and they both seem to be equally innocent participants in maintaining an illusion. I often wonder how politicians who, as you say, are embedded in that whole industrialised way of thinking can in fact break out of that. A lot of your book is talking about changes in institutions: what are the points of access to parties like that when they are locked into that sort of fantasy?

RW That's right. I think it is extremely difficult and I don't know. I've seen times when it seemed these ideas were making some headway, and other times when they were simply overridden. One of the difficulties at the moment is that the scale of the depression is such and the stupidity of this simple

monetarist economics so evident that you can revive Keynesianism as if it were a totally novel doctrine, as if nobody had ever thought before of producing and borrowing your way out of a depression. And what is essentially a sort of liberal economic policy is presented as if it's the socialist challenge.


But the point is that the lessons are going to be administered by the real situation. At the moment people can produce these old formulae because they have got such a horrible alternative to contrast themselves with. I tried before the election: I wrote an article for New Socialist about the role of ideas in the Labour movement and took employment and unemployment as an example: I said that their ideas, the things they were proposing to offer about employment and unemployment were a fantasy, would be discovered to be a fantasy, that the disrespect for ideas which was characteristic of the old Labour movement was nowhere better shown than in the easy way they were throwing these notions around. But not a moment of response...

GROWTH & REDISTRIBUTION

JP The other major problem that always comes up - certainly for us in the Ecology Party - is when people point out that we have on the one hand a



Green CND's pamphlet, out by Christmas! 34 pages for 95p, from Sally Johnson, 3 Church Road, Canton, Cardiff (please enclose stamp).



commitment to a sustainable economy, and on the other a commitment to a fairer distribution of wealth in that economy - and argue that in an economy which is not growing the notion of redistribution is going to be even harder to put into effect than it is now. Is that not at the heart of why socialism cannot break out of this particular bind it's in at the moment, even though it can't actually be demonstrated that years and years of that kind of growth have necessarily enhanced a more equal distribution of wealth.

LABOUR IDEAS FOR EMPLOYMENT WOULD BE DISCOVERED TO BE A FANTASY

RW No, and it is even probable now that the kinds of growth that are possible - a very one-sided development in the old industrial economies - would actually produce as much poverty as affluence, because the very fact of increasing investment in the kind of growth they foresee would for a certainty make more people unemployed and therefore more poor. Any programme which includes that kind of high investment, high production, high growth ought to have some of its real consequences added: increased unemployment, more poverty - even when you put in the welfare services it would still be relative poverty. It is false accounting: you don't need me to tell you, but the whole argument about industrial production and what are called "by-products" is like this. I've always argued that you can't talk about by-products: there are products, and if you decide to count some as products and say the others are unfortunate by-products or side-effects you're not living in the real world. They are all products and all have to be counted and accounted. The cost of that kind of investment for increased production that would be possible in this economy would be certain to produce a corresponding poverty.

JP But the real world is a harsh master. It tells us for instance that even to question some of the available uses of high technology is - as again you say - to be castigated as a Luddite. I think the touchstone of whether or not we can find an alternative mode of production is whether or not we can actually find ways of making the most of this new technological breakthrough. What are your opinions on the rather thorny issue of the control of technology? You give many good examples of how technology could be socially useful and how there's therefore no point turning our backs on that as a potential liberatory force in society. But how are we going to make that transition from the uses we have now to the uses we might like in the future?

CONTROL OF TECHNOLOGY

RW One of the problems is that a technology comes, within this economic and political system, ready-wrapped with a whole set of political directions and marketing strategies. And even where you can see this, and I've seen it often enough to recognise the

mix at once, it's very difficult to know enough about the technology to be able to separate it out and give it some kind of independent assessment. This is why the key input into that kind of discussion is that of people who are able to talk professionally about the technology - this is absolutely crucial - and the increasing scientific input into this argument is therefore very important. If it's simply a humanist argument against technology, or against the latest technology, it's not going to engage.

The thing is to understand the politics of the way a new technology arrives ready-wrapped with its uses and its marketing. This is why I have spent so much time in the book attacking technological determinism, because the most striking thing if you look back is that at any key point when there's a new technology there are really a lot of available and possible uses; but once a set of possible uses has been adopted the argument is that it is inevitable and couldn't have been done any other way. But how you get sufficient discussion at the point of new entry, how - as you say - you get the instrument of assessment, the institutions of assessment and control... well, I think it's getting better, in the

EDWARD THOMPSON PUT NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT IN A CONTEMPORARY PHASE

sense that the argument about the introduction of nuclear power has been carried on at a much higher level.

JP But thinking of the new breakthroughs in biotechnology and so on - there's very little debate about the uses of those new technologies, partly I suspect because it's a very complicated area and as you say the experts tend to dominate, but also I think because politicians feel that it's inappropriate somehow to be involved in a discussion of that sort of technology.

RW It depends who one meets. I've certainly found politicians and journalists less willing to discuss it than some of the scientists. I've known biotechnologists who say they wish there were some public discussion, and they're often not the people themselves who are accustomed to starting it or who have much taste for it. They are after all a minority in the whole profession. They could initiate discussion and people would listen - but only a few of them do. On the other hand political parties can hardly be said to be welcoming towards discussion: what they want is the bearing of good news - that the old system has got a new lease of life from some technology. That's all they really want to hear.

(The interview continues in the next issue.)

After Cruise

THREE MONTHS ago I offered to write a reflective article for this issue of Green Line on the health or otherwise of CND from a National Council point of view. Today as I write Cruise Missile warheads are being flown into Greenham and any such review seems as inappropriate as trying to count you hair after a visit to the guillotine! Since June, when Thatcher was returned, we have been caught in an urgency trap, unable to construct a strategy outside the arrival of the missiles. This trap has been partly our own making, for even before the election cruise missiles have been our central campaigning tool. I predict an immediate emotional response to deployment, but question whether we can sustain such action unless we see these missiles in the much wider context of the Nuclear State.

It has been obvious all along that the Geneva dual track proposals were just a ploy for deployment. What hasn't been so obvious, to the general public, is that dual key was an option that Heseltine never had! The American Constitution does not allow for any such nuclear ambiguity. As the Guardian cryptically put it, if a dual key was cosmetically fitted, then Reagan would have fitted an override button!

The outcome of the General Election did leave CND depressed, for although we denied it our best hope was that there was a Labour victory - second best, a hung parliament. Thatcher however found no difficulty in demolishing a party that only recently embraced unilateralism and barely knew its lines. I maintain that we invested too many eggs in the Labour basket again. Last time, in 1960, we were betrayed by Gaitskell. And this is CND's eternal problem, that because it has such a strong root in the left and more especially in the Labour Party, it has difficulty in dragging itself out of the left mould and presenting a wide movement appeal. Even CND's structure is based on the Labour Party model.

In Europe the position is very different. In West Germany for instance you will find autonomous groups coming together on equal terms and hammering out a strategy for a specific action or campaign (such as the strategy for surrounding the Bundestag during the Falkland debate). The advantage of such a non-structure is that the authorities and the right wing find it more difficult to pin-point their opponents. The disadvantage is that as in a country like France, where activists are caught up in the Socialist or Communist parties, both of which approve of nuclear weapons, small groups are then too weak to get their ideas across. It is only very recently that CONDENE has been formed, which is independent of all political parties and was an experience which grew out of Larzac.

Failings of a bureaucracy

CND's strength lies in that it can get a uniformed message across the country very quickly. The weakness of the movement is that to retain the greatest support we have to engage at the lowest common denominator. An example of this is the soft-pedaling of our NATO policy. It would be grossly unfair however to say that CND doesn't respond to outside influence. NVDA was adopted as a tactic and principle two years ago. This has greatly assisted the climate of opinion for the

growth of NVDA affinity groups and the "Peace Camp Factor". Most of the actions planned around the country this month have been with the co-operation of local NVDA affinity groups and CND at regional level: the regions providing the resources and the affinity groups providing the inspiration and training.

