

GREEN LINE

30 p.

MAGAZINE OF THE GREEN MOVEMENT

Anarchist themes
Porritt on Eco
Tatchell interview
Earth mysteries
Mothering

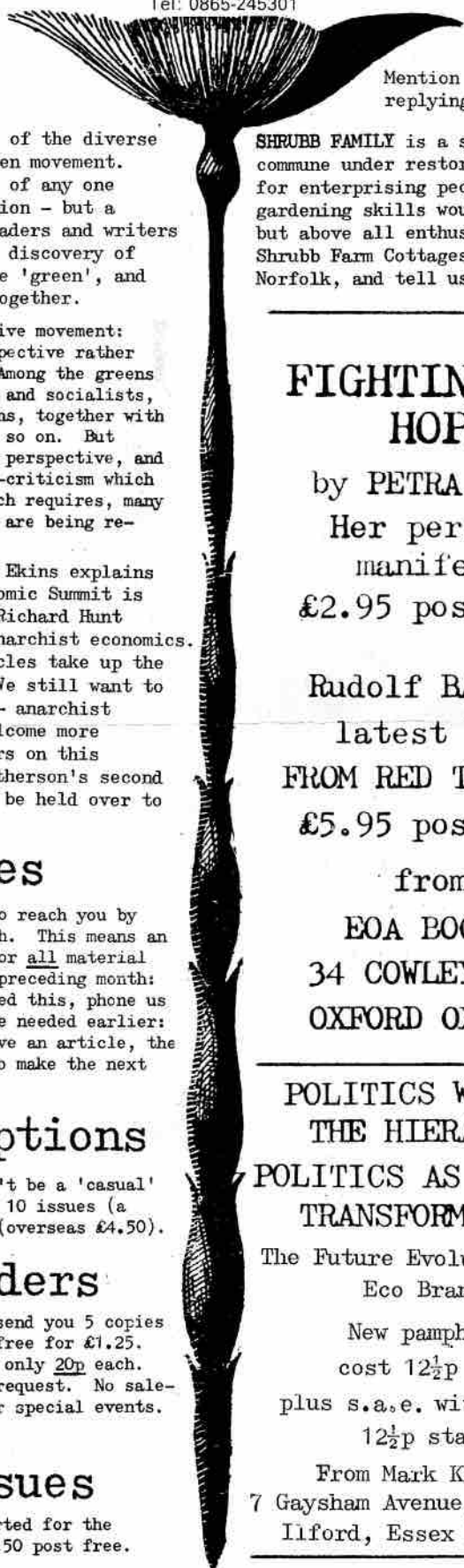
No. 23 JUNE '84

GREEN SOCIALISM!?



GREEN LINE

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GREEN LINE is part of the diverse but converging green movement. We are independent of any one group or organisation - but a voice for all. Readers and writers share together the discovery of what it means to be 'green', and what brings them together.

It is not an exclusive movement: greenness is a perspective rather than an ideology. Among the greens are many anarchists and socialists, pagans and Christians, together with feminists, gays and so on. But thanks to the green perspective, and to the radical self-criticism which its holistic approach requires, many conventional labels are being re-examined.

In this issue Paul Ekins explains why The Other Economic Summit is taking place, and Richard Hunt proposes a green anarchist economics. Several other articles take up the anarchist theme. We still want to explore the green - anarchist connection, and welcome more articles and letters on this subject. Keith Motherson's second article has had to be held over to next month.

Deadlines

DEADLINES: We try to reach you by the 1st of the month. This means an absolute deadline for all material of the 14th of the preceding month: if you want to exceed this, phone us first. Articles are needed earlier: the sooner we receive an article, the more likely it is to make the next issue.

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TEL: OXFORD 246079
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DEVOLUTION - DECENTRALISATION

The Ecology Party Devolution Working Party seeks the views of the wider green movement on these and related issues.

Send comments, views, papers, etc. to:

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From Ecology to Economics

Paul Ekins explains why there's TOES in London this month

The Other Economic Summit



TO ENVIRONMENTALISTS it has been obvious for some time that current abuses of the planet are not only threatening the capacity of the biosphere to sustain life, especially human life. They are also undermining the Earth's resource-base, which enables that life to be civilised. A more recent phenomenon is the gross waste of human resources represented by mass unemployment, while the continuing and worsening poverty in the Third World completes a picture of an economic system which is now contributing to humanity's problems rather than solving them.

Yet time and again those pressing for greater preservation and care of the environment have come up against supposedly irrefutable economic arguments peddled by the conventional economists who are bankrupt of solutions themselves. Time and again measures of conservation and pollution control have foundered on such statements as 'it would not be economic'. Investment in good work and human skill 'would be inflationary'. The 'free trade' that is ruining developing countries is held up to be their means of future salvation. The results of all this have been the most appalling costs at every level. Acid rain in Europe, which would have cost only £00,000s to prevent, is now inflicting £000,000,000s worth of damage right across the continent - damage to buildings, crops, forests, lakes. The bulk of Britain's North Sea Oil wealth is being used to keep people idle, unskilled and discontented, totally unprepared for future challenges. The peoples in the poorest countries are simply left to rot.

When the Heads of State of the seven richest Western nations meet at Lancaster House in London this month, they will try as before to square the increasingly intractable circle of economics as they understand it. One doesn't have to be a visionary to predict that - as before - they will not make much progress, but the difference this year is that half a mile away another Conference on economics. The Other Economic Summit (TOES) will be looking at the subject from a very different angle. Bringing together eminent 'alternative' thinkers and economists from all over the world, TOES will explore and develop a New Economics - 'economics as if people mattered' as Fritz Schumacher put it. It represents one of the most thorough and serious attempts to date to define a new economic framework that can give humanity a way forward out of its current impasse.

The Conference will last for 3 days and each will focus on a specific topic: day 1 - people, work; day 2 - finance, trade, institutions; day 3 - resources, environment. The conference participants of each day will be divided into workshops in three streams focussing respectively on the local, national and international aspects of the subject concerned. The basis of their discussion will be 20 specially commissioned, expert papers which will be presented by their authors in plenary session at the start of each day. These papers will also form the backbone of the publication of the conference proceedings which, it is hoped, will prove an invaluable source

book on the New Economics for the rest of the decade. A Public Rally the evening before the conference will enable some of the main participants in TOES to introduce its main themes and directions to a much wider audience.

At the heart of the New Economics are the basic ideals of common humanity, of cooperation and solidarity between peoples, and a recognition of the ecological realities within which human needs must be met. In this context a 'progress' that entails the waste and depletion of resources is no progress: a 'development' that degrades the environment is bad development. Conservation of resources and the preservation of the environment are two of the chief imperatives of the New Economics, perceived as crucial to the process of safe-guarding wealth creation in the future. These imperatives will give rise to new growth areas in the economy, to greater economic activity and more jobs in energy-efficient, resource-conserving and pollution-reducing 'sunrise' industries and in the improvement and care of the built and natural environment.

Economic activity itself will become more localised, with a new emphasis on self-reliance, based on local economic initiatives, enabling more people to meet more of their needs locally, on self-reliant development strategies, at national and regional as well as local level, and on a more equitable and sustainable system of international trade and finance.

At the heart of all this local economic activity will be a liberation from old patterns of employment and a regeneration of the concept of good work - personally satisfying, socially useful, environmentally sound - grounded in human skill and backed up rather than undermined by technological change. Under examination will be new ways of organising work and meeting human needs, based on reducing working time in formal employment, fairer sharing of jobs, an expanded role for informal, self-organised work, more fairly shared between women and men, and new ways of distributing income.

It is a full agenda, but one which promises to yield lasting solutions to the critical problems of our time. Opportunities for participation in TOES are as follows:

PUBLIC RALLY FOR THE NEW ECONOMICS, Wed June 6, 7.30 pm, Friends Meeting House, London NW1. Tickets £3 (£1.50 unwaged). Leading participants in TOES will speak on its main themes and directions.

CONFERENCE FOR A NEW ECONOMICS, June 7-9, tickets £12 a day, £30 for 3 days. Royal Overseas League, Park Place, London SW1. Places limited.

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If the Greens are going to reject socialism, how are they going to redistribute wealth?

OR Anarchy Socialism

The economic choice for Greens

THE DIVISIONS in the green movement in Europe seem to be developing along conventional left-right lines. But there is another division - much more significant - beginning to surface. Stop the City was organised by London Greenpeace. They are greens. They are anarchists. They reject socialism. The new division will be not between right and left, but between the anarchists and the socialists, between the decentralists and the centralists, the libertarians and the authoritarians, the grassroots right and the grassroots left against the elites of left and right.

I am an anarchist. I am not a socialist. I fear socialism. It always leads to tyranny. It is hierarchic, paternalistic and authoritarian. So what is this socialism? The word obviously means different things to different people, but any definition should include the means to its utopia and any definition should exclude the liberals and social democrats who say they are not socialists.

A purist definition would be the acceptance of the Marxist class analysis and the 'dictatorship of the proletariat'. (As an anarchist I don't like the dictatorship by anyone!) While Marx is quite right to recognise that the bosses exploit the proletariat, he does not understand that the bosses and the proletariat exploit the peasantry by expropriating the agricultural surplus.

A definition which would be generally acceptable to the great majority of the world's socialists would be: the redistribution of wealth by the state's ownership of the means of production. But socialism is no more than state capitalism. It is monopolistic, it pollutes, it gorges on resources as much as any multinational. It is governed by the same economics of scale, price and labour cost. It exports its own unemployment to the Third World. It demands the same blind obedience to the Law. It enforces that Law with the same corrupt judges and police. And all power corrupts.

So the state will never redistribute wealth. In practice, in a representative democracy (ugh!) the majority - the middle classes - takes the wealth from the minorities, the richest and the poorest. All power corrupts.

Redistribution of wealth by the socialists doesn't mean giving the land back to the people or cutting taxes on the poor. It means providing more services such as libraries or social workers, or providing more council housing. For this a socialist government needs a higher income which can only be obtained by higher taxes from higher economic growth. Socialism cannot redistribute wealth without economic growth. Thus socialism and greenery, at both theoretical and practical levels, are totally incompatible.

But the socialists are quite right to accuse their critics of not being interested in how to redistribute wealth. Conservatives (capitalists, the right) would say instead that economic growth would make everyone richer, therefore redistribution is unnecessary. But economic growth doesn't create wealth: it simply moves it around. If one person is richer, it is only because someone else is poorer. It may be redistribution of wealth - but it's in the wrong direction. So capitalism is no answer.

Liberals and Social Democrats, 'with their feet planted firmly in mid-air', seem to want a bit of capitalist wealth 'creation' and a bit of socialist social services.

