

GREEN LINE

Economics is bunk
Saunders Lewis
Greening of Labour
Dounreay

Mysteries of the Yew

No.37 November 1985 40p

Remember...and



DISARM!

GREEN LINE

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(CONVENTIONAL) ECONOMICS IS BUNK

PAUL EKINS is Director of The Other Economic Summit (TOES), a body which has been trying to draw attention to the fallacies and the evils which underlie contemporary economics. Here he summarises the TOES critique and the alternatives proposed, in the text of a talk first given at the South-East London Green Fair in June this year.

CONVENTIONAL ECONOMICS and the policies to which it gives rise are riddled with bad analysis, false assumptions, and inhumane dogma. A few examples will illustrate these points:

1 To conventional economics the earth is an infinite source of resources and an infinite sink for wastes. This assumption may have effectively been true when there was a fraction of the present human population and a tiny fraction of current industrial economic activity. It is obviously false now.

2 Economics assumes all people to be like homo economicus - someone motivated purely by financial gain. This is obvious nonsense. Love, loyalty, worship - to mention only three non-financial qualities - motivate people all the time. But by expecting people to behave like homo economicus, and by building a whole economic system on such an expectation, people are actually encouraged to behave like that, with disastrous results for society at large.

3 Economics only recognises "effective demand", that is, money, not human need. By definition those who need most have least money. Economics simply ignores their need, while allowing those who have, to buy more.

4 Economic policy has only one answer to all questions: growth. Want to cure unemployment? The answer is growth - even though the OECD was forecasting "jobless growth" right back in 1978. Want to cure inflation? The answer is growth - even though growth has been shown to be a part cause of inflation by depleting resources (prices go up), polluting the environment (costs of environmental protection go up), disrupting communities (crime, vandalism and public costs associated with these go up), and requiring increased co-ordination, regulation and control (bureaucratic and public costs go up). Want to have better health? The answer is growth (to spend more on the NHS) - even though today's diseases in Western society are those of over-consumption and unhealthy lifestyles associated with the economic growth process. To give a single answer to all questions is just stupid. Economics is like that.

5 Economics pretends that all useful production and services are carried out for money. Again this is nonsense. Studies show that at least half of all economic activity is informal, not done for money (voluntary, household work, etc.). By completely ignoring this sector, economics is not only incapable of describing the real world; by giving this sector no value or status, economics discriminates against

and undercuts the very part of the economy on which all formal economic activity depends; for without even the caring, cooking and child-rearing of the informal economy, human life would come to a complete halt.

6 Economics never mentions the quality of work. It talks of jobs or of labour. It equates people's work with that of machines. It knows nothing of skill, craftsmanship, work-satisfaction, personal development and community service through work, the social usefulness of products. It is blind to everything about work except labour productivity.

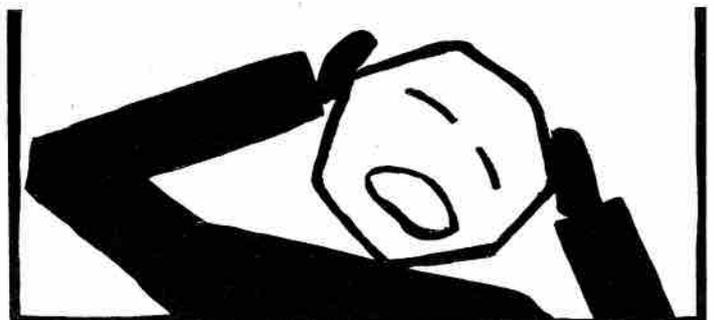
This is the economics that now dominates policy-making in practically every human society in the world. No wonder humanity is facing a global crisis of unprecedented proportions.

To give a single answer to all questions is just stupid:

Economics is like that.

The Other Economic Summit (TOES) is developing alternatives to this lunatic, destructive way of organising our production, consumption and distribution of goods and services. Some of the concepts and ideas it is exploring can be summarised as follows:

- :: New indicators of wealth, well-being and economic progress, including resource accounting, an Eco-National Product to replace the meaningless aggregation of GNP, health and social indicators, and measures of the informal economy.
- :: The steady-state economy, embodying principles of sustainable yield and of conservation of resources and the environment, while giving maximum scope for qualitative innovation and improvement.
- :: Liberation from the tyranny of jobs, unemployment, the work ethic and "effective demand" - through the payment of a Basic Income as of right, facilitating the sharing of paid and unpaid work more equally, especially between men and women, and creating a new ethic of work based on personal development, social usefulness and ecological sustainability.
- :: A new emphasis on self-reliance, personal and collective, local and national, based at each level on appropriate investment to mobilise the skills and resources at that level, to produce goods and services for the satisfaction of that level's needs.
- :: A new and humane theory of human needs and the reorientation of economics to make its first priority the enablement of all people to satisfy their needs.



:: The incorporation of health creation into the process of wealth creation; for in a very real sense, health is wealth.

:: A concern not only with the ownership of the means of production, but with the means of production themselves: what do they do to people, what do they do to the environment, what sort of products do they produce?

What will emerge from TOES' work is, hopefully, no less than a New Economics, based on personal development and social justice, satisfaction of the whole range of human needs, sustainable use of resources, and conservation of the environment. It will not be before time. □

THE LIBERAL ECOLOGY GROUP is a significant pressure group within the Liberal Party. It has just produced a revised edition of its Manifesto. Here is part of the section on economics.

Liberals and the sustainable society

CONVENTIONAL ECONOMICS is overwhelmingly concerned with activities which are measured in money terms - the production, distribution and consumption of goods and provision of services. Thereby economics tends to exclude many other aspects of the human condition, both spiritual and material, and counts all monetary activities as positive (as contributors to the GNP) even if they are undertaken in order to counteract the physical effects of other activities. Also the depletion of non-renewable resources (natural capital) is accounted as income, not as disinvestment. A substitute for GNP as our main criterion for economic success is urgently needed.

The desire for better housing, education, food and transport will persist in our society as in others. Economic growth has brought considerable material benefits but has also brought environmental and human problems. But as Barbara Ward put it in "Only One Earth", "Growth and the environment are not in necessary opposition... Societies can still 'grow', yet still preserve and enhance their environments." But because of the realities of pollution and because we live in a world in which some resources are finite, indiscriminate economic growth is no solution to the world's problems.

The transition from our present society to a sustainable society will involve a fundamental change of view by most people. A sustainable society is one in which a balance is maintained between the activities of man and nature as a whole. This does not mean a return to drudgery or giving up advanced technology, which will be needed to achieve such a balance. The measure of such a society's success would be an improving quality of life that does not close any options for future generations. In such a society there would be emphasis on the conservation of resources and the reduction of pollution; a very high priority would be given to the recycling of materials, durability of products and reduction of waste.

There is no wealth but life.

John Ruskin

GREEN ANARCHISTS COME CLEAN ON CLASS

IN TERMS OF current anarchist activist thinking and the content of the anarchist press, Green Anarchist has opened a can of worms by stating a new position on class struggle, based on an economic analysis of class relations and the Third World connection. It flies in the face of groups like 'Class Struggle', and is seen as an attempt to re-define the direction of anarchist strategy. We reprint the editorial in question:

THE "CLASS STRUGGLE": THEORY AND TACTICS

The British working class, without land, depends for its necessities of life on the exploitation of the peasants of the Third World, who are dying of starvation because their land is being used to grow crops for the workers of the industrial countries (cotton - one fifth of the world's entire farmland, jute, rubber, vegetable oil, fruit, beans, soya, meat, etc.).

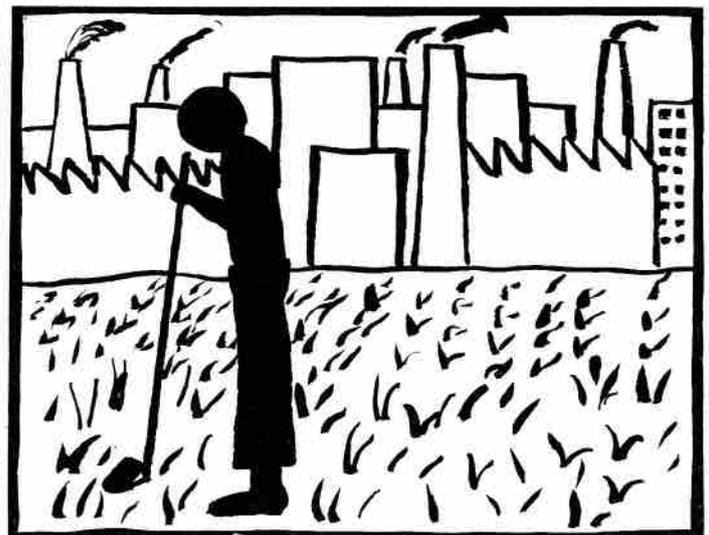
While the bosses have always exploited the urban artisans, those artisans have always been dependent on the exploitation of the peasants of the city's hinterland. Today our hinterland is the Third World.

To recognise that the artisan exploits the peasant is to undermine the whole theory and strategy of those who concentrate on 'The Class Struggle'. Since the exploited British working class is also the exploiter of the Third World, it is unlikely that the working class will take any revolutionary initiative. Theoretically we must expect, and support, Third World revolution before a British revolution.

Tactically it is a mistake to try to find revolutionaries in the British working class. Any revolutionaries will be found amongst the unemployed, not at the workplace.

Because it disproves the conventional 'Class Struggle' theories and strategies, every effort is made to marginalise Green Anarchism by harping on about our odder aspects like hair dos and brown rice, and our unsunder, holier-than-thou aspects like 'lifestyle'. For the same reasons they underplay world pollution and resource depletion which also falsify their theories of industrialism.

They'll try to ignore the awkward basic issues. It's up to you to bring them to their attention.



HOW GREEN IS THE COMMUNITY PROGRAMME?

STEVE DAWE, assistant manager of the Canterbury City Council Community Programme, considers the ways in which the programme might be providing green answers to unemployment.

THE COMMUNITY PROGRAMME is a Manpower Services Commission scheme with over 130,000 places nationwide - currently being increased to 230,000 because of its 'success'. Community Programme jobs are one of the cheapest ways the government can reduce unemployment and it is therefore very popular with the present regime. Community Programme provides one-year jobs for the long-term unemployed; those aged 18 - 24 who have been unemployed for six out of the last nine months, or those over 25 who have been unemployed for 12 out of the last 15 months. It is only available to those receiving benefit: since 1st October 1984, CP jobs have not been open to married women whose husbands are working. Also excluded since this date are occupational pensioners and those receiving widows' pension. Given the predominance of manual jobs under CP agencies, there is an inbuilt bias against the employment of women. The Equal Opportunities Commission and other bodies are challenging this discrimination.

