

# GREEN LINE

Magazine of the Green Movement

SERA-GREEN CND  
CONFERENCE  
RAYMOND WILLIAMS  
POLAND IN WINTER  
IN INDIA  
No.19  
FEB '84  
30p



**POLISH WOMEN  
ARE TWO STEPS**

**BEHIND AND  
ALMOST INVISIBLE**

JIJUANOWI MARCHLEWSKIEMU  
NIEZŁOMNEMU REWOLUCJONISZCIE  
MIASTO WALKI I PRACY



WELCOME TO GREEN LINE!  
We are part of a diverse but converging movement, independent of any one group or organisation: writers and readers alike share the discovery of what is in essence "green", and what brings them together.

# GREEN LINE

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A common understanding of the absolute need to respect all creation, and never to become so obsessed with the detail as to lose sight of the whole, inspires a visionary approach to life.

In this issue we conclude the interview which Raymond Williams gave to Jonathon Porritt for Green Line - our thanks to both of them for taking part. For lack of space we have not been able to print the Susan Griffin Schumacher lecture: it's very long, and we hope to start it next month. Very few people responded to our invitation to consider the reluctance of women to contribute to GL - see the Letters pages this issue. We still hope to hear from more of you on this.

**DEADLINES:** Published monthly on the 1st. If you want to write an article, consult us as long in advance as possible. We do welcome unsolicited articles, but please don't ask for them back: it's often months before we have space anyway, and if you want a copy, make one before sending it. Phone items for Network or the Events listing up to the 25th, but best to put them in writing earlier.

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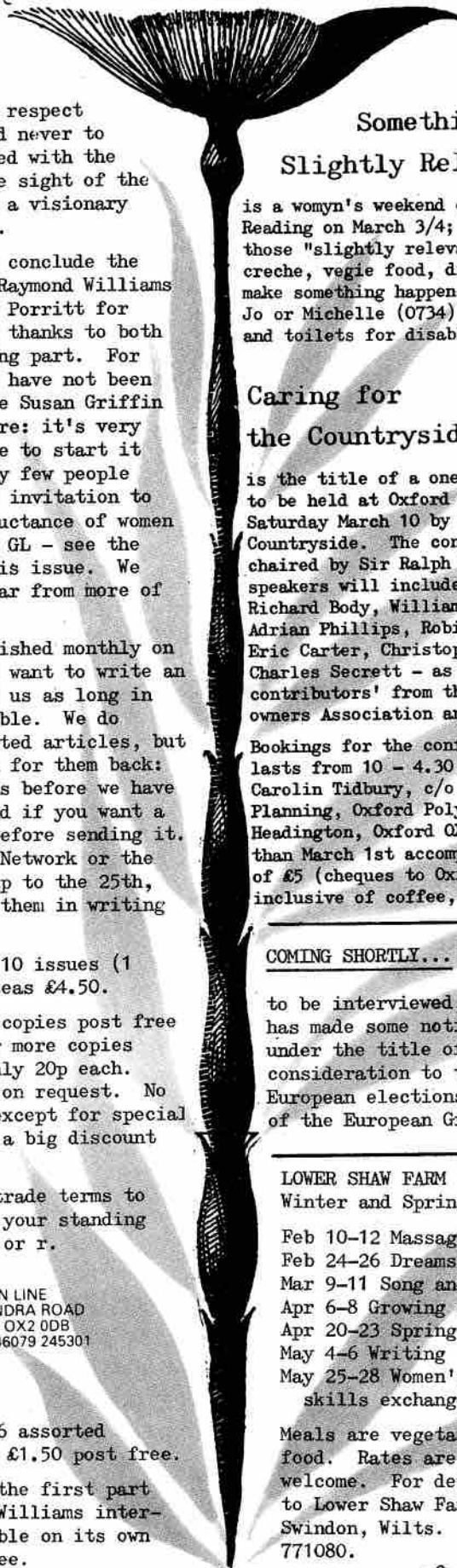
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## BACK ISSUES

Special offer: 6 assorted back issues for £1.50 post free.

Issue 18, with the first part of the Raymond Williams interview, is available on its own for 40p post free.



## Something Slightly Relevant

is a womyn's weekend conference in Reading on March 3/4; workshops on all those "slightly relevant" subjects, creche, vegie food, disco... Help make something happen here! Details: Jo or Michelle (0734) 666681. Access and toilets for disabled.

## Caring for the Countryside

is the title of a one-day conference to be held at Oxford Polytechnic on Saturday March 10 by the Oxfordshire Countryside. The conference will be chaired by Sir Ralph Verney, and speakers will include Lord Melchett, Richard Body, William Wilkinson, Adrian Phillips, Robin Grove-White, Eric Carter, Christopher Hall, and Charles Secrett - as well as 'key contributors' from the Country Landowners Association and the NFU.

Bookings for the conference, which lasts from 10 - 4.30, must reach Carolin Tidbury, c/o Dept of Town Planning, Oxford Polytechnic, Headington, Oxford OX3 0BP, not later than March 1st accompanied by a fee of £5 (cheques to Oxford Polytechnic) inclusive of coffee, lunch and tea.

**COMING SHORTLY...** After Susan Griffin's lecture, we should have room for our next interview: Peter Tatchell has agreed to be interviewed, and Jean Lambert has agreed to interview. Tatchell has made some noticeably green remarks of late, and is giving speeches under the title of "Green Socialism". We shall also be giving some consideration to the question of Europe, given the approach of the European elections in June, and will publish the joint policy statement of the European Green Parties. Stay with us...

**LOWER SHAW FARM**  
Winter and Spring Programme

Feb 10-12 Massage  
Feb 24-26 Dreams  
Mar 9-11 Song and Circle Dance  
Apr 6-8 Growing and Using Herbs  
Apr 20-23 Spring Celebration  
May 4-6 Writing  
May 25-28 Women's Weekend:  
skills exchange.

Meals are vegetarian, whole-food. Rates are low. Children welcome. For details send sae to Lower Shaw Farm, Shaw, near Swindon, Wilts. Tel (0793) 771080.

# EVENTS

## Stop the City - Mk II

Thursday March 29 is Harrisburg Day. It's also the day in the City of London when the profits for 1983/4 are reckoned up. London Greenpeace are organising (initiating is perhaps a better word) a protest/carnival in the City for that day.

The object will be to publicise the role of finance, not only in the international trade in weaponry, but also in the creation of poverty, ecological destruction, international repression, and in human and animal exploitation. The occasion will offer many different movements an opportunity to come together and highlight the major role played by profit in the destructive decisions which affect us all.

Up-to-date information from London Greenpeace, 6 Endsleigh Street, London WC1.

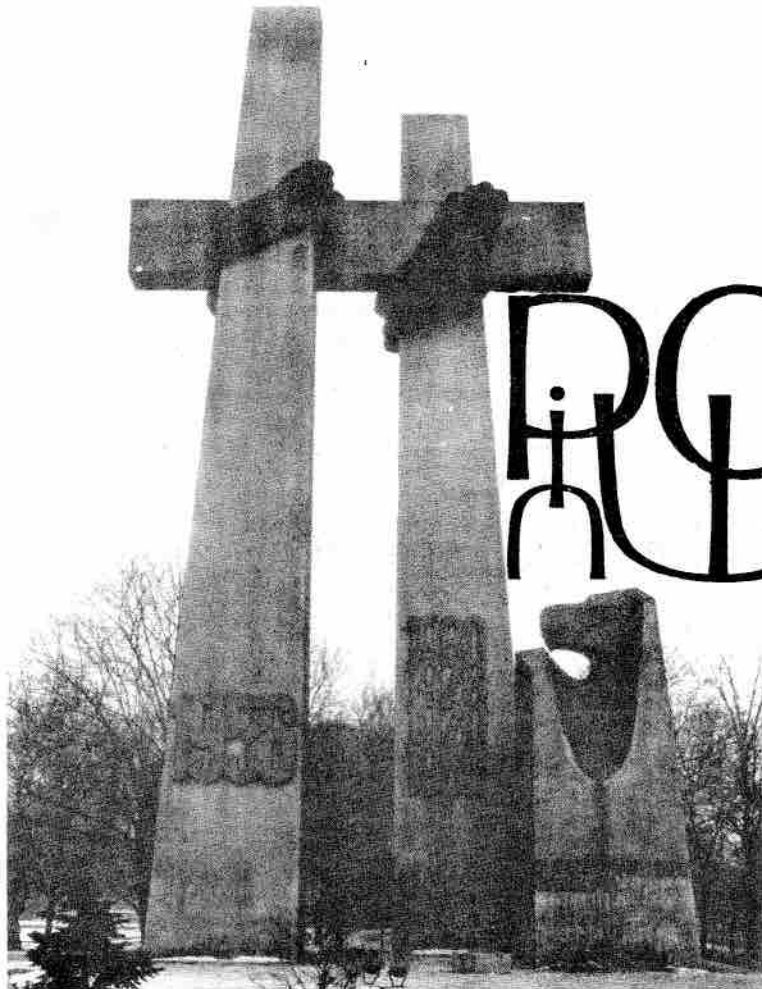
## The Ride for Life

is a cycle ride starting and finishing in Swansea, 630 miles long and keeping as close as possible to the coast and border of Wales. It hopes to raise money and create publicity for a number of green causes, with supporters along the way staging back-up events and local publicity. Overnight stops (accommodation needed!) are Carmarthen, St Davids, Aberystwyth, Porthmadog, Bangor, Colwyn Bay, Wrexham, Knighton and Newport. Help and information: Tony Fletcher, Swansea 468500 (work) and 49825 (home). Dates: April 27 to May 6.

# Small Ads

5p/word

**JOB WANTED**, in co-operative or small company involved with alternative technology, by disillusioned finalist student in materials engineering, graduating in 1984. Will be available from September 1984: all offers considered. Contact: Graham Hooper, Eggington Court, University of Technology, Loughborough, Leics.



# ROPLAFTER

There is no peace movement in the sense that we know it in Poland.

## SOCIALISM AND SOLIDARITY

Solidarity still lives, at least in the minds and hearts of Polish people. Its precise role now is rather restricted, even on an underground level. However the Poles remember the length of time previous struggles took, and their monuments are graphic witness to this with all the dates inscribed on them. A number of former Solidarity activists commented that their chief problem was the all-pervasive nature of the bureaucratic state, and that Solidarity's chief error had been to attempt to set up as the "complete alternative" so taking on some of the opposition's attributes.

Instead a more decentralist, building-from-the-grassroots approach has been adopted, ex-Solidarity activists whose activism threatened their livelihood - since the state or one of its agencies employs the vast majority of people - have left and started their own businesses rather than risk dismissal from their jobs. Private business was legalised under Solidarity, so architects are going into private practice and others are opening restaurants, clothes shops, etc. This may not sound the most progressive of political activities to westerners, but in Poland it serves the dual function of safeguarding political independence through economic independence and "opening up the economic spaces" in Poland.