So if the Greens are to reject socialism, they must declare exactly how they are going to redistribute wealth.

The Ecology Party's plans to redistribute wealth centre on Land Reform (though they keep amazingly quiet about it!). Their National Income Scheme is a short-term palliative and totally daft - dreamed up by the middle class with nice, clean, interesting jobs who don't know that the real work is dirty, exhausting and servile. And if you pay a subsistence wage to those who do all the shit jobs, they'll take it, and go fishing. The whole system will grind to a halt in three weeks.



The anarchist redistribution of wealth

How would anarchists redistribute wealth? Well, there we have a problem. Anarchists have no great measure of agreement. In fact it's been said that when two anarchists meet there's a split. My personal view is derived from primitive societies "who hold strongly to the view that wealth should not be too unevenly divided." And they make sure it is not. But it only works in small autonomous

communities of about 500 people where everyone knows everyone else. It works because it worked for a hundred thousand years - until, that is, the priests raised their ugly heads. As Moses said: "Ten per cent of all you own is holy and you have to hand it over to the chief priest who just happens to be my cousin."

How do we get from here to these small communities? We gradually reduce the power of the state by cutting its life blood, taxation, which was introduced to take the wealth from the poor and give it to the rich. It still does! Thus cutting indirect taxes redistributes wealth from the rich to the poor: the

tramp's cup of tea is cheaper. As taxes are cut, more spending power is left in the villages which become revitalised. Cutting taxes will also reduce labour costs so that labour-intensive techniques like recycling, repairing and mixed, organic farming become economic. Nevertheless I can't see any way of achieving widespread land reform without authoritarian action from the centre. How else do Londoners get land if they want it?

So one cannot say that the means to an anarchist society must be exclusively anarchist, i.e. extra-legal. The object must be the gradual dismantling of the apparatus and activities of the state by the repeal of law (always accompanied by illegal pressure on the streets) and its replacement by voluntary action by the small community. Thus those decentralists who do not share anarchist ideas will nevertheless start together on the same road. The anarchists will just get further along.

So to achieve redistribution of wealth in an anarchist society it is necessary to increase taxes

So to achieve redistribution of wealth in an anarchist society, it is necessary to cut taxes. For a socialist to redistribute wealth it is necessary to increase taxes. Socialism and anarchism are in direct confrontation. If socialists quote Marx on the 'withering away of the state', do they accept that this means no taxation and therefore no state services, no welfare state? If the word 'communism' describes this statelessness and the word 'socialism' describes the state means to that goal, then I am a communist but not a socialist.

Revolutionary groups round the world call themselves 'socialist'. But they reject the Russian model. Will they be able to reject the means but keep the name? Can they change the meaning of the word 'socialism'? Or having found a new means, will they give it a new name? 'Anarchism' perhaps.

Finally. Let the socialists beware. When the confrontation comes between the state and the people, they could find themselves fighting for the socialist state. They could find themselves fighting on the wrong side of the barricades.

Richard Hunt

Anarchy:



the Christian connection

ANARCHY IS a word which is often used, but rarely understood. Like the expression "Christ almighty" it has become a swear word, an expression of indignation completely separate from - indeed opposite to - its original meaning. Anarchists become clichéd images of black-bearded, black-cloaked bringers of violent destruction symbolised by the carrying of a black explosive labelled "BOMB". The dark picture reflects our deepest fears and prejudices. Our livelihood, the fragile order of our status quo, is threatened by it, and so we become defensive. We suppress or reject the anarchist for being a personification of Evil - or at best for being an eccentric nut-case. The fact is, the labels we attach to anarchism are almost entirely fallacious.

For example, most anarchists are ardent pacifists, ultimately condemning all violence whether it be from rival football supporters or under the heroic pretence of dying or killing for one's country. While admittedly there are differences between these two situations, nevertheless both fundamentally show the ugly potential of letting fear and arrogance become the dominating factors in our motivation.

Herbert Read, a famous English anarchist, asserts that the effective communication of truths can only come through mutual respect and love. However, the state exists precisely because we cannot believe the power of this premiss. Coercive forces are expressions of our weaknesses rather than of our strengths. The state's coercive methods, whether psychological or physical, are dogmatically asserted by the establishment as the only way to maintain order. To claim otherwise, to even suggest the possibility of an alternative, is to advocate chaos. The police, the army, the judicial system, the establishment media, the whole power-network is embraced in the name of freedom. The fact is we are chained, as the horribly monotonous repetition of history bears witness: war after war, oppression after oppression, hunger after hunger.

My Christianity has irresistably developed through this shameful realisation, viewing the domination of man over man/woman as being ultimately a profound reflection of the broken image between man and God. However, the choice is ours - I also believe that through Christ and His sacrifice, The Liberation is with us. This is not by following timid humanist morality, but through a revolutionary trust in Him who in turn unconditionally trusted the God of Love.

"He has put down the mighty from their thrones, and exalted the lowly. He has filled the hungry with good things, and the rich he has sent away empty." (Luke 1:52-54). This song of Mary is an integral part of the Christmas story. Why is it never mentioned? The answer is simple: she is condemning the ruling classes, our petty but cruel order, our weak minds and shrivelled hearts. Ultimately however it is a song which prophesies hope for humankind, it is a song which claims Liberation and demands a fundamental break from the age-old order - in the true sense of the word, it is a song of Anarchy.

Steve Smith

(Steve Smith welcomes letters from readers: his address is 'Dumela', Weirs House, Weirs Lane, Oxford OX1 4UP.)

The Ecology Party Green growing and not for the chop!

JONATHON PORRITT replies to Richard Oldfield's article last month, 'Dead Wood in a Green Forest'.

I DON'T KNOW about anyone else, but I found the last issue of Green Line profoundly depressing: that gloomy cover, Green Splits, Dead Wood in a Green Forest, the usual dribblets of destruction in letters, reviews or conference reports, and then - a belated couple of pages to remind us that this great 'green movement' of ours does occasionally manage to say or do something positive. One can't help but be depressed that so much energy is so negatively directed inwards rather than positively outwards towards the 90% of people in this country who don't give a stuff for the greens one way or another. Given such staggering self-indulgence, it's hardly surprising that we still have so little 'effective influence'.

Richard Oldfield chooses to blame this lack of influence entirely on the Ecology Party. There's a peculiar poignancy that people like Richard should so consistently pick out the Ecology Party as the scapegoat for our collective inadequacies. Such an attitude is typical of the muddled, narrow-minded substitute for thinking that still plagues the development of the green perspective in this country. It remains to me an enigma that so many self-styled 'greens' should spend so much of their time enthusiastically scoring points at our expense.

To clear things up, let's see if we can't agree on one or two basic principles:

- (1) People both discover and wish to commit themselves to a green perspective in an astonishingly diverse number of ways.
- (2) Many of these people wish to be involved politically, and for a fair proportion of these, that means involvement in conventional party politics.
- (3) This will inevitably include putting up green candidates at different levels and different times, an activity which just happens to be a remarkably useful way of getting green ideas through to people regardless of the % vote one ends up with.
- (4) The Ecology Party is the only organisation through which people may become involved in such a way.

Therein - should we really need to go on offering it - lies the justification for what the Ecology Party does. We have never claimed or in any way aspired to be 'the green movement'; we have never impeded anyone else getting out there and doing whatever they want; we have never had an exclusively electoralist strategy, though at different times we do of course concentrate limited resources on one election campaign or another. This year, a crucial one in electioneering terms, a minute proportion of the Party's money will be spent on election activities. We have instead successfully set up several campaigns (including the Campaign for Real Democracy, to ensure that even those who are most contemptuous of conventional political activity have the freedom to go on being contemptuous), and given birth to enormously important joint events, the Anti-Nuclear Tribunal and The Other Economic Summit. Perhaps Richard could tell me who else is 'setting the pace' when it comes down to green economics, an area that most greens seem only too happy to bottle out of.

Political arm of a movement-to-be

What the Ecology Party does aspire to be is the political arm of a body that does not yet exist - as Richard himself acknowledges when he says the time is now 'ripe for the green movement to become just that, a movement'. Part of our commitment to building such a movement is never to imply that there's only one single approach to such a process. Behind Richard's eco-burble about movements and federalist structures (that sounded far more monolithic and restrictive than those of the Ecology Party) is a deeply intolerant attitude to those who don't happen to share his view. Nothing must be more irksome to those who wear their decentralist hearts on their mottled green sleeves than to have to accept that the Ecology Party, whatever you may make of its constitution, operates in practice as a collection of autonomous branches which decide for themselves whether they wish to put up candidates, become involved in campaigns, set up green groups, etc. When Richard refuses to believe this, he merely confirms his scorn for the people in those branches - and that scorn, I'm afraid, is what informs his endless attacks on people he claims to wish to bring together in a 'movement'.

All I can say to Richard is this: you do your bit for the movement and we'll do ours. We are not mutually exclusive, and to imply such is both paranoid and extremely silly. In no way is the Ecology Party 'likely to undermine the green movement' - and I profoundly hope the same may be eventually said of whatever you may eventually do. Set up your 'party-independent green federation' and eat humble pie when scores of Ecology Party branches autonomously affiliate and help establish the sort of green solidarity I imagine we both long for. But don't ask us to pass away merely to be reborn into a non-party that secretly hankers to be just like any other party in its determination to 'build a power base', 'exploit PR' - and all the rest of those reactionary phrases you used.

My fear is that Richard is in the process of selling out. Are we talking about green politics as some nebulous gathering together of kindred spirits under the greenwood tree, or as the articulation and living out of a precise, powerfully distinct contribution to real people's real problems? Green politics becomes just another reformist, SDP-ish cop-out if it doesn't involve some special commitment, some clear renun-

ciation of the old order, and some discomfort in giving up the convenience of existing political allegiances. To claim that 'the Ecology Party is splitting the green vote' is the most facile, contemptible little slander that Richard's article managed; I must point out to him that green politics is not just the expedient aggregation of trendy single-issue enthusiasms: it is a commitment that embraces the totality of a political, social and spiritual alternative to today's suicidal industrialism. If people like Richard seriously suppose that our problems will be solved by the arrival of PR or even unilateral nuclear disarmament, then thank God for the Ecology Party which, for all its failings, at least has the guts to offer the green alternative in all its uncomfortable entirety. There is indeed a 'political channel through which all greens can combine' - and it happens to be the Ecology Party.