Like all good bureaucratic organisations, those who know how to work the system hold the power. And Goodwin Street is no exception; it has taken me virtually a year to work out which member of staff or officer to contact to achieve any given end. Every three months the whole Council of 120 meet at Uncle Ken's Palace (County Hall) and besides going through a security check at the meeting we are confronted by about an inch thick of documentation to churn through during the weekend. The subjects range from computer programming to whether we should send a telegram to a Russian dissident; from planning an anti-Trident campaign to whether Bruce Kent is spending too much time talking with American bishops (sic). The whole act, with lobbying included, could be an absolute shambles or a dreary diatribe (when you hear words like 'reformist' and 'gradualist' you know the hard left are on good form!) if it wasn't for the skill and humour of chairperson Joan Ruddock. Most of the representatives are sincere, overstretched people who are operating at national, regional and local level - plus trying to hold down full-time jobs. Beyond this, many people are on committees which help formulate policy, such as Projects and Publications. I wish Linda Churnside all the tenacity she can gather - Linda is 1984's Green CND representative.)

Specialist Sections

One of the innovations to broaden the campaign has been the formation of specialist sections. The aim is to spread CND's message through different areas of interest, thus hoping that more people will involve themselves in the nuclear issue. (National membership of CND is something like 70,000.) That's the official brief of the sections, but occasionally they develop their own style, much to the chagrin of the rest of the movement. However these sections do have an invigorating influence on CND. The most successful are the Christians; Labour CND spend most of their time on internal wrangles (that's not quite true), but there are a lot of Labour CND supporters who are rather soft on Kinmoak. Green CND has been described as the most independent section: long may it be so.

Within the past year there has been a great devolvement through professional groups, most of which retain association with the national body - such the Medical Campaign Against Nuclear Weapons, Scientists/Surveyors Against Nuclear Arms, Lawyers Against the Bomb (a most important group). Then we go to Pagains Against Nuclear Weapons. Anyone for Rat-catchers? To me this is a very healthy development, for the nuclear war machine touches every facet of our lives and should be opposed at all levels.

After writing this I realise it is all too easy to criticise CND. What we need to do is to look at our own personal commitment to the peace movement and life. To see how involved we are involuntarily with the war machine. The time has come, some would say long past, when we must take our commitment much more professionally and seriously.

We need to develop a dual strategy. Stretching the authorities by nonviolent guerrilla tactics, not just at Greenham but at all other military

and commercially allied installations. A pin-prick here and there, imaginatively done, helps the cause. (Always with dignity and resolve, please!) And at the same time educating the "woman in the street" to the physical and psycho-

GREEN

ON THE political front, the green movement continues to spawn green 'parties'... at least, in the industrial nations. After an ideological hiccup the Green and Radical Co-ordination (the title of the informal linking of European green parties) has discarded the two radical parties from Holland and Italy. Now as the "European Greens" it is made up of 10 parties representing 8 countries: Die Grünen (FDR), Ecology Party (UK), Comhaontas Glas (Eire), Ecolo and Agalev (Belgium), Les Verts and Les Verts/Parti Ecologiste (France), Miljöpartiet (Sweden), Alternative Lists Oesterreich (Austria), and Dei Gröng Alternativ (Luxembourg).

There are also green parties in Finland and Switzerland which have yet to join the new co-ordination, and overseas links with the Values Party (New Zealand), the Citizens' Party (USA), and the Green Party of Canada.

The two newcomers from Austria and Luxembourg, like Die Grünen, have as their principles nonviolence, "social", grassroots democracy, and ecology. Alternative Liste were formed in 1982 and have nearly 8,000 members. In the national elections in April 1982 they got 1.4% despite a second right-oriented green party, Die Grünen Oesterreich, which has since declined. Austria is a non-EEC/NATO country, and ALO are working for a wider Europe through building bridges to eastern Europe, and for global solidarity through links with Arab countries and the Third World.

Third World solidarity is also a principle of Dei Gröng Alternativ, and the main campaign theme for Die Grünen next year. Die Grünen already have important links with a number of countries where positive grassroots change is taking place through independent of government means. They have supported the general, social and economic aims of the Sandanistas in Nicaragua, although they are concerned that the US-backed incursions are leading to militarism among the leadership.

Back in the "nuclear peace" of Europe, there are now three countries with green MPs - since March when a Finnish Green List succeeded in getting two representatives into Parliament. They don't intend forming a party as they wish to avoid becoming "an institution whose 'success' in elections becomes more important than the issues we wish to bring attention to."

A similar concern about the negative effect of a party structure has, in part, led the Irish Ecology Party to become the Green Alliance/Comhaontas Glas, a network of small independent Green groups "each of which both discusses fundamental issues and acts for real improvement in particular localities." Les Verts, one of the two French green groupings, are similarly organised, perhaps a crucial move towards overcoming the splits and diffusion caused by regional differences.

Elsewhere Greens are in differing stages of entering the political arena - from pressure groups in Greece (see GL 16) to proposed parties in Spain, Portugal and Denmark. Italy and Holland have a profusion of different initiatives by existing

logical terror we now live under. But don't leave it at that: make everyone realise their own strength and their capability to make a change for a peaceful world - or worse, for survival.

John Marjoram

EUROPE

parties and new green groups. In Italy the Radical Party's membership is beginning to think greener, the Left socialists - Partito Democratico di Unità Proletaria and Democrazia Proletaria - continue to adopt red/green policies, and in Tuscany there is a regional Green party.

In Holland attempts are being made to form a Green List for the European elections. The broadest grouping would be the progressive liberals (D'66), progressive Christians (EVP), Frisian socialists (FNP), pacifist socialists (PSP), the communists (CPN), the radicals (PPR), and an existing alliance of different green groups. There are numerous problems, but they cannot afford to divide the progressive and green votes too many ways. An opinion poll in the Spring indicated that a green party could get up to 12% of the poll: this would be at the expense of the small left parties who between them got 10.71% in the 1982 parliamentary elections - with D'66 getting twice as many as any other.

Luckily, the threshold in Holland for the European elections is only 4% (as opposed to 5% in West Germany, and 8% - 10% in Belgium and France.) In France, two alliances are possible, though the disagreements between the two "Les Verts" are a major problem. Difficulties over a basic programme for an "ecologist" list are acute, and it seems easier for a looser "peace" list to be formed including ecologists, left socialists, peace groups and regionalists.

Topping the thresholds and getting enough Euro-MPs for a "Green Fraction" has become a somewhat questionable aim of the Co-ordination - given the Assembly's limited powers and the EEC's undemocratic structure. However, even with these limits, an active and imaginative opposition inside and outside (among the latter the disenfranchised and the non-EEC greens) might have some constructive purpose.

Having finally passed a Common Statement of basic principles and aims, the European greens are trying to produce a common manifesto. Although intended for use at the elections, it will concern western Europe as a whole and look towards bringing East and West together. It will be officially adopted at the First European Greens Congress next March in Liege. One of Belgium's largest cities and centre of the declining steel industry, Liege sits near the borders of Holland and Germany. Governed by a socialist/green coalition, it is the first large European city where greens are involved in the government. There are problems but also invaluable experiences for future power-sharing and government decision-making.

The Congress will be both a "shop-window" for green politics and a means for parties to exchange information. It will not be limited to delegates, or just to European parties. It will be an opportunity for concrete actions and symbolic acts - like that of the Luxembourg greens who marked their foundation earlier this year by planting a tree in front of the parliament building.

Roland Clarke

UNILATERALISM IS NOT GREEN

I HAVE hesitated in writing this article not just for fear of the scorn and ridicule with which it is likely to be received, but because until recently I could not put together a coherent argument - I only knew it at a gut level.

Before you skip onto the next page (whilst making a mental note to write to the editor complaining of blasphemy) this is not the old hack argument about "having to retain some nukes while the other side has them". Nor the one about "throwing away negotiating levers".

What I am saying is that, though unilateralism IS safe, to propose it as the only policy is not green.

What do we want? What we want is:

- (1) an absence of war.
- (2) no nukes.
- (3) genuine peace.

I put them in that order because each is a pre-condition of the one(s) following.

At present we are at (1); the question is how to proceed. The reaction of the peace movement (i.e. those who are trying to get from (1) to (3)) is to concentrate effort on opposing nukes. But wait a minute. It's not as simple as that. There are other things to be taken into account. We also don't want to lose our civil liberties, nor bring about a military coup, nor have a government imposed upon us by America, nor lose our "absence of war". We also don't want to alienate the very people we are trying to convert. Add to that the "Green CND revelation" - that nukes are not just a nasty mistake in an otherwise healthy society - and what do you get?