## WORK AND INDUSTRY

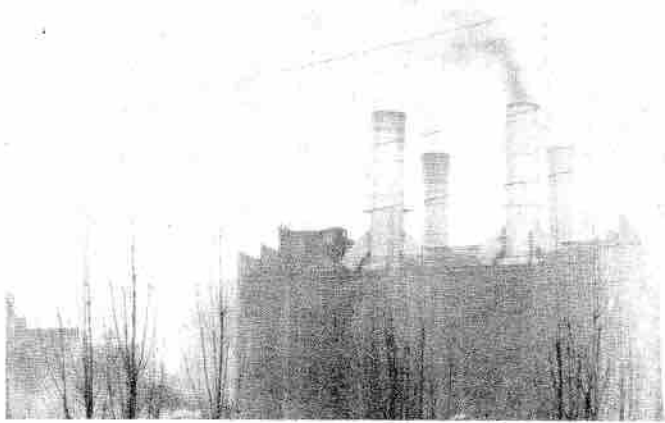
The major problems reported in the western media are basically true. Much of what is produced is exported, west or to the Soviet Union, causing chronic shortages of almost everything in the shops. Rationing is all-pervasive, and queuing is a national past-time. Some busier people actually employ others as "queuers", and almost everyone uses their elderly relatives for some things. Alienation from the production process is extraordinary: the streets are often packed with people during working hours. If they hear of something unusual - like shoes - coming on the market that day, they just leave their work and go and queue. Why work when

TRAVELLING IN Poland as a social observer with a socialist background, a green perspective, and a tradition of activism in the peace movement is a rather salutary experience. The upheavals in Poland over the last few years may have changed things a lot, but the social and political landscape remains extremely unfamiliar to Western observers. I'll review a few areas of concern to Green Line readers to indicate how things are developing in Poland.

## THE PEACE MOVEMENT

The Poles dislike the Russians intensely. Comments such as "the so-called liberation of 1945" are quite common, others remark that since 1945 "the borders of Asia have moved west." The Poles see themselves as a European nation, resent Russian ways ("bureaucratic, Byzantine") and are strongly pro-western as a consequence.

Their idea of an effective peace movement is anyone who stands up to the Russians, so Mrs Thatcher and Chancellor Kohl are considered to be wonderful, and the peace movements in the West are at best naive. This attitude isn't helped by the fact that the western peace movement is given extensive coverage on Polish TV - and Poles automatically distrust anything given blessing by the official media. Two indications of the feeling in the country: the graffiti in Gdansk says "Mr Reagan, congratulations on Grenada; when is it our turn?", and a well-informed Marxist commentator in Warsaw estimated that in free elections tomorrow a likely result would be Christian Democrats 55%, Socialist/Social Democrats 35%, Communists 10%.



Power station pollution in Lodz city centre

you can never see the fruits of your labours?

From my limited experience I noticed chronic lack of investment in industry - much machinery is 50 years old or more, employing 10 times as many people as we would in Britain, and thus keeping both unemployment and wages down. No attempt is made to control industrial pollution. Several major cities I visited had coal-burning power stations right in the centre of town, pouring out black smoke. Visibility in central Lodz was about 250 metres and cars had their headlights on at midday: outside the town, with the temperature at -5° C, no wind, and clear blue skies, the visibility was 30 km. Apparently the "policy" to combat acid rain in Poland is "to plant acid rain resistant trees in future." Bronchitis and throat cancers, particularly amongst children, are 10 times the national average in Lodz.

## THE CHURCH

The Church is the official opposition in Poland, and as such is itself in a contradictory position. 95% of Poles attend church regularly, including many atheists I met. The Church plays an important cultural, political and social role in Poland as well as a spiritual one. Culturally it was the bastion of "Polishness" when Poland was divided up between Russia, Germany and Austro-Hungary before 1918. It is still seen as an important cultural force.

Politically and socially the Church acts as an important alternative power centre in Poland. This is graphically demonstrated in many of the new housing estates on the edge of the towns. The government puts up enormous estates housing upwards of 100,000 people in tower blocks. They provide no social or other facilities whatever. Since 1978 the Church has been allowed to build new churches, and after the procedures of design, site location etc. they are now in many cases in an advanced stage of construction. The structures are much more than churches as we know them. Underneath the main building are complexes of meeting rooms, kitchens, wood and metal workshops, garages, food

storage areas, even vehicle repair bays with pits, arc welding equipment, etc. - facilities that could be very useful in times of tension. The churches themselves are in stark contrast to the poor-quality housing around them - no expense is spared, wrought iron, oak doors, roofs sheathed in pure copper. Such extravagance could well rebound in a few years, making useful propaganda for an anti-clerical campaign aimed at this high living. The structures themselves are enormous and designed to hold 5,000+ people at a service. Rising to 50 metres or more they tower above the surrounding tower blocks. When I asked one site foreman why they were on a grand scale, he replied: "To show the communists we can do it."

## THE POSITION OF WOMEN

Not surprisingly in such a Catholic country women are revered as saints and treated as slaves at the same time. The position of women is startling to someone from the west. In professional circles many women hold good jobs, and I would estimate in a higher proportion than in the west - doctors, accountants, etc. But whatever their status women are expected to do everything in the home, shop, cook, rear children, decorate the house. Several men I spoke to when asking about things like rationing explained that they had never been shopping so didn't know about such things as prices, availability, etc. One man, after explaining how he bribed a headmaster to get his child moved from one school to another, explained that he had never visited his daughter's school - women's work. Another, a well-known architect, claimed to have "two left hands" and so had never cooked a meal for his family. This was all quite unexceptional in Poland, even amongst "advanced" intellectuals.



In conclusion: Poland is a country full of life and vitality where most of the population have a healthy scepticism of their rulers - both in Warsaw and Moscow - and enjoy giving them a hard time when they can. They are also realists; 400 years of colonisation from one direction or another have taught them that, and they recognise the need for the Soviet Union to have a buffer state (them). They look first for changes there. In the meantime they live for tomorrow to a greater degree than we do, and make a joke out of their shortages and the antics of bureaucracy. There is some recognition of a "green" perspective to life: many Poles are ex-peasants who rail against the way that uncontrolled industrialisation is destroying their lives and their country, but short-term survival is still more important than long-term dreams.

Martin Stott

\*\* Martin Stott was a guest at the Department of Urban Economics, University of Lodz, in December 1983.

# FOUR VIEWS OF THE SERA- GREEN CND CONFERENCE

## Jenny Blake

THE FIRST joint conference of SERA and Green CND took place at Coventry Polytechnic during the weekend of November 12/13 1983. Over 100 people came from all over the country to discuss the theme "Socialism and the Green Movement". There were people from the Labour Party, SERA, Green CND, the Ecology Party, the Liberal Party, and other non-aligned green groups. From the start it was intended to discuss what Reds and Greens have in common, and where we can go from there.

The conference started in the main lecture theatre with the linking of hands in silence for a two minute attunement. Then the conference dispersed for the first workshop where the theme was the relationship between socialism and the green movement. What do we mean by socialism? What do we mean by green? Which socialist traditions are nearest to the green movement? What are the historical origins of the green movement? It soon became obvious that the ideas of the Utopian and Christian socialists, Fourier and Edward Carpenter, the anarchists, and the working class rambling groups have inspired both socialists and greens. The idea of production for social use was common to both, though the emphasis on economic growth would prove a stumbling block which was unlikely to be resolved that weekend.

After lunch the first two workshops. The first sessions held were on subjects like industrialism and growth, the future of work, the multinationals. The idea of these workshops was a general introduction to the overall economic strategy of socialists and greens with the emphasis on long-term rather than short-term aims. The second group of workshop themes included alternative defence,

food and agriculture, health; and the emphasis was on bridging the long and short term objectives.

The evening session on working in the trade unions was in my opinion the highlight of the conference. Martin Stott chaired a discussion between Judith Cook, a journalist, and Les Felton, Vice-President of ASLEF. Judith Cook spoke on the campaign of the Agricultural Workers' Union to ban 2,4,5-T, and how health and safety officers of several unions were now working together to ban other pesticides. Les Felton spoke on the campaign by the transport unions to ban the dumping of nuclear waste into the sea. It was encouraging to realise that when the Thatcher government is so opposed to green issues and Trade Union morale is low, green campaigns can be successful.

Two more choices of workshops were held the next day. These included transport, trade unions, pollution, women in politics, decentralisation in local government. These workshops concentrated on short-term issues, without losing sight of long-term aims.

The conference then returned to the original workshops where the issues of socialism and the green movement had first been discussed. Here it was felt that in spite of the differences between socialists and greens, they also had much in common.

The conference ended as it had begun with two minutes attuning. There was a feeling that much common ground had been realised. Reform of the electoral system had been left undiscussed. The conference with ideas of short-term campaigns and long-term strategy, and whether green alliances could be formed throughout the country. One thing was certain and that was the need for another conference - perhaps this year.

## John Morrissey

THE "WIDER Green Movement" has often seemed more a neat journalistic concept than a working political reality. A bleak November weekend at Coventry's down-at-heel Lanchester Polytechnic discussing "Socialism and the Green Movement" might not have been many people's idea of entertainment. However, for the political connoisseur, the promise of fascination was there. Could Reds and Greens together achieve anything better than the hurling of ritual insults from behind ideological barricades?

The conference failed in one of its aims almost immediately. Attempts to define the differences between green politics and socialism rapidly collapsed as we discovered they were much smaller than we had anticipated. However, as Paul Ekins

commented, this was only to be expected from a self-selected group of pinkish greens and greenish socialists. In Thatcher's Britain both groups have their backs to the wall, and we have nothing to lose by staying on our best behaviour and listening to what the other has to say.

The programme, consisting almost entirely of workshops, was immediately appealing. The principle of Des Wilson's "Green Rallies", the ecological megastars held up for worship by the adoring multitudes, was completely absent. Most people function best, and co-operate best, in small groups. Some of the workshops were too large, and consequently a little intimidating; and some of the "facilitators", including myself, had too little time to do their homework properly. But you can't have everything. The workshops were notably self-disciplined, and few were drowned by the sound of hobbyhorses being furiously ridden.

Part of the success of the conference lay in its almost deliberate attempt to avoid the most divisive issues. There was no workshop on "Economics", although "Work", "Money", "Industrialisation", and "Land" were discussed. The real crunch, comparison of our separate and distinctive economic analyses, was therefore avoided. Discussion was concerned mainly with problems rather than solutions, and the conclusions were often comfortably open-ended and ill-defined. If we had been required to produce a communique, or a statement of common intent, we would have been in trouble. However, no one expects to consummate their relationship on their first date.

Greens discovered that all radicals and socialists are not members of the Militant Tendency, or even of

the Labour Party. For our part, we attempted to dispel notions of the woolly-headed lentil-stirrers of legend, intent on forming a mass movement by sitting in a Somerset field thinking about it. In the process we nudged ourselves a little closer into the political mainstream, and the mainstream moved a little nearer to us.

The question "Where Do We Go From Here?" was one of many the conference deemed it prudent not to answer. Newly formed and fragile relationships should avoid such pressures. However, by one of the neat circularities of history, the same Coventry which ten years ago failed to notice the birth of the Ecology Party may, in 1983, again have failed to detect the first stirrings of a broadly-based Green Movement.



## Ken Hawkins

LIKE, I suspect, a lot of others, I went to Coventry with a handful of ideas and general feelings about socialist and green issues, but few specific thoughts and only a partial appreciation of the problem. In short, I had a bit to give and a lot to learn. At the close of the conference, I felt I had done both, and in so doing had had one of the most stimulating experiences for a long time.