Profound but positive disagreements

To assume that there's any other party to which a genuine green might be attracted is to show a total lack of awareness of what green politics entails. In another Green Line article, the Ecology Party's ex-International Secretary, Roland Clarke, took me to task for 'condescendingly' talking about 'different levels of awareness and understanding as regards green politics'. It's taken me eight years to begin to realise what green politics means, and I anticipate I've still got a long way to go. I therefore envy Roland's ability so effortlessly to arrive without having to travel, but I am a little surprised to see that he has got there so painfully encumbered with so much of the mind-set of the old order. All those journalistic clichés about 'splits', when what he's really talking about are profound but quite positive disagreements about the way forward. And to embrace the official Dutch Communist Party within the category of 'progressive socialists' must leave many socialists, let alone greens, agog with concern as to where that sort of progress is likely to take us.

To acknowledge differences and to work to establish certain minimum green criteria is not divisive: it is an essential part of our responsibility. To take to our bosom all those who've learned how to manipulate people at the level of 'shallow ecology' would mean the comprehensive failure of what greens throughout Europe are trying to achieve. There must therefore come a point when we say quite unashamedly that if people genuinely want to promote the green perspective, they're unlikely to achieve this as members or allies of an official Communist Party.

This is just one of the things stirring up lively debate within the Ecology Party; we are by no means 'bogged down'. Whatever Richard and Roland may feel about it, we have thought through our role within a growing green movement, and we intend to stick to it: consistently and often without the reassurance of tangible, easily quantifiable success, to take the fullness of green politics to all and sundry. I suppose we're not all such bright sparks as Richard and may even feel a little embarrassed by that early 70s rhetoric of 'a thousand sunflowers blooming' in 'a spirit of adventure and vision'. The Ecology Party is well aware of its imperfections and knows that it cannot provide the whole answer, but I've yet to hear anyone come up with a better one. And when they do, it certainly won't arise out of the sort of greener-than-thou put-downs and navel-gazing negativity of the last issue of Green Line.

Green Diary 1985

This year Green Line is producing a Diary.

It isn't going to compare with all the other 'alternative' diaries. They're all rather too fat for the pocket - and far too expensive (£3 - £4!).

The Green Diary will be A5 format, around 50 pages, and will cost about £1. Ideal to go in a folder with the rest of your bumf - or to hang by the phone.

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One way you can get a diary for nothing is by sending us dates whose anniversaries we should record. E.g. on what day of which month in which year was the Sharpness train stopped? Green CND founded? the first Gathering held? the Ecology Party founded? Eco's first councillor elected? and so on... We're also looking out interesting quotes from olden and not-so-olden times which help chart the prehistory of the Greens. And what about key dates in the growth of the Green movement in Europe?

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Madness of Ideologies

MARK KINZLEY reflects on Susan Griffin's Schumacher Lecture, published in GL 20 and 21.

I GOT a lot of insight from seeing how the misuse of our feelings, how turning away from them, leads to their projection into ideologies. And then "one begins to believe more in ideas, to put ideas in front of material reality".

But in getting this conclusion about the rigidity of ideology, Susan Griffin has left out half the picture. She has arrived by looking at our subjective experience, at what ideology feels like. But as well as our emotions, which enable us to look inside, there is also reason with which we look outside, with which we try to make a picture of the world. An ideology is rational as well as emotional. I think we can come to the very same conclusion about ideology by starting from the other side. Although the conclusion is naturally going to be the same, we can get just as many insights from arriving by the one path as by the other.

In fact, unless you have the complete story you can't be completely accurate. We can come away from the Schumacher talk thinking that if only we could straighten ourselves out our ideologies would become healthy. If only Stalin had been sufficiently sane, the Russians would have had a good time.

Here is a story from the works of Chuang Tzu, the Taoist sage, which puts a rather different view:

Once, when Chuang Tzu was fishing in the P'u River, the king of Ch'u sent two officials to go and announce to him: 'I would like to trouble you with the administration of my realm.'

Chuang Tzu held on to his fishing rod and, without so much as turning his head, said, 'I have heard that there is a sacred tortoise in Ch'u that has been dead for three thousand years. The King keeps it wrapped in cloth and boxed, and stores it in the ancestral temple. Now would this tortoise rather be dead and have its bones left behind and honoured? Or would it rather be alive and dragging its tail in the mud?'

'It would rather be alive and dragging its head in the mud,' said the two officials.

Chuang Tzu said, 'Go away! I'll drag my tail in the mud!'

I think it beyond dispute that Chuang Tzu was mystically enlightened, so there can be no question of repression and projection. If it was only a question of finding a saintly person Chuang Tzu would surely do. But he sees some additional consideration, something besides the subjective factor that the king is considering.

It is really quite commonsensical. Here is one person who, because of his high moral quality and his perfect insight, is asked to take the decisions for a kingdom. Obviously there is no way he is going to be able to take every decision that has to be taken throughout the kingdom, so in order to impart his morality to at least some of the decisions, he specialises. If he specialises in education, there is no way he can take the decisions for every school: he doesn't even know the name of every school. If he

restricts himself to a single school, things there will still seem sadly authoritarian, and the teachers will be very resentful to have to come to him with everything. Who then can Chuang Tzu govern?

Here we see clearly how rulers are impelled by the size of their problems to issue general guidelines only - and now we return to ideology. Each decision on every specific matter in the kingdom of Ch'u is to be decided in accordance with guidelines of Chuang Tzu.

But this will be to prejudge everything! Every decision and every matter is unique. Unique people in unique situations. On every single occasion the officials will despair, for Chuang Tzu's rule book will never fit the facts. Which will give? Bureaucrats and administrators accommodate reality to the rule-book, they pull and pinch reality until it fits the rule-book. They become the instruments of oppression. But if they turn out instead to have the qualities of a Chuang Tzu, if they are able to hear reality and therefore twist the rules to fit the facts, what need of Chuang Tzu?

Let's turn to Schumacher to take us further. He writes:

Tyrell has put forward the terms 'divergent' and 'convergent' to distinguish problems that cannot be solved by logical reasoning from those that can. Life is being kept going by divergent problems that have to be 'lived' and are solved only in death. Convergent problems on the other hand are man's most useful invention; they do not, as such, exist in reality, but are created by a process of abstraction. When they have been solved, the solution can be written down and passed on to others who can apply it without needing to reproduce the mental effort necessary to find it. If this were the case with human relations - in family life, economics, politics, education, and so forth - well, I am at a loss how to finish the sentence. There would be no more human relations but only mechanical reactions.

As Schumacher puts it, convergent thinking deals with manipulating matter, whereas divergent thinking strains a conscious person into self-awareness.

So to follow the whole thing through, we now see how, when we have a few to govern for the many, this gives rise to such an infinity of problems all lumped together that the governors are impelled to think in generalised terms, which means they have been pushed into applying convergent thinking to divergent problems. That is, they treat people like lifeless matter, manipulating, enforcing, or at best enticing. As for the real solutions, they are never 'lived'. This is all in the very nature of representation.

And the devil took him up, and showed him all the kingdoms of the world in a moment of time, and said to him, 'To you I will give all this authority.'

Who could resist such an offer!? To have the world put to rights if we could have it so? Yet we have seen the consequences!

The march of a thousand miles begins with a single step. ■



EARTH MYSTERIES

A NEW SPIRITUALITY

SOMETHING OF importance happened at Glastonbury on the weekend before Beltane. At the second Earth Mysteries Gathering to be held here, a real step forward was taken in the growth of a new spirituality.

I had expected something more intellectual and more directly related to leys, dowsing, and the like. But what happened was much deeper and much broader than that. Right at the beginning the organisers made the point that "all of us here are experts", and then asked us what we wanted to do. One of the first suggestions came from a woman: 'I want to work with water. I don't mean I want to sit around talking about the symbolism of water. I want to jump in it!' These were two of the main themes of the Gathering: the lack of any hierarchy or expert/consumer syndrome, and a concentration on the physical and emotional rather than the intellectual.

The amazingly warm, sunny weather must have had a lot to do with it. It was a time to get out onto the Earth rather than sit around inside rapping. But this alone couldn't account, for example, for the fact that a group who had chosen to investigate alogical communication spent much of their time in silence. One of them said he got to know the other members of the group far better during half an hour's silence than he did during half an hour of talk.

The sister who wanted a swim got her wish. A group of us went down to the riverside to 'work with the Elements'. For Air we meditated in a circle with linked hands; for Fire we lit a small bonfire and danced round it chanting; for Water we - some of us at least - plunged into the river; and for Earth we ate some apples and embraced the Earth with our bodies. It was great fun.

When we all came together we sat on cushions in a big circle, about fifty of us. Apart from the general feeling of warmth and friendship, there were two remarkable things about these sessions. Firstly, people spoke gently, one after another, without any of the frantic competition to speak next usually so evident when people get together to talk. Secondly, it seemed that about as many women spoke as men. Even in the most 'enlightened' circles such an occurrence is much rarer than our inaccurate memories would have us believe, which is why I dare say no more than that it seemed like that. There is a lesson here for the Ecology Party.

The climax of the Gathering was the ceremony we performed on Chalice Hill on the Sunday afternoon. We were breaking new ground. Some of us had done

similar things before but never quite like this, or on this scale, or - come to that - so publicly. The ceremony was loosely based on the work we had done with the Elements the day before, with a sip of Chalice Well water replacing the swim and a spiral dance to represent the Fifth Element.

We decided before we started that we would have no priesthood. One person led each of the five sections, but as brothers and sisters making their contribution in the field of ceremony as others did in other fields, not as priests. Another piece of baggage we felt we could do without was a churchy atmosphere. There was reverence and concentration, but there was also fun and improvisation. There were hugs and cuddles, and an all-embracing wave of love was generated that I had never experienced before: there was not one person on that hill I didn't love personally.

We came from a great variety of traditions: anthroposophists, taoists, astrologers, pagans, magicians, orange people and witches - to mention only some. Yet there was a unity. The sister who took round the Chalice Well water said she felt that everyone took it in the spirit of their own beliefs. Intellectual agreement was not necessary.

Here lies the importance of what happened that weekend: it wasn't intellectual. We talk about developing a new spirituality, a green spirituality, and we conduct a learned debate on it in the columns of Green Line. We totally miss the point! A genuine religious experience can only come from the heart. The body and intellect can assist at the birth, but they can't substitute for the baby. Even if one believes that the intellect does have a major part to play in discovering a spiritual direction, it's hard to see how it can have pride of place in discovering a green spirituality, when so important a part of the green ethos is to get away from the present over-dominance of the intellect.