We get, first, the clear understanding that nukes cannot be got rid of while society is still unhealthy. Secondly, that excessive demonstration will lead to a clampdown under the guise of "law and order". Thirdly, that even if we did manage to elect a unilateralist government, the US would never allow it to carry out its programme. Fourthly, that when Mr and Mrs Average see their personal freedoms being diminished by anti-nuclear activities, they are going to be even harder to convince.

The hard fact to swallow is that anti-nuke activity follows the same ecological law that controls all systems - that while some is good, more is not necessarily better. Political activity, like any other activity whether eating cake, work, or economic growth, is controlled by the simple principle of negative feedback. Initially, activity is selected for its results, but as that activity increases the negative side-effects (the pollution, if you like) start to increase faster than the desired effect. In the case of eating cake, you get full; while work and economic growth, initially chosen as means of making life more pleasant, when taken to excess lead to stress, no "time for living", and damage to the biosphere - giving a less pleasant life than when you started.

"OK, wiseguy," I can hear you say. "So what do you propose? Stay home and wait for Ronnie and Yuri to make up?" Not at all. Take a lesson from

nature and diversify. Recognise that while some people MUST demand disarmament NOW, if too many people do so we are not likely to get anything at all. At a certain point, and I reckon we are at that point now, a different activity takes over the role of "action most likely to give the required result".

CND and the Unilats, have succeeded in raising public consciousness of the issues, but have failed to come up with answers to those people (and there are a hell of a lot of them) who, while not wanting nukes, don't see any other way of deterring the "Russian Threat". (I'm not saying there is a Russian threat, but so long as a majority of people THINK so, then for all practical purposes there is.) The time has now come to promote the alternative - non-nuclear defence, the minimum balanced deterrence, etc.

I can hear you cringing at this point, but please don't light the fire with this article just yet. It's just as hard having to write this as it is for you to read it.

The point is simple: some of us, perhaps the majority of us, have GOT to start asking for what we want, and start talking to the people we most dislike, asking for less than we want in order to get anything at all.

People who think - or act on the assumption - that if we can get enough people onto the streets we can lick the military industrialists, are not only fools; they are also the greatest threat to the peace movement after Reagan's finger. World peace is our dream, but to achieve it we have to enter the realm of politics. Politics is the art of the possible: it follows simple laws. It requires diplomacy and compromise to get any way along the road. This really is the hard bit. Getting on the coach with your mates and going down the drome is the fun bit which we must now leave to those who do not have any other contribution to make.

What we need now is people to go along to CND and tell them that no way can they expect to get rid of nukes if they insist on maintaining their old lifestyle. Nukes are here because of the way WE are and the way WE live - not because of the way Maggie lives.

We need people to talk to the military about alternative defence in language that makes sense to them. The time is over for ranting and banner waving.

We need people to propose policies to politicians which are not only desirable, but are also achievable. If the military and the Americans won't wear it, then there's no point in the policy. It is just as good simply shouting for what we want, we have to provide a mechanism for achieving it.

So swallow a little pride, wipe that self-righteous smile off your face, stop hiding behind your CND badge and your Eco sticker, put your clean clothes on and get down to the Conservative Club. This way, we may achieve our goal in a few decades, the way we're going it'll take for ever.

Mike Bell

WHAT ARE WE ACTUALLY DEFENDING

WHY, WHY, WHY do we never ask the most basic and fundamental defence question of all? What are we actually defending? We are told that it's the "national security of Britain", but what does that mean? The same phrase is used by Special Branch and MI5 agents as a justification for their harassment of so-called "subversives". The Ministry of Defence has a long history of defending "national security", not just against foreign invaders but also against fellow-countrymen and women. In many cases the perceived internal threat comprises people putting forward much the same ideas as ours. Can it therefore be in our interest to defend "national security"?

"Freedom" is the treasured cause most frequently quoted when people are asked what they're defending. That freedom is said to be threatened by the possibility of an invasion by a foreign totalitarian regime. How much of this fear is justified by the facts, and how much is media-induced paranoia? What about the gradual erosion of basic freedoms that we're already experiencing?

The economic interdependency of the industrialised North is a stabilising factor in international affairs. It's the fear and paranoia itself that makes war likely. The media feeds that paranoia with every "red menace" scare story they dream up,



and the NATO countries respond with increased military budgets, pre-emptive invasions, and the deployment of troops throughout the world. This fear and mistrust simply induces a mirror response from our so-called "enemies" in the East.

While we exaggerate and hypothesise about the threat to our freedom from "foreign powers", our basic liberties are already being eroded. Under the new Police Bill you can be detained for 96 hours without being charged. Under the Miscellaneous Provisions Act passed earlier this year, you can only organise a festival if you get permission from the local authority, often run by local Tory farmers. The gradual amassing of personal data on central government computers attacks fundamental rights of privacy. The Government's plans to reform the rating system and abolish the Metropolitan councils seriously undermine what little local democracy we still have. The list could go on and on. Is it not "defence" to resist these attacks on our freedom?

The Defence of Culture

Is "culture" something else that we should think of defending? The last thirty years have witnessed two main cultural shifts. The first is the rapid disappearance of native rural and industrial culture. Regional dialects have disappeared at a rapid rate as local communities are destroyed and as traditional industries collapse. Many cultural traditions have now been replaced with a highly-centralised and commercial TV-centred media culture.

The other significant development has been the emergence of an alternative lifestyle with its emphasis on community magazines, acoustic and participatory music, travelling, street theatre, etc.

Perhaps we could also think of cultural defence?

As greens we have a deep respect for life and a love of nature, yet everywhere we turn humanity is already at war with the Earth. It's unlikely that any "foreign" occupying force would be any worse in this respect. Health and life derive from a natural and balanced environment. At every stage the dominant economy degrades and abuses that environment. Surely we couldn't support the defence of a way of life that so degrades nature, and by extension humanity. Greens defend the environment and the animals. When so many thousands of animals are held in vivisection laboratories perhaps we should start thinking of the activities of the Animal Liberation Front as "defence".

People will often say that they're defending their land; but whose land is it when 1% of the population claim to own 30% of it? Land "ownership" denies us basic rights of access. How could we defend a system of land ownership that denies us access to the land and provides a bedrock for an economic system that is gradually destroying the biosphere?!

The actual wealth of this country is held by a very small minority of the population. Approximately 7% own 84% of the wealth. Again, defence of the status quo is defence of their economic power.

We have now reached a position where the interests of the dominant institutions are so divorced from our own that we are unlikely to have a common interest in defending the status quo. The only conceivable circumstance under which we might work together would be if a foreign aggressor appeared to be even further removed from our own interests than the government.

Nonviolent social structures

The line we draw to distinguish between "national defence" and nonviolent resistance is arbitrary. It obscures our ability to see where our own interests lie - to see what it is that we as greens are defending.

Obviously there are times when our interests might

coincide - when defending against Nazi aggression, for example - but this mustn't prevent us from seeing the dangers of being too closely identified with "national defence". Not only does our support reinforce concepts of the nation-state and its fear of "enemies", it can also be seen as supportive of the totally undemocratic nature of the armed forces.

Nuclear weapons are a logical reflection of the implied or actual violence in our own lives. In the end peace can only be guaranteed if we can start dealing with the root causes of war. This makes it imperative that we start developing nonviolent social structures immediately.

Social defence is based on the concept of nonviolent active intervention and passive resistance by the whole community. It builds on the belief that government is impossible without a considerable degree of consent by the governed, and on outstanding historical examples of how the withdrawal of this consent has brought about the collapse of an unwanted regime.