Voluntary and local government bodies may become CP agencies. The Manpower Services Commission supplies wages and £440 budget per person per year plus a £100 'Agency Fee' per person per year. Profit-making, reversal of public expenditure cuts, or substitution for the work of volunteers are not theoretically permissible under CP. In practice there are some infringements of these general principles, depending on the attitudes of the Area Manpower Boards which vet proposals for projects. In practice a large proportion of CP work is unskilled labour: repair of community halls, landscaping and coppicing, construction of playgrounds, miniature parks and other community facilities.

Ecological research is possible as well as woodland management: Avon Friends of the Earth and the Ecological Parks Trust are managing agencies for CP and many other groups are becoming involved who have overtly environmentalist or ecological interests. Canterbury City Council, which I work for, has done work on urban conservation, a landscape and countryside survey, and is currently doing a tree survey to

establish needs for tree preservation orders and replanting. Those who are opposed in principle to the idea of job-creation should remember what CP can be used to do. We should not be too tied to the notion of a 'real' job by which is usually meant a permanent job. Many useful tasks are not long-term.

A distinction should be made between CP and the Youth Training Scheme. In my experience YTS can be used by employers to replace permanent workers with low-paid, pliable, disposable ones. I know this has happened in my area. The same problem cannot arise at present in CP since there is no involvement with commercial bodies. The Government is thinking of changing this, which will quickly lead to the same problem as YTS has, unless it is resisted. It can be argued that CP is substituting for things which most Greens would see as legitimate spheres of local government: research of all kinds, labour for impecunious community groups, provision of community facilities. There is a good case for decentralising CP onto District Councils, keeping to most of the rules which now govern CP agencies.

If we assess CP as a scheme for getting people permanent jobs, then it is a failure. Of the 20% - 30% who do get other employment, perhaps two-thirds are getting short-lived jobs in building firms. CP can be criticised for the restrictive £63 average wage which must be maintained within an agency over a year. To keep to this, in practice about two-thirds of posts must be part-time - a problem to those with high rents who must then claim housing benefit as well. The £63 average does mean that more people can have some kind of employment.

Some people think that we should all be rushing into small business ventures. The lack of confidence which is the main characteristic of the people I interview and employ is the major barrier to such action. Few of the people CP employs would readily set up a small business lacking education, confidence, family backing, community support or money. Punitive interest rates, VAT, multinational competition and innumerable bureaucratic and legalistic hurdles are quite intimidating enough without these more personal considerations. CP is at least a quick answer, and a relatively cheap means to community renovation. It should not be seen through the darkening prism of antagonism to government initiatives or very vague notions about 'the abolition of employment' which are further off than Pluto. What we will need when the oil runs out are cheap ways to share useful work while capital-intensive ecological investment in rail, canal, energy and other projects is being initiated: CP offers a basis for this. □

MARXISM 85

EARNEST WEEVEL went along to see the Trots in action.

IT WOULD have been hard for anyone politically active or curious not to have known that a thing called Marxism 85 was being organised by the Socialist Workers' Party. But few people seem to know what it is.

Even the University of London Students Union who hosted the event misunderstood it by scattering helpful notices around the building addressed to 'conference delegates'. No. The SWP would never organise a true conference and invite the world to watch. Instead we were given theatre where the actors - the political stars - delivered their

performances to passive audiences. Perhaps the damage done to the confidence of the audience was matched by a benefit to the speakers. Every one of these I saw was brilliant.

Although to some extent I came to have my prejudices confirmed, in many ways I was impressed and given a lot to think about - especially on two subjects greens think a lot about: anarcho-syndicalism and people's history. The SWP took the trouble to organise a very carefully thought out series of meetings to immunise their membership from the lure of anarchism. But unfortunately for the organisers they forgot to compare dates, and many of the comrades most in need of immunisation escaped their jab as they were away sinking boats at the Henley Regatta on July 6. Maybe the SWP will subscribe to Class War.

I will put forward their main arguments and suggest some answers.

1) Anarcho-syndicalism is only relevant to simple industrial societies where there are only a very few stages in the production of any particular good. Industrial workers become separated in industrial society from their results of their work. For instance, if a car worker profits from installing

Many socialists seem to forget communism altogether.

It is our job to remind them.

crap steering racks he may never know that he is killing people.

But economic progress is not one-way only. It is quite likely that the economies of the west will become more rural, and hopefully we will take the political awareness we have earned in this violent century back the way we came.

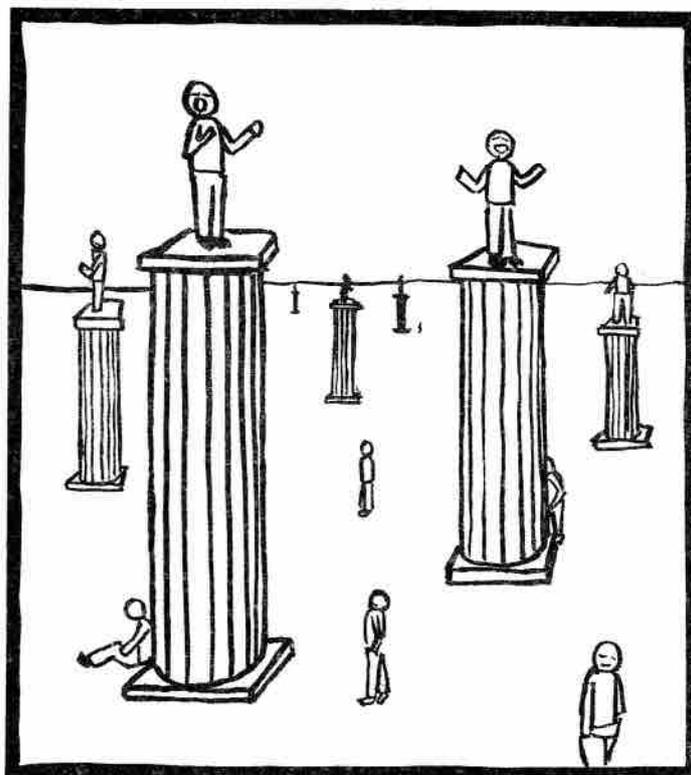
2) The Anarchists cannot see the real power structure behind the symbols (meaning Class War in particular). Removing the symbols of authority can lead to less freedom, not more, as it drives everything underground.

This is only a criticism of some anarchists. We all know that there are enterprises too large (or too dull) to involve everyone they effect). Whether or not we like the idea of representative democracy, some people will choose to step forward, others not. We must make representatives represent.

3) Historically the anarchists have amounted to a reactionary force despite all their revolutionary slogans.

Two ideas are brought up to support this. First the fear that we may fall for the trap the ruling class lays when it equates economic freedom with capitalism. We have to prove that we are not that stupid! Economic freedom under capitalism is a fantasy for the 98% of the population who hold only 3% of the wealth.

The second argument is less rational and amounts to quoting examples of some odd alliances anarchists have made in the past. Two famous examples (famous because of Karl Marx's mud-slinging abilities) are Proudhon's sympathy for the slave-owning South in



the American Civil War; and the occasion when he voted against a progressive constitution while a delegate to the 1848 Constitutional Assembly of France. We should avoid being forced into justifying mistakes made over a century ago. Our strength is that we can look to real situations today before deciding tactics. Unlike Marxists we do not need the approval of long-dead leaders!

4) The anarchists are so frightened of the corrupting influence of political power that in any decisive situation the anarchists will piss about until the state is strong enough to line them against a wall.

Many of us would have problems answering this one. My personal opinion is that we should not set ourselves as an alternative to socialist revolution, but its complement. According to Marxist theory socialism is only a temporary stage to be followed by communism. Society without the state. Unfortunately many socialists seem to forget communism altogether. It is our job to remind them. □

PEACE POLICY: WHERE'S THE DEBATE?

ALEX HART argues that while CND's leadership is sold on the idea of a Labour government at the next General Election, important issues are being swept under the carpet.

THE ANTI-BOMB CAMPAIGN, so successfully run by CND/END since around 1980, has been fading out since the disastrous general election of 1983. There is a leadership responsibility. As pointed out by Peter Cadogan (GL 34), "the number of people actually running CND today ... is probably a dozen minus." We have not yet become effectively democratic.

We should be cautious about criticising CND for lack of democracy. Mankind has not yet solved the problem of developing a form of social organisation to be viable in the long term. All effective organisation remains hierarchic, as it has been since tribal days.

At last we have been forced to realise that such organisation is definitely self-destructive. It has shown itself to be so several times prehistorically and historically - the atom bomb and industrialisation have merely quickened the process, and threatened this time to make it final. CND sees the danger of the bomb, but has not understood the suicidal aspect of hierarchism, just as it has failed to notice the effects of capitalist industry in the biosphere.

About democracy two things are certain. The first is that it is necessary for the survival of humankind as a social animal. The second is that it has so far never worked successfully more than incompletely, and for quite short periods. It has invariably become unworkable and has been replaced by a despotism. (If the despotism of Cromwell in England was mild, it was not so in Ireland.)

In our own immediate past, the main political lesson of the miners' strike is a grim one. Our capitalist state-organised national police force, trained to attack, were able easily to defeat - at Orgreave and elsewhere - the miners mobilised only to defend using a strategy that had been effective when there was no

massive organised national police-army. There was never any question of aiming at a social change. The few calls for a general strike went in effect unheard. The aim of the NUM under Scargill was only to preserve or restore the kind of National Coal Board they had had before Mrs Thatcher started to replace Beveridge-Attlee welfare capitalism with a return to plain capitalism without the welfare.

We still need to do a lot of thinking, and are beginning to do it. The British people are waking up as they are finally told - after a collapse of a prosecution of miners' pickets for having been hit by police truncheons - what really happened at Orgreave. And they have been able to see on their telly the same police force dealing with defenceless hippy caravanners in Wiltshire.