We need more and more such Gatherings. We need them frequently and in more different places, not just Glastonbury. I don't believe we need bigger Gatherings, though. We saw what happened to the Green Gathering when it passed a certain size: it ceased to be a Green Gathering and became a festival. A similar change could happen to the Earth Mysteries Gathering if it grew too big for everyone to sit round in a single circle and relate to each other as individuals

Patrick Vickers

THE MEANING OF BEING A MOTHER TODAY

Margli Matthews

After my first child was born I was surprised to find that I was a mother. The role felt so new and strange that it was hard to wear comfortably at first. I was in a new country, newly married, with a new baby, and I suddenly felt very young and immature. Whenever I went out, which did not seem often in those early days, my attention was constantly drawn to mothers. I watched them with their children as though they were of a different species and might reveal some secret to me if I observed long enough. On the surface all mothers appeared to me to be large, mature and capable. I, on the other hand, still felt very much a girl, uncertain and as small as the baby I held in my arms. Yet, at the same time, I knew from the reality of the baby I rocked, nursed and sang to, from the deep sense of wonder, love and responsibility that she awoke in me, that I was certainly and gladly a mother. But the change in my life from one day to the next was so dramatic, so overwhelming, I did not feel particularly prepared for this enormous task that I had chosen. Although there were many aspects of mothering that I entered more or less instinctively, I experienced my new role primarily as a challenge to wake up, to bring consciousness into the nurturing of my child, into the creation of a home and family. From the beginning I did not feel that motherhood was something that I could do 'naturally' or unconsciously. I knew that it would require both outer attention and inner work.

Through my day-to-day mothering over the past fourteen years I have been growing up along with my children. Observing and caring for their development, providing a space for them to unfold, living in all the smallest and grandest aspects of being their mother—these have been my tasks and my blessings. These years have been my deepest schooling. Gradually I have worn my role as a mother more easily, with ever greater confidence and familiarity. Yet sometimes I still find that I stand outside and watch myself being a mother and feel amazed. Perhaps one of the reasons for this detachment is that as much as I know that I am a mother, I know too, that I am not completely and only a mother. I am also an independent, developing personality with tasks and interests that reach beyond the sphere of family.

When I was a new wife and mother much of my previous feeling of independence and many of my outside interests and possibilities seemed to vanish in the face of my awakening, all-consuming interest in baby, husband and home. This caused me to agonize over my identity. I wondered where I was in my new life and what my past education, experiences and interests had to do with my life now. Was I anything apart from my new roles of wife and mother? Could I develop myself and still care for my children and have meaningful relationships with others? I questioned my new roles and struggled against the rigid definitions and expectations that seemed inextricably bound to them. I explored my rights and, more tentatively, my responsibilities. I wanted to find a way to bring together my sense of myself as an individual, independent of roles and sex, and my sense of myself as a modern woman trying to bring a new consciousness and meaning into the traditional roles of wife and mother. And so I came to ask myself: Why am I, a woman in this situation, experiencing these particular things now? What are my possibilities, my limitations and my responsibilities? What can I develop and learn and give as a woman that I was unable to do if I were a man?

Because I felt motherhood was a task that required my free and conscious attention and effort, I wanted to know what it meant to be a mother. I wanted to understand the significance of what I and millions of other women all over the world were doing. This seemed especially important to me because, although I knew deep within me that what I was doing was important, it was not always easy to remember this, living in a society which tends to value only what can be seen, measured or possessed—the functional, tangible products of the intellect and the will. When my babies were small and I was submerged in all the unseen and immeasurable details of care and survival that make up such a time, if someone asked me the inevitable "what do you do?" I often found it hard to answer with "I am a mother, I stay home and look after my children." I felt it would have been much more significant and interesting to claim to be a home decorator, or a nanny, or an ant watcher.

Ironically and unfortunately, the new and strongly growing Women's Movement at that time seemed to make it even more difficult to be proud of one's work as a mother. Some faces of the Movement underlined the dominant view that motherhood was a bind, a drudge, uncreative,

unchallenging, unreal. This seemed to suggest that liberation meant liberation from the home and child-rearing. A few women even suggested that we would only truly be free when scientific and technological advances made wombs unnecessary and obsolete. Freedom, self-development, creativity and recognition were acquired in 'real' jobs in the 'real' outside world—not in the kitchen with the children. A mother, though valuable as a consumer, was somehow otherwise seen as a non-contributing, non-person, blamed for much but not expected to need any help, support or encouragement.

I stress this rather bleak view not because I was 'won over' but because it provided me with a challenge to come to a true re-evaluation of motherhood, as something important for myself and for society at large. I suspect that behind my early compulsion to observe mothers lived a desire to discover the inspiration out of which mothers can work. I wanted to find a way that, as a modern woman, I could relate to and uncover within myself the deep, collective archetype of the Mother.

The Growth of the Woman's Movement

The renewed growth of the Women's Movement over the last twenty years has stimulated this questioning of roles and rights and values and has encouraged women in their striving for greater consciousness and wholeness. Although a full consideration of the history of the Women's Movement is outside the scope of this book. I would like to indicate briefly one way of understanding why the question of the sexes has become such a central concern in our times.

It is possible to trace the historical development of the feminine and masculine principles and to observe how the inter-weaving of this polarity has been a vital force in the evolution of human consciousness and thus in the development of culture and society. By 'feminine' and 'masculine' I do not mean exclusive attributes of women or men, but archetypal, cosmic principles at work in all human beings (regardless of sex), in all human relationships and in society at large. It is increasingly important to be aware of this, as we strive, as women and men, to recognize and appreciate our differences and yet reach beyond separation to a true unity, to find an inner point of balance through which we can bring the feminine and masculine qualities within our soul into harmony.

Simply defined, the gesture of the feminine pole is that of a round, a circle, a vessel, encompassing, receiving, nurturing, unifying, transforming. The feminine is open and vulnerable, intuitive and rhythmic; it trusts, accepts, waits and listens; it is connected with the life of feeling and the imagination. Feminine consciousness is a diffuse, peripheral consciousness.

The gesture of the masculine pole, on the other hand, is that of an arrow, a straight line, directing, penetrating, pursuing, perceiving. It distinguishes, defines, separates, analyzes and individualizes. It is precise, clear, firm, focused, objective and rational and is connected with the intellect and the will.

Both qualities can be either positive or negative. The feminine waits, but it can also vegetate; it can protect, or smother; it may be soft, or weak, diffuse, or vague, flexible, or scatty. Masculine clarity can be cold, and directness can demolish. Separation can isolate, individuality can become selfish and objectivity may turn intellectual and abstract. The negative in either pole arises if it moves too far out of balance, for both qualities are equally valuable and ultimately dependent upon each other for any true creativity. Although the feminine and masculine are often out of balance and can even be seen as conflicting forces in individuals and throughout much of history, they move finally towards a dynamic and creative union.

Largely through recent feminist research, drawing on mythological and psychological studies and as well as archeological findings, we have become aware that our present 'patriarchal' society, and more masculine consciousness has not always been the norm. Many different studies available today suggest, in fact, that in ancient, pre-historical times (during the childhood of humanity), matriarchal societies flourished in many parts of the world. These societies were connected with the worship of the all-protecting, all-nourishing Great Mother Goddess. Motherhood was the primary mystery and the hearth was the centre of social life. In these societies women had great influence and leadership over the development of culture; they had an important role in the

refinement and education of the soul-life of humanity. During this time, human beings shared what could be called a more feminine consciousness, a diffuse, dream-like, imaginative consciousness; they experienced an intimacy and union with each other, nature and the cosmos. They were naturally open to the instreaming of divine wisdom and to the spirit working within and behind the things of the world.

Gradually however, as fact superseded myth and the letter replaced the picture, the masculine principle began to grow in strength and challenged the power of the feminine. In many ways the development and ascendancy of the masculine force is the story of humanity waking up. As people felt themselves increasingly cut off from a divine wisdom, they became more aware of the material, sense perceptible world around them. They developed a more earthly consciousness and an interest in working with, understanding and controlling their surroundings. They experienced a growing separation from each other and from nature, but they gained a sense of their own personalities and individualities. The Greco-Roman era has been identified by many as the time when the forces of feminine and masculine battled each other for power. The older, unconscious feminine principle of wisdom and union, and the lingering and now destructive power of the matriarchy, finally yielded to the growing force of the patriarchy and to the further development of the masculine principle of individuality, discrimination and knowledge of the material world. At this time, the foundations for our modern knowledge were laid. Philosophy and science were developed. Individual thought and perception began to be valued and the powers of revelation and clairvoyance began to dim. People experienced a new clarity and independence of thought, a new objectivity and detachment; they felt the stirring of the forces of the human intellect and will.

Since that time the masculine principle has grown in power and influence. It has led us toward separation and further away from any sense of divine order. But, at the same time, it has made possible free scientific enquiry, the development of science and technology and an ever expanding knowledge and control of the material world. It has been essential to the progress towards individual consciousness, freedom, and responsibility. However, in recent history, this positive masculine development has gradually become extreme and one-sided and the feminine principle has been forgotten, undervalued and generally pushed out of life. The masculine on its own has taken us further and further into materialization, mechanization and abstraction, thereby removing us from a living connection to the spirit. Throughout this development not only the feminine but women, too, were confined and oppressed. They lost much of their previous validity and influence and many of their former roles were either taken over by men and made professional (e.g. cooks, potters, doctors) or they became ever more mechanized and impersonal.

The oppression and suffering of women and the growing restrictions on their possibilities for self-fulfillment, eventually became intolerable for many individuals. Stimulated by the French Revolution and the numerous champions of the rights and freedom of humanity at the end of the 18th century, a new consciousness began to emerge in women. What at first were somewhat isolated voices of protest, gathered strength and momentum during the 19th century and reached a kind of climax at the beginning of the 20th century in the Suffragettes' battle for women's right to vote.

The struggles of the Women's Movement in this century have taken many forms. However, underlying all the various demands for economic, political and social rights, has been a call for the recognition of the consciousness, dignity, freedom and humanity of all women. Primarily, women have demanded the right to decide what they can or cannot do according to the individual abilities, not according to what men or society dictate that they should do. The Women's Movement has therefore been a tremendous impulse for the self-realization and freedom of both women and men alike, for the recognition of the individually emerging spirit in all human beings.