We can use our experiences over the last few years at Torness, Luxulyan, Greenham Common, Upper Heyford, etc., as a starting point for building national community-based Social Defence networks

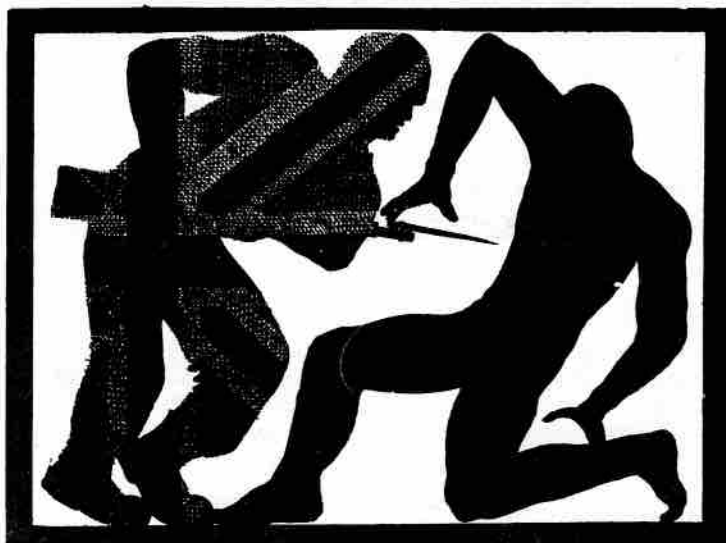
that do not depend on the State for their legitimacy. In the event of a foreign invasion, visible preparation for, and experience in, Social Defence would increase the effectiveness of a defensive deterrent.

Credible defence policy

Combined with a non-provocative, non-nuclear, conventional defence against the perceived threat of invasion from the East, Social Defence could form the backbone of a credible peace policy. Unlike the present defence system it is uniquely democratic and de-centralist. Its success rests solely on the willingness of ordinary people to take personal responsibility for their freedom and for the environment in which they live.

Social Defence, based on a green analysis of what we are actually defending, is not just a policy to be applied in the event of a foreign invasion. It is a consistent, democratic, community-based approach that organises for resistance against all attacks on life and freedom whether from multi-nationals, our own government, or an occupying force. As such it is the best strategy for a movement that is based primarily in extra-parliamentary activity.

David Taylor



**STOP THIS
PLANTATION !
YOUR Government
is driving Filipinos off
their land to grow palm oil.
We've got til February to stop the
British government's funding of Guthrie
Plantations Inc. and the Commonwealth
Development Corporation.**

IN MINDANAO in the Philippines, Guthrie Plantations Inc. are clearing the Filipino subsistence farmers off the land to turn it into a plantation growing oil palm. The methods Guthrie is using are without scruple. It has employed the 'Lost Command' for 'security services'. The Lost Command, a local death squad headed by Colonel

Lademora and ruthlessly efficient, has already driven off 3,000 Filipinos by murder, arson, terror, and 'justice'. The British Government is funding this project enthusiastically.

There's lots of money in it. The government has brushed aside questions in Parliament about the terror tactics of the clearances. It has ignored the pleas of the Filipino farmers. It has the nerve to use aid money for this development. And it's now starting another one for itself.

But why such enthusiasm about palm oil? It's very big business. It's used in salad and cooking oil, margarine (polyunsaturated), and endless industrial purposes. It's used as a butter substitute in cakes, biscuits and confectionery. It is the second largest used vegetable oil after soya oil. And Britain is its largest importer. Palm oil is important.

President Marcos has allocated 56,000 hectares for oil palm development. The Commonwealth Development Corporation is funding Guthrie for 8,000 hectares and is negotiating for another 8,000 hectares for itself. It's a big project with lots of profits to be made. But the farmers made landless will be destitute, as so many in the Philippines are already destitute. 55% of Filipino farm acreage has been cleared for plantations in this way. They are starving because their land is growing crops for us - in the name of "development".

Marcos attaches great importance to the scheme. All criticism within the Philippines has been stifled. Money is draining out of the country. To save his skin Marcos needs all the investment he can get. Britain is getting it for him.

In spite of hypocritical noises about helping the Filipinos with development aid, Britain is in it for the money, to make profits from the palm oil and to safeguard its investments with the World Bank. To save these investments it needs to keep Marcos in power.

A few years ago we might have thought that this project was an unfortunate exception to the

benefits of development. We now know that it is the rule. In every country the IMF and the World Bank finance projects which take the land from the subsistence farmers and turn it into plantations to grow crops for export while the people starve.

We now know: we understand and we can stop it.

Our taxes are paying for it, and we can stop it. MPs already know the project stinks. Get out and let them know that everyone else knows it too. Form local short-term action groups to express your anger. Stop this plantation!

Richard Hunt



Gathering the Greens



GREEN IS not new. Long before there was any general awareness of danger, when the western world was on a surge of so-called 'expansion' and discovery, when the Industrial Revolution seemed to promise the kingdom, the power and the glory, there was William Blake. He saw the horror, the destruction of all that was truly human, the sacrifice of the spiritual to the materialist and mechanist view. He was heeded by few in his own period.

It was only after another half-century or so of degradation and misery for the enslaved and poverty-stricken toilers that the novelist Charles Dickens portrayed the results, while during the same period the great humanitarian reformers began an attempt to reverse some of the consequences.

But Blake, like all great prophets, was ahead of his time. Isn't it strange, when you think of it: to us, his most famous poem is surely "Jerusalem". Set to the wonderful, stirring melody of that eminent Victorian, Hubert Parry, it seized upon the hearts (if not the minds) of the British people - until it has become the acknowledged Unofficial National Anthem, sung regularly and repeatedly, vociferously and, apparently, wholeheartedly at gatherings as widely different as village W.I. meetings and the last night of the Proms. It cannot be by accident. To those of us who don't believe in chance, anyway, the fact itself seems to be prophetic. "Jerusalem" - with or without the "religious" overtones - is the "Green Anthem" par excellence.

All this seems like a digression on my part; but when I started to recollect the various strands which have made up my own "green experience" I thought first of Lady Eve Balfour who founded the Soil Association in 1945, and then suddenly remembered Blake dreaming and prophesying and working 200 years earlier. In our own time a "gathering of the greens" reveals numerous shades and strands and textures. The Organic Food area includes not only the Soil Association and the prestigious Henry Doubleday Research Association but also the down-to-earth self-sufficiency world of John Seymour, and also the exciting ideas of the newer permaculture and Masanobu Fukuoka's "One-Straw Revolution"

This area widens into the ecological movement, and this too expresses itself in various diverse

but complementary ways such as the Ecology Party, Friends of the Earth, Greenpeace, and so on - together with smaller but eminently practical associations such as the Woodland Trust. Not least are the contributions of what I call, for want of a better term, the "converted scientists" - physicists and biologists who have seen the light and rejected the mechanistic and materialist view of our universe and have returned full circle, not only to ecology and a renewal of contact with nature but also to the ancient wisdom of the mystics. Names like David Bohm and Fritjof Capra are too well-known to need introduction from me, but it was Dr Glen Scafer who first came to my notice in this field. A Canadian now living and working in England, he has had a distinguished career in mathematical physics and biology. He is now Director of Ecological Physics at Cranfield Institute of Technology, and is a Fellow of both the Royal Entomological Society and the Royal Meteorological Society. He too is a devotee of William Blake, and his short but mentally nourishing and stimulating booklet "Universe with Man in Mind" is a synthesis of green thought. For this reason I shall end with a quote from Dr Scafer, since he speaks for me (and certainly for others as well). He quotes the apostle Paul in Romans chapter 8: "We know that the whole creation groans and travails in pain together. For the earnest expectation of the creature waits for the manifestation of the Sons of God." He continues:

"We have got to change. We'll never get anywhere by pumping chemicals into ourselves, by thinking the universe is based on chance and material law, by squirting insects. It's we who have to change. We are learning, I believe, from deep cosmology, deep biology, deep artistry, that what we see is mindlike, and probably our own collective thought. Therefore we must change. How to become a Son of God, if you like, in Paul's language?"

What is the good of becoming more conscious if the stuff that pours into consciousness is of two types, one type producing bombs, the other type producing poetry, just to exaggerate both ways. How do we discriminate between the illusory and the true, between the good and the evil thought? When it comes, it is not we who create the thought. You generally think you're thinking, but you're not. It's pouring through us and how do we discriminate when it comes, and choose to emphasise? This is rarely done, including science. Ethics will become a key factor in the new paradigm, in the new science, or else we shall perish."

Peggy Bunt

LETTERS

Central production to build empires

Dear GL,

Was there ever a "production" problem? Or is the problem so-called really one of how to centralise control over production, as a means of building an economic empire?

As Alex Hart observes, Marx and Engels accepted centralised production as beneficial progress (GL 17). I suggest that a green view brings quite a different picture: the solution to the "production" problem equals economic muscle to the material advantage of a select group; the "production" problem itself equals a distribution problem; and the "distribution" problem is another form of the "production" problem, presented at a later stage of imperial development.