There was much sharing and pleasantly little dogmatism or divisiveness. In part I believe this to be because fundamentally socialism and the green movement are about the same things and follow from the same principles. (In addition, of course, those attending would be predisposed to fairly common views: but there was also a general determination to find agreement rather than dispute.) Although some, probably those involved more deeply and/or for some time, were anxious to reach decisions about what we should do, for most of us it was a chance to talk through philosophies and principles and bounce ideas off each other. As we get down to more detail, to plan specific actions and policies, differences will arise, if only on priorities.

One area of potential disagreement was how we work for our common ideals. Should we work in a joint red/green forum? Or should we go back to our separate organisations (those of us belonging to one or more) and try to win converts? It's too easy to say both: there has to be some priority for individuals if not for the red/green movement as a whole. (Speaking as an equal mixture of red and green, I believe that the best way forward now is to

work on my own organisation - the Labour Party - and raise green awareness.) It will obviously be better if whatever we do can be co-ordinated to give mutual support, and I hope this may be discussed at one of the future occasions we all felt would be useful.

Having identified a difference, the clear aura of the weekend must be represented by essentially common feelings. My experiences are best summed up by one pervasive idea: personal responsibility and rights. In technology, health, education, and local government discussions, the common element was a need for the absolute right of an individual to make informed decisions about issues which affect her/him. This seems to me to tie in the greens' feelings about human scale with the reds' respect for individual freedom. (I think that accusations of state centralism by Labour are as irrelevant as accusations of greens wanting everyone to become peasants: there are elements which claim the words red and green which we would all reject.)

This issue links into the question of experts and their necessity/desirability: and this in turn raises fundamental points about education - of whom? by whom? for what?. The difficulty here, as in many other matters, is where to start. Rejection of whole social systems seems impossible, yet alteration of parts against the opposition of capital/financial interests merely gives the system the chance to build better defences.

I have no answers, but the conference did, for me, raise many questions; and asking the right question is a necessary condition for reaching an answer. I look forward to developing ideas in a further red/green forum - and in my own organisations!



## Katy Zeserson

ON ARRIVAL at the registration desk, I was briskly asked "Red or green?" "Um aah, well, green I suppose" - and off I went to the opening workshop "Socialism and the Green Movement" wondering who I was meant to be. I had come from neither camp, but as the weekend unfolded I felt a pleasant sense of homecoming and pitched myself somewhere at the redder end of green. The conference was about exploration and discovery of each other's philoso-

phies, rather than about specific plans or ways of working. That suited me, although some people found it too vague. Throughout there was a sense of "we're all on the same side against a common enemy, so let's not squabble" - which meant that potentially thorny areas of debate tended to be skirted in the interest of discovering common ground. My sense is that real progress in understanding was made. At the final session, one speaker had discovered that greenness was an essential strand of socialism - and yes, someone else that socialism was an essential strand of greenness...

With the exception of an excellent plenary Saturday night on trade unions and the green movement, there were no large sessions until the very end. I went to workshops on industrialisation and industrial growth (only 3 women present out of 25: come on women, we need to break out of our historic ignorance of 'economics'), peace/alternative defence, education, and women in politics. Discussion in the first ranged from "what is growth?" to the pros and cons of national self-sufficiency, through a discussion on work and employment, and one on consumerism. Socialists and greens shared views and at times synthesised them. The main problem was that to shift from our present industrial philosophy to an ecologically sustainable and equitably satisfying one is so complex that we tend to wield certain phrases like magic shields or talismans - co-operatives, socially useful production, trade union reform - rather than looking at whether those concepts can actually be real in this society or whether we would have to be completely revolutionised first.

The peace/alternative defence group was my favourite although ludicrously short for the task we attempted: the facilitators gave us 6 questions like "What are the root causes of war?", "What would a nonviolent defence policy look like?", etc. to which we all wrote a few lines in answer and then discussed them. This was a very "green" workshop - we started with attunement, and spoke throughout in a circle. It was fascinating. The reds amongst us put forward the traditional socialist analysis that war is rooted in economic oppression and the capitalist system, while others talked about personal qualities extrapolatable to government actions such as fear, insecurity, greed, and so on. Both sides were at times

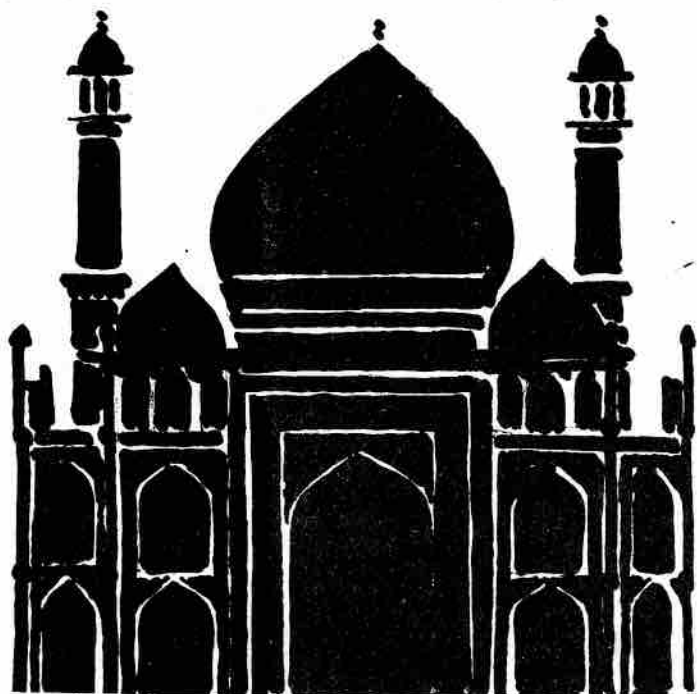
contemptuous and at times amazed by the other, and in the end I think we all learned a lot from each other - not least how different the analyses of people sharing a common goal can be.

The education workshop looked at alternative situations for learning - free schools, learning exchanges, resource centres, and generally discussed the hopelessness of schools and the craziness of the exam system. We examined what education in our society sees as its aim, and what learning could be in an ideal society. It was a fairly meandering discussion with people of widely different backgrounds and interests. Good feeling.

The women in politics workshop was far too short. There's so much to talk about when you look at the absence of women in politics, or what it is that women might have to offer as women to political/community organisation. We felt that feminism had a great deal to share with a red/green alliance in the way of a co-operative approach to organisation, attention paid to process rather than just product, non-competitive and more generous styles of leadership. If leadership's necessary at all... watch the working party on women in the Ecology Party for action.

I really enjoyed myself. I think the best bits were the breaks, where chat was uninhibited by topic and people could meet each other - the refectory buzzed as people dropped their prejudices (all greens are vague spiritualists; all reds are obsessed with state control) and made surprising discoveries - the anarchism of Young Liberals, the flexibility of trade unionists, the pragmatism of pacifists. Next time perhaps more specific workshop aims, fewer and longer sessions, and a social gathering in the evening!

# IN INDIA



MIKE HANCOCK is spending the winter in India. This is the first of several reports and articles from him which we shall publish over the next few months.

IN THE last couple of months the Indian media, largely controlled by the government and the big business houses, has focussed on three issues affecting both India and Britain: the Royal visit to India, the Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting in Delhi and Goa, and the arrival of Cruise and Pershing in Europe. These issues have one thing in common: they show the continued influence of Britain on its former colony, both elite and mass, usually giving one clear message - "The West is the Best". In the light of the limiting and often distorting perspective given by the British media during during the Falklands War, what is the Indian side of these stories and how does it differ from that served up on British breakfast tables and televisions?

Bear in mind one statement made to me by a dissenting radical: "The Britishers created the myth that Westernisation was the way to success, and they were superior because they were modernised. People cannot destroy their own myths; it has to be done by others. The only way India can destroy the myth is by witnessing the collapse of the Western system. That must happen."

Back in November the Queen and Prince Philip paid India a cursory visit, an occasion for all the

pomp the new Empress India could muster. The facade of progress was dragged out and the couple's only expeditions into the country were Prince Philip's tour of the game reserves (sorry, wildlife sanctuaries) and the Queen's sortie to the "International Crops Research Institute for the Semi-Arid Tropics" (ICRISAT) near Hyderabad - a giant foreign hybrid seed and "advanced" seed agriculture combine which has not learnt the lesson of the Green Revolution, that poverty is a political problem and hybrid seeds create only a new hybrid landed class.

## Royalty

There are two sides to British royalty in India: the official view which inflates Mrs Gandhi on the screen and page into one who "can boast of being entertained at Buckingham Palace" (The Statesman) and who leads the Indian advance through bodies like ICRISAT, and the public reaction which clings to the colonial past as if British rule had been a mutually beneficial arrangement. "Your Queen Victoria is in our country," said one man, smiling proudly. In writing of India's "imperial obsession" The Statesman continued:

"England is the world; the modest and hard-working Queen personifies the haut monde establishment; and all the legends that have been handed down to us about stiff upper lips, playing the game, and never kicking a man when he is down are warp and woof of our jealously guarded cultural heritage."

Maybe when Britain begins to cleanse itself and faces up to its corrupt and exploitative past and the putrid skull beneath the colonial stiff upper lip, when the statues of Clive and Churchill and all our colonial retrospection are destroyed, India will free itself of its misguided respect and aping of its old ruler.

In the footsteps of the royal visit and NAM, CHOGM (or "chewing gum" as its known in Goa) came as the stage for the exhibition of Mrs Gandhi as a world leader. Just as the slums were blocked from the leaders' view en route by grass mats, flower pots, and often demolition, so the media smoothed over the surface because (as a lone dissenting paper put it) "not a single pebble may hurt the backsides of these VIPs" or Mrs Gandhi.

## Goan bean feast

For days the papers and government cinema news film were full of Pierre Trudeau water-skiing, Thatcher bestowing the status of "leading industrial nation" on India, and always Mrs Gandhi masterminding the show and, by implication, the country, every inch the new Empress. If elections are won easily enough in Britain through the media's respect for not taking U-turns, in India the imagery is everything - backed up by the vote-banks. Mrs Gandhi has initiated a new plan to bring a television to every village in India where it will sit preaching by the local temple - Big Sister is coming and She is India's future.

In Goa, where the commonwealth leaders had a retreat, the response was a bit different. For 48 hours of international prestige a sum equal to

half the Goan budget for 1983 was spent on everything from imported T-bone steak and squash courts to French wine and helipads. Coconut-bearing lands were requisitioned, the hippes were moved up the coast, and the lucrative contracts went to outsiders. Complaints under Article 39 of the Constitution on local benefits from local resources are ignored as Goan development funds for 2 years are thrown down the political drain. The only practical outcome yet to arise; it has been suggested that the twelve helipads may be converted into buffalo stalls.

Just as the Queen's visit cost a fortune and effectively ensured one for the ruling powers by bestowing "royalty" upon Mrs Gandhi, so CHOGM meant one less brick in the wall-less slums of Goa and the security of the succession to the next of the Nehru dynasty, Rajiv Gandhi. After its departure from India, Britain is now backing the Indian Raj.

## The Bomb

And so to the Bomb, which was another problem which CHOGM came to friendly agreement on. To read the Indian newspapers is to believe that the end is nigh - all the points of no return are crossed in sterile succession. Most news from outside the sub-continent is about the Bomb or some more personal war, and headlines like "Moscow Strikes Back" send you rushing for the nearest church - and there aren't many. As yet the issue has not largely been personalised - it is something happening "over there", but almost everyone knows about it. Some tribals in one of the most isolated parts of the country mentioned "the Bomb" to me and followed it with "America, America." (honestly). Heroic speeches are made by Mrs Gandhi on the lunacy of the superpowers, as India's own nuclear programme almost certainly goes on at its own secret pace. Come the next election Pakistan might well get a shock a la Falklands.