Much of the effort of the renewed Women's Movement in our time has been directed towards raising women's consciousness with the aim of achieving greater rights and freedoms in the economic and political spheres. Clearly, although there is still much to be done, many restrictions and barriers have been lifted and many new possibilities of fulfillment have arisen. Women today work in a variety of fields and professions. With modern methods of birth control and greater understanding of our bodies, we are more able to choose whether or not to become mothers. We have learned to grapple with the physical, material world and have developed our intellects and wills; we can achieve and provide, control and guide. Men too have begun to free themselves from their more traditional roles as chief breadwinners, worldly achievers and providers. Some have begun to stand back and look at their values and express their willingness to give up their single-minded pursuit of fame and worldly success for more meaningful work and a life style that will allow them to express their inner, imaginative, feeling life. They say that they do not want a heart attack for lack of a heart life. The rise in

unemployment may be contributing to this shift, in that many men now question the meaning and definition of work and the sense of putting all their life into a job which offers no security and which often removes them from their families and relationships. There are a growing number of stories today of men refusing advancement, or giving up lucrative jobs, in order to cultivate their inner life and to spend more time with their wives and children. As they nurture and care for their children, men begin to uncover their capacity for co-operation, for love, intimacy and tenderness. They discover the value of household in the wider universe, and the myth of the non-nurturing male begins to break down.

Thus the questioning of roles and the experimentation with different life styles fostered by the Women's Movement have created an atmosphere of flexibility. We begin to free ourselves from rigid definitions and narrow stereotyped expectations of the other sex. We want to define ourselves more fully and to develop in ourselves what we previously left to the other sex to develop. This, of course, is not easy and our relationships often become strained. Our more traditional expectations of the other sex lie deep within us and do not easily disappear just because we become conscious of them. We sometimes flounder without the security of our old roles to fall back on. But in our efforts we have increased the range and quality of our experiences. We have become inwardly more mobile. This, then, makes possible new kinds of relationships—not relationships of mutual dependency, where we expect a certain behaviour from the other and look to them to express the unexpressed sides of ourselves, but relationships of mutual development, where we are committed to the growth and wholeness of the other, where we help each other to come to balance. As we drop our roles the possibility of real relationship begins, of one self to another. We gradually come to see that neither biology nor the role of a particular moment define the totality of our individual existence—that our true humanity lies beyond the realm of the sexes.

Behind all the questioning and shifting of roles, there lives in many individuals a deep intention for balance and a search for new warmth and wholeness in themselves and for all society. Although I believe that this impulse lies at the heart of the Women's Movement today, I also know that it has not always been immediately apparent. In the struggle for political and economic recognition, some parts of the Movement have seemed to undermine a true renewal of the feminine and of women's values that would work to bring a greater balance into our lives. At times its voice has been harsh and strident, encouraging women to take on the hard, head-orientated, materialistic values that at a deeper level it opposes, fostering the very polarization and isolation that it would remedy. By extolling competition, aggression, and material gain, and by valuing skills that lead to money, status and power, the Movement has tended to encourage women to take on a masculine cloak and call this emancipation. Besides perpetuating the very system it wants to overcome and chaining us further in the name of freedom, this stance has alienated many women and in some has called forth a defensive reaction, thereby fostering a retreat from consciousness into a kind of sentimental and instinctive femininity.

Neither extreme can truly represent what seeks to emerge today from all of our questions and strivings. It is not just an imbalance of power between women and men that we find today. It is not only that women have been kept out of life but that the feminine qualities in all of us have been sleeping. Political and economic injustices must be attended to but also our overly materialistic ways of thinking and being need to be softened and warmed. This does not mean going back to the old, unconscious feminine values of the past. Rather we can begin to use what we have gained in clarity and objectivity to awaken, strengthen and develop a now conscious feminine force that we will be able to bring together with the masculine and so create a new living consciousness that can unite us all.

This deep impulse for balance that works behind the push for women's consciousness has come more to the surface in recent years. This is, I think, a result of the growing readiness on the part of many women to consider the spiritual as well as the political dimensions of their questions, and to come to a new understanding of their own values and the contributions that they can make to society through a renewal of the feminine. I feel certain that the earlier, more aggressive and strident phase of the Movement was justifiable and necessary in order to break down old attitudes and create new possibilities, and I am grateful to all the women who fought so hard. But the lifting of the limits has not made us free. We must ask not only about our rights but also about our responsibilities.

THIS ARTICLE is taken from the first chapter of 'LIFEWAYS - WORKING WITH FAMILY QUESTIONS', edited by Gudrun Davy and Boris Voors (Hawthorn Press, £4.95). Margli Matthews is on the teaching staff at Emerson College. She will be offering a workshop on the question of the masculine and feminine polarity in the Summer Workshop, 'What Makes for Peace?' - to be held at Emerson College, Forest Row, Sussex RH18 5JX from July 13-20. Details from the Secretary at this address.

PETER TATCHELL ON GREEN SOCIALISM



JEAN LAMBERT, co-chair of the Ecology Party Council, talks to PETER TATCHELL - who is arguing widely in the labour movement for a convergence in socialist and green ideas.

JL Let me start by asking you what new political perspectives you think the green movement has brought out.

PT Those of us in the Labour Party have to be aware that neither society nor its problems nor the way in which we solve those problems are static. As society changes new problems emerge and new ways of dealing with those problems are required. In recent years one of the new insights has been that of the ecology movement, the green movement. In much the same way that the Labour Party has had to adapt its socialism to the insights and demands of the women's movement, so I believe it has to address itself to the concerns and insights of the green movement as well.

In a late capitalist society such as ours it is becoming increasingly apparent that neither the old traditional capitalist ways of doing things, nor some of the traditional socialist alternatives, are tenable. For example, the left has so often made a major plank of its economic policy the issue of unlimited and indefinite economic growth, and striven to maximise growth. We are now living in a world where many basic resources and raw materials

are in increasingly short supply - indeed, estimates suggest that in 30 or 40 years' time the world's supply of oil, for example, will begin to run out. Oil is actually the motor of modern industrial economies, and we have to address ourselves to the depletion not only of oil but also of many other raw materials and natural resources and minerals; because if we don't we are going to face the collapse of our economies and indeed of our whole civilisation.

So, because of the insights of the green movement, the Labour Party has to start questioning a lot of its traditional approaches to economic matters. The important issue now is not so much economic growth, because we have the wealth and the technological capacity to solve all the basic necessities that people require

capacity to provide all the basic necessities that people require - whether it be food or clothing or housing. The real problem is the unequal distribution of that wealth, the fact that it is unequally distributed between classes within nations, and between nations internationally.

JL You've written about how you see the so-called

'developed' world needs to change its attitudes towards development within the Third World.

PT For years the socialist left has been unable to come up with a convincing answer to the problems of underdevelopment and the Third World. It has talked glibly about anti-imperialism, about breaking the nexus of neo-colonialism, about Third World states kicking out foreign entrepreneurs and nationalising their means of production. Now all those things may be necessary and helpful, but they are not a sufficient condition for Third World development and the achievement of a reasonable and adequate standard of living for the people in those countries. The root cause of underdevelopment is the way in which such a disproportionate volume of resources is sucked out of the poor nations into the economies of the rich industrial metropolises. At the end of the day, the only way underdevelopment can be solved is by substantially reducing the flow of raw materials and manufactured goods from the Third World into the developed capitalist states.

One of the great insights which the green movement has given us is the understanding that by taking less resources out of the Third World but using them more efficiently, we could begin to solve the problems of Third World underdevelopment without provoking a massive, electorally unacceptable decline in the western standard of living. This would mean that we would have to have a very different standard of living, not necessarily a lower one, but certainly a different one.

DANGEROUS PATH

JL It seems a dangerous path for the Labour Party. To be seen to be wanting to reduce imports and change the basis, almost, of our way of life here - this is something quite frightening to the electorate who have always seen the Labour Party as offering security which other parties maybe don't offer.

PT We still want to offer security, but not based on the old economic expansionist traditions of Labour economic policy. We want to be able to offer people a better and more secure standard of living - particularly for the many unemployed and homeless, and NHS patients who are not getting operations. But it cannot be based on the old economic expansionist view of socialism: it can't be based upon that oppressive illusion of unlimited economic growth for the West which inevitably means poverty and underdevelopment for the Third World. Whatever economic expansion we achieve is very significantly at the expense of the Third World, and that is morally untenable.

JL That's true, but how much support do the views you are expressing now have within the Labour Party at present?

PT I think that there is a growing recognition in the Labour Party that we do have to start rethinking first premises. In a sense, in the past we've competed with the Tories to put more money in the voters' pockets - we have put so much emphasis on disposable personal incomes: in a sense we have colluded with an intrinsically capitalist definition of well-being and prosperity. We have fought our battles on a terrain dictated by a capitalist economic system and a capitalist economic philosophy. I believe we have to start breaking with that, and start counterposing a far more radical socialist alternative, a very different set of socialist values: a different way of defining wealth and

standard of living and economic prosperity.

The Labour movement has taken over an intrinsically Victorian view of industrialisation, except that we want to change the ownership of industry and wealth and vest it in the hands of working people. But we have never actually questioned the intrinsic character of that industry - the goals or the rationality or the purpose or the methods of industry. We've just been content to see the whole question in terms of changing the formal legal ownership. Perhaps this approach is best exemplified by a couple of statements that Lenin made. He once defined socialism as 'soviets plus electrification'. He positively exalted the American scientific management theory of Taylorism. Implicitly he seemed to be accepting that even in the most radical revolutionary situation all that socialists had to do was simply take over capitalist industry and then wield it for socialist purposes. That view contains no recognition that the type of industry we have is not made by or for us: it has been fashioned by a capitalist class for a particularly capitalist form of industry. It was not made by or for working people, in their interests or for their needs.

THE UNIONS

JL Don't you think that some of the Labour Party's problems in this respect come from the fact that it is so strongly rooted in trade unionism?

PT Trade unions on the one hand are an enormous strength for the Labour Party, rooted in the experience and aspirations of working class people. But on the other hand trade unions - almost by definition - are part of the prevailing system, because they exist first and foremost not to transform the system but to defend the interests of their members within that system and to fight to get a better deal. In a sense trade unions are very much caught up in the wages free market system. That is why one needs a socialist party, to make that leap from trade union consciousness to a wider socialist consciousness which is able to work actively and explicitly for the total transformation of the social fabric.

JL Many of us outside the Labour Party see the party very much dominated by trade unions, with the grass-roots membership always going to be out-voted by block votes. What prospect do you see of changing that, or of persuading those of us outside the party that it's not as bad as it looks?