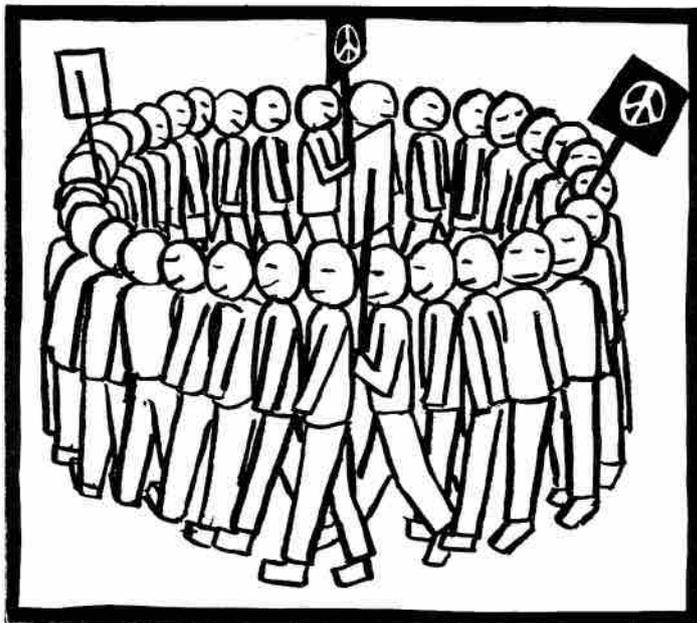
For Green Line and all serious ecologists the anti-war struggle - and therefore CND/END - are not marginal but both central and immediate, taking precedence over all else. The CND leadership should change its line on NATO and finally understand that to become effective, its anti-war campaign must free itself from either of the two nuclear superpowers, accept therefore the majority vote of the last CND AGM, and cease to support NATO. Such a step is not only essential for our own anti-war struggle, but will also give an opportunity for a reconciliation with the 'official' peace movement in the Soviet sphere. This does not preclude continued support for democratic protest; but can such support be seen as anything but hostile from a peace movement that supports NATO?

At present CND and the whole 'left' is putting all its strength into supporting Mr Kinnock's campaign to get himself into Downing Street, on the strength of Mr

Kinnock's 'unilateralism'.

But should we not remember 1983 and Mr Foot, also a long-term 'unilateralist'? Or even Wilson put into the leadership of the left with his 'white-hot technology'?

CND's acceptance of the Labour Party establishment's political leadership, with even Benn and Livingstone silent, prevents any political discussion of policy, when critical discussion is precisely what is most urgently needed - sadly lacking as we do a convincing programme that is not just another variant of consumerism. □



DOUNREAY: SCOTLAND'S NON-ISSUE

MICHAEL COLLIE, press officer of the Scottish Green Party, looks at the startling lack of political debate in Scotland surrounding the proposed nuclear reprocessing plant at Dounreay.

IT COMES as no great surprise that the Secretary for State for Scotland, George Younger, has only felt it necessary to call a local planning inquiry into the proposed building of a nuclear reprocessing plant at Dounreay in Caithness. It was clear enough from the start that neither the government nor the nuclear industry itself regarded the whole business of planning permission as anything more than a tiresome but unfortunately unavoidable administrative inconvenience.

Jonathon Porritt, Director of Friends of the Earth, neatly encapsulated the government's attitude when he said, "The Secretary of State seems intent on regarding this proposal as though it were a planning application for a kitchen extension."

In a rare display of unanimity, opposition groups like SCRAM, FoE, Greenpeace, CADE and the Green Party have announced that they can see no merit in participating in what they regard as a mere sham of an inquiry. Instead they are continuing to press for a Joint Planning Inquiry Commission which, if convened, could consider all the facts involved, not just those pertaining to the operational safety of the plant and its likely impact on the local environment.

The central point which is escaping full and proper examination is that by building Dounreay we would be all but guaranteeing that nuclear energy will become

the cornerstone of our energy policy for well into the next century. For by letting the reprocessing plant go through virtually on the nod, one is almost agreeing to the fast breeder plants which are the other half of the nuclear recycling chain. Policy making by default.

But while one might regard the Government's indifference to democratic debate on this issue as par for the course, it ought to be of real concern to all of us that Dounreay is practically a non-issue in Scottish politics.

Consider the facts.

The Labour Party, very late in the day, announced that it too would like to see a Joint Planning Inquiry Commission. Fair enough, but that was it. No campaign, not a single public statement, and no reaction whatever to the announcement that George Younger doesn't feel inclined to come over with an inquiry worth the time of day. The fact is that with a few honorable exceptions - such as Alex Falconer MEP - the Labour Party knows nothing and cares less about the Dounreay proposals.

In the case of the supposedly anti-nuclear SNP, their excellent energy spokesperson, Kerr McGregor, finds his hands tied by the division and indecision within his party. The local party in Caithness is quite definitely pro-Dounreay. Winnie Ewing MEP weighed in on the anti-Dounreay side when the story first broke but has since disappeared from sight - perhaps to count the pro- and anti- votes with a view to the next General Election? Whatever the reason, the result is that on an issue which has profound implica-

tions for Scotland's future, the SNP is all but silent, starkly revealing the lack of any coherent ideological base which hangs like an albatross around their neck.

As for the Alliance, the Tweedledum and Tweedledee of the middle way, on this issue like so many they are irreconcilably split. Their position is reflected in the personal stance of their men on the spot. SDP member for Caithness and Sutherland, Robert MacLennan MP, is staunchly pro-nuclear, while his Liberal colleague across the Pentland Firth, Jim Wallace MP, is ardently anti-nuclear. The result: no Alliance action or official policy.

Only the Green Party, with a handful of activists and no political muscle to speak of, has been clear and consistent - not only in calling for a full inquiry, but in making the case against the Dounreay project. But alone they cannot hope to have any real effect. Their best shot is their link with sister parties in Europe, but this is no substitute for broad-based and effective campaigning on the home front...

But here in Scotland the so-called radicals in the other parties are not prepared to raise their heads above the parapet - not, I suspect, because they fear

the opposition, but because they know that likely as not they would be shot in the back by their own side.

Of course there are difficult issues involved. Most thorny of these is the issue of jobs in the Caithness area. Already overly dependent on Dounreay, it is not surprising that there is strong local support for a project which will offer continuity of employment for some time to come. But rather than seeing this as a problem, true radicals should welcome it as an opportunity to show that there are alternatives.

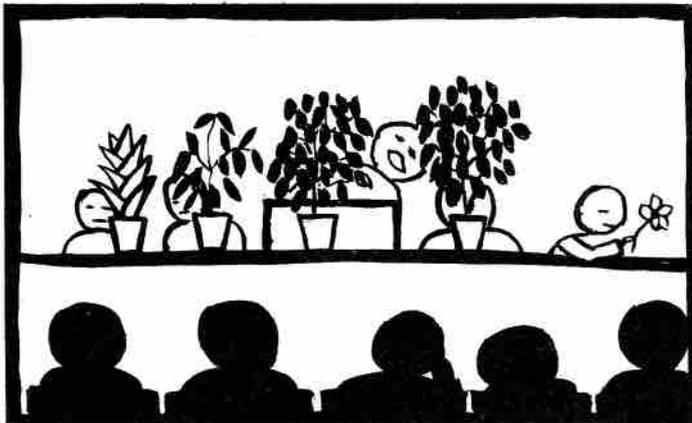
What is needed is a commission that can come forward with proposals for an alternative employment strategy for the area, backed by a cross-party-political commitment to come over with the financial backing to implement its findings should the proposals enjoy the support of the local communities. This would negate not only the jobs argument for the new Dounreay project, but would allow us to look at the possibility of closing down the current establishment.

There is an urgent need to put Dounreay firmly on everyone's political agenda. Yet all the signs are that this is increasingly unlikely; and that once more our established parties will choose to go down the nuclear rather than the radical road. □

GREENING THE LABOUR PARTY

VICTOR ANDERSON attended the recent Labour Party Conference.

GREEN POLITICS has made some progress within the Labour Party recently. The most significant step was the vote at this year's Labour Party Conference for a resolution which "calls for a halt to the nuclear



power programme and a phasing out of all existing plants." This is the first time Labour has committed itself to the principle of opposition to nuclear energy. The main reason for this change was the gradual shift in opinion within the trade unions, which led this summer to the adoption of an anti-nuclear policy by the Transport and General Workers' Union, the largest trade union.

The Conference also carried two other resolutions on the environment, calling amongst other things for an environmental protection agency to be set up and for stricter controls over toxic waste. The week before saw the publication of "Labour's Charter for the Environment" (35p), summarising Labour's existing policies and hinting that future policy changes are on the way.

Now the Conference is over, the Labour Party is likely to re-start its environment committee and begin the process hinted at in the Charter of thoroughly rewriting Labour policy on environmental issues. This will probably be a two-year process, with documents being voted on at the 1986 and 1987 Conferences.

These developments give greens within the Labour Party plenty of possibilities for action over the next year or so. In particular, one priority seems to be working for a two-thirds majority for an anti-nuclear resolution at next year's Conference: this would give the policy a much better chance of getting into the manifesto for the next election, and since this year's vote was 62% to 38% it should be possible. The other priority is to try to influence the work of the new environment committee, particularly to persuade them to find ways of bringing ecological concerns into economic strategy.

The organisation putting most effort into working through Labour Party structures is the green socialist group SERA (Socialist Environment and Resources Assn.) SERA held two fringe meetings at this year's Conference, and SERA members moved and seconded the anti-nuclear resolution. SERA would certainly welcome the involvement of more people in the project of greening Labour. It isn't, however, essential for people to join the Labour Party to do so: Labour and trade union branches generally welcome speakers from other local organisations (except for opposing political parties) and there are always opportunities for greens to run stalls and fringe meetings at labour movement conferences and other events.

Many readers of Green Line will, of course, dismiss all this as irrelevant. Green organisations generally concentrate on helping to bring about changes in public opinion and private lifestyle. But what the major political parties offer is an important third element: a means for getting ecologically sound policies implemented by a future government, and through local government. For example, South Yorkshire Council and the GLC have been able to put into practice policies which would have remained simply good ideas unless they had been taken up by the Labour Party.

If this is the sort of thing you are interested in, write to: SERA Labour Party Working Group, c/o Paul Pender, 11 Dennington Park Road, London NW6. □

Saunders Lewis

SAUNDERS LEWIS was twice nominated for a Nobel award for literature. As a writer he was better known in Germany and Israel than in England. His "small is beautiful" policies met with initial hostility in Wales. But he succeeded in selling them before Schumacher became fashionable. Saunders Lewis died last month: D M M DAVIES looks back on the life of one of Wales' national leaders.

SUNDAY SEPTEMBER 1st 1985 marks the end of an era in the history of modern Wales. On that day J Saunders Lewis died in St Winifred's Hospital, Cardiff, at the age of 91.

Poet, novelist, journalist, playwright, literary critic, soldier and - it would be insulting to describe him as a "politician" - national leader; he probably exerted more influence on the life of Wales than any other living Welshman has done for centuries.