But what is really frightening is that the Indian media and its readers (including me) approach the subject with an air of detached objectivity which can never be reached in Britain. India does not see itself as "involved" in the way Britain does. The consequence is a horrifically panoramic view of your own home preparing for war, just as you might read of the steps towards the fall of Rome. The same historical objectivity (as far as it can ever be) is shown over the nuclear issue. I quote from the December 11 edition of The Illustrated Weekly of India, one of many articles I could have chosen. It begins:

"As I write this, Europe prepares for a perilous Christmas, inflamed by winds of war."

And ends:

"While metaphysical debates acquire the cold elegance of medieval casuistry, the spectre of a nuclear shoot-out that would reduce Western Europe to the most curious rubble in recorded history becomes incredibly clear... The editor of this magazine, in his honest faith in peace, promotes the idea of disarmament. But as my young son asks me with disarming cynicism: what difference does it make?"

Is it really that bad?

Mike Hancock



# RAYMOND WILLIAMS Part 2

## Interviewed by Jonathon Porritt

THIS IS the second half of Jonathon Porritt's interview with Raymond Williams. Part One was printed in GL 18 and is available from Green Line price 40p post free. The interview was occasioned by the publication of "Towards 2000" (Chatto and Windus, £9.95)

JP In the book you were looking at the different movements - the women's movement, the ecology movement, the peace movement - and you were saying that the history of those movements tended to indicate that they started off and were influential because they were not the direct product of class-based politics. That may be one of the difficulties in your analysis because if they are to get some position of influence in society through conventional methods, how do you think those groups can go further than they are now? In what ways can they actually become more than minority pressure groups?

RW This is appallingly difficult. There is a general crisis of the whole left and radical tradition, which is so visibly losing its old ground that the only hope I can see is that they will listen to what the new movements are saying; and that there in a body of people organised already in these ways and believing themselves firmly committed to making a different society, we find that the means to it are different from those that they inherited. Because otherwise you can go a very long way on particular causes and (unevenly but still impressively) promote new issues and start new campaigns: but while the system still operates through the old institutions in these remorselessly quantitative ways, it's very difficult to get beyond that and to get beyond the kind of political commentary which keeps pushing the central issues of our own time and the immediate future into the margin, as if these were marginal issues and the real issues were the ones they define because they're used to them from the old politics.

JP But wouldn't that even happen to ecology and the new feminist outlook if they were assimilated into the existing political parties? Would they not be subject to the same kind of colonisation?

RW Well, I've always been opposed to petitioning the old parties to take up some issue: the trouble is, if it suits them they will and it disappears or it really is incorporated! On the other hand you know the argument; if you've got a loaded electoral system towards the old institutions, and if that system then goes further - as it's now proposing - actually increasing the cost of intervention in their kind of politics, cruel and stupid proposals like raising the deposit to keep the game to themselves... There are possibilities: the two Alliance parties for their own reasons have an interest in changing the electoral system; and undoubtedly the situation of groupings which would in that case be able to exercise some influence. But I'm not pretending it's easy. I do

think that the campaigns should maintain themselves in their own terms at the level of campaigns, because otherwise they'd just be bundled up with other issues and they'd become subordinate or specialist branches. The real problem is beyond that. If one says that each of these movements is getting to the point where there is the core of a new kind of politics, or a challenge to the old kind of politics, as the necessary conclusion of their own serious development, then it isn't a case of being able to insert and exercise pressure within this system: it is a case of foreseeing some institutional political changes. And I don't know: I think this is going to be very difficult to bring about, except that a shift away from the old kind of politics does seem to be happening generationally.

JP And in that shift would you include a shift away from the very idea of a political party? You make it very clear that the problem about the political parties is that they continue to represent the old ideas and interests. Would it be fair to say then that some of these changes will be non-party political changes, that they'll be changes of a different nature?


### NON-PARTY CHANGE

RW I very much hope so. The difficulty with that is that as you approach that definition, people say "Ah! You're against parliamentary democracy, you're against voting, you're a secret tyrant or a tyrant-lover." It's all very well for Sartre to announce in the way that the grand French intellectuals have that the political party is a dinosaur. He's quite right, it does belong to a past period in those terms, but that is precisely the grand French intellectual manner, that when you see that intellectually and historically it has outlived its usefulness in its existing forms you still have the world to face. But I do think it will develop in that way, because I think the kinds of communal politics of the much more varied kinds of democracy that I've tried to describe in that chapter would on all sorts of issues dissolve themselves.

JP It is a very radical challenge to put to people. You have actually to do it through the institutions about which you are saying that their time has come.

RW I think the argument has to be pushed all the time: these are not pressure groups, not minority fringe organisations or what may be - these are being offered as the agencies of a different way of making decisions. This is going to be a very long business, but if one accepts the marginal pressure group definition, then one is resigning oneself to the continuation of these old forms, and the challenge is much more radical than that.

JP But to get it away from the margins and into the mainstream: do you think that is going to be possible without it being as rigidly linked as it is



now to class-based politics?

RW I think that the only class-based politics that will really continue will be the politics of money, the politics of property: that is to say, however one now defines the class system, the class structure and what the classes are - and they're all shifting - I think the one class that will stick to class-based politics is the existing ruling, possessing class. What has been received as a class politics model is that there is that kind of base, and that there is then another whole thing in which the property-less

# Socialism is the social resolution of problems.

unite to form a different kind of class-based politics. People always said that since they're the great majority they will become politically the majority and we shall change the world. The fact is that the very development of the social order means that the class basis for other kinds of politics is breaking up. But in the process that class base, which is not what people usually mean when they talk about class-based politics, is where I see it as firmly rooted: that will go on. Those people are wholly conscious of their interests and they do indeed have a great deal to lose and they are a class. And what is really happening is that in the older sense of class, anyway, the great majority of people are - as classes - being disintegrated. And in that situation they have to find some new communal definition.

JP Definitions are a problem with words which have such wonderful but often complicated historical associations - like "socialism", for instance. It's quite complicated to ask some people to accept a different interpretation of socialism - which is what you're doing all the time. How important is it that the new issues, of peace, ecology, feminism, should be closely linked with the socialist outlook? A lot of people in the green movement might say to you that the more closely associated they are with socialism the less likely they are to make any kind of breakthrough in a broad way in a society such as this?

## A NEW DEFINITION OF SOCIALISM

RW I think that's quite likely to be true if by "socialist" they're understanding the existing political organisations of a general kind which talk about socialism. The original socialist emphasis was simply that human activity and all its successes and problems were socially formed and therefore must be socially resolved and socially directed. The emphasis was precisely on social solutions rather than on the idea that there could be individual solutions: that was the contrast with scattered individual solutions or with the notion that people

could get out of common problems by resolving things in some private way. Now I know that socialism has meant many other things, but this is still I think what it basically means.

Also, there is a persistent overlap - after all, this goes way back - in anti-capitalism. It's so clear now that the specific drives of capitalism are so hostile precisely to the values that these different movements represent, so you're beginning to get certain common ground with the idea that there have to be social solutions to social problems, and that they have to be of a non-capitalist kind. It's when you get to the third stage, that there are certain solutions which seem to follow from those emphases - such as that the state should take all productive activities into its control, that there should be dictatorship of the proletariat, or what may be - at that point you lose people who are thinking in terms of the late twentieth century. That has happened and there will have to be shifts. I think socialists will have to jettison that baggage. Then I suppose the argument would be this: at that point, in terms of the earlier emphases on the social solution and on the identification of capitalism as specifically destructive, there is nothing to fear. The movements will change each other or recognise each other. This will be hard because there are many dogmatists around.

JP A "movement" is obviously a very important basis for the way things are going to change in the future. You refer to a movement as something that is in itself a cause, and yet has an interest. I find this very intriguing, because it is this problem of establishing a general interest through the ecological perspective that holds us back. I still feel people think ecologists are concerned too exclusively about the future, about problems that will crop up at some distant date. And we haven't yet identified the general interest that I believe is inherent in ecological thinking, in green thinking.

## GENERAL INTEREST CAMPAIGNS

RW The curious thing now is that what are called special interest campaigns, or specialised campaigns, are the general interest. When Bahro said that if anything now is a single-issue campaign it's wage bargaining, this is absolutely right. These are all general interest issues because they clearly belong to the general human interest and are in the general interest - except for a really insignificant minority. I'm impressed by the way that despite the difficulties certain issues are really forcing this: what is being done now to local government and city government, an absolutely contemporary current politics issue which seems to me to raise all the questions about community and resources, happens to include within itself the issues of local resources, the issues of public transport policy, all things which have been seen as specialised campaigns but are now given this political focus. The work thing is going to be where it's most solved, because this is a genuine problem in the old industrialised countries as people hear the argument in terms of the world: as they listen to it they suspect that any move towards a fairer kind of world would mean losses for them, having been in an initially



privileged position. And this is the tough thing for people who are not in some way protected by their qualifications or their youth or their confidence, to be able to survive into an altered world of that kind.

JP But even tougher when one accepts that in many respects they are encouraged to misconstrue their own function in all this. One of the ways you describe in which socialism has been corrupted is the way in which it has encouraged people to see themselves as part of the cash nexus rather than as much of a much broader way of looking at our relationships with each other. I think the whole work issue is going to be the crux of radical politics.

### THE BLINKERED UNIONS

RW I think that's the way it will be resolved - but also this thing you mention, this argument again about the nature of bonding: it is such an article of faith that the Labour movement and socialism and so on came simply out of the economic position of work, and I am quite sure that the real bonding that represents the movement at its highest in human terms is much more complex bonding and always did indicate relationships of a much more diverse kind.

JP But so much more diverse. It seems that trade unions and other mainstream representatives of the Left really can't take them up at the moment.

RW They can take up the welfare services or something like that because that's always been included in the notion of the general advance, but they don't see the other things. Their response to the women's movement has been dreadful really; it's been very weak in response to the ecological case...

JP ...which they do dismiss as a middle class concern...

RW ...and they don't read. It is true that at a certain level the information required to establish the generality of this case, although much has been

**Socialists will have to jettison nationalisation and the dictatorship of the proletariat.**

done to make it available and accessible, is (a) not the kind that the general media distribute - or if they do, they heavily qualify it, but (b) it does require a certain amount of training in taking in

certain processes, certain specialised information, certain dynamic processes, and it's very much easier for somebody who has had higher education to understand. When they say a middle class pressure group, what they're identifying is actually an educational group rather than a social class group; because it's been very much easier for people who can read and follow a complex argument to seek them out in what are often professionally written pieces, to see what the case is.

JP Which of course makes us all the more dependent on our democracy and on our ability to reach people through democratic channels. I couldn't quite work out at the end of the book how optimistic you feel about the maintenance of our democratic freedoms. I was intrigued by your reference to the 'Plan X', to the ways in which there are people who are just as aware as we are of the awful things that are unfolding and of the likely consequences - and yet if they do not positively promote them, they can accept them as something that will not be working against their long-term interests. You say that this does not amount to the conspiracy theory - but perhaps you do have a sense of a conspiracy working against the better interests of people.