Economic imperialism is born of military imperialism, and the two authors of distribution problems depend on each other. Indeed, they can assume identity with each other, as when the British East India Company created its own armed forces, and when economic imperialism is forced into merger with military imperialism to form a Communist state.

The misconception (or lie) that there is or has been a "production" problem diverts attention from the real production-distribution problem, that of redistributing (decentralising).

Laurence Thompson
48 Abbey Road, London SW19 2NA

Dear GL,

Some of the problems raised by Alex Hart ("Before the Deluge", GL 17) are better understood if we cease to talk about the rise, decline and rogue-Fascist phases of capitalism, but replace the word capitalism by "faceless industrial society". I nearly wrote "large-scale" instead of "faceless", but most Greens are veering round to the view that while "large-scale" nearly always means "faceless" there are some problems that mankind has to tackle over vast areas - locusts, plague or climate changes.

Why does he write an article full of such dire warnings and then make the half-hearted suggestion of an alliance between socialist economists, feminists, and greens? The only other positive point was that the Green Alliance should take in dissident Tories.

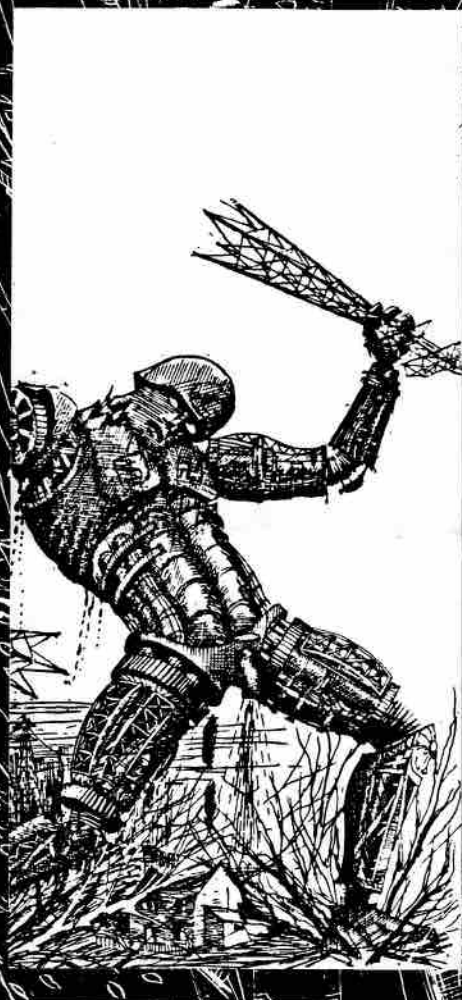
Alex has little faith in the ability of ordinary people to wake up and solve their admittedly grave problems. ("The social aim in our society, accepted by all classes, is to make money" - para 4).

The change from the "official" consumerist society of 1984 to a society with more organic farms, more medium and small firms making socially useful and

(where appropriate) long-life goods, and more reasonably-sized schools and hospitals will best be achieved, I think, as and when the ordinary people forge a Green political party with a clear programme, pledged to take office and act as a democratic government for and responsive to all citizens.

As Greens we should learn from Lenin (whom many of us disapprove of) that a resolute political force must combine parliamentary/local government politics with mass work outside parliament on citizens' rights, pure water, healthy food and decent housing, to say nothing of the twin scourges of war and unemployment. There's really not much about politics in Alex's article.

Ron Spathaky
31 Meadow Rise Road, Norwich NR2 3QE



Dear GL,

We must all agree, I believe, with the interesting article by Alex Hart which urges co-operation on us all, rather than our usual nit-picking at one another's doctrines and our criticism of inevitable small mistakes and misjudgements. We can't all wear the same hat. The good old Marxist cloth cap, even with Freudian and feminist trimming, doesn't become us all. Nor does it quite explain why yesterday's revolutionaries always turn into today's Puritans, eager to cut out all individualist human frailties. Hart is right that there must be co-operation between all the people of good will, including praise where praise is due; blame and criticism are just too easy. Remember there are plenty of people up top who like to see us quarrelling and weakening ourselves and our own cause. More people like Alex Hart should join up.

Naomi Mitchison
Carradale, Campbeltown, Argyll

Religion and politics

Dear GL,

I was moved by the wisdom and understanding of Tom Comber's article "Is Jesus Greer?"

I would like readers of GL to know that Tom is well into his seventies and to emphasise that we should respect the experience of those who have lived through $\frac{1}{4}$ of a century of private and public affairs. Some 'Greens' seem to think they are part of a new movement of those around $\frac{1}{4}$ of a century old. But the Green movement has been going since at least the year 33AD and its sad history is not irrelevant - i.e. it's got nowhere in this world.

As for the sexism nonsense. Well... Jesus as it happens appeals especially to women. Not for any "sexist" reasons, but because of his (as it happens he was a man) teaching about how to live a perfect life. Women, as the stronger sex who have to care for their weaker brethren, have been particularly inspired by his ideas. A pity there aren't more like him around, I'd say.

Well, as for the implications of his colour. I accept and am comforted by much of what Tom says. However, I would like to point out that "shaking the foundations of a corrupt society" or "casting off the hideous strength" does not necessarily - or maybe indeed cannot - occur through "political" action.

I would suggest that as a Christian, indeed as a human being, the worst enemy we have to face is the enemy within! Nor is it true, sadly, that "political" action against the Great Devil outside helps clear out his minions within our own hearts and homes. I have spent quite a bit of my time in "political" activity and I'm afraid I was not "purged" by the experience. On the contrary. Participating in "political" action with an "unclean" heart, body, mind and soul is bound to fail - it is wrecked on the human (male, female or neuter) failures of e.g. egotism, vanity, envy, craving for power and adulation, self-righteousness, confusion, ignorance, weakness, greed, anger, sloth, etc. It is precisely because of these human failures that the world is the mess it is (e.g. Lenin's Russia?).

I am not necessarily saying that we should all abstain from "political" action. Just that "political" action is not the only way to the "Kingdom of Heaven". There is other work to do. After all, if the Christian message is the Truth: Jesus has already overcome the world. As Tom implicitly suggests, we need God's help; God does not need ours. Our job is just to do our work which may or may not be that of a "political activist".

If God does not exist, then of course we are in a quite different universe. Even so, I suggest we are doomed by individual human failure and not by some scapegoat called "society". Society is just a collection of individuals. Very few of us are capable of improving our own nature, let alone those of other people. But that is the first task: not one to be put off until after the "millennium".

The millenium is not going to come - we know that - unless of course it is with Jesus in clouds of glory; and then we'd better be found at our posts with our lamps trimmed.

Of course it would be much easier to get on with one's work if only politicians and above all capitalists would lead decent lives themselves. But we cannot force them to by political action. Indeed we know force is not on our side, or indeed any part of the kingdom of heaven, or of paradise on earth.

Oh well, you say - "nonviolent direct action". Then I'd say look at Jesus, or Gandhi if you like, and draw your own conclusions. Was their victory in this world? Could it have been? No, it could not. Do your own work. You don't have to be a political activist to be saved - there are alternatives after all.

Penny Newsome
21 South Street, Osney, Oxford.

Dear GL,

If Tom Comber sees grammatical revision as tedious (GL16, Letters), then I suspect that he has not got the point. If the Green movement is under threat it is not from the feminists but from the establishment outside which has its roots in a patriarchal monotheism. A language embodies the ideas of a culture and we are not going to change anything by continuing to use old words which tie us to old ideas.

These ideas and words are (sadly) traditionally sexist, not just in England and protestantism which places all the emphasis on God the Father, but also here in the Catholic south, where the female aspect of deity is only recognised in the role of mother - just one part of a woman's life if she should choose it. Peter Bolwell's apology to "ordinary people" seems like an attempt to be "more proletarian than thou".

Let's grow up like Dave Russell suggests, creating a new world with a new language.

Frank Richardson
Contrada Santa Lucia 27
63029 CURETTA DI SERUIGLIANO
ASCOLI-PICENO, ITALY.

Dear GL,

Peter F Bolwell (GL16, Letters) objected to your editorial apology for the sexist language in Tom Comber's article "Is Jesus Green?"