Born in England, he took his first degree in English and went on to "discover" Wales in the trenches of the first world war, where he served with distinction. After the war he was appointed to the staff of University College Swansea's Welsh department. He was one of the founders of the Welsh Nationalist Party (later to become Plaid Cymru) and, as president of the party, he was one of the three who were sentenced to a term of imprisonment in Wormwood Scrubs after they had burned a building on the site of the proposed "bombing school" at Penyberth. At this point the Anglophile bourgeoisie of Swansea secured his dismissal from the university.

By this time he had become a Roman Catholic - in a country which is predominantly "non-conformist" in religion. This did not enhance his acceptance as a national leader. Nevertheless it was during the period after 1936, following his resignation from the presidency of Plaid Cymru, that he exerted his greatest influence on the rising generations in Wales.

One of the most often quoted texts in the Welsh language must be the speech of Emrys Wledig which starts (in very inadequate translation):

"... Wales is a vineyard, given into my care, to be transmitted to my children and the children of my children, an eternal inheritance..."

That must strike a chord with ecologists! And there are other aspects of his work which will warm the cockles of ecological hearts. In his "Deg Pwynt Polisi" (Ten Points of Policy) published in 1933, he starts with the statement that it is not the business of government to create a complete system; it is the function of government to create those circumstances which allow people to develop a system which is in keeping with their temperament, ideals and traditions. The economic unit should correspond to the political unit in order to defend people against exploitation. Industrial capitalism and free competition were condemned. There was a demand for state control of money and credit creation.

Families must be free, secure and as independent as possible. Property must be distributed widely and barriers established to prevent the accumulation of too much property in too few hands. Agriculture was to be the main industry of Wales. The South Wales

valleys were to be "deindustrialised" for the moral and physical welfare of their population. "All the natural resources of Wales are wealth to be used judiciously for the benefit of the Welsh nation and for the assistance of her neighbours in the rest of the world."

It is hardly surprising that generations nurtured on ideas such as these gave a warm welcome to the ideas of Dr Schumacher and his associates. The ground had been prepared. In fact Plaid Cymru actually published some pamphlets by Dr Leopold Kohr - but that was before its disastrous lurch to the left!

Saunders Lewis' radio lecture in 1956 led to the formation of the Direct Action Movement which eventually succeeded in securing a degree of equal validity for Welsh in Wales. He parted company with the movement in 1976 (until then he was its president) because he was not prepared to accept the absolute pacifism of most of its membership.

His was a full life. In the 1930s he pioneered the idea of the small political unit, the small-scale business, and the small farmer proprietor. He advocated direct action to preserve what was socially valuable at a time when that was not fashionable. He dared to be right when that was not popular; and above all he asserted natural law as transcending the law of the land. He leaves a great gap in the life of Wales.



✱✱ A classic collection of his early political writings was reissued during 1985. (Saunders Lewis. Canlyn Arthur. Ysgrifau Gwleidyddol. Gwasg Gomer, Llandysul, Dyfed. £4.95.) It would be a valuable experience for the English-reading public to be confronted with the contents of this book, ranging from the Ten Points of Policy to an appreciative account of the searing integrity of the Czech patriot Thomas Masaryk. These articles were first published in the '30s. They still have a message today. □

(Editor's note: The book mentioned here is in Welsh, and it appears that none of SL's writings have been translated into English. We hope to publish a pamphlet shortly containing some of his key writings.)

The Yew tree has enjoyed a special and mystical place in our culture for thousands of years. ALLEN MEREDITH has been delving into the past of this magical tree, with evidence that some yews may be thousands of years old ...

THIS MYSTICAL TREE forever will remain a mystery, but I have learnt a little of the truth. Any writing about the yew can never do it justice, but merely arouse the curiosity of the individual.

We know that yews occupied sites long before the beginning of Christianity, but the origin of the word yew is more of a mystery. It has been traced back to the sacred word Jehovah (the immortal). Yew is ancient British and signifies existent and enduring. Yew in Welsh means 'it is'. If the word yew came from the Welsh, then the tree is unique in retaining its Celtic name. And Jehovah ('Yahweh') is Hebrew for 'I am'.

In the ninth century sighting staves and tumuli were connected; places which immediately come to mind are at Wilmington, Tandridge, Much Marcle, Staverton and Totteridge. All of these places certainly have yews which were there before the ninth century.

Carbon-dating and other methods will never reveal the true age of the yew. We will eventually know that many churchyards are on pre-Christian sites, and that some of the yews are over 3000 years old. That at Crowhurst in Surrey has survived for more than 4000 years, others at Ashbrittle, Llanfaredd, and Farrington in Hampshire are certainly over 3000 years old - but their true age could be unthinkable to our present day thinking. A yew at Linton in Herefordshire must be one of the oldest trees in the world. It is possible that such trees have existed on these sites for longer than the neolithic period.

An ancient yew is capable of indefinite life: immortality is a word that will always be connected with the yew, because of its special power to resurrect itself after apparent death. It may seem strange to talk of a yew being thousands of years old, but when you get to know a yew tree, you will know that this is no exaggeration. Let us see a yew that in all probability takes us back to the late stone age. One such yew still exists at Crowhurst...

Mr Gill in a letter to The Times gives an account of this tree and mentions that a cannon ball was found in its interior in 1820 and is supposed to have been there since the Civil War and to have been gradually enclosed by the growth of the tree. This yew is now so hollow that at least 12 adults could comfortably stand inside its hollow shell. In 1820 this hollow yew was fitted with a round table and circular bench capable of seating from 12 to 14 people; at the same time a door was constructed and hung to fit the opening. Now (in 1984) the table and bench are no longer there, but the door is still there over the opening..

John Aubrey wrote of this tree in 1650: "In this Church-Yard is an Ew-Tree, ten Yards in Compass, but not above five foot high." John Evelyn mentions it in 1664. My first recording of this yew was in 1981, although I had seen it on previous occasions. Its girth in 1981 was 31 feet 5 inches at five feet from the ground, a possible increase of one foot in 300

The secret and anc



years. All ancient yews are hollow and decayed: carbon dating can only give a minimum age, for yews remain hollow and alive for hundreds of years.

That the yew possesses a special power or force to renew itself cannot be argued. I have seen this strange phenomenon on many occasions. When the ancient yew becomes a hollow shell, sometimes after several thousands of years, a kind of resurrection begins. Sometimes it can be traced by means of an ariel branch which descends into the centre of the hollow shell, forcing itself into the decaying debris left from the old trunk and eventually rooting itself. At first it is only a few inches thickness, but later after centuries of growth it becomes a tree within a tree. Trees which immediately come to mind are at Snoddington Manor in Hampshire, Mamhilad in Monmouthshire, Bettws Newydd, and Linton in Herefordshire. The old trunk itself is usually over 30 feet in girth, a mere shell in some cases, but inside this shell is the vigorous growth of what appears to be another yew - in some cases ten feet in girth and solid, and perhaps 300 years old or more. After a thousand years of life it may take over the old shell... but nothing is certain about the yew.

We have reminders of ancient burial mounds all over Britain, and yews are most certainly associated with

ant world of the yew



some of them. At Ashbrittle in Somerset an ancient yew still grows on what is believed to be a 'round barrow'. This yew has split over the years and parted, and resembles a circle of trees, but all the separated portions undoubtedly come from one tree. Here we have a direct link that takes us back over 3000 years. The evidence is there, but we are slow to recognise this incredible heritage.

At Knowlton in Dorset there is a line of ancient yews and circular raised burial mounds. A ruined Norman church stands in this ancient enclosure. At Cascob in Radnorshire the church tower stands on an ancient tumulus; nearby is an ancient yew which measures 25'8" at four feet from the ground. These are just a few examples of the association of ancient yews with ancient burial grounds.

The ancient yew and the Bronze Age mound at Fortingall in Tayside, Scotland, is more well known, with the Samhain celtic festival long celebrated on November 1. The mound is known as Carn nam Marbh - the Mound of the Dead.

Many of the stones and wells that were associated with the sacred sites have long since disappeared. Do only the ancient yews remain to bear witness to some long lost ancient religion? But a few ancient stones and wells can still be found in isolated

churchyards beneath the shadow of some ancient yew.

We are reminded of the World Tree Yggdrasil when we look at the Hope Bagot yew in Shropshire. A most sacred spring and most holy well still survive beneath an enormous yew tree. This female tree reminds us also that it is the Tree of Three Fruits that is mentioned in many legends; of St Baglan in Glamorgan, and the Tree of Mugna celebrated in early Irish legends. We can only begin to understand what moved people to travel sometimes many hundreds of miles to arrive at some sacred spot, to worship, to plant, to build, to devote their lives to a belief that modern people do not understand.

History, Myth and Legend

Yew spears were used 400,000 years ago in Britain. What other part the yew played all those years ago we can only visualise. During the stone age of some 5000 years ago we can imagine the yew being a most sacred and special tree. There are many connections which indicate a link with the people of the Iberian peninsula, to which the yew is native. More recently the bows and arrows used at Agincourt, etc. over 600 years ago were imported in the main from Spain and Portugal. Further investigation may confirm areas of Iberian influence; many parts of Wales, and counties like Kent and Hampshire, had strong Iberian influence, and ancient yews abound in these areas.

To rule out myth and legend is to close your eyes to possibilities - and with the yew anything is possible. But there are one or two intriguing areas which cannot be dismissed and are worth briefly noting here.

There are certain trees mentioned in myth and legend that have long been sought for by those who searched for truth. All these great mystical trees seem to describe one tree, the yew:

The Tree of Three Fruits; the World Tree, or Yggdrasil; the Tree of Knowledge; the Tree of the Cross; the Tree of Life; the Green Tree and the Dry.

Just two early writings which characterise the yew. From the works of Ossian, by James Macpherson (speaking of two lovers):

And fresh the yew grows upon their grave.
In this same spot, Cuchulain, is their dust.

And Lucan (Pharsalia, bk 3, May's translation):

Fallen yew trees often of themselves would rise;
With seeming fire oft gleam'd the unburn'd trees.

This describes the yew's power to live again from its shattered remains, and the luminescent character caused by mycelium from rotting wood; also the tips of the yew branches in spring would appear as lighted candles at dusk, and the clouds of dust from ripened pollen, caught in the wind, as clouds of smoke.

The Revd W T Bree remarked in 1833: "The existence of a yew tree on a particular spot might continue as long as the world endures." Incredible, unbelievable as that may seem, we must be left in total admiration and respect of a most sacred tree. □

*** If you would like to help with further research into this remarkable tree, or have data or information of use, please write to Allen Meredith at 77 Blakes Avenue, Cogges, Witney, Oxon.