PT Sadly, trade unions are not as popular as they should be. It is important that they seek to re-popularise themselves as institutions, and it's also vital for the future of the labour and socialist movement that they do so. One of the problems is that trade unions are tied down to immediate short-term bread-and-butter issues. They tend to define workers' interests as confined to the workplace, whereas in fact people are not merely workers, they are also council tenants, they are also consumers, they may also be oppressed on the grounds of their gender or their race. So in a sense the areas of trade union concern should be far wider than just the workplace. It may be in the short-term interests of trade unions to try and fight to save jobs on every single occasion, but they also need to recognise that some jobs may not be in working people's long-term interests - such as building cruise missile silos or nuclear power stations, or dumping nuclear waste in the sea. It's encouraging, for example, that the National Union of Seamen sacrificed their jobs in order to prevent the dumping of nuclear

waste in the North Atlantic. It's a pity more unions (such as the building workers) are not prepared to sacrifice some jobs in the short term to prevent the wholesale destruction of working class inner city communities by speculative office development. If more unions took on these issues as legitimate areas of trade union concern, we might see a re-popularisation of the trade union movement.

For example, in Australia in the early 1970s, the Builders' Labourers' Federation had a policy of Green Bans, refusing to work on construction projects involved in the demolition of inner city working class areas to make way for office blocks and yacht marinas for the rich. They had Green Bans on uranium mining and nuclear missile and power station construction, and through those policies there was an enormous upsurge in union popularity. If we actually want to undercut the Tory ideology that unions are only interested in their own narrow sectional interests, we are going to have to revive those liberatory, emancipatory aspects of trade unionism.

Take the whole issue of free collective bargaining, which is posed as the socialist alternative to an incomes policy. Now I certainly think that it's fundamentally wrong that there should be any kind of legal or statutory restraint on a worker's right to withdraw his or her labour: that to me is a fundamental, inviolable human right. However, while I support trade unions fighting for their members' rights, I cannot really see free collective bargaining as a radical socialist alternative, because essentially free collective bargaining is about the market forces, the marketplace: it's an intrinsic part of the capitalist philosophy which sees the economy as run by the free play of market forces in the unfettered marketplace. If one looks at the experience of free collective bargaining, not only has it done very little for the low-paid black and women workers, for example, but it has also functioned overall to confine workers' struggles to the wages system, to the free market system. And it's done it in such a way that it's actually fragmented working class struggles: it's actually divided and compartmentalised trade unions from each other. It has sectioned off and isolated each individual union struggle, and that's fragmented class consciousness and class cohesion and weakened and divided the union movement.

I don't know what the exact alternative could be, but certainly we need to try to explore new strategies which can encourage a wider class consciousness. For example, fighting on an issue like a national minimum wage or a social wage is a way of uniting all working people regardless of union affiliation or occupation, and in the process one encourages a sense of class unity and common class consciousness. It's actually a way in which the stronger, more powerful unions can be brought to bear to fight a battle which is also going to benefit the weaker, less unionised, lower paid sections.

JL How do you think this can come about, in view of what you have said? How is it possible to get people to become more aware of the wider interests which are of longer term benefit?

PT At the moment there is a group of public service sector unions, in the civil service, the local authorities, and the health service, which have actually been in negotiation for a number of months with the objective of establishing an inter-union alliance where they would have a common negotiating date, a joint set of demands, and if necessary be

ready to pool their resources to fight a combined industrial struggle. In a sense, that is a way in which a broader sense of comradeship and solidarity can be forged.

JL In some bizarre way, is the present government - with its massive majority and the policies it is putting into operation - actually working as a force to unite people in opposition?

PT Sadly it's true that for the last few years the Tories have had the ideological offensive and have actually managed to manufacture a majority consensus. There are a few important issues which have united people across the board - cruise missiles and nuclear disarmament in general, the question of the abrogation of civil liberties and the assault on the rights of the individual, the stealthy abrogation of local democracy.

JL Does this reflect a panic reaction, rather than a thought-out approach to what society should be like?

PT One of the problems of the left has been that it tends to be very much stuck in a negative, oppositionist role. In terms of a concrete strategy for how we make the transition from capitalism to socialism, it is very weak, and there is very little debate about that. In terms of the kind of alternative society that we want, or the alternative policies that we are fighting for, the left is very weak. I think negativism and oppositionism is cheap: it's easy, it's the soft option. To come up with attractive, positive, constructive alternatives which can win popular support is a much harder thing, but it's something we've got to do if we're ever to hope to win the majority of the British people for socialist ideas.

REDISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH

GL (an additional question which Richard Hunt put to Peter Tatchell): Socialism redistributes wealth by the provision of more services such as social workers, libraries, and more housing. These cost money, so the government needs more income from taxes from more economic growth. In a stable or contracting economy, how does socialism redistribute wealth?

PT A green socialist approach certainly rejects traditional economic growth based on swallowing up more resources. However, in a no-growth economy, extra taxable wealth to fund public services could be created by using resources more efficiently and eliminating wasteful forms of production. In the energy industry, for instance, new technologies could enable our power stations to extract twice as much energy from each ton of coal. The same applies to the provision of public services: if the present resources of the NHS were more efficiently used by a switch from curative care to preventative medicine, then a much better service could be provided from within the existing budget. A simple ban on cigarette advertising and smoking in public places would significantly reduce the single greatest cause of heart disease and lung cancer. This would save the NHS millions, and cut hospital waiting lists by freeing beds, staff and operating theatres for other patients.

** Our thanks to Peter Tatchell and Jean Lambert for conducting this interview.

REMINERALISATION

RESPONSE TO the 'fertility from the Stones' article in the March issue of GL ranged from open hostility by representatives of establishment science to a letter of encouragement from a Christian which was brief enough to quote in full: "Remember St Paul told us to be fools for Christ's sake, bear in mind that Easter Sunday is the best joke ever, and join me in realising that there is no joy without tears and no peace without fighting, so bash on regardless."

John Hamaker made the link between soil fertility, ice ages, and atmospheric carbon dioxide more than ten years ago. For over ten years he has tried to warn the rest of us of our approaching demise if we don't make urgent ecological adjustments to our collective lifestyles. In global terms initial progress was painfully slow until Hamaker teamed up with Don Weaver, who researched evidence to support the theory and an initial collection of their work was presented in the 1982 book, 'The Survival of Civilisation'.

For those who missed the article, or its point, Hamaker's message is this:

Our planet is in the final few years of a glacial transition at the other side of which the whole of the present temperate zone will be uninhabitable by human beings. Britain, Europe, the USSR, North America etc. will become tree-less tundra. The only way to avert this catastrophic future is to do all possible NOW to:

- (1) Remineralise all of the planet's soils, reclaim barren land, and grow carbon-storing plants (trees, etc.) wherever possible.
- (2) Halt all unnecessary (ecologically) cropping of timber, especially in the fragile rain forests.
- (3) Take immediate steps towards the highest possible efficiency in pure energy terms, halting the wholesale consumption of fossil fuels for its own sake.

There are two things each of us can do initially:

- (1) Study the problem and communicate it as widely as possible. Information is already available in a variety of languages and there are co-ordinators in many parts of the world.
- (2) Remineralise our gardens, allotments, orchards, smallholdings, etc. for the personal benefit of diet enrichment and as an example to others.

The first of these can be begun by contacting me for further details enclosing a large s.a.e. and a small donation if possible (this is voluntary work). My address is 47 Lake Street, Oxford OX1 4RR - phone 0865 250704. The book, 'The Survival of Civilisation' is available from Green Line, 34 Cowley Road, Oxford price £5.95 post free.

As to the second task, "remineralisation" is the term coined by Hamaker for adding natural fertiliser to the soil in the form of rock ground to dust. It seems that most ground rock will improve soil, but silicate rock gives the most dramatic improvement.

A convenient source of such rock can be found in gravel deposits which in Britain are fortunately abundant. The problem is that the rock or gravel has to be ground extremely fine so that 90% will pass a 200 mesh screen. The resultant product has the texture of flour when dry, silt when wet. This is applied to the soil at the rate of more than 3 tons to the acre to arrest the decline in forests, etc. Ten tons per acre will give excellent growth in the vegetable plot, and 20+ will give you the Garden of Eden.

As a guide, one ton per acre is approximately 5 lbs per 100 square feet. In addition to the gravel dust, a generous supply of carbon must be provided for the soil micro-organisms: this can be in the form of well-rotted manure, compost, or peat. Prospecting for gravel dust is great fun and no worse than canvassing for the Greens (which is perhaps a more apt parallel than I originally intended).

For those who would refute what we say on the basis of it seeming highly unlikely, consider the words of R Buckminster Fuller who put his not inconsiderable reputation behind Hamaker's thesis in his letter to Don Weaver, dated Jan 11th 1983:

"I have received and read John Hamaker's 'The Survival of Civilisation'. Well done - completely convincing... I will tell all those enquiring of me about matters relevant to our survival that they had best read Hamaker's book 'The Survival of Civilisation'."

For the entropy lobby who accept no prophecy until it happens or is shown beyond any doubt, consider the words of Richard A Kerr writing in the March 1984 Science Magazine: the article was headlined 'Carbon Dioxide and the Control of Ice Ages' and reported the work of Nicholas Shackleton at Cambridge University:

"Orbital variations do seem to be able to summon carbon dioxide to do their bidding in the climate system ... But new kinds of analysis of marine sediment have recently produced the strongest contender yet - atmospheric carbon dioxide - for the missing agent that boosts the climatic effects of orbital variations. This new (sic) understanding of ancient climate changes has reminded researchers that future climate changes driven by fossil-fuel burning and an enhanced greenhouse effect may not be as gradual as commonly supposed ... Until researchers have a better idea of what drove carbon dioxide and climate through such rapid variations in the past, they will remain uneasy about today's increasing atmospheric carbon dioxide and its expected greenhouse effect."

Harry Alderslade

** GL has received several letters in response to the article 'Fertility from the Stones' in the March issue (GL 20). We are awaiting comment on some of the points raised from Don Weaver, as well as a review of the book itself by Peter Taylor of the Political Ecology Research Group.

letters

The Unglamorous Approach to Unity

I attended the First Congress of the European Greens at Liege at the end of March and so would like to comment on Roland Clarke's account of the Congress (GL 22).

First, the degree of unanimity between the majority of green parties present was and is more important than the position of Die Grünen on the Coordination. Also, Roland's piece fails to mention how the way the national representatives of Die Grünen tried to manipulate the Congress contributed to the eventual outcome. The absence of the usual reasonable approach to relations between green parties did not help at all.

Second, while the PPR is a known quantity to the representatives of the European Greens, the other elements of the Progressive Accord were unknown: to expect any meeting to sanction alliance with groups unknown to it in terms of real political knowledge is unrealistic.

Thirdly, there is considerable doubt as to whether the current views of members of the Die Grünen National Committee are really representative of the party as a whole. (...)