Peter Bolwell asserts: "The 'traditionally sexist' language was not in fact 'Christian' as much as simply English... the ordinary language of ordinary people." So he seems to accept that language inevitably mirrors the values and assumptions of those who use it. Good. However, "simply English"? Our society's moral frame of reference is still largely christian although many of its members would claim to be agnostic or atheistic.

But what puzzles me most is that Peter Bolwell seems to assume that we can continue with a language that carries the sexist assumptions of this and previous centuries, whilst trying at the same time to eradicate sexism from our thinking and living. Language changes and has always changed to reflect the changing ideas and preconceptions of its

users. This process of change is uneven across society, and it follows that some sectors of society will adapt their language to express their values and worldview.

It is absurd to argue that our means of communication should contradict the ideas it is communicating.

Of course, if our 'de-sexing' of language goes so far as to make communication impossible, it will prevent the spread of these ideas. But this is very far from being the case. In fact, drawing attention to the sexism of ordinary language is very helpful - it makes most of us realise the 'embeddedness' of sexist thinking in ourselves. Your editorial note to Tom Comber's sexist/christian article was needed and justified.

If P Bolwell doubts the sexist nature of christianity, he should read Merlin Stone's "The Paradise Papers" - it's hard to get hold of, so I'll happily lend him a copy!

Finally, on the subject of the pervasiveness of sexism and its absolutely fundamental nature, may I recommend Penny Strange's new booklet "It'll Make a Man of You" - price 95p from Peace News.

Ian Lee
Oak Cottage
Isington, Alton, Hampshire.

Dear GL,

Was it really necessary to publish the obscenity "Against Imperialism" perpetrated by Richard Hunt? (GL17). His premises may be both valid and true. His conclusions are neither. The Green movement is pro-life. It cannot presume to tell the so-called Third World (I've only ever lived in one) how to fight its battles. Gandhi did not use guns. The only people who will benefit from the use of guns are the arms manufacturers.

Graeme Talboys
17 Newfield Road, Newhaven, E Sussex

Dear GL,

I must protest at your inclusion and by implication recommendation of the "Big Red Disarmament Diary" in GL 17. This diary lists supporters of terrorists, including the Irish Republican Socialist Party (INLA) and Sinn Fein (IRA). These murderous fascists have no place in a publication of any decency.

I have decided not to renew my sub. to GL, mainly due to lack of money but also because GL policy actually endorses opponents of the Ecology Party.

Colin McGuigan
70 East Street, Newtownards, Co Down,
N. Ireland.

(A reference by a contributor to a publication does not imply that anyone else - or maybe even the contributor themselves! - agrees with every word in it. - Editor.)

Dear GL,

I see in October's GL that the Green Gathering organisers are planning to sue the police for harrassment. I know the degree of harrassment was absolutely disgusting, and I share their anger about it, but I feel their response is entirely ungreen.

To sue is to answer attack with attack, to accept that conflict can end conflict. It is at bottom the same idea that leads to the call for "more nuclear weapons to preserve the peace." It's so deeply bred into us that even so loving a group of people as the Green Gathering organisers can slip straight into it without realising what they're doing.

I can't say what they should do about it - for some sort of action is clearly needed to try to cure such bad policing. I can only say what I did myself. I wrote to the Chief Constable giving details of how the police had behaved, pointing out that this is counter-productive, and suggesting a policy of co-operation with peaceful citizens to replace the present one of aggression towards us.

As an example of co-operative policing I told him of how the Gathering organisers go together with people from the convoy to prevent theft. It worked! Now it strikes me how the organisers made a co-operative response to the convoy's aggression (theft), but contemplate a competitive one to the police aggression (harrassment). It shows how easy it is for the best of us to fall straight into the "them and us" syndrome without realising it.

Have any other GL readers got some ideas of how we can respond to aggression curatively rather than aggressively? It's not easy, but if we don't solve this one we won't solve any of the others. Not a one.

(Name and address supplied)



'Women-only' row goes public

Ann Pettit, Karman Cutler, Fran De'Ath, Annie Tunnicliffe and others write:

We are people who have been involved with the Greenham Women's Peace Camp and who work for peace in our local groups. We feel that the time has come when the whole movement can go to Greenham to express their refusal to accept cruise. Those of us who were involved at Greenham had a vision which we hoped would unite the peace movement against cruise, and we now want to affirm that vision.

We are proposing that a demonstration should take place on Saturday 10th December. As you probably know, the arguments over women's actions and mixed actions have been raging for months, and it was

hoped that December 11th would be called by the camp as a mixed action - many individuals, delegations, petitions, letters were sent pleading for this to happen, but it is now obvious that no compromise position can be reached with the women who dominate the camp. CND has now found itself in an impossible position. Due to pressure from the movement, a decision to have a mixed action was taken by the Executive on November 5. Since then representatives of CND have been to the Greenham Camp yet again to discuss their proposals, which were turned down. Due to the unresolvable conflict this produces within the CND membership (and the peace movement outside CND), CND have now decided to call off the action.

They are truly in a position where they can't win.

It is because of this that we decided to call a mixed action as individuals, deeply concerned that the movement has a need to express itself this December at Greenham, which will never again have the same significance. We do not see this as a 'last-ditch' protest in the anti-cruise campaign, but as a climax to the present phase and something to hearten ourselves for the long haul ahead. We feel that without that climax some of the heart will go out of the movement. We also feel that the stone wall presented to the movement by the women's camp ignores and denies the wider wishes and issues of the peace movement at this crucial time, and that emotional blackmail and sectarianism in our movement must be dealt with as we go along.

We are not against women's actions: we participate in them, but Greenham in December 1983 is not the place for women's actions to the exclusion of everything else.

What we propose is that people arrive around 3 p.m. and gather between the Blue and Green gates (nearest the silos). At 5 p.m. candles and torches will be lit and there will be a silent vigil for an hour till 6 p.m. We will continue to vigil, sing, etc. until 10 p.m. Over the past months security at the base has been tightened up to such a horrendous extent that "getting inside" would be totally impractical and would be ineffectual. Silent protest is empowering - it is far, far more than just an absence of sound. It is a positive and powerful thing, not a sign of weakness, and will bind us together in our protest so that we gain strength from it.

There will be many detractors from this idea for many reasons, whether it be "It's not CND policy", "The women don't want you", or "Bloody pathetic, silent vigil". Make your own decision - do you want to come to Greenham to witness against cruise, as an equal with others, now cruise is here? If so, we must rise above the female/male conflict.

Join us, in a spirit of trust, love, peace and co-operation.

** Nothing will be laid on. Be self-sufficient. There is a women-only action the following day: men should respect this. It is possible to camp at Bucklebury Common (4 miles north of Greenham, arrive by day to find it!). (Ed.)

30 Women Appeal for Mixed Action

An appeal to the women at the Greenham Common Peace Camp was written by Fran De'Ath and Ann Pettit and read to the meeting of CND National Council held on October 16. Thirty women signed it. The text was as follows:

"We are women who are active campaigners in the peace movement. We have worked as well and as hard as we've been able to convince people of the danger of cruise missiles and the need to halt the arms race by unilateral renunciation of nuclear weapons by Britain; we have campaigned by as many peaceful methods as have been available to us, in our local areas, in our places of work, wherever we meet and touch other people. In spreading ideas at local level, we have also encouraged support to grow for the Greenham Peace Camp, and we have participated in actions at the base.

We now feel that the time has come for this movement we have helped to create to take effective action to stop the imminent deployment of cruise missiles. If opportunities are lost this winter, they will not re-occur. We are aware that the women at the peace camp are widely regarded as the natural and rightful initiators of such action, and

actions initiated by anyone else would not inspire a unanimous and generous response.

We ask the women at Greenham Common to invite everyone, in Europe and the UK, to take part in whatever action you, the women, plan on December 11 1983 at Greenham Common. Greenham women have made cruise the focus of the movement.

Within the peace movement we have been learning to work in ways that are best suited to our personal needs. For some, this has meant working in women's groups, for some in local peace groups, others got together for actions with friends and family. The decision with whom to demonstrate has to be ours. Feminism is rooted in the idea of women making their own decisions. Some of us will wish to be with our sisters, others with the groups with whom we work, and with those we trust. This is not a call to belittle women's actions, but could show that women can lead the whole peace movement to take appropriate action at the right time, in a clear demonstration of women's initiative."