### THOSE WHO PLAY FOR ADVANTAGE

RW So much of one's time is spent trying to argue with and confront people who are stuck in old definitions of the problem or applying the old orthodox politics that one thinks that these are the only people one is dealing with. I have this strong sense of people who have seen the extreme danger of a whole set of situations but who - for moral, if you can call it that, political reasons - have made the opposite decision from those of the movements I support or welcome - which is that the only thing to do is to play for advantage. This is the essence of Plan X: I don't think it's a conspiracy, but the belief that if a situation is dangerous or nearly impossible to resolve, then you can only play for advantage. I think that this is a crisis particularly for the highly educated and professionally trained young of the old industrial world. The only movements they are likely to join, if they join anything, are either the radical movements of various kinds which are saying, "This is the scale of the problem, there are ways in which it could be solved, and we're trying to bring them to public attention, get them discussed, show ways of solving them;" or to be the professionals in the game of advantage. They are precisely the people who are needed to play that game: it can't be played by people who come up through the public political process, they are just sloganisers, rhetoricians, they haven't got the skills to make the fine professional calculations which are involved in ensuring the advantage of your group.

I think it matters very much what happens in that group now, because there are very strong personal reasons why those people should at any time become the agents of this exciting plan.

JP But you could only hope to off-set that, couldn't you, if the 'general interest' was perceived to be so much greater.





RW If the value is rationality, then let us have the argument at the rational level. There are no particular or privileged survivals unless the general interest is protected in these fields. It is actually professionally foolish to suppose that some privileged group can survive nuclear war or could survive major physical damage through dangerous industrial processes or could survive even conditions of widespread famine and poverty. So that I think that even at the rational level they can be out-argued.

JP It is insidious that they should pursue their individual interests in a dangerous game and hope that they will be the last to be the losers - in particular with reference to the Third World, where many of the interests of the Third World people could be discounted in that political outlook: they are, if you like, the easiest people to sacrifice in an impossible situation.

**THE MORAL ARGUMENT**

RW They could be written off. Yes, I know. It is a curious mentality which can be satisfied to be the last to go.

I also think - and this is a real resource - that there is a certain key point in people's development where they become open to the moral argument. The argument about the Third World in the old rich countries could not have got through as much as it has unless people were open to general moral human arguments. It's the point of transition between that and getting embedded in routines in which step by step they find that they are not (except in some reserved part of their minds) still believing the same thing: that's where the intervention has got to happen.

JP Do you think one can actually establish a "general interest" of this sort? We're talking now about something that transcends most people's conception of politics. Do you think that is possible without some spiritual input along the way? One thing that is very interesting to ecologists is that it links up many individual areas of concern and for many people it links their politics with their way of life, with their spiritual understanding - not necessarily a specific religious understanding, but a spiritual understanding. But you made no reference to the spiritual understanding in your book. I can't see personally how the breadth of the transition you're looking for - the long revolution you refer to at the end - could be achieved without some acknowledgement of the importance of that spiritual dimension.

RW I have noticed how much people who already have a conscious spiritual life in an organised way, in all the religious movements, are already bringing a new kind of input. In a sense they already have that vision of a different form of human relationship, responsibility in the world, and so on. It doesn't seem to bring them on its own (in the sense that some of the worst defenders of the existing system are also in the movements that have

appropriated spirituality). But I think that the change has to be of that order - but there again I think it's forgotten how much socialism was a movement with that spiritual dimension, which now sounds a laugh. You get experienced Labour politicians mocking socialist Sunday schools and things like that - there was the idea that you could, without any specific religious affiliation have this notion of human brotherhood which I've just expressed which would be this kind of value; and in the end those values are... well, they find an expression in spiritual terms, though I happen to think also that there is a precise material objective need for human brotherhood which to me is a spiritual value in itself.

JP That's been a theme throughout your life, like a clarion call through every book you've written. Do you feel any erosion of confidence as you write about that now?

RW I only feel any lack of confidence when I look at the slowness of the movements I've belonged to or been associated with most of my life, their slowness to change. I don't feel I've lost confidence in the rest of the situation - not that I underestimate the objective dangers, but there are far more people thinking in ways that I tried to get through to thinking in the crisis after the war, where precisely it was seeing what left politics was like, not wanting to abandon their questions, but wanting to

There is a precise material objective need for human brotherhood which is a spiritual value in itself.

find different answers, defining things in different ways, going back over the "Culture and Society" argument which was thought very heretical at the time - nothing to do with socialism, and I took a fair amount of stick for that - that not because of what I've written but simply because of the way the world has moved there are now hundreds of thousands of people who are seeing the world in that way... so why shouldn't one feel confident? It's simply always this damned business of the time scale. How soon are the objective dangers going to call our capacity to connect to other people?





## CND CONFERENCE

BEING A green delegate at the CND Annual Conference in Sheffield was a somewhat frustrating experience. Not only were the greens totally ignored in the manner which we have sadly come to expect from CND; the whole conference was extremely unsatisfactory in both its form and content, and left many delegates (not just greens) with an uncomfortable feeling that nothing of any substance had been decided, that discussion of any potentially contentious issues had been studiously avoided, and that the CND juggernaut is destined to rumble on under the same central command and the same uninspired safety-first manner for at least another year.

Friday night's rally was a standard session of set-piece speeches, with the star turn being provided by Sheffield City Council leader David Blunkett. There was one exciting moment, when Mr Blunkett's amusing speech was followed by an interruption from a young punk in the balcony who demanded to know "Why did you evict our Peace Centre then?" With only the shortest of uncomfortable pauses, Joan Ruddock managed to ignore the interruption and introduce the next speaker.

Unfortunately, due to extreme tiredness (having travelled up that day straight from the Cardiff bomb factory blockade which had begun at 6 that morning), I had to miss the ceilidh which followed the rally. It might easily have been the best part of the whole weekend.

The conference proper started on Saturday morning with the ritual presenting of reports. This went fairly smoothly for the platform, with only the sections of the report dealing with Labour CND and Youth CND having to be excepted from conference's vote of approval pending further examination on the Sunday. Then came the first real debate on the promising subject of Cruise Missiles.

The subject may have been promising, but the motion selected for debate was certainly not - a deliberately uncontroversial composite which simply restated CND's well-known position of opposition to

the nasty things. No one could possibly disagree about that, and so of course nobody did, and the only point of contention was the fact that the motion allowed that well-known CND Communist John Cox (beloved target of ritual Daily Express reds-under-the-beds expose writers) to make a mild denunciation of the new Russian deployments in response to Cruise and Pershing II. John's denunciation stayed in, but the Daily Express failed to notice. By now there was just enough time before lunch for the vice-chair candidates to make a short speech each, on the basis of which delegates were supposed to be able to make an instant judgement of who to vote for.

The Saturday afternoon session featured a motion on Trident, of which the only controversial aspect was a number of references to "The Freeze". In a debate which lasted over an hour the Freeze bits were rejected, leaving us with a decision to have an anti-Trident demo in Barrow and the satisfaction of knowing that we had managed to avoid a great leap backwards in CND policy. Then it was 3.30 and there was no time for any more because we all had to go off to fringe meetings so that the Hall could be got ready for a fund-raising concert that evening.

Sunday's debates were no better. Conference managed to avoid another step backwards on NATO, and then launched into a long debate on the wrangles between CND Executive and Labour CND. As is the way with such things, the debate generated much more heat than light and delegates, finally despairing of making any sense of it at all, referred the issue to CND Council to sort out.

The next emergency debate concerned the wrangle between CND and Youth CND. This one was better managed by the platform, and although the underlying issues remained as obscure as in the Labour CND case, the CND establishment managed to present it all as an extreme left plot by "Revolutionary Youth" - so that conference endorsed the Council's actions.

After all that, the conference was left with more than half an hour in which to discuss Greenham Common - provided that no time at all was given to constitutional amendments (which had been put right on the bottom of the agenda so that they could drop off when conference ran out of time!).

## Separatism

There is a split in the peace movement over the separatism of Greenham, and the very fact that the recent letter from Ann Pettit and others (see GL 18) has promptly two strongly, one might almost say violently, opposite reactions, shows that the peace movement has got a serious problem that it needs to discuss. However, if anyone expected this discussion to take place at CND conference, they were to be disappointed. In half an hour any such discussion was obviously impossible, and it was not made any more possible by the fact that there were FIVE emergency resolutions to fit into that space. Most of the available time was taken up with a proposal speech for each of these motions, and the fact that four of the five implicitly rejected any sort of mixed event guaranteed a lack of balance even though conference did not accept Joan Ruddock's proposal from the chair that the five proposing speeches should be the only debate on the subject.

So conference took the safe line on Greenham, papering over the cracks and pretending that there was nothing to discuss. And then, lo and behold,

it was 4.30 and CND had managed to get to the end of its AGM without finding any time even to discuss any proposals to amend its constitution.

This running out of time was a bitter last straw for the greens. We had already seen the motion from the Ecology Party (obliquely critical of Labour's failure to put the disarmament case in the election) shuffled off the agenda, first into the list of motions to be voted on without debate, then into those to be referred to CND Council due to "difficulties of interpretation". We had already been denied a space for a Green CND stall. We had had difficulty getting the Green CND fringe meetings announced. We had been refused permission to distribute the background paper to our proposed constitutional amendment (which would have added to CND's aims opposition to the whole nuclear chain from uranium mining to Windscale). Now, after seeing our constitutional motion come top of the priority ballot, we were being denied the chance even to put our case. Our frustration was compounded by the fact that, given the chance, conference seemed quite ready to pass our amendment and to spell out publicly the link between nuclear weapons and the radioactive seaweed on Seascale beach.

I lept up on a point of order, making a last vain attempt to get the conference extended by at least 15 minutes so that our amendment could be discussed. It was the only time a green speaker managed to get a word in all conference, but it was all over bar the shouting. Those delegates who

were not already rushing to their cars and trains voted narrowly against an extension; CND veteran Pat Arrowsmith rushed to the microphone to complain about the amount of time that had been wasted the previous day by finishing at 3.30, but in reality nothing more could be done.

As we drifted away from the City Hall amid the condolences of other delegations, our conclusions were clear. Two truncated days are simply not enough for CND to conduct a meaningful and constructive conference: time for discussion of important issues is insufficient, nor is there the time for delegates to get to know and evaluate the candidates for either CND Council or the top officer jobs before they have to vote. (This fact of course tends to work in favour of the perpetuation of the existing establishment - the already familiar names and faces.) The system of selection of motions for debate by Conference Arrangements Committee works to stifle debate, and is in need of a drastic overhaul: an SWP delegate who denounced the conference as "rigged" received widespread applause from many who are not usually accustomed to finding themselves in agreement with the SWP (Socialist Workers' Party). The preoccupation with presenting a "good" (i.e. "moderate", united and uncontroversial) media profile conflicts with the need for CND to be properly answerable to its membership. But on the other hand, it was nice to be in a city with amazingly cheap buses!