Underlying all these manoeuvres, in which I feel Roland has rightly pointed out the conciliatory role of the UK delegation, is a more fundamental question. What approach do green parties take towards parties that are teetering on the brink of being green but are still retaining policies which seem incompatible with ecological objectives? (...) To take a simplistic pro or anti stance on such alliances is quite wrong and could be positively harmful to the development of green politics. But to allow ourselves to be absorbed within the legions of liberals or socialists who are in the main not green in any meaningful sense at present without at first ensuring that they have made a genuine conversion to green political and economic perspectives would be a terrible waste.

I think the appropriate method is that any alliance should be contemplated only after long periods of liaison, real political change in the parties involved, and when concrete improvements in the effectiveness of getting

green politics in an undiluted form to the public can be assured as a consequence of an alliance. This undramatic, unglamorous approach may not contribute to sensationalistic reporting of events in Green Line which emphasise questions of alliances and splits rather than real political issues.

Steve Dawe
12 Clyde Street, Canterbury CT1 1NA.

Poem is Published

In GL 21 you printed the second half of Susan Griffin's "Ideologies of Madness" talk which she gave in London last November. At the end you said that the poem she concluded with, Prayer for Continuation, is as yet unpublished in this country. This is not the case: the poem is in Reclaim the Earth, an anthology of eco-feminist writing edited by Stephanie Leland and myself, and published by the Women's Press.

Leonie Caldecott
76 Culverdon Road, London SW12 9LS.

Gradualists All

I agree with Tim Cooper's call (Letters, GL 22) for research into the dynamics of change. It is not to be expected that power will be relinquished or wealth redistributed without a struggle.

But there is another aspect of this that I think that Tim, in common with many speakers at many Eco conferences, has overlooked. There is a kaleidoscopic effect in the passage of time. The windmills at which we tilt today are stilled by the winds of change, which means that by the time that 'a green majority had authority in parliament' the situation would be so changed that present policies would have become doctrinaire and off the target - which is why some of us hesitate to call ourselves 'socialists'.

In answer to Tim's question, 'Can we seriously expect the greens to...?', I would say that Mrs Thatcher's inability to cut spending today is no guide to what the consummation of Eco power in Westminster and Whitehall could achieve. The 'pleas from big business (to say nothing of the more characteristic pressures) and those of trade unionists and other interest groups' will, in that day of Eco triumph, be of interest to historians only.

There is no simple projection from the present into the future and I suspect that Tim has confused the absolute future, which is what we mean by the kingdom of God, with the relativities of history in which we have to operate. It seems that we all have no choice but to walk into the future by faith. But 'faith in what?' is the question we find embarrassing.

My plea to the researchers is that they:

- practice an awareness that history never yields to reason or conforms to speculation;
- counter any tendency to utopianism (e.g. 'when Jonathon Porritt goes to No. 10') by the remembrance of Jeremiah who observed the desperate wickedness of the human heart; and
- remember that in real life we all have to be step by step gradualists. Radical solutions entertain the imagination and feed our vision, but we in common with most of the human kind decline the crucifixion they require.

Tom Comber, 32 Alexandra Road, Oxford.

Please write in - we do print (almost) all the letters we receive. Keep them short, otherwise we have to cut them.



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 20p for full information to:

**Vegan Society (GL),
47, Highlands Road,
Leatherhead,
Surrey. K22 8NQ**

Arrogant and Divisive

I liked the general drift of Richard Oldfield's thinking (GL 22) and I honour the vitality of much of his work with others to launch a coherent series of cogent 'green' initiatives.

But I was still upset by the title of your piece: Dead Wood in a Green Forest strikes me as uncharacteristically arrogant and divisive. And then you ended by quoting part of the Glastonbury '82 'Green Declaration' (which I and most other participants had no hand in):

Greens are as a tree growing, gathering fruit, growing towards wholeness... Sometimes the tree needs pruning to help it grow, remove the dead wood maybe.

What a metaphor! Not at all organic, to do with life as we live it, green movement from our part of the inside. Not new sap budding through the old wood which has sheathed it and without which the new sap wouldn't have risen so!

Rather the image seems to involve a hierarchical step outside to some illusory vantage point above our movement, to a consciousness from which one-way Judgement may be delivered; and wood decreed 'dead' and chopped out.

Go easy, Richard, this is the same kind of imagery which patriarchal leaders of all sorts of movements have used to justify all sorts of crimes! I know you mean no pogroms or purges, but nevertheless it bespeaks bitterness and can accentuate it.

Much easier said than done, I know, but I feel it's best if honest 'horizontal' conflict and partings of the way are felt as sad and serious leave-takings (or potential leave-takings) in which the parties summon up generosity towards each other and wish each other well! Who knows how it will all work out and whether today's parting might not be a necessary step in some wider unity-process we cannot yet discern?!

We are all in need of healing to revive the 'dead wood'/older wood in our approach to life and others, the sore spots and blind spots and numbnesses. One of the reasons I like politics is that it is a path where it is especially obvious that blaming others is best forgotten - the whole point of politics being communication with whoever is there!

Keith Motherson
3 Jordanston Cottages, Dwr Bach,
Fishguard, Dyfed.

Don't Demoralise Us!

As a relative newcomer to what you call the 'Green Movement' (and of which I had never heard before I joined the Ecology Party) I am both surprised and irritated at your magazine's increasing hostility to Eco. The Ecology Party is surely the channel for all those millions who, like myself, don't - yet - hold your quasi-religious convictions and commitment; it is a bridge between you and the world as the majority perceive it, and one which has brought me, for instance, into contact with your magazine!

But how green are you anyway? There seems to be a strongly reddish tinge to your hue which belies your commitment. I do not deny that a sustainable future will have much in common with some socialist ideals, but the leap from that to Labour is immense. Green socialism is only one, very small sect in Labour's famous 'broad church', probably less influential than orthodox Marxism, and generally belittled by the rest of the Labour movement if CND's attitude to Green CND is anything to go by. What influence do Labour-voting 'greens' seriously expect to have on the policy of the next Labour government? You have only to look at Mitterand's new-found commitment to nuclear power, or to Bob Hawkes' 'moral obligation' to mine uranium in Australia, to see what happens to socialist leaders once in power.

Conservatism may be an oppressive philosophy, but a great many Tory voters are simply confused. They too are concerned about the state of the planet, but they need something considerably more structured than the 'green idea' on which to focus their concern, particularly when that idea is so easily tainted red! They do however vote Ecology: indeed, to judge from local election results in Reading our support is nearly as much from Conservatives as from Labour voters.

I am still not entirely sure what it means to be 'green'. I know that the word means nothing to the general public, unless it be conservation and pretty hedgerows. I do know what the Ecology Party is however, and it is a concept that I know I can explain to anyone. If you - your paper, your readers - consider yourselves to be somehow too green to support the Ecology Party, so be it; do not try to demoralise us.

Adam Stout
57 St John's Road, Caversham, Reading.

Eco: a Branch of the Movement

The Green movement's practice of levelling a constant barrage of criticism at the Ecology Party is both misplaced and self-destructive. The scathing articles by Roland Clarke, Richard Oldfield and Martin Stott leave me experiencing a feeling of utter despair. The Ecology Party is merely a political branch of the whole Green movement, it is not / should not be a separate entity.

May I exhort all critics and sympathisers of the Ecology Party to join as fully paid-up members, active at local and national level. Membership will give them a first-hand opportunity to modify, change, or introduce new policies which more accurately reflect their beliefs and requirements. Then and only then, with your support, will the Ecology Party be able to channel its energy towards the attainment of Green political power which is the sole reason for its existence.

Jennifer M Churchward
18 King Edwards Avenue, Gloucester.



sticker from a Spanish anti-military demonstration in May.



SUMMIT 84 - A CALL TO ACTION

THE PLANNED BLOCKADE of the Economic Summit in London on Saturday June 9th is on. The rulers of the Western Alliance are holding their Annual General Meeting at Lancaster House, The Mall, London SW1 from Thursday to Saturday June 7 - 9. There will be demonstrations each day, and several on the last day. We are calling for a mass demonstration of nonviolent direct action to surround Lancaster House during the last session of the conference, with the theme A NON-NUCLEAR WORLD EAST AND WEST. This demonstration has widespread support from the national and international peace movement.

We suggest that demonstrators should begin to enter the Lancaster House area at 11.00, giving plenty of time for reconnaissance, and should gather at agreed assembly points by 12.00. Then we should make our way as informally and individually as possible towards Lancaster House, not showing any recognisable identification until we reach our destination. We shall get as close to Lancaster House as we can, but we expect to be stopped some distance away by police cordons and barriers. We suggest that at 12.30 every such blockage should itself be blockaded by the necessary number of demonstrators sitting down in front of it. There is no need for everyone to sit down, since there will always be a need for people to move around to maintain the siege and to see what is happening.

We hope that demonstrators who come late or have attended other demonstrations will reinforce us at 2.00 and again at 3.30. We propose to maintain the siege until the

conference delegates hear our message or else until 5.00.

On Sunday June 10 there will be an informal gathering from 11.00 at Parliament Hill (the eastern end of Hampstead Heath) to discuss the events of the previous day and to have a good time together.

Guidelines for the Action

This is a demonstration of nonviolent direct action. You are asked to take part only if you are prepared to accept the discipline of complete nonviolence, whatever the provocation or temptation, and to take into account the probability of being arrested for various offences and the possibility of being roughly handled by the police. You are also asked not to bring banners or posters, which can be dangerous in such circumstances, and not to shout slogans or abuse, which cause confrontation and divert attention from the purpose of the demonstration.

For most people it is important to come in a group and to have some training, and for all people it is important to get some information and think about the action first.

Detailed briefing documents, including maps and timetables, legal and welfare information, and general advice, are being prepared and will be sent on request.

Choice of Action

The peace movement has a choice of three demonstrations in London on 9th June: a conventional march from Hyde Park to a conventional rally in Trafalgar Square; a symbolic demonstration of civil disobedience at the US embassy in Grosvenor Square (both organised by CND); and a direct action demonstration at Lancaster House (Summit 84). There is no reason for any of these actions to be seen as competitive with each other, or for any of the organisations involved to be seen as disruptive of the wider movement. There is no question of challenging CND or splitting the movement, but only a question of having the most effective forms of action at the most suitable time and place.

We hope that Summit 84, and indeed the whole day, is a great success. Then we hope that the Action 84 process will be resumed, so that we can all work together on the next stage of spreading nonviolent direct action in the movement and in the country.

(From a leaflet by the Summit 84 Working Group. Contact: 01-794 5590.)

Common People's Magna Carta: Sign Here!