There are two relevant books, both out of print: try libraries or forestry institutes... 'Yew Trees of Great Britain and Ireland', John Lowe (1897). Lots of photographs. 'The Yew and Immortality', Dr Cornish (1946). A brief study.



When ecology is Second Nature

DURING JULY and August the London Ecology Centre was the venue for "Second Nature", an exhibition of "artists and their special relationship with the land and the natural world". MARTIN STOTT went along.

I DON'T NORMALLY EXPECT to have spiritual experiences on rainy days in London. But I had one recently. I visited the exhibition "Second Nature" on at the London Ecology Centre (45 Shelton Street, London WC2). It's an exhibition (and a book) that explores the connections between art and the environment, the artist and the land. There's a tradition in English culture of a close connection between artists and the environment, stretching back at least as far as Constable, and it's been an incredibly important strand in formulating the existing English "cultural landscape" both for artists and writers. (I'm thinking of authors as diverse as George Borrow, Thomas Hardy, Raymond Williams and Ronald Blythe).

Second Nature (the book) brings together these strands with writing from John Fowles, Raymond Williams, John Berger, Colin Ward, Fay Weldon, Bel Mooney, and many others, with photographs, paintings and drawings by Conrad Atkinson, David Hockney, Elizabeth Frink, Fay Godwin and plenty more. This visual side of Second Nature is now the exhibition and has been supplemented by sculpture and other contributions not so easily contained in the pages of a book. Chris Drury's sculpture in particular is enormously moving. It dominates the exhibition both in terms of its size and its visual power. "Four Spheres" is a set of four balls between two and four feet across made (in descending size) from pieces of driftwood, pine cones, the bones of dead creatures (sheep, deer, rabbits, etc.), and an intriguing one apparently made from deer droppings.

Across on the far wall is another sculpture, "Medicine Wheel", a stunning collection of natural objects, feathers, nuts, seaweed, bones, dried flowers, pebbles set into twelve "quarters" symbolising the months of the year. Each day in each month is represented by an object, appropriate for the day, the month, the season. It is the first time I have ever seen a human artefact even begin to express the wonder of creation - its circular shape, its great size and its glorious complexity make it just a wonderful experience.

The exhibition is about the importance of personal relationships with nature; all the contributions present a highly individual view, some work on an evocation of light and space, others seek a straight image to illustrate their concern, for others there is a sense of play. This is important. What Second Nature is attempting to do is re-open the traditional cultural debate because as Richard Mabey puts it in his introduction to the exhibition:

There is hardly any need to elaborate on the fact that, over the last decade, our relationship with the land and with the natural world that depends on it, have become matters of increasing concern. Nor that this is the latest expression of a very much

older set of arguments about man's place in the natural scheme of things, about ownership of, and rights over, the land, about the importance of locality to a sense of personal and cultural identity.

What is new is the narrowing of the terms of the argument. Until comparatively recently these issues were central concerns of mainstream English writing and painting. Now they have been largely commandeered by scientists and economists, in whose view the complex emotional and richly symbolic roles which the countryside and nature still hold for us belong in the debased territory of "sentimentality".

Yes, and in their rush to "save the world" greens too have a tendency to see things in "political" terms which too often fail to draw on the cultural traditions we do have, and instead get sucked into debates and arguments on the terms of their opponents. Second Nature is a wonderful celebration of and re-connection with those things which make our commitment to the green movement all worthwhile.

+ Second Nature, edited by Richard Mabey, is published by Jonathan Cape at £12.50.

+ The exhibition was sponsored by Common Ground, a new charity to bring together groups in the environmental movement and the arts. They can be contacted at the London Ecology Centre (address above).



Is there no Tomorrow?

SO THE MUCH trailed, hyped and publicised green magazine of the future, "Tomorrow", funded to the tune of £100,000 by fashion magnate Katherine "choose life" Hamnett, has hit the streets. It's large, it's glossy, and at £2 for 48 pages it's expensive.

Tomorrow describes itself as a magazine of "politics and high fashion", a kind of green version of "The Face". As the introductory editorial puts it: "Tomorrow magazine will provide a vehicle for expression and action while most of the media serves as an anaesthetic to the uncomfortable truth. If the fashion grabs you so will the politics." Well, I'm not sure about grabbing you, the pictures hit you in the face, more like. Much of the mag. is taken up with enormous double spreads (i.e. A2 size, or four copies of GL) with obscure titles like City Heat - out of focus photos of heterosexual couples snogging on flashy cars. The rest... well, it's the most extraordinary mixture, apparently thrown together in a single afternoon. There are several articles of interest, including a very short one by Paul Foot on Windscale, another by Catherine Caulfield on rain-forests, and a third by Duncan Campbell on Nicaragua;

but they all suffer not so much from bad design as from no design at all, an extraordinary state of affairs for a magazine that's supposed to be into style and fashion. The contrast with "The Face" which it apparently tries to model itself on could hardly be more marked.

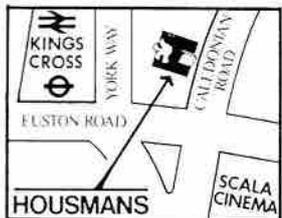
The main problem is that large parts of the magazine are obscure, and much of the rest factually inaccurate. There's a lengthy article on why super-8 movie film is the coming medium, with lots of addresses where you can find out about super-8 in Puerto Rico, Hungary or Venezuela - if you live there. Turn to the article on pesticide misuse. "10,000 Deaths a Day! Trade in Death" screams the headline. The first sentence of the article corrects that to 10,000 deaths a year. Terrible, but only 1/365 as bad. Well, which is it, Tomorrow?

This is combined with what has to rate as the most appalling sub-editing I've ever seen (and I read the Guardian regularly). One article has been lifted straight from an American publication: not even the American spellings have been corrected. Others are more serious. Lord Carrington is referred to as British Foreign Secretary in one article - eat your heart out, Sir Geoffrey Howe - and in another, entitled "Green-eyed over the Green Vote", an apparently serious article discussing trade unions and their attitude towards nuclear power refers to unions that don't exist, let alone operate in the British nuclear industry (or perhaps they're so secret the TUC hasn't heard of them). Their final insult comes in the plug for the features in the next issue, including one on "Buddism". Let's hope they get the spelling right in time for the article itself.

The magazine seems designed to become a collector's item - its enormous size reminds me of those experimental mags from the late '60s like the ones produced by the Situationists; or the early issues of Undercurrents which you bought in a plastic bag and put together at home. Tomorrow has the added attraction of being like a cheaper version of Trivial Pursuits - crammed with useless information to test yourself and your friends out with on a wet winter evening. The back-page listing "News you can use - the who, the where, the when" is, believe it or not, a list of all the most obscure art exhibitions in the most far-flung corners of the globe - Sofia, World Biennale of Architecture; Detroit, Primitivism in 20th Century Art; Zurich, Caspar David Friedrich (ultra-romantic 19th century painter). And the editorial has the cheek to tell us it will be counteracting the anaesthetic qualities of the rest of the media!

Well, if it needs proving again, Tomorrow proves that a massive budget won't necessarily produce a magazine that's any good. My recommendation to collectors of ephemera and memorabilia of the green movement: rush out and buy a copy now! You're unlikely to have another chance.

Martin Stott



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Environmentalist roots

The Roots of Modern Environmentalism. David Pepper. Croom Helm, 1984. 246pp hardback only, £17.95

DAVE PEPPER sets out to convince the reader of the importance of philosophy and ideology in the formulation of our concern for the environment. A task which results in an interesting if not complicated discussion of the development of green ideas over the past few centuries. And within "The Roots" you will probably find the seeds of your own beliefs - although you might not like what you find...

For environmental concern is shown to be shared by so many conflicting ideological perspectives that almost anyone can legitimately call themselves green. A situation which highlights the fragility of the belief that there exists today a "green movement". Furthermore, in unravelling the incompatible elements of green philosophy Dr Pepper creates a massive problem for all who like to think of themselves as part of that movement. For with the growth of the green bandwagon the tenuous link between all those who share a concern for the environment is being placed under greater tension. Tensions already evidenced by the claims of green credentials by the Labour, Tory and Alliance parties - whose electoral competition will make the philosophical differences between greens more apparent.

However, despite these obvious ideological stresses we should not be over-concerned by the implications of Dave Pepper's analysis. For as important as philosophy surely is to the shaping of political ideas and activity, of greater importance is the social, economic and political background in which those ideas are developed - a point with which Dave Pepper would not disagree.

When modern environmentalism first emerged in the late 1960s, we had as a society largely escaped from the poverty and social tensions which had dominated earlier generations. So the - almost natural to our society - anti-establishment sentiments of young people turned to the environment as the focus of their radical political behaviour. As with all such populist radicalism (interestingly, "The Roots" does not discuss populism) environmentalism has within it numerous conflicting ideological positions and is manifested through the activities of a large number of small independent groups. Thus the "green movement" is not really under threat of disintegration - for in reality it has never existed. The whole idea of a "green movement" is a myth which we campaigning environmentalists use to give greater credibility to our arguments. This makes the philosophical analysis of "The Roots" less important for, as the imperatives of campaigning have shown, the ideology behind environmental concern is less significant than the ability of a group to get its name in the Guardian. It is pragmatism rather than philosophy which determines our actions, even though we may sometimes use an appeal to "beliefs" in order to win support.

Yet this is not to suggest that Dave Pepper's book is irrelevant. Far from it. It contains some very useful discussion of the hegemony of ideas; the debate between a pluralist and Marxist analysis of environmentalism; and the greens' faith in education as a means of achieving social change. However, as

with all attempts as philosophical analysis, I find the book suffers a little from reductionism, in that it consigns to writers ideological beliefs which they may not in fact hold on the evidence of a few phrases or lines used in a whole book. Yet this is not too serious a problem; after all, how else can we

determine beliefs other by analysing what people say? What really is a problem, however, is the ridiculous price of the book.

Joe Weston

Love's creative flow

Making Love Work: a radical approach. John Button. Turnstone Press. 158pp paperback, £4.95.

"LOVE WON'T go away," writes John Button at the beginning of this relevant and important-sounding book. "We must include love in a political analysis of personal and social change. But where to begin?" The author works hard and has produced an interesting and original response to this question. The book is written as the story of an imaginary workshop with accompanying comments and reflections.

"Love," says John Button, "is the intelligent, creative, connective flow that links us with ourselves and with other people. The blocks to love arise from a denial of the basic elements of love." (Page 41). Through a variety of experiential games and exercises the fictionalised characters of the workshop try to develop their capacity to love, including dealing with the patterns in their conditioned behaviour that prevents them believing in their own and other people's "fundamentally loving nature." The book is thus firmly placed within the ethos of the human potential movement - with the insights and limitations that implies. Though I feel this restricts the importance and application of the book's very important theme, it does offer an adequate introduction to the methods and techniques of humanistic psychology. Two chapters in particular, "The Elements of Love" and "Breaking Through to Love", are not only very good in describing the theory and practice of Re-evaluation Counselling, but also place this important self-help therapy method within the wider context of the evolving wholistic world view. However, the book promises more - but fails to give it.

John Button's background seems respectably "green" - communal living, ecological interests (from Durham University days with David Bellamy), time at Findhorn (appropriately critical) and Laurieston Hall; involvement in self-help therapy, and an awareness of feminism. He attempts in the introduction to explain fully and honestly what led him to write about love, and his reservations about using the method of a fictionalised account of a workshop. But something vital is missing, and I can only call this - rather weakly perhaps - heart and soul. Throughout the book the writer/leader doesn't really give much away about himself.

Here I am faced with my own gut reactions to the world of workshops and group leaders - which are in the main negative ones. When a workshop leader says, "We are going to find somebody that we have never related to before, have never seen until half an hour ago, and tell them how much we love them," (p. 25) I don't only say "Yuk", I also bridle at the implied manipulation. When the same leader has already commented (p. 22): "A room full of strangers, but I know that after two days together I shall know them all intimately, we shall have shared some of our deepest feelings. I have a better idea than they do of what's going to happen. What power." - I can only

ask, is this guy a meglomaniac? Perhaps I shouldn't have expected too much from someone who writes a story in which "all the people in it (except me) are invented." (P. 16). OK - so that's got my prejudices out of the way.

My main criticism of this book is that although there is immense value in giving practical, workaday examples of how to deal with the blocks to love, there is immense danger in implying that a lifetime's habits and conditioned responses can be changed overnight. Life, and love, don't work like that - in my experience. For example, I waited patiently for a thorough airing of the issue of hate - but despite a little huffing and puffing with cushions and brief allusions to past incidents in their lives, all the workshop participants seem to be remarkably free from this basic and natural emotion, and the writer/leader seems happy to keep it that way. I find this very unbalanced.

Finally, the book's claim to deal with the political implications of making love work are rather exaggerated, and perhaps expose the author's own limited understanding of what he means by love. Since religion is dismissed naively in one page, this is hardly surprising. Unfortunately it is not the purpose of this review to explore the profound and illuminating struggle to experience and live out the essence of love as witnessed in the lives and writings of the private and public mystics of this and all ages: Julian of Norwich, Teresa of Avila, Tolstoy, Gandhi, Martin Luther King, Mother Teresa. Anything else is bound to appear feeble; as I am afraid, ultimately, I must conclude this book is.

John Careswell

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Green pamphlets

HERE AT GREEN LINE we're taking what we think is a very positive step forward in the dissemination of green literature in this country. Early in the new year we plan to launch a series of green pamphlets which will receive national bookshop distribution, and be available to all kinds of bookstalls and other outlets. The major advantage of publishing a series is that we shall also be able to promote the series effectively, thus stimulating sales further.

Titles in the pipeline which we hope to be able to publish in 1986 include:

- :: A historical perspective on the green revolution, by Peter Cadogan.
- :: Food for People: a cookery book / book about food, which stresses the need to avoid eating 'cash crops' which deprive Third World people of their own food (many wholefoods are cash crops), and to eat what we can grow here without use of animals.
- :: J Saunders Lewis: selected writings of this Welsh 'Schumacher before Schumacher' who has been very influential in paving the way for green thinking in Wales, but who remains unknown and untranslated outside his native country.
- :: South Pacific: the untold story of colonialism and exploitation in the South Pacific and Australasia, and how the native peoples are fighting back.

:: A Green Guide to Childbirth and early Infancy: how to work with doctors and midwives and get your own way in hospital; an illustrated guide to Chinese massage techniques for childbirth; information on relevant homoeopathic treatment; and feeding baby.

:: A history of Die Grünen by Saral Sarkar, who is just completing a history of the West German green, peace and alternative movements for the United Nations University Press.

Other ideas are also in the melting pot, and we'd be glad to have your suggestions as well.

Can you help?

An important way readers can help with the publication of these (and/or other titles) is by 'sponsoring' titles: that is, promising to pay part of the initial printing cost (likely to be up to £500 per title, depending on length). Anyone with £25 or more that they might be able to commit to this scheme should write to GL for more details, or with details of the amount: you would be agreeing to pay a given sum on publication direct to the printer, in return for which you would own the appropriate proportion of the copies printed until sufficient were sold to repay you. At that stage you could re-invest in a new title if you wished. Several hundred pounds have already been promised as a result of the announcement in last month's GL, so we really are getting somewhere fast!

Each pamphlet will be 'professional' looking, with a colourful, glossy cover.

Jon Carpenter

Lament for my dead son

My son, only 15 years old, has journeyed into the Otherworld
Leif, oh why did you leave me, oh why...
Violently killed by a car - patriarchal technology -
bleeding your lifeblood from your damaged head
there on the road in the South of France, 26th of August 1985.
Powerless to save your young life
overwhelming pain, pain and remorse, gripping my heart.
Panic and unbelievable horror when realising it was you;
my love, lying there on the road
like a wounded animal in its death throes.
Replaying in my mind again and again and again
why did it happen, why did you cross the road,
why were we in this place outside of Bayonne,
why had I no sense of impending danger,
why was I lulled into a false sense of security -
we were happily going to a beach with a friend -
why didn't you wait for the lights of the zebra crossing
to change. Did you look the wrong way? Why, oh why...
Always so impatient my son, so reckless and careless with your life,
extreme in tempers and feelings; inquisitive, intelligent
and eager to learn and to experience life to the full.
Oh, how I grieve for all the things you had no chance to experience,
I who knew your longings so well.
This summer you had flowered, learnt to play the drum
amongst the Tipi-people in Wales who loved you,
enjoyed the sun, riding bareback on the horses
and helping with the hay on our friend's farm
in the South of France, in the skirts of the Pyrenees,
feeling good about your increasingly beautiful body
relaxing from your stresses and paranoias.
"I am growing up, Monica," you said to me.
You received so much healing this summer...
Why did the Dark Mother take you back now
when you envisaged a future and dreamed of things to come.
I long for you so, want to hold you in my arms
feel as if my heart has been amputated,
the psychic umbilical cord cut, suffer from shock.
I want to touch and smell your curly afro-hair,
look into your deep black eyes...
Oh, my sweet baby Leify, where are you now?

In death you were so serenely and peacefully beautiful,
you were at rest in the arms of the Cosmic Mother. wrong!
I thought then "You are innocent Leif, you have done nothing
and we felt you soaring and flying. You are Free and I am not.
We stayed at your bedside the 30 hours before
your heart stopped beating ...
I felt a gentle touch across my head as your spirit parted
as if you were trying to comfort me in my grief.
I had asked your forgiveness and wailed and cried
for the disappointments and frustrations I hadn't been
able to protect you from or help you through.
I had always loved you intensely... but it was not always
easy to show it to a teenage son in our culture which
sets out to divide son from mother and causes divisions.
My friend asked me "Was he forgiving?" and I said
"He always was"... and wild and generous and angry too;

Never have I experienced death like this...
so close and so peaceful in spite of the violence
that had caused the passing of my son's life.
Feel as if I hover between different realities
feeling pulled to follow you into the infinite space
of our Mother's womb. Unbearable to continue living,
each day a strain to live through.
Must I descend into the Underworld to seek my young son
journeying into the Darkness of my soul,
shadows gathering around me.
Leif... I will soon join you when my work is done,
work I still have to do with many women and also some men,
for the Goddess... for our Mother the Earth
whose body is now under siege.
I still have two older sons.

I love you Leif... always did, always will do...
Goodbye for a little while...

Rainbow Leif, Rainbow Leif
go where you are going to
do what you need to do
because love is guiding you

Monica Sjöo

letters

Strength in diversity

Dear GL,

I was interested in Saral Sarkar's article in GL 36 how fundamentalists ('fundis') and realist-reformers ('realos') are tearing Die Grünen apart in Germany.

It is my experience that in Britain 'realos' such as ourselves, the Liberal Ecology Group or SERA can make progress on green issues in major political parties, but only because the 'fundis' in the Green Party are knocking on the electoral door putting those issues on the political agenda. 'Strength in diversity' is evident.

Mike Bell

69 Cambridge Road, Oakington, Cambs.

Are small parties working together?

Dear GL,

I have just heard a radio phone-in on the Ecology Party. When the spokeswoman was asked which other small parties Eco had approached to campaign jointly for greater media coverage, she replied the Communist Party. The assumption immediately made by subsequent callers of an ideological link between the two parties was bad luck, but it did set me wondering whether Eco has approached those small parties far closer to green philosophy - e.g. Mebyon Kernow, The Orkney Movement, The Shetland Movement, and the Wessex Regionalists.

Presumably Eco intends to base its self-governing and economically independent regions on those regions which already have a historic identity and some remnants of aspiration to independence. So it seems logical that Eco approach such parties when campaigning for better media coverage or PR.

Would someone who is in the know write a reply to GL to say whether this has already been done?

Mark Kinzley

28 Monega Road, London E7 8EW

Student campaign

THE STUDENT Campaign for Animal Rights exists to communicate between student groups and help students set up animal rights societies. If you are interested in their mailings, write to SCAR, P O Box 89, Huddersfield, W Yorks. Next SCAR meeting is at 2 p m on Sunday Feb 2 1986 at Huddersfield Polytechnic.

NETWORK

Defining the meaning

THE ECOLOGY PARTY plans a re-launch next year under its new name of Green Party. The party's new secretary, MARTIN SEWELL, writes:

THE CHANGE of the party name to the Green Party may have renewed earlier discussion upon whether the former Ecology Party was entitled to it, though hopefully we can all agree that we have a better claim to it than Mr William Waldegrave, Dr David Owen and Mr Doug Hoyle - all of whom have been measuring their run-up for a quick snatch at the next election.

What 'green' actually means is a fertile source of disputation which could, in time, rival that old favourite "What is true socialism?" If we were capable of meticulously refining the philosophical nuances to pure meaning, I suspect we would end up with a form of green McCarthyism in which every novice would meet the "Custodians of the Word" to be asked, "Do you use, or have you ever used, sexist language?" - or, even worse, "Didn't I see you in McDonald's in 1981?"

I think it was Wittgenstein who said we should speak of those things we know, and on all else remain silent. I do know what is in the Manifesto for a Sustainable Society, and because that is far too good to leave under a bushel in Clapham Road I'd now like to tell you how that collection of green thoughts is to be spread in the towns and cities of this country during 1986.

We have planned the re-launch for the end of January, which is longer than many would have wished. In a decentralised party, however, consultation requires time, and planning inevitably takes longer than we might prefer. It does give time however for local and regional activity to be coordinated, and here quite frankly is where I expect us to have the best impact.

The good work put in over the last few years by the grass roots of the green movement should enable a wide spread of publicity, and we hope that this will enable the various strands of green opinion to put their view of green-ness at a time when the public has had its appetite whetted by a 'national' news story.

The Green Party Council will be organising a London press conference and hopefully some regional city launches, which should address themselves to the issues which concern the ordinary people of this country:

of 'green'

the problems of poverty, poor housing, and the breakdown of communities. If we cannot speak of things known, how can we interest them in a philosophy that they may regard as 'castles in the air'?

We will not be presenting a carbon copy of the established parties. Any comparison of the Green Party conference with its rivals would show small discussion groups blossoming all over the hall, a free access to the party officers, and steady progress towards the 'other ways of working' that many members wish. Nobody suggests that our procedures are perfect, but they have yielded a Party Council that has equal numbers of men and women. We have three women as our co-chairs, our International Secretary is a woman, as is our General Election Committee convenor.

I think these are positive achievements for a new style of politics, and we have not yet finished. The 'Other Ways of Working' (OWOW!) group are working with Party Council to strike the right balance between administrative efficiency, and experiments in alternative decision taking which can then be offered to the Party for acceptance, modification or rejection.

It may be that these developments should also be explained to the public - and anyone who wishes to work locally on this aspect of green politics is free to do so. Green Party Council has neither the power nor the inclination to stop it.

Over the next three months our local parties will be linked by the network of party agents that has been developed to improve our internal communications. Our regional representatives are yet another way in which dialogue can be maintained so that party members can know the up-to-date position.

Green Line is helping by letting me sketch out these initial thoughts concerning the re-launch, and now it is up to the green movement at large to decide its contribution to the debate.

Even before Ecology changed its name, that magic word green was cropping up everywhere, at Liberal press conferences, on Labour Party platforms, and in discussion papers

of the Bow Group. Whether we like it or not, it has entered the common currency of party politics, and the only question that remains is whether you are going to have a say in defining what it will mean for future years.

The Green Party is extending the invitation for you to join the debate now in which ever way you choose, whether party member or not. You don't have to respond, you don't have to tell the people 'out there' what it means to be green. You could always let William Waldegrave do it for you. ::

Northern Ireland Ecology Party

AFTER THE example of the Welsh and Scottish areas of the Ecology Party the Northern Ireland party has now decided to become autonomous. And it is going to retain its name of Ecology Party, have decided at its September meeting not to change to 'Green' Party. One English Ecology Party branch, Malvern, has also said it will not change its name.

The Northern Ireland party says its principles remain unchanged: non-violence, sustainability, and direct democracy.

Info: 99 Prospect Road, Portstewart, N.I. Tel: Portstewart 2301.

Twinning greens

GREEN PARTIES and groups in this country can correspond and exchange with similar groups in other countries, thanks to the efforts of Pamela Clayfield. Pamela has local addresses for Green Parties in West Germany, Belgium, France, Holland, etc. and can help you make links. She would also like to hear from anyone with other contacts, and from anyone who could help with translations. Write to her at 16 St. Matthew's Avenue, Worthington, Leics LE6 5SF; or phone 0530 222115.

Staffs green directory

STAFFORDSHIRE GREEN PARTY are compiling a list of all 'green' organisations and businesses in the county, to encourage people to support green firms, co-operatives, organic farmers, etc., and to support local organisations and pressure groups. Send details of your activity to Staffs Green Party, 67 Tamworth Street, Lichfield.

OXFORD GREEN Party will hold its annual Alternatives Fair in the Town Hall on Sat Nov 30, 11 - 4. Lunches and teas served.

Moving mountains

MOUNTAINS IN OXFORDSHIRE? Not the picturesque sort that people like to climb because they are there. These are food mountains - the result of EEC policy on agriculture.

A short while ago three women at Yellow Gate, Greenham decided that paying farmers to over-produce and then paying millions of pounds to store the surplus is a scandalous waste of resources, particularly when people are dying in their thousands of acute malnutrition and outright starvation. They found out roughly where the two hundred plus stores are, and sent out messages to groups of women all over the country to discover the exact location and mount a protest during the weekend of September 28/29. The theme was "Together We Can Move Mountains". On September 9 the Guardian published an article outlining the reasons for the action and letters poured in.

There are huge stores of grain, butter, dried milk and beef dotted about the country, but the Ministry of Agriculture refused to give addresses so some detective work was needed to pinpoint them.

In Ducklington, a village near Witney, there is a grain store holding about 38,500 tonnes, and building is in progress to double its size. The group of women in Witney who decided to join the national protest did not need detective work: there are signs nearby directing lorries to the grain store. We decided that a protest outside the store itself would be pointless; it is on the edge of the village and at best the protest might be seen by the odd villager walking a dog. It was agreed that shoppers in Witney should be leafleted on Saturday afternoon and asked to sign a petition which would then be sent to the local MEP, Sir Henry Plumb.

There was a slight problem as the local Oxfam shop had a stall in the town on that day and did not want to be associated with such a political action! However, this was amicably settled by our agreeing to keep some distance from the stall and not to begin operations until their collectors went off duty.

Although the store itself is out of sight of the main road, it was felt that a roundabout near the

village with an access road from the A40 was a good spot for a demonstration as there are several 'Grain Store' signs there to direct the lorries. Large notices saying "EEC Grain Mountain - but None for the Starving" were positioned next to one of these signs and a rota of women stayed there from 11.30 to 4.30. The response was heartening; there was a steady flow of traffic most of the day, and we received many friendly waves. A few people stopped to talk and sign the petition.

In the town 700 signatures were collected in 2 hours, at which point we unfortunately ran out of forms.

Similar demonstrations took place at many stores around the country and, though ignored by the national press, attracted local coverage. More importantly, lots of people were alerted to the fact that these huge surpluses, EEC food mountains, are on their own doorsteps, and that they are paying for their production and storage when the money could be used to get the food to those in desperate need.

On Thursday September 26 six women from Witney with Jill and Naomi from Greenham were interviewed outside the grain store by a reporter from BBC Radio 4 for the 'You and Yours' programme. It was broadcast the next day. The people in the office were so alarmed by the presence of eight women, four children and a dog at the gates that they phoned the police!

Jean Kaye



Last night at Molesworth

BRUCE GARRARD has written his account of the eviction of Rainbow Fields Village from Molesworth last February 5/6. It is published in pamphlet form to raise money for the publication of a book recounting the whole story of Rainbow Fields Village from inception to dispersal. Moving, well-written, and politically necessary: send £1 (or more) to Unique Publications, P O Box 23, Glastonbury, Somerset.



American greens

JONATHON PORRITT reports on his recent visit to the US.

CONTEMPLATING A TRIP to America, there is so much that entices yet so much that repels, images of stunning scenery and unparalleled natural wealth vie for ascendancy with those of equally stunning violence, wastefulness and unbridled materialism. And so, during a recent, all-too-fleeting visit, it turned out to be.

In pursuit of that peculiarly American variety of Green, I tracked up and down both coasts, lecturing, visiting, learning, and above all talking! American Greens are understandably fascinated by what is going on in Europe, but are starved of information. They occasionally get to hear of the latest scandal going on within Die Grünen in Germany, but the great broad sweep of the European Green Movement remains a closed book. To most Americans, Greens are anti-NATO and anti-industrial growth - and hence automatically pro-Communist and anti-Progress itself. Few would disagree that the growth of Green politics in the US has been noticeably slower than in Europe. In many ways this is very strange. For it is from America that much of the thinking and writing - the intellectual leg-work of today's Green movement - has emerged. With a few exceptions it is the Americans who have established the theory and chronicled the practice of Green politics.

Prominent amongst these was Barry Commoner, a founder member of and 1980 presidential candidate for the Citizens' Party, the only third party in the US that has even remotely contemplated going Green. The Citizens' Party had some very limited electoral success, but one must remember that their two-party, first-past-the-post system is in many ways even more restrictive than our own. Combined with the average American's apprehension about anything genuinely radical (i.e. anything that challenges or seeks to transform the American way of life), such a system has persuaded most Greens in the US that a separate Green Party is not at this stage the best way of promoting their ideas and policies.

This has obviously created something of a vacuum, and there is as yet little to indicate any significant convergence of the different strands of Green politics as we know them in Europe. Ironically, I came away from this visit feeling that the greenest national organisation in

the US, in many respects, is Friends of the Earth! Their ability to embrace a wide range of interests and to assert that the links between these interests are as important a factor as the interests themselves, is unique in the international FoE network. For them, concern for the environment cannot be separated out from a concern for arms reduction, appropriate development in the Third World, and indeed the shape of the US economy. But FoE US already has enough strictly environmental battles on its hands, and rightly does not consider it to be its role to serve as the focus for the development of Green politics in the United States.

Network and Nostalgia

That daunting task has fallen to the Committees of Correspondence, a loose highly decentralised network set up a couple of years ago to bridge some of the gaps between the electoralists, the Eco-anarchists, the single-issue environmentalists, the bio-regionalists, and the green socialists! The CoC are now active in New York, Boston, Maine, New Hampshire, Seattle, San Francisco, Florida, Colorado and Minneapolis - and they are going all the time.

But it is not easy developing such a network; by no means all US Greens choose to work through the Committees of Correspondence, for many are fiercely independent and suspicious of even so minimalist a national structure. The Los Angeles Greens, for example, are the best-informed of such groups and by far the toughest in terms of their outlook and political maturity.

Whatever their approach, all American Greens face one particular problem: the tremendous sense of nostalgia for the 'Golden Age' of environmentalism in the late 60s and early 70s. On 22 April 1970, Earth Day attracted hundreds of thousands of people to more than 12,000 meetings and rallies across the United States. Politicians and people seemed to be equally convinced that widespread radical change was necessary, and there followed significant legislative changes promoted by the Environmental Protection Agency which at least served to restrain some of the more damaging side-effects of America's industrial economy. The 'oil-shocks' of the mid-1970s and the collapse of the nuclear industry in the wake of the Three Mile Island accident gave the environmentalists grounds for hope

that it was possible to take on the mighty and occasionally beat them.