Brig Oubridge

# LETTERS

## Unilateralism

Dear GL,

I wish to express my support for the views of Mike Bell ("Unilateralism is Not Green", GL 18). The message, in short, is that to attain genuine peace the vast majority of the population must be attracted to the peace movement in Britain and, by definition, also throughout the world. Naive campaigning for unilateral nuclear disarmament will not achieve our goal because the concept of unilateralism is too great a leap for most people's thinking. Therefore they must be gradually persuaded of our case through more readily acceptable stages. This should begin with arguments for a unilateral freeze of nuclear armaments in Britain (the rejection of Cruise, Trident, and Tornado weapons systems) and continue with support for a bi-lateral US-Soviet freeze, the removal of US bases from Britain and Europe and those of the Soviet Union from the Eastern bloc, and so on. In such an atmosphere calls for British unilateral nuclear disarmament are likely to be implemented by the Houses of Parliament. To achieve this objective the majority of the population have to be convinced of the earlier steps.

I believe that the peace movement has reached its peak of support as regards unilateral nuclear disarmament and can

only advance its case by accepting political reality (however displeasing it is.) A similar view has already been expressed by Dan Smith in the 'Focus' article in Sanity, Nov. 1983. The peace movement has now to debate these views in a proper manner so as not to divide our broad alliance of support.

Let us hope that our calls for peace initiatives do not fall on deaf ears in this new year.

Robert Saunders  
24 Gladstone House, High Street  
Hadley, Telford, Salop TF1 4NF.

Dear GL,

While agreeing with Mike Bell that just calling for unilateral nuclear disarmament is not enough, I don't think there are many of us who do that. All of us who are really involved don't just plan the next demo or NVDA, we talk to our MPs (or should do), we write to them, write to the press and to ministers, and if we have any sense we couch our arguments in terms our listeners or readers will understand.

We also, I hope, manage to simplify our lives somewhat, to demonstrate our green beliefs. When I garden, I consider it applied ecology!

I've not been down to the Conservative Club lately, but I did suddenly decide to write to the Tory Telegraph rather than the well-meaning Guardian. And my first two letters got published (December 10 and 21). Naturally they were not unilateralist letters, but I think they were peaceful. They were not all that special, so I think it shows there is a vacuum in need of filling in letters to the

Tory press. Here's where some of us can stop speaking to the converted.

Nevertheless there is a need to "scream", as Nicholas Humphrey said two years ago. So we do wear badges and car stickers - on the front (top centre of windscreen) as well as the back. We mustn't let people put the nasty fears to the back of their minds while the danger is so extreme.

I've been writing slogans on cheques recently, and soon after "The Day After" two bank tellers were suddenly very friendly and wanted to know what I thought - at least they had begun to think.

I do agree, though, that as Mike Bell says we've got to learn how to discuss "The Russian Threat" (start by reading the big book with that title!) and the assorted possibilities of non-nuclear defence. Even Enoch Powell has realised the insanity of British nuclear weapons, but the populace remains as comfortable with the horrendous risk as they are with the daily slaughter on the roads. They must have the alternatives spelled out.

Roger Franklin  
Tickmored House, Horsley, Stroud,  
Glos GL6 0PE

Dear GL,

I agree with Mike Bell (GL18).  
Philip Windwood  
2 North Heath Lane, Horsham, Sussex.

# Separatism

Dear GL,

I read with perturbation your articles on mixed actions at Greenham.

I can understand that passions are running high and that people want to do something against Cruise directly. Our chosen way of acting against the missiles is nonviolent direct action; a way which we hope will bring about a nonviolent world (using violence would not stop violence).

Now, as I see it, we cannot all live in peace if men and women cannot live in harmony, as equals. Also, however, we must respect that not everyone wants to live with the other sex; women (and men) must be able to be independent.

We have seen that men and women can work together - e.g. at the Upper Heyford blockade in June. This peace camp was set up by a mixed group in support of Greenham. There are now around 20 other peace camps, most of them mixed, at vitally important military installations.

I have had enough of attempts to "unite" the movement which in fact divide it even more. Are we fighting nuclear weapons or each other?

The perfect compromise to the "Greenham problem" has been suggested (and organised): "flying squads" are being set up to go and block roads from Greenham if the Cruise launchers should leave. Men are welcome to join these, and thus can feel they are not being left out of the action against Cruise.

Julia Sallabank  
Uffington Castle, Oxford Canal  
Hythe Bridge Street, Oxford.

Dear GL,

One way of looking at the women-only line at Greenham is as women attempting to monopolise an action. "I'm threatened by Cruise too and as a human being nobody is going to stop me going just where I please," says many a Real Manarchist, beating his humanist genderless hairy chest.

But stop brother, have you considered that men individually and collectively own and control 99% of the land, and run the states which claim sovereignty over all the globe? Not only are there many other bases, including Cruise or post-strike capability related bases, where you could set up mixed actions or do your autonomous thing. But while you focus on the Greenham Common "injustice" the government are moving to criminalise trespass!

So why the necessity for you to go to one of the few places women control (in a way)? Especially as there is no clear majority for your presence and direct action among women who support and go to Greenham Common - let alone with the Peace Campers whose space you propose to violate.

Keith Motherson  
Jordanston Cottages, Fishguard, Dyfed.

Dear GL,

I feel I must write to express my feelings about the "women-only" attitude of the Greenham peace camp. I quote from a leaflet issued by the women as reprinted in GL 18:

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

How can they possibly have a vision of "one world" while they exclude men? What hypocrisy - women have no more of a monopoly on peace than men have on war - we have only to look at examples such as Gandhi and Margaret Thatcher.

If the women at Greenham truly want a united world, they should start by uniting with like-minded men in order to bring about their vision. Until mankind - and womankind! - learn to love and trust each other at grass roots level, without divisions of sex, creed, colour, national or local interest, no amount of campaigning against nuclear weapons will bring about a peaceful world.

As long as "us-them" attitudes such as those at Greenham prevail in the world, the "one world" vision will remain just that - a vision, not a reality.

Kathy Fitzpatrick  
131 Chinnor Road, Thame, Oxon OX9 3LP

Dear GL,

I'm one of those people who have noticed how few women write or send in letters.

Maybe that's a reflection of the lack of importance you give the women's movement. In your editorial you say, "greens are bringing new insights into the women's movement." I would say it is the other way round. It is the women's movement that is capable of bringing essential and fundamental revolutionary insights into the green movement. Until that is realised by men, and women outside the feminist movement, especially by people who have taken the responsibility to project the public green image, and provide a forum for internal debate, then not only will you continue not having women writing in your magazine, but the green movement will not be able to fully get off the ground.

All the issues and values that greens are against and for which they are trying to construct workable alternatives, are reflections of a male-dominated society and a male-directed technology. Men of whatever class and race are so used to their relative positions of power (to women) that they seem blind to it. You can't achieve your aims with the fundamental imbalance between the sexes remaining unchanged. Men have to accept that the feminist movement is a radical force within the green movement.

However, there is no revolution except total revolution; the green movement has to embrace the black

movement, the anti-racist movement, and the 'red' movement. But the common determining denominator for any revolutionary success in all those areas of related political activity is the recognition of male oppression of women. Unless that is acknowledged and acted upon you are just shouting well-intentioned hot air.

To put it in the global context, it is the Maori women, who are oppressed twice over, who are acknowledged radicals in New Zealand. They are in the forefront of the Maori struggle to reclaim their land and their culture, and they are strong determined women. It was the Maori women who were the catalysts for the demonstrations against the 1981 Springbok Tour of New Zealand, demonstrations that truly exposed the deep entrenchment of racism in that country. They are also struggling against their oppression from their own men. Green culture would find no grating edges with Maori culture which follows a harmonious spiritual existence with their environment and communal co-operation. However the position of women within the culture is just as rigidly enforced as here by the entrenched power of men. The radical women know that linked to their struggle against the supremacist and racist white culture, which is white male dominated, is the struggle against their own male-dominated culture. It is the women who are the most active, most vocal, and most visible.

However, it is not easy to convince any kind of feminist of the necessity and total relevance of the green movement. Socialist feminists are accepted, but green feminists are still regarded with great scepticism. Green philosophy lends itself to feminist acceptance, but the way it has been presented so far has been quite repellent. Why should feminists be attracted, why should they listen when it's seen to be perpetuating the very relationships and attitudes that they've been struggling for many years to break down. Their analysis and counter strategy has been accessible for many years for those who are seriously interested in female/male dynamics. Yes, there is a male/female imbalance - but what are you going to do about it?

I attended the Ecology Party conference for the first time last March in Malvern, and I was appalled at the lack of a feminist perspective in the structure of the conference and in the policies and the manifesto. Lip service was paid and that was that.

Men of all classes and races have to relinquish that relative power in order for them to break down the structures that perpetuate the very values and policies that greens find so suicidal. The women's movement is just coming to grips with its white middle classism and racism, and as a result it is becoming more relevant and powerful within a global context.

The continuation of the human race is dependent on mutual respect and trust between men and women. Look at the state of the world with men greedily obtaining and maintaining power, with women subjected to sort out the

casualties. Do you think a woman would have invented the atom bomb?

I'm not sure how to remedy this within the pages of GL. Understanding and acting upon the hold of the patriarchal society is something that obviously has not yet been carried out. Publishing Susan Griffin's London lecture will be a great help. Stephanie's and Leonie's contributions hopefully will be catalytic, but the lack of feminist input into the green movement is very worrying.

What's this about Britain "raping" the Philippines? (GL18). Britain might well be party to violence against the people in the Philippines, but to brandish the word and image of "rape" on the cover for sensationalism just shows how contemptuous some men are of women. Rape is an act of oppressive sexual violence by men against other humans, usually women, and takes place in acutely personal circumstances. By using the image in the circumstances that you did, you trivialise what is essentially the ultimate oppressive threat that men wield over women. Maybe you have to be a woman to understand - well, that's half the world's population - yet you have the power to trivialise it, or not.

Sigrid Shayer  
Top Flat, 4 Cotham Park North  
Bristol 6.

Dear GL,

If there were indeed no "production problem" (Laurence Thompson, Letters, GL 18), those who have grasped only the basic need for ecology could "decentralise" and leave it at that.

Both Raymond Williams and Jonathon Porritt are thinking harder. Raymond Williams in his new book puts it well: "The principle of a society sustained by its economy has to replace the practice of a society determined by a market." Exactly - and that will need a lot of thinking out. And it will best be done by greens, socialists and feminists together.

Alex Hart  
9 The Rookery, Kidlington, Oxford.

Dear GL,

Raymond Williams says that Labour's ideas for employment would be discovered to be a fantasy. Labour's ideas are to increase government spending by £10bn. Could I point out that Eco's ideas are exactly the same, only Eco wants to spend £100bn.

Richard Hunt, 19 Magdalen Road, Oxford

Dear GL,

You may be right in blaming Third World starvation (like the nuclear threat) on imperialism. You are certainly right to point the craziness of Third World tenants or wage labourers producing export crops for consumption in the North when they are

deprived of the land to grow their own food.

But you are certainly wrong to urge ecologists to "Give them arms" (Richard Hunt, GL 17.) For a start that sounds like you want armies of natives to do your fighting for you. But the real objection, as with food aid, is that there is no guarantee that the arms will end up in the right hands; and even if they did, there is a historical pattern that it would appear you wish to perpetuate. Most regimes which come to power by the sword are repressive. Your "solution" is the most unecological proposal ever to have surfaced in the annals of the amorphous green movement. Warfare is unecological unless you think the population problem needs a drastic solution. Warfare destroys the environment. It channels production into swords instead of ploughshares. Warfare disrupts economies and takes people away from farming and into armies. Is that what you want?

At Green Deserts we have identified the problems you mention - unecological agricultural practices among them. But we are actively promoting and are engaged in agro-forestry and desert reclamation using renewable energy sources and simple technologies. We are working with some of the poorest people in the world helping them restore their environment. Our Deep Desert Harvest Project in Sudan is constructing percolation dams in remote wadis, the first step in restoring a devastated landscape.

We have started tree planting with a desert hardy goat-resistant tree species which produces nutritious pods, the seeds of which when partially digested in goats' stomach acid are more likely to germinate. The goats, which most authorities agree are a major cause of desertification, will then become an agent of environmental recovery as they distribute the pre-treated organically pelleted seeds in their droppings as they pursue the vestiges of grazing in the wadis.

The project is people-orientated. The nomadic population is being given the means to save their own fragile eco-system and to create wealth by conserving surface run-off and soil that wash out of the Hasaniya watershed, and stabilise the environment with trees capable of natural regeneration.

An advertisement in GL 17 under the heading "Peace Tax and Green Deserts" with an address in Leicester was inserted without our knowledge, and although the sentiments are laudible (international work camps of people from countries now opposed to each other) they are not specifically a Green Deserts aim.

If you are interested in our work and would like to contribute to desert reclamation, please send donations or SAE for more information to: Green Deserts, Rougham, Bury St Edmunds, Suffolk.

Robert Hamblett, Green Deserts  
Rougham, Bury St Edmunds IP30 9LY.

Dear GL,

In his Green Line accounts of Third World exploitation, Richard Hunt has well described how primary products are siphoned off from nations and arms sold to the military leaders in return. Yet is there not a vital factor missing from such accounts, as also in his booklet "Who's Starving Them?" - namely the use of torture on an administrative basis by US client state governments? Such use of torture is now a major defining characteristic of US satellites - in contrast with the lesser empire of the Soviet Union, where in the view of Amnesty International torture has been in decline since the time of Stalin and its official use seemingly largely defunct.

In their shattering and epoch-unmaking work, "The Washington Connection and Third World Fascism", Noam Chomsky and Edward Herman describe how the US not merely supports fascist dictatorships but creates them for business stability and facilitation of free trade. E P Thompson recently described the book as one which had not received the attention it deserves in Britain. What the authors call "the shift in the balance of terror to the Free World" which took place in the 1970s ought more widely to determine ideological perceptions.

It is easy to quote abstract statistics - that a nation with 6% of the world's population consumes 30% of the world's resources - but not so easy to map out the terror needed to maintain that imbalance. In the intensified cold war atmosphere of the 80s it is surely worth emphasising what our side is up to.

Nick Kollerstrom  
5 Shaws Cottages, Pitch Place,  
Worplesdon, Surrey.

Dear GL,

Whenever I think of the exciting things that Eco, amongst other greens, is saying, I feel such a burning impatience to see it happen, and I feel tempted to go off to my local branch of Eco and get involved - as I was during its early days.

But at the same time I am reluctant to join in. It seems good value for energy to found a skills exchange, a co-operative, a meditation cell, etc. ... but it seems such a vast expenditure of energy for so little return, to start again on that weary cycle of writing to the press, delivering jumble sale leaflets, the jumble sale, delivering election leaflets, canvassing the election, and then begin again. After delivering thousands of - I thought - exciting leaflets and after canvassing I came to wonder whether it was possible to convert many people very quickly. But if they could actually see local, practical projects which they could join in, perhaps their conventional political attitudes would have no bearing on our coming together to do commonsense things to meet our immediate economic and psychological needs.



I wondered where all the endless round of my Eco branch activity was taking us, where we all thought we were going. I suppose, to the House of Commons. But this end seemed a terrible long way off, and on the way I found I was using bad means - mouthing cliches and one-liners on doorsteps about subjects on which, to tell the truth, neither I nor the people I was knocking on knew enough to really judge.

Or we tried to attract (manipulate?) people through the local mass media - in order, I suppose, to herd them into a new mass movement. Wasn't it better to start straight off creating the alternative, non-hierarchical institutions, the new ways of relating with people? This way my ends and means would no longer be divorced, but simultaneous. The long march would not seem after all so very long, when my political strategy was also personal transformation and transformation of my relationships with my local people.

I also worried that by entering Parliament (if such a thing is really possible) then despite our good intentions our thinking might be influenced by the structure of the institution, by the realities and everyday pressures of government, and by the process of getting into government. I noted with concern how easily Eco's manifesto could be distorted into something environmentalist and authoritarian. And I noticed how, more than I at first cared to admit, I had come to be addicted to fighting elections, watching for TV coverage at these times, and spending a night at the count. Yet I assured myself that I acted for the purest of motives! If this could happen to me when we could only hope for 2%, what would happen when we were fighting for 30%?

But I also feel that if I simply found alternative structures locally, as I have been trying to do, then my activity becomes fragmented. If I

try to found new institutions one by one, my actions do not reveal the overall framework and vision that Eco was giving me. Other people can no longer see what I am about, they think I am merely responding to a specific need with a specific project, they do not realise that I am positively creating a new society. So other people only join in if they have that one specific need that my project meets.

So I wondered how I could have my cake and eat it too! And I have come to think that perhaps this might be possible if the Ecology Party was restructured as a loose confederation of autonomous Ecology Parties, each dedicated for struggling for the independence of their own eco-regions. Because then, regional Ecology Parties would not feel that the two strategies (of fighting elections and of founding new institutions which empower people) were alternatives, but rather were both methods of achieving independence.

Also, the danger of getting into Parliament as our initial step instead of our last, would dissolve. More local activism would be generated. Our more decentralised, less hierarchical structure would make hard target practice for our conventional opponents - they wouldn't see what hit them.

I would be tremendously interested to read other people's reactions in future letters columns of GL.

Mark Kinzley  
7 Gaysham Avenue, Gants Hill  
Ilford, Essex IG2 6TH

Dear GL,

I feel compelled to comment on the arguments started by Peter Bolwell about sexism in language and sexism in general - we are gradually getting obsessed with it, and to be honest it's getting rather silly. Add to that the concept of positive discrimination

and all is going haywire!

The CND national conference is a good case in point as an overreaction to sexism; it seems that now if you are a white male you have considerably less chance of getting your point across (no matter how good) than if you are a black woman, in which case the platform is yours no matter what you say (even if it is rubbish). In certain elections now, if say there are 10 places to be filled and 5 women stand, they get automatically elected whilst the men standing would have to fight it out. In short, as a male I am beginning to feel prejudice against me and it hurts (OK, so now I know what it feels like, but I have never been prejudiced against anybody so why should I suffer because of the behaviour of others?).

What I'm trying to say is that tampering with language, positive discrimination, etc., though applaudable as ideas are not really dealing with the root cause of the problem. When the root causes are dealt with, then the language would evolve naturally, and positive discrimination would prove unnecessary.

It's like giving a person with a broken leg a crutch without trying to repair the bone. So we should be concentrating on women's matters. They tend to be tied to their children, and so are unable to be as active as they wish because society treats children almost as if they are a disease. I've even come across supermarkets where pushchairs are banned along with dogs! Women don't work well in the structure of committees, they work in more co-operative ways - so perhaps that's why committees tend to be dominated by males! I could go on. To be honest I don't know the answer to the problem. It's something we must seriously think about (please let's have some articles on it!), but just fiddling with language is going to do nothing.

Keith Leech  
18 Reedswood Road,  
St Leonards on Sea, East Sussex.

## REVIEW

MAN AND THE NATURAL WORLD: changing attitudes in England 1500 - 1800. Keith Thomas. Allen Lane, £14.95.

THIS FASCINATING and utterly absorbing book contains a wealth of detail, of a hitherto unrecognised kind, on almost every page. We are taken from the often savage attitudes of the late Middle Ages to the more benign approach of the mid-Victorian period which foreshadows today's ecological thinking. The book includes such diverse topics as the folklore pertaining to wild flowers and birds, the fashions of a developing horticulture, the artistic sensibilities which prompted the leisured classes to see "nature" in a new light, and the beginnings of ethical and humanitarian concern for animals. Those who seek to understand the historical perspectives underlying today's ecological thinking couldn't find better reading.

Keith Thomas concludes: "The early modern period

had these general feelings which did make it increasingly hard for men to come to terms with the uncompromising methods by which the dominion of their species had been secured. On the one hand they saw an incalculable increase in the comfort and physical well-being of human beings; on the other hand they perceived the ruthless exploitation of animal life. There was thus a growing conflict between the new sensibilities and the material foundations of human society. A mixture of compromise and concealment has so far prevented this conflict from having to be fully resolved. But the issue cannot be completely evaded, and it can be relied upon to recur. It is one of the contradictions upon which modern civilisation may be said to rest. Regarding the ultimate consequence we can only speculate."

At £14.95 perhaps only those able to drop hints to affluent relatives will be able to purchase this book. But I found my local library unwontedly co-operative - possibly because I had, for once, unsuspectingly requested the loan of a book which could come to be viewed as a classic of its kind.

Judith Pritchard

## In Defence of Rainforests

There is a growing network worldwide of individuals and groups out to stop the destruction of the rain forests. Last month the first issue was published of "World Rainforest Report", available from the Rainforest Information Centre, Box 368 Lismore, N.S.W. 2480, Australia.

It includes reports from Australia, the Solomon Islands, and Sierra Leone. In North New Georgia villagers from the Koroga tribe destroyed the Unilever logging village at Enogae in 1982, causing an estimated \$1m of damage. Levers are expected to be offered a new contract. The Australian Federal Government is developing a policy to conserve rainforests, including compensating logging companies for the loss of their "resource" and creating jobs for redundant workers. In Queensland demonstrators blocked bulldozers from clearing a new road through Cape Tribulation National Park: in one action the blockaders buried five of their number up to their necks along the track, forcing the police to dig them out while the machinery was halted. And in Queensland a federal job creation scheme is funding a reforestation project.

Only 3% of Sierra Leone is today covered by forest: 200 years ago the figure was 75%. The rest was removed during the nineteenth century and the logs exported to Britain.

## Organics for the Unemployed

"Working Weekends on Organic Farms" (WWOOF) announces a new scheme to introduce unemployed people to the 'good life' of growing and harvesting your own food by working with practising organic farmers in various parts of the country.

The scheme offers free trial membership of WWOOF for February - May 1984, including a newsletter and the chance to spend a working weekend on any one of a choice of farms and smallholdings in Britain and Ireland. The newsletter will give details of the work to be undertaken on different farms (anything from cheese-making to pruning, mucking out to bee-keeping).

Any unemployed person over 16 who wishes to join the scheme should send a 9" x 4" s.a.e. to:

WWOOF (Trial Membership),  
19 Bradford Road, Lewes, East Sussex  
BN7 1RB.

If you want literature to publicise the scheme yourself among local unemployed people, write to Richard Welsh, 51a Roundhill Crescent, Brighton BN1 3FQ. (0273-694469).

while shifting cultivators have since destroyed what was left. Now a state firm has received DM 31m from West Germany to extract and process the timber from the country's largest remaining forest area. At the present rate, almost all West African rainforests will be felled within 10 years.

But not all forest destruction is carried out by the multinational logging companies. 70% of the forest destruction in the Third World is to provide fuel for poor people to cook with, yet efficient stoves can be made locally to use only 20% of the wood normally consumed. The FAO estimates that by 2000 some 2.25 billion rural people will have insufficient wood to cook with.

## "Deep Ecology" in the US

"Deep Ecology" is a term coined by Americans and Australians and meaning the whole green perspective as opposed to simple environmentalism. Synthesis is a magazine with its roots in the US anarchist and libertarian tradition, and it is a reflection of growing green awareness in the States. Synthesis, P O Box 1858, San Pedro, CA 90733, USA.

## Concord Supplement

Concord Films have just issued the first supplement to their 1983/4 Catalogue. It contains some very relevant material which could be used as the basis for meetings and to stimulate discussions. Among the new titles: Acid Rain - Requiem or Recovery?; And Now for the Bad News (the nature of mass communication and 'news' in Guinea Bissau); Four Minutes to Midnight (Nicholas Humphrey's Bronowski Lecture); Carry Greenham Home (filmed December 1982 to June 1983 at Greenham, examines not just the 'actions' but also the daily life, and the difficulties of seeking and establishing new values and ways of living - about the women's struggle to create a non-hierarchical community committed to

## Selling the Military Mind

Under the slogan "March for Military Books" nine publishers of military books are co-operating in a special promotion to run from March 12 - 24. They hope to sell "up to £100,000 worth of Military books" during the fortnight, and a consumer competition is to be supported "by a number of attractive and valuable prizes which will be donated by sponsoring organisations and companies".

Among the nasties on offer are a couple of sick jokes from HMSO: "The British Army in the Falklands 1982", and "Britain and the Falklands Crisis: a documentary record".

Opinions on the whole matter can be aired with Sue Kerpner of the Book Marketing Council (19 Bedford Square, London WC1B 3JH - you can ring her on 01-580 6321). But action can also be taken locally with your bookshops: tell them what you think of the campaign, picket/leaflet those that take part, and try to get libraries and institutions to boycott them in future.

And when the prizes are announced, perhaps we shall know who those mysterious sponsors are...

the ideals of nonviolence); The Church and the Bomb (LWT's Credo programme); Common Interest (Channel 4, ten ½-hr programmes on individual experiences in world development - including Coventry); For Export Only - Pesticides; For Export Only - Pills; Harvest Gold (World in Action on farm subsidies); Leboyer - A Child is Born; Nuclear Attack (a SANA briefing); The Truth Game (John Pilger); Why Their News is Bad News (challenges the myth of media impartiality). The full catalogue costs £2.50: the first and all future supplements until the next catalogue will be sent for a further £1. From Concord Films, 201 Felixstowe Road, Ipswich, Suffolk IP3 9BJ. Tel: 0473-715754.

## Father and son

by David Kidd





## "Partner Families"

Dee Kröhle-Bundy writes from Germany:

How about setting up partner families, people who live or to some extent live an alternative way of life and are interested in alternative politics, the peace movement, etc., and are scattered all over our end of Europe? We have been looking for some time for a contact family in Britain, people who tick like us, but without success. If people write to me from Britain, I'll see that they get put into a publication of Die Grünen or a similar publication.

\*\* Dee has sent a description of her family, and would welcome contact with a sympathetic family in Britain:

"Anglo-German family, living in a wine-growing village near Mainz. Dee (37), housewife; Helmut (40) works in railway administration; Paddy (13½) likes pop music; Danny (10½); seek contact with similar family in Britain, children same age or slightly older. Both adults in a village conservation group; Dee is a member of Die Grünen and a peace group, and involved in nature conservation. We like walking off the beaten track, folk music, the simple life. Aim: to visit each other, swap the children during school holidays, and eventually swap houses at holiday times. Write: Deirdre Kröhle-Bundy, Max Planckstrasse 26, 6501 Saulheim, West Germany."

\*\* Exchanges for mainly holiday purposes could be arranged in this country, and needn't be limited to families either. Send details of what you can offer and what you want to Green Line, and we'll print them in the next issue.

## Nonviolent Defence at the Gathering

A reader who attended a discussion at last year's Glastonbury Green Gathering on the subject of a non-violent defence strategy for this country wants to know if anything further grew out of the workshop. Anyone know who facilitated this session? Write to Kevin Stannard, The Caravan, Roeburn Scar, Wray, near Lancaster, Lancs.

## Irish Greens: A Straighter Record

In GL 18 Malcolm Samuel wrote that "Cork branch is running the Green Alliance, Ireland's equivalent of the Ecology Party." Christopher Fettes has sent this more detailed - and more accurate - description of the Irish situation:

"'Green Alliance' is the English translation of Comhaontas Glas (approximate pronunciation 'kointus gloss') - the CG or Alliance for short. CG is made up of (a) a number of autonomous green groups (not branches), and (b) the Movement for Ecology Politics, which consists of



## Alternative Britain

Joan Andrews writes:

The inaugural meeting of Alternative Britain will take place on April 28, Saturday, at Friends House, Euston Road, London NW1. It will consist of a rally and fayre or shop-window in the surrounding corridors.

The meetings intend to draw together most of the aspects of the present time that look towards a basic and structural type change on society - e.g. socialists, ecologists and greens in general, peace groups, animal welfare groups, Quakers, certain Christian groups and New Age groups where applicable. Through such an exchange we shall work to develop a consistent and unified approach.

The fayre will start at 11 am and the rally at 2 pm. There will be food available on the premises. It is expected that groups who support the rally will take a stand to propagate their ideas.

\*\* More information from Joan Andrews, 16a Franconia Road, London SW4 9ND. (Tel: 01-622 5734).



## Alternatives to School

Many parents talk about educating their children outside the state / formal school system; few do it.

One such is Laurie Watson, who would like to hear from others who are similarly trying to provide an alternative to schooling for their children. Write to her at 291 Perth Road, Dundee - or phone Dundee 65229.



## Eco in Fife

A new branch of the Ecology Party has been started in North East Fife, though 'link person' Patrick Marks says it may develop either as an Eco branch or as a Green Group. His address: 35 Lawmill Gardens, St Andrews, Fife.

all supporters of CG who are not members of local groups.

We aim to work by consensus, which means that each individual has a power of veto within the Group and each Group within the Alliance. Members of MEP have no veto but are (or should be!) a powerhouse for ideas.

The system certainly doesn't work perfectly, but at least it removes the possibility - and thus the fear - of any one Group "running" the Alliance, whose office in central Dublin is sponsored by supporters from many parts of the Republic. It is true that the Cork Green Movement has been the largest group in CG up to now, because when the Ecology Party of Ireland decided by consensus to restructure (as well as rename) itself many party members in Dublin felt that the capital was too big for just one group even at the start. Recently however many green Dubliners have felt that this splitting was premature and a Dublin Green Movement was formed just before Christmas.

Anyone wishing to contact Comhaontas Glas / The Green Alliance or any of its constituent groups can do so by writing to the Alliance office: 15 Upper Stephen Street, Dublin 8 (Tel: 784380). But please remember that our postage now stands at 26p, or about 20p at sterling values!"



**Predatory man** is destroying the world and himself! A vegan Britain could easily feed itself and have plenty of land for wild-life, recreation, trees and other 'energy crops' which obviate the need for nuclear power.

A vegan diet is healthy, cheap, attractive and convenient when you know how. Send 70p for full information and recipe book.

Vegan Society (IGL),  
9, Mawddwy Cottages,  
Minlynn,  
Dinas Mawdwy,  
Machynlleth. SY20 9LW.  
Wales

# NETWORK

## GREEN CND

THE FIRST meeting of the new National Council of CND was held on January 14/15. It was intended that the aims and priorities for 1984 should be decided on and campaigns planned. In the event this seemed the least contentious matter. There was a clear consensus for continued work on Cruise and now Trident later in the year.

But the most surprising, and gratifying, thing was the very definite shift towards seeing these weapons as part of a whole problem of society. The stated need for CND to put forward a non-nuclear defence policy was the most obvious point, but other issues raised were the need to answer "Russian threat" fears, Third World poverty / arms race links, and public spending cuts in relation to "defence" spending.

There will be nationally co-ordinated action/demos focussed on US bases on the weekend of April 14/15, and national CND will campaign on US bases and nuclear war-fighting capacity. There will also be support for a Christian CND national demo over Easter.

The EEC elections will give an opportunity for co-operation with European peace groups, and CND will propose a demo on the same day throughout Europe to oppose Cruise and Pershing II. (Someone even suggested Green CND should get some Green MPs over from Germany.)

There will also be a major demo of some kind on June 3, at the start of Reagan's visit to London for Lancaster House talks.

Other news: Greenham women have organised a nationwide demo on February 29 to identify service routes for Cruise missiles. They are hoping to involve fire/ambulance/hospital essential services in these areas to highlight the deficiencies in the Civil Service regulations. Details from the Greenham office.

Linda Churnside  
(Green CND rep. on CND National Council)



## Communicating with "The Other Side"

Peter Cadogan writes:

On December 10/11th some very good contact was made with troops and police and 1,000 leaflets were handed over - the product of a good number of green fingers. Troops and police are not the enemy and it is important that we should get across to them, since the ultimate sanctions of the nuclear state are the forces of defence, law and order. We shall not succeed in ending the threat of nuclear war until a sizeable fraction of the Establishment decides either to join us, or not actively to oppose us.

This is not an irresponsible aspiration. After the showing of The Day After it was most interesting to watch both Macnamara and Healey - who were the actual authors of the flexible response strategy in 1967/8, that eventually produced Cruise and Pershing II - admitting that the thing had got out of hand, that they were wrong and had changed their minds.

There is a very good precedent for dialogue with the armed forces. During the last war the Army Bureau of Current Affairs, actively supported by a legion of Education Officers and padres all over the world, positively promoted a discussion in all three forces about all manner of social and political subjects from "war aims" to where we had gone wrong in the 20s and 30s. In barrack rooms and mess decks, in Forces Parliaments and forces news-

papers, there really was "a great debate" - and it turned out to be the critical factor in the landslide Labour victory of 1945 (which none of the Labour leaders expected!).

Material addressed to the armed forces and police has to be carefully written. The authors might invite a charge of sedition if they are not careful. We have trouble enough without asking for more! So the thing is to write about the overall human problem (related to Cruise) with intelligence and insight and leave everything else to the commonsense and humanity of the men in uniform. We do have a common problem, and at the end of the day we have to solve it together.

### Red Army Take-Off

A group of French and Italian journalists have produced a 4-page mock-up of 'Red Star', the Russian army's official newspaper. Bogus articles and news reports claim that Red Army soldiers have overthrown the military leadership in Moscow and ended the "invasion war" in Afghanistan. Copies have been left in metro stations in Moscow, and pasted on walls in Kabul.

The Christian Science Monitor, which reports this subtle piece of NVDA, does not say who funded the printing of "more than a million" copies of the Russian edition which it says have been printed.

## Sunflower Badges

WEAR - and SELL - the badge of the movement. 7 striking symbols all in 3-colour green and yellow. 20p each; set £1; 20 - 99, 12p each; 100+, 10p each. Each badge is 1" dia.

The bold STICKERS are 3½" x 5½": price 30p each, 10 or more 20p each.

All prices include p&p. Cash-with-order only, to GL Badges, 14 Alexandra Road, Oxford.

Trade terms to shops.

\*\* More badges, and a range of postcards, are in the pipeline...



MAKE IT  
GREEN