The Appeal was turned down by the Women's Peace Camp.

Mixed mass blockade proposed

STOP PRESS!

ESSEX CND are seeking official CND backing for a national total one-day mixed blockade at Greenham on January 7. If CND support is not forthcoming at a national level, then Essex intend to seek support from other areas and Regions and create what they call "a de facto national mobilisation" - so the blockade looks set to happen either way.

The object is to prevent dispersal of the missile carriers on a day which, as well as being the 13th day of our own Christmas, is in fact Christmas Day in the countries

of the Orthodox Churches - including the 40 million members of the Orthodox Church in the Soviet union.

Jimmy Johns, Essex CND co-ordinator, writes that "there is now NO National response planned following the actual deployment of Cruise Missiles - a vacuum which damages the movement greatly - outwardly by giving the appearance that we are incapable of reacting nationally, and internally by failing to give a focus and medium of corporate expression psychologically crucial at this time of crisis."

Essex argue that while women-only

actions at Greenham have been a very successful tactic, it cannot be held to be a principle of all NVDA against cruise that it must be conducted solely by women. Making this distinction between tactics and principles, they go on to say:

"It is surely clear that, with Greenham being the sole focus of the whole movement regarding Cruise, those employing this tactic (of women-only actions) must be able and ready to make some space for those excluded from it to express themselves in other ways there."

Info: 0245 420178

REACTIONS SIZEWELL

THE FORTNIGHTLY INSIGHT INTO THE NUCLEAR POWER DEBATE

"Sizewell Reactions" is the only magazine to cover the Sizewell PWR Inquiry and its background in detail.



"Sizewell Reactions" has been published since the Inquiry opened in January 1983 and will continue until it finishes, probably in the summer of 1984.

Subscription rates:- £5 ordinary; £10 institution; £25 lifesaver.

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Fast and Vigil on the 6th

Fast for Life are proposing that the 6th of every month be made an international day for fast and vigil (the date is chosen because it was on Hiroshima Day - August 6 - last that the Fast for Life was begun.) There is a different theme for each month, with the emphasis on making the links between the nuclear arms race and world starvation. At the winter solstice it is hoped that groups will light fires on local beacons and bring the flame into their towns and cities. A group are starting a fast at Lakenheath Peace Camp on December 21; on January 1st they will break their fast and walk to Sizewell (arrive January 6). Info: Angela and Helen, The Peace Chariot, 7 Furnace Cottages, Crow Edge, Sheffield (Tel. Barnsley 766310). Next meeting: January 14 in B'ham.

Just Defence

"is a non-party organisation which aims to provide a forum for discussion, investigation and promotion of defence policies which will lead to long-term security and stability." It is based on five principles: defence must be effective, non-provocative, non-nuclear, legitimate, and set in the context of a world disarmament strategy. Members can get a full list of national membership and are encouraged to form local groups. The "suggested" subscription is £10 (including all publications, and presumably (?) for a year). Send for literature list and leaflet to Jean Hollis, 21 Union Street, Woodstock, Oxford OX7 1JF.

Women come to Greenham...

WOMEN ARE COMING TO GREENHAM...

on Sunday December 11 -

to surround the base
to refuse cruise
to make a sound around Greenham

If you came and embraced the base on 12th December last year, you will remember our feelings of strength and effectiveness. The networks created that day have not broken. They have spread all over the world, uniting and empowering women in our opposition to nuclear madness. In spite of all sorts of government and media attack, there is still a thriving women's peace camp at USAF Greenham Common; and there are now women all over Britain actively living our refusal to accept the threat of death imposed on us.

Join us on December 11 around the base, and every hour on the hour we will make a sound with voices and instruments, 1.00 - 5.00 pm. Silent, candlelight vigil 4.02 - 5.00. (Info: 0703 554434).

Come and reclaim and Greenham Common. We want to turn the base inside out and regain our common land. Bring mirrors, trees to plant, and any tools you may need.

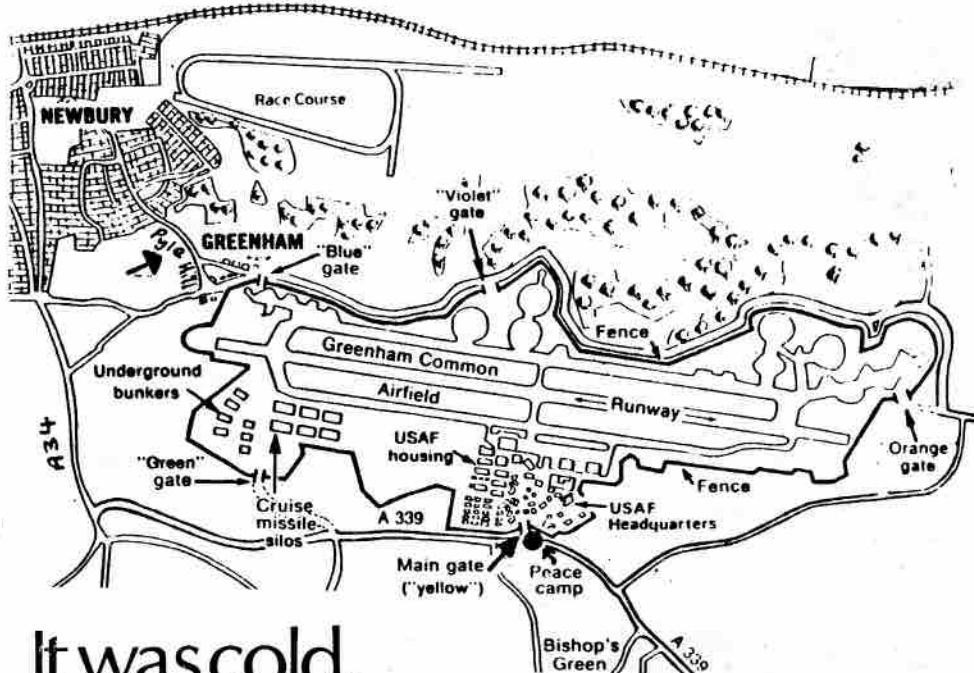
Women all over the world are saying the same things. We want an end to the arms race. We want to stop uranium being mined, transported and tampered with, bringing increased levels of radiation and cancer. Too many people have cancer and too many people are suffering poverty and starvation while billions a day are spent on weapons.

Cruise missiles are a symbol of this madness.

We want to get beyond the madness. Women come together. Share visions, fears, strategies, imagination and action, for now and the future. One world.



** The above information is reprinted from a leaflet and a poster issued by the Women's Peace Camp at Greenham Common.



It was cold, but the women were warm



We went to Greenham Common
It was cold but the women were warm
The child screamed all the way there
screamed with unknown three-year-old terror
angry with existence/with mother who allowed/
who drove relentlessly down the road.

Exhausted mothers we
disembarked
said a few hellos
wrote kind things & thankyou's in the visitors' book
drank cups of tea
read the letters in the local papers
letters that called them misguided harpies
unclean gypsies.....

Standing outside the gates
the mesh border of America in Berks
our appalled mouths opened
& no scream came

We have inadvertently allowed
the great machine to drive relentlessly
down the road

We must not be the mothers who allow
sometimes the scream goes too deep for sound.

Pat Van Twest
1982

** This is one of a number of poems by Pat Van Twest, Kenneth Patchen, Jeff Cloves, Dennis Gould, Clive Pig, Pat Isiorho, and others published in "Riff-Raff Poets no. 2", available price 50p from 67 Chiswell Green Lane, St Albans, Herts. The poets in question (Pat, Jeff, and Dennis among others) will entertain at your events - write for more information. Anyone who saw/heard them outside the Sunflower Café at the Green Gathering last summer won't need further recommendation.

NETWORK

Philippines Action Pack

The Philippines Support Group has produced an information/campaign pack of 80 leaflets and 8 posters to help people campaign around the issues referred to in Richard Hunt's article in this issue of GL. Send £2 to: Philippines Support Group, RM Box 758, London WC1N 3XX.

Gin Trap

Adverts for Gordon's Gin bearing the slogan "It's Got To Be" have been seen with the modified wording "Cruise - It's Got To Be Stopped"... pass it on!