But underneath all that, it is now clear in retrospect that little was changing. The average US citizen remained committed to a consumption-orientated, growth-driven society, and when unemployment began to rise the environment movement became an easy scapegoat. When President Reagan took over from Jimmy Carter in 1980, one of the first things he did was contemptuously to dismiss the findings of Global 2000, a three-year study prepared by the US Council on Environmental Quality and Department of State which had warned of dire ecological breakdown in the not so distant future. He then appointed James Watt as his Secretary of State for the Interior, a born-again Christian who, believing quite literally that God gave us dominion over the Earth, set out to open up as much of that Earth as he could to big business and unchecked exploitation.

Since then, in response to the challenge, the environmental movement in the US has flourished again; the inept and bigoted Watt has been ousted and the re-greening of America is under way. This is happening not without a certain sense of déjà-vu and an especially hard awareness of the problems they face, but the dedication, experience and inspiration are there. The problems for Greens in America remain largely organisational. ::

Reprinted with permission from the Friends of the Earth newsletter.

Lichfield YAWNs

'Your Alternative Wednesday Night' takes place on Nov 6 & 20 and Dec 4 at the Guildhall, Bore Street, Lichfield. Lichfield Green Group are running a drop-in cafe on those nights, with vegan/vegetarian food and entertainment (from local bands to theatre and break dancers). Info: Lichfield 23034.

Peace songs

PEACE NEWS and Mushroom have just published a revised edition of the New Anti-Nuclear Songbook, with 40 songs and rounds, some to original tunes (melody only is given). 95p from bookshops.

The REAL Martin Stott

MARTIN STOTT as known to GL readers would like his friends to know that he has no connection with the person of the same name who wrote to the Guardian recently on behalf of the SDP. (Our) Martin is as active in the Labour Party as ever...!

Wear your (white) poppy with pride

THE WEARING of a white poppy on Armistice Day (later called Remembrance Day) originally came about at the suggestion of a number of branches of the Co-operative Women's Guild.

The Guild was founded in 1883 to give a public voice to working class women who were widely exploited at work and in the home. Its members identified and challenged women's oppression and worked for change in many spheres, in discriminatory laws, poor health care and child care, poor wages and conditions of employment.

The branches also spoke out strongly against the First World War, and they maintained their pacifist principles and commitment to the peace movement throughout the inter-war years and beyond.

In 1933 a number of branches approached the central committee of the Guild and requested an emblem which could be worn by Guildswomen to express their opposition to war. It was decided that white poppies would be produced. The Co-operative Wholesale Societies were unable to produce them that year, though they did so subsequently. The British Legion were asked to supply them for the Guild but, not surprisingly, they refused to do so. So the

women improvised with white paper poppies and white ribbons.

The Guild was anxious that the white poppy should not be seen as an insult to those who had fought and died in the First World War. "The White Poppy is not a piece of political propaganda, it is a definite pledge to Peace that war must not happen



again. Thus its meaning goes deeper and further than the Red Poppy of Remembrance." (Rose Simpson, General Secretary, 1937).

The wearing of the white poppy by women and men reached its peak in 1938 when 85,000 were sold. A joint pacifist service was arranged by the Guildswomen and the Peace Pledge Union (founded by Dick Sheppard in 1934). 3,000 people attended this

service in Regents Park, London, followed by a march and meeting. Then PPU sponsors, such as Vera Brittain, author of Testament of Youth, and leading figures from the Guild, laid wreaths of white poppies at the Cenotaph.

White poppies are increasingly being used again as a symbol of peace around Remembrance Sunday. They are available from some alternative bookshops, or from the Peace Pledge Union (6, Endsleigh Street, London London WC1H 0DX) price 25p plus sae. or £22.50 for a box of 100.

London Vigils

Sat Nov 9: silent vigils outside British Legion Festival of Remembrance, Royal Albert Hall, 1.30 - 2.30 and 5.30 - 7.30 p.m. The evening vigil is by torchlight.

Sun Nov 10: The PPU invites you to join in a walk to the Cenotaph to lay a wreath of white poppies and remember all those who have died and are dying as a result of wars. Gather at St Martin-in-the-Fields, Trafalgar Square, at 1.45 p.m.

Both events are silent, out of respect for those mourning lost relatives or friends. Info: 01-387 5501.

Young greens

A THIRD attempt is being made to launch an organisation for young greens. The Young Green Movement was launched at the Green Party's September conference, and treads new ground in not restricting membership to just party members or university students - but in looking to all kinds of ecological groups, including FoE, Conservation Volunteers, and Greenpeace, for members. Its magazine Green Action is being redesigned so that it can be used as a supplement to existing newsletters. A national meeting is planned for around Christmas. Info: Steve Mynard, 7 Charlotte Street, Bath BA1 2NE.

Living the future now

THE MOVEMENT for Compassionate Living (see last month's Network) has published the first issue of its quarterly magazine. "Most organisations concentrate on one aspect of the situation and set out to oppose the people they identify as causing the trouble. They do much that is of value in spreading

information, in rousing people from apathy, in providing safety valves for frustrations. Their practical achievements are minimal - the armaments continue to pile up, the forests to fall, the deserts to spread, the soil to erode, the animals to suffer, the people to starve. What is needed is a realisation that nothing less than a radical change in human motivation, behaviour and life-style is required."

MCL has already published a pamphlet 'Food for Everyone', which is also available as loose sheets for enlargement by photocopier to A3 display panels. It is a useful visual aid for the vegan case. Price £1 from MCL, 47 Highlands Road, Leatherhead, Surrey. A subscription to 'New Leaves' costs £3 p.a.

Poets to green

RIFF-RAFF POETS (Pat Van Twest, Jeff Cloves and Dennis Gould) are on tour again in the year in which Freedom celebrates its 100th birthday and Peace News its 50th. They bring an excellent bookstall of peace, pacifist and green literature. If

you can organise a meeting/performance in your locality, write to RiffRaff-Poets c/o Freedom Bookshop, Angel Alley, 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1.

SCRAM poll

AN OPINION POLL commissioned by SCRAM, the Scottish anti-nuclear group, shows that twice as many men as women want more nuclear power stations in Scotland (32% and 15% respectively), confirming a widely-held suspicion that to get rid of nukes, you must first do something about men. The plan to build a reprocessing plant at Dounreay has the support of 37% of men and only 19% of women.

SCRAM say the most heartening aspect of the survey is that even in the north of Scotland there is a majority of people against the plant.

On Sat Nov 9 SCRAM celebrates its 10th birthday with a dayschool and party at Moray House students' union, Holyrood Road, Edinburgh (11 - 4.30, 8 till late). Tickets for the dual event £5 from SCRAM, 11 Forth Street, Edinburgh (031-557 4283).

Tipis await their fate

THE 100 residents of the Tipi village near Talley in Dyfed are still anxiously awaiting the result of the public inquiry held in July to determine whether or not they are to be allowed to continue living in tipis on land which they have owned and occupied for the past eight years. After the inquiry the tipi residents felt jubilant and confident that the planning inspector Peter Eccles would overturn enforcement notices issued by Dinefwr District Council and grant planning permission to the settlement.

However the inspector's report has

still not been published, and the latest word is that Secretary of State for Wales Nicholas Edwards has called in the report and will himself make the decision.

This is not good news for the tipi people. Edwards has in the past overruled reports from his planning inspectors, the most notorious case being over a development of retirement bungalows in North Wales a few years ago. On that occasion the developers were a company associated with a Mr D Thatcher, and Edwards intervened to grant permission after receiving a letter beginning "Dear

Nic" and signed "Dennis" on 10 Downing Street notepaper. However, dear Nic is not rumoured to have anything like the same sort of cosy relationship with rural Welsh hippy communities, and it may well have been Welsh Office prompting which led Dinefwr to initiate the planning enforcement action in the first place.

Stonehenge talks start

AFTER THIS year's Stonehenge 'incident', the pressure is clearly on both the National Trust (guardians of the land around the stones, including the customary festival site) and the English Heritage (the government-appointed quango in charge of the stones themselves). Before June 1st English Heritage weren't talking to anyone, the National Trust only began talking during the last week of May, and only to say that there was nothing it could do to avert the police action.

Now the situation is different. On October 14 a first round of talks took place at the English Heritage HQ - the aptly named Fortress House in London's Savile Row. Seated around the conference room with the representatives of the Heritage and the Trust were a motley collection of those who had declared an interest in Stonehenge - representatives of the Druid Order, the Pagan Anti-Defamation League, the 1985 Stonehenge Pilgrimage, mysticologist John Michell, and a selection of habitual festival-goers including members of the Polytantric Circle and living hippy legend Sid Rawle.

The talks themselves were in the 'frank exchange of views' category. The heritage wanted to discuss possible arrangements for a one-day Solstice celebration for a limited number of people provided there would be no festival. From our side they were told that there was no chance of a limited event at the stones unless a separate festival site were provided; but that if it were, the ceremonies would naturally limit themselves to the 2000 or so people who would be prepared to walk from the campsite to the stones, and there would be no need for the ticket system which English Heritage were proposing.

After 2½ hours the negotiations broke up, with the Heritage and Trust representatives going away to consult their masters. Everyone clearly wants to avoid another confrontation next year.



GREEN CND's MOLESWORTH GREEN DAY OF ACTION Sat. 23 Nov. '85



In November, major construction work will begin at USAF Molesworth in Cambridgeshire, in preparation for the scheduled Cruise Missile deployment in 1986.

GREEN CND has designated Saturday 23rd November as Molesworth Green Day, when the Green movement will demonstrate its continuing opposition to the ever-escalating arms race.

Come and show YOUR opposition to Cruise. Bring your local group, and make it a mass presence. Choose your own form of non-violent protest or witness.

Since the founding of Molesworth Peace Camp in 1981, through the 1984 Green Gathering which set up the Rainbow Village on M.O.D. land - so dramatically evicted by Michael Heseltine's 3000 troops and police this February 6th - Greens have been prominent in their contribution to the Molesworth campaign. As construction of the bunkers begins, and the Superpowers fail to make progress towards arms control (let alone reduction), it is time to make our protests louder than ever.

Send s.a.e. for BRIEFING PACK to Green CND, 14 Alexandra Rd., Oxford

make a date for the CND MOLESWORTH BLOCKADE



CND's next national demo

To commemorate the first anniversary of Heseltine's military invasion and eviction of the Rainbow Village CND is organising a MASS BLOCKADE of USAF Molesworth on 6th February 1986.

BE THERE!

SEND NO TO CRUISE!