On Friday June 15 at 2 pm a Common People's Magna Carta will be read out and signed by those present:

"We the undersigned individuals, knowing that this Common People's Magna Carta is but a paper charter, still demand that:

- (1) Military Forces Foreign and Domestic become subservient to Civil Authority.
- (2) Military Budgets be slashed to minimum necessary to build military museums.
- (3) Armed Forces and their military and civil officers and departments be disbanded.
- (4) Civil Police be all the force necessary and politic.
- (4a) Civil Police be subject to citizens' authority.
- (5) Military Barracks; Airfields; Shipyards be converted into civil sports fields and parks.
- (6) Crown Lands; Church Lands; Ministry of Defence Lands be returned to Common Lands."

The signing takes place at Runnymede (on the Thames between Staines and Windsor).



Cyclists Should Sue

On the principle that the best way to make motorists more careful of cyclists is to make them pay for accidents they cause, FoE Oxfordshire is offering free legal advice to any local cyclist involved in an accident. You fill in a FoE Cyclists Compensation Claim Form, and FoE (who have a friendly solicitor among their members in Oxford!) will advise whether it's worth pursuing a claim - and if so, help you sue. They suggest that groups elsewhere could follow their example. Info: (s.a.e. please) Oxon FoE, 37 Cowley Road, Oxford.



Rainforest Labels

Re-use labels with Rainforest slogans £1.50 for 100 incl. p&p from Inge Conroy, 126 Elgin Crescent, London W11.

Stop the Malville Bomb Factory!

Creys-Malville is the site of France's first fast-breeder nuclear power stations, Superphenix 1 and 2. In the words of a French general: "Superphenix is the technical basis of the French nuclear military force." They will produce 600 kilos of weapons grade plutonium per annum, while feeding electricity into the European grid at twice the cost even of other nuclear stations.

A coalition of French and other European green, anti-nuclear, peace and socialist groups is organising a gathering for the 4th/5th August, with a peace camp in the preceding weeks, at a site 10 miles from the reactors. It should be a big event: more information (and the possibility of organised transport) from Mark Blaxter, 128 Bethnal Green Road, London E2 (01-739 6824); or Jeremy c/o Scram NVAG, 11 Forth Street, Edinburgh.

Labour for Land

The Labour Land Campaign was launched at the House of Commons on February 29. It supports public ownership of both urban and rural land, and exists

to show how land reform can be a worthwhile contribution in creating a greater redistribution of wealth. It promotes the nationalisation of land wealth by the taxation of land values, and aims to show how the gradual extinction of private land wealth can work in harmony with key socialist policies and promote their ends.

Campaign secretary is Kay Knights, 20 Ryland Road, London NW5 3EA (tel. 01-267 2245).

Death by Stoning

Shahila, a Sri Lankan born woman working in the Emirate of Abu Dhabi, has been sentenced to death by stoning for the crime of adultery. The sentence will be carried out two months after her baby is born, or earlier if a wet nurse is found. She is now 7½ months pregnant. You can help to save Shahila's life by writing to the United Arab Emirates Embassy, 30 Princes Gate, London SW7, or by gathering signatures on a petition and sending it to the Embassy.

Workshops for Peace

Fiona Adamson is doing a series of workshops in London on themes related to our effectiveness and unity in campaigning in the peace movement. They examine such matters as our attitude to NVDA, unlearning racism, taking strength from our class diversity, etc. Each lasts one day and costs £7.50 (£5 low-waged, £2.50 unwaged). Leaflet and details from Fiona at 2 Arundel Gardens, London W11 (01-221 1310).

Green Groups

LEICESTER Green Affinity Group, c/o 44 West Street, Leicester LE1 6XQ. Tel. Jeff Fry, Leicester 548402.

LEWES Sera Group; set up on May 8 with 11 members (including 5 members of Eco and 5 of the Labour Party.) Public meeting on June 6: 'Agribusiness - a Threat to the Countryside?' (discussion with speakers). Info: Lewes 71719 or 77324.

LONDON Greenpeace, 6 Endsleigh St., London WC1. 01-387 5370 (Dave).

WARRINGTON: Earth Concern, 11 Bagnall Close, Great Sankey, Warrington, Cheshire (Warrington 33013). Mainly active in the field of animal rights. Meets at the People's Peace Camp, Burtonwood, where most of the members live or are active.

(We have previously offered to list groups/branches of organisations such as PoE, Eco, etc. when newly formed. There has been little response, but free entry here is always available to all new green groups.)

EVENTS

Green Gathering at Molesworth

The nearest we are likely to get to a 'national' Green Gathering is a combined event with Molesworth Peace Camp, to be called 'Harvest for the Hungry'. Starting on Saturday 25th August, the gathering will last a week: the wheat that was sown at Easter will be harvested, and the land (which is on the base) ploughed for winter wheat. There will be a major All Faiths celebration to dedicate a new meditation chapel.

If you'd like to make a contribution before you arrive (money, as always, is short!), please send £7.50 to 'Harvest for the Hungry', 4 Bridge House, St Ives, Huntingdon, Cambs

Swansea Green Day, June 6. Claire Phillips, 140 Hanover Street, Swansea.

Boscombe Down Peace Fayre An occasion for celebration, when a new peace camp will be set up. John Fuller, 64 Florence ct., Andover, Hants; or tel Amesbury 22605.

Warminster Peace Group will be launched on June 15 with a talk by Malcolm Harper on 'Just Defence?'. St John's Hall, Boreham Road, 8 pm. (Info: 0985 215679).

Earth Awareness Conference outdoors in Sherwood Forest. Info: 69 Cranbury Road, Reading RG3 2XE. June 18 - 24.

Glastonbury CND Festival June 22-24.

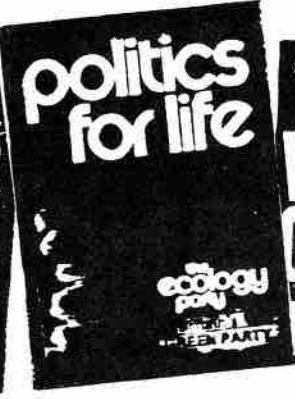
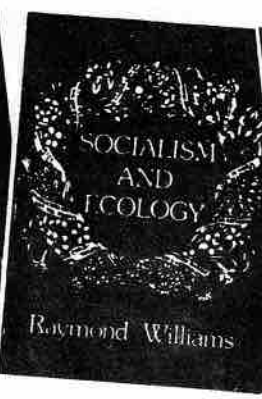
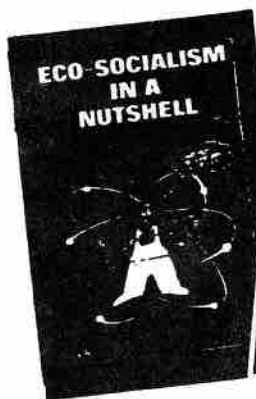
The mention of the Green Field has been left off most of CND's official publicity (surprise, surprise!), but the greens will be there creating their own little 'Green Gathering' environment.

Bradford Green Gathering, June 23-24. University of Bradford. Info: Jennie Bean, 3 Swinton Place, Bradford 7, W Yorks. (Check dates as might move a week later).

Chilwell Mass Trespass, July 1 (see GL 22). Info: Nottingham 581948.

Hull Green Day, July 8. Betty Whitwell, 3 Thorngarth Lane, Barrow-on-Humber (tel. B-on-H 30721).

Tewkesbury Mediaeval Fayre, July 7-17. The Vineyard's Field, Tewkesbury, Glos.



PAMPHLETS AVAILABLE FROM GREEN LINE

(Prices include p&p, except that orders under £2 should be accompanied by a 12½p stamp).

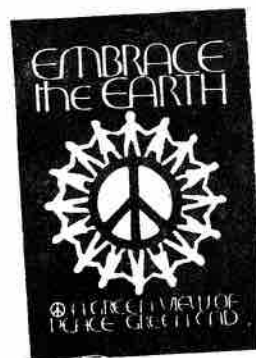
POLITICS FOR LIFE (Ecology Party, 36pp, 50p). Eco's election manifesto: a concise statement of green politics. 10 for £4

ECO-SOCIALISM IN A NUTSHELL (SERA, 24pp, 50p). Extract from 'Nuclear Power for Beginners'. 5 for £2.

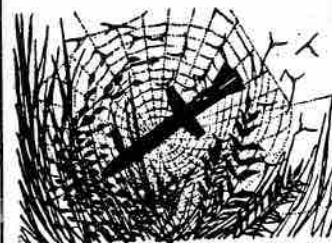
SOCIALISM AND ECOLOGY - Raymond Williams. (SERA, 20pp, 75p). 5 for £3.

FAIR VOTES GUIDE (Campaign for Fair Votes, 32pp, 95p). All the basic facts on electoral reform. 5 for £4.

EMBRACE THE EARTH (Green CND, 44pp, 90p). A green view of peace set in a broad political context. 5 for £3.50.



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'Prayer for Peace' postcards 10p each (10 for £1). Choose English version (illustrated); or 2-colour mandala version; or Russian-English bilingual version. All same price.

PRAYER for PEACE



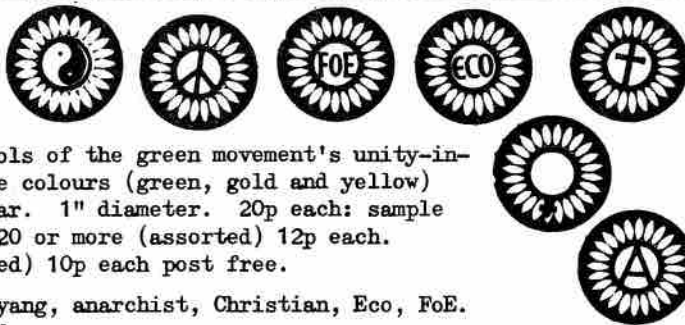
LEAD ME FROM DEATH
to LIFE, from FEAR to HOPE
LEAD ME FROM DESPAIR
to HOPE, from FEAR to TRUST
LEAD ME FROM HATE
to LOVE, from WAR to PEACE
LET PEACE FILL OUR HEARTS,
OUR WORLD, OUR UNIVERSE...
PEACE • PEACE • PEACE

Stickers



These are printed in light yellow, gold and green - and catch the eye at a distance! 3¼" x 5½". 30p each; 10 or more 20p each post free.

Badges



Seven designs, symbols of the green movement's unity-in-diversity. In three colours (green, gold and yellow) and visible from afar. 1" diameter. 20p each: sample set £1 post free. 20 or more (assorted) 12p each. 100 or more (assorted) 10p each post free.

CND, feminist, yin-yang, anarchist, Christian, Eco, FoE. More designs planned.



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