Stockbroker Posters

Four posters of "Stockbrokers Against the Bomb" (joke!) used at Stop the City are available from Damp Squib Productions, 13 Cotswold Road, Bedminster, Bristol at £4 for the 4. Bulk rates.

Rainforest Stickers

A 4" sticker in four colours with the slogan "Don't Desert the Rainforest" is available from Malcolm Samuel, 99 Prospect Road, Portstewart, Co Derry, N Ireland: cost £1.50 for 10. Also leaflets (A4) at £2/100, one on N I energy policy and rainforests, the other on 'global representation' and ideas for federal government. Another sticker from Malcolm (same prices) carries a drawing of a flax plant and the logo: "Politics for Life - Northern Ireland ECO".

A Tale of Two Branches

Malcolm Samuel writes:

1970s - explosive growth of the New Plymouth branch of the New Zealand Values Party during the General Election parallels the emergence of this new party over a

very short period of time. Cork Friends of the Earth split from FoE Ireland in an independent devolutionist move, and end up being the only FoE group active in Ireland. Rapid growth of CND throughout Europe - also occurs in Cork.

1983 - Cork branch is running the Green Alliance, Ireland's equivalent of the Ecology Party. Activists believe that Cork will elect a TD (MP) before 1988. This would be the first green MP in the English-speaking world. New Plymouth branch struggles on, but with about 30 members it is still the most active branch in New Zealand.

(New Zealand uses the 'first past the post' system of voting: Ireland uses the Single Transferable Vote, which eliminates the concept of the wasted vote.)

GREEN GROUPS

New Look for Gathering

The Green Gathering Collective has re-named itself the Green Collective and is undertaking a series of projects next year. One group will organise a Green Roadshow, a Resources Group is to set up a Land Trust and an educational charity, and another group is organising a special Green Field at the 1984 CND Festival at Worthy Farm. The Green Earth Gathering (better known hitherto as the Green Gathering) is to lose its "far-out hippy image" with a new venue and a new date: the focus is to be more political, with a 'political marquee', guest speakers, etc. to balance the workshops and emphasis on personal growth.

For more information on any of these activities, phone David Taylor on 0480 63054.

To receive the Green Collective "Action Mailing" for a year, send £5 to Bruce Garrard, 4 Chase Crescent, Woodcutts, Salisbury, Wilts.

Forming Green Groups

Claire Phillips writes:

Green Groups are starting up all over Wales at the moment, and as Swansea was one of the original groups perhaps it would be helpful if I explained the aims of such groups and how they came to be formed.

Swansea Green Group grew out of a small Ecology Party branch. We felt that the appeal of the Ecology Party in Swansea was so limited that a wider grouping was necessary. The Ecology Party branch still exists to be used for elections, the Fair Votes Campaign, etc., but around it there is a wider group which is open to anyone with any interest in green issues. We receive information and speakers from FoE, Greenpeace, Transport 2000, and Ecoropa as well as from the Ecology Party. We now have a Transport Action Group and hope eventually to set up an Energy Group.

Our aim is to represent the green perspective in Swansea and to help build a green network within Wales. We feel that we have a better chance of survival if we broaden our base to include non-political greens or even other-party greens. Surely good people are too valuable to turn away - let's bring them in and get them working. If we do our job properly they'll join Eco eventually, so why reject them now?

We hope to put a resolution to this effect to the Eco conference in March. It will be rejected this time, as was Resolution 23 in September, but at least the idea will be in circulation. Unless the Ecology Party grasps the nettle and leads the green movement now, it will find itself left behind - a conventional minority party with marginal support. So: Libertarian Greens Unite - you have nothing to lose but your party-political chaos!

** Would other members of Green Groups like to share their differing experiences and notions of what Green Groups are and how to set them up? Write in now.

Green Students at Leeds

The newly-formed Green Society at Leeds University Students Union would like to make contact with other local groups and individuals. Contact them c/o Janice B Arthur, 36 Hartly Grove, Leeds 6 (Leeds 438380).

Norwich Peaceful Green Fair

A detailed report on the internal organisation, and some of the experiences, of the fair held at Norwich in July is available from Andrew, 143 Argyle Street, Norwich.

Autonomy Centre

The Autonomy Centre in Great Ancoats Street, Manchester, has closed down due to lack of funds.

Green Children

Genevieve Bridgeman writes:

Our name comes from the folk tale with which you may be familiar, and our initial aim is to bring into being a publication through which children can express and share their feelings about nuclear weapons and all the other environmental issues that affect their world and about which we know they feel strongly. What we need to do at the moment is contact children via their parents, teachers, etc. and ask them to contribute material in the form of stories, pictures, cartoons, jokes, poems or just their thoughts about anything that concerns them. If we get a response then we shall proceed to the next step which will be to find out about how one goes about getting things into print. In the meantime it would be really helpful if we could reach some of those parents and teachers through the pages of GL.

Write to Green Children, c/o 25 Rathcoole Avenue, London N8 9LY. (Enclose s.a.e. if you want a reply.)

Beacons at the Winter Solstice

Our ancestors lit fires at the winter solstice as imitative magic - to call back the sun from the dark depths that it might again warm the earth and awaken nature. Ancient hilltop sites and beacons can be used again for this purpose on December 21, at a time when the forces of darkness and destruction are rife; to add to the symbolism, beacons could also be lit overlooking bases and other military installations.

More ideas, and a suggested form of celebration, are on a leaflet put out by Richard Fabford: send him a s.a.e. at Paegle Cottage, The Street, Icklingham, Bury St Edmunds, Suffolk (Mildenhall 716556).

Die Grünen Manifesto in English

The Federal Programme on which the West German Greens fought the general election of March 1983 has now been published in English translation by Heretic Books. From radical bookshops price £1.50, or £1.70 post paid from Green Line.



Women and the Ecology Party

is the title of a new working party formed by women members of the Ecology Party. In the latest issue of Econews, the party's newsletter, the group say: "The domination of committees, working parties and party council by men and the overwhelming preponderance of male speakers at conferences are an embarrassment to a party whose idea of a healthy society is one that 'redresses the balance between the feminine and the masculine' (Manifesto, page 19); but so is the conspicuous failure of that manifesto to make any clear statement about women's oppression and the patriarchy. Women can hardly be blamed if they come to the conclusion that, for all the lip service that is paid to feminine values, the Ecology Party is only another male-dominated political organisation."

Four out of the 22 members of the Party Council are women. All committees are chaired by men: of 22 'party officers' only the editor of Econews and the publications manager are women. The position of women in the party is to be discussed at the next conference - in Southport on March 22-25.

God's Green World

is the title of a pamphlet recently published by the Christian Ecology Group. It includes chapters on the wholeness of creation, the feminine part of humanity, power structures, animal rights, and Christian economics. The Group draws support from members of most main churches and several

Where Have All The Women Gone?

Two women have asked us, while renewing their subscriptions to GL, why we have so few women writing for the magazine.

Most of our articles originate as unsolicited manuscripts or are written at the author's suggestion. So perhaps GL is perceived as an old-style magazine, the proper province of males. Yet the whole green 'thing' is most certainly immediately attractive to women, who seem to grasp the essence of it more readily than men.

We did try at the outset to ensure regular articles from women at the core of the Women for Life on Earth (WFLOE) network. What came was good, but there's been nothing for a long time now! We are responsible for asking a man (Jonathon Porritt) to interview two men (Tony Benn and now Raymond Williams: sorry, we'll correct the balance - but will YOU make suggestions or offers? (At present we've got more men eager to do interviews!))

Is GL just as unapproachable for women as the rest of the media? "Women like to be asked," one green feminist told us. But that's a cop-out: we can't just ask our friends to write, GL is a movement magazine and we're committed to printing as many as possible of those articles and other bits and pieces people (men!) keep sending in. We print virtually all the letters we get: in the last 3 issues we've published 25 letters from readers, 4 of them from women.

We'd like your views on all this, and the issues it raises, for a forum in the next issue...

political parties. Its dual concern is to spread awareness of ecology among Christians, and to witness to the Christian faith among Britain's greens.

"God's Green World" is available price £1 from CEG, 58 Quest Hills Road, Malvern, Worcs. A free leaflet about the Group is also available for a s.a.e.



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