

# No peace for the rich Dream Drama 'Public Order' threat Unmaking plutonium Why Bahro left die Grünen

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Green politics and lifestyle

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GRFEN LINE is edited by Jon Carpenter. But it wouldn't reach you without the help of Andy Kaye, Leigh Shaw-Taylor, Sarah Tyzack, Patrick Whitefield, Graham Hooper and Philip Windwood and others!

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Contributors to the Green Field are invited to make contact <u>soon please</u>. Ideas are already flowing and invitations are extended to:-Craftspeople who will teach and demonstrate, speakers and workshop session facilitators, musicians and dancers, site crew, a hot showers team. Local Green Groups to be there, Tipi dwellers, peace campers, healers, totem carvers, etc.

Please contact Green Field Co-ordinator Kim McGavin, Hillview, Yeolands Lane, Swimbridge, Barnstaple, North Devon 0271 830332.

# THE PARTY AND BEYOND Bahro and the Greens

#### RUDOLF BAHRO'S latest book,

"Building the Green Movement", has just been published in English by GMP Publishers (paperback £5.95). The following extracts, printed in chronological order, run from November 1982 to June 1985, when Bahro's optimism finally ran out and he left Die Grünen.

### JOBS

"We don't want a restoration of full employment. Those for whom the industrial system has no more work should found a new society outside the industrial system. That is quite important in distinguishing us from the old left stuff... What we want and must want is to finance a withdrawal from the industrial system."

WHEN THOSE interested in an investment breakthrough reproach us that environmental protection costs jobs, the Greens don't immediately respond with a zealous attempt to prove - correct though it often is - that on the contrary our policies would create jobs, but rather with an unambiguous explanation that we want to combat the approaching total ecological catastrophe even at the cost of the loss of jobs. Industries in which products are produced on a mass scale to compete for profits on the world market, and with a materialand energy-intensive division of labour, must shrink in size.

We still regard the ecological crisis as the overriding and broader challenge. The economic crisis and the capitalist response of mass unemployment and dismantling of the welfare state may well change the conditions for the ecology and peace movement. But it would simply be a further victory for the existing order if we let ourselves be pushed into giving priority to the fight against unemployment and social decline in the wake of the old trade-union and left socialist defence strategies. We are not here to defend or create jobs in the industrial system.

In our view, the present crisis - which we see not least as a crisis of industrial society, a society of labour and achievement - must be used to detach the question of an income, a secure basis of life for everybody, from the compulsion to wage-labour for the world market. It is not our aim to give everybody back "wages and bread". It is rather a case of reducing the expenditure of labour - wage-labour for the anonymous market - far beyond the extent of the present restructuring which is still taking place in the interest of profit. There is not too little work but still too much.

The creation of new jobs is not our actual goal even where the restructuring of the economy will in fact lead to that. For us the main point is to withdraw investments and the deployment of human energies from all large-scale projects whatsoever. If we decentralise the work process and make the units smaller, what will come about in the first place are not new jobs but new conditions of life. Though decentralisation as a rule creates jobs and working conditions more worthy of human beings than those in large-scale production.

With regard to our policy on working hours, we will support everything which:

- a) minimises the amount of work as a whole, i.e. cuts down relatively on work;
- b) above all relaxes time structures in every respect so as to increase the freedom of individuals to do what they want with their own time.

Minimisation of working hours presupposes first of all a critique of production and of needs. It is actually aimed at the total structure of conditions of reproduction of life, because only thus can certain needs - as for example the need for private cars - become superfluous.

### COMMUNES

"There is now a deeper conflict than ever between the long- and short-term interests of one and the same human being. What people have to do today to pay off the mortgage on their house can cost the lives of their own children tomorrow."

On the home policy front our most important interest in the long term is not to attract a regular vote but to build up as autonomous as possible a network of alternative contexts of work and life which covers the whole country and offers support and perspective to all those who want to effect an exit from the formal economy or can no longer find a place in it. In parliament we can make some contribution towards maintaining the political and social scope for this.

Young people in particular, confronted with unemployment and most prepared for an experimental departure, need an answer which leads not only to transitional solutions but to a perspective for life. This can only exist in the development of a <u>broad commune</u> <u>movement</u> which also opens up more radical possibilities for the women's movement and provides hope for the reintegration of old people. We shall be failing in our task if we do not use the phase in which the capitalist industrial system is in long-term decline to create exemplary social facts. The commune is the germ-cell of the social formation which will replace the existing one, the basic unit of the new social network.

Our Sindelfingen programme calls for the building of integral community projects in which all elements of the alternative way of life and production are brought together and integrated on the basis of an ecological cyclical economy, self-determination and decentralised organisation. We call upon our friends to take the initiative in this without hesitation, and promise to assert our influence in as many ways as possible in order to secure suitable resources for making a start.

# SPIRIT

"Approaches like those of Christ and Buddha also contain in an indirect way the intention of becoming political. Especially with Christ it is obvious to me that this is at the same time the most radical political approach, more farreaching than anything we normally understand by politics. Deepseated change in society presupposes a different subjectivity."

Anyone who with regard to the transition from one social formation to another, even from one civilisation to another, remains fixed on the resistance of class interests - which certainly must not be denied in its relative weight - only shows that they have no idea at all of how such a dissolution of such total structures can come about. Especially as never yet in history has the subordinate class of a dying social formation or civilisation victoriously founded another world.

In such times of world-historic transition, particular class and strata interests are more likely to be negative and retarding factors, working together towards the common ruin of the parties in struggle. The differentiation between the creative forces and the forces of inertia does not take place economically or sociologically but rather psychologically and in the last instance religiously (anyone who wants to misunderstand and refer that word back to "church" may of course do so).

To be more precise, it will always be the creative forces who articulate their practice in religious terms, because the forces of inertia in the social psyche have no access at all to the sources of renewal in the unconscious from which the resurrection of culture springs. Nowadays people usually talk of "spirituality" because this word appears less loaded than "religion". It doesn't actually make any difference.

We should cast off our fear of words, and rather bear in mind an extremely important difference within the meaning of religiosity and spirituality. The suspicion of traditional words is justified insofar

as all higher religions are created of a consciousness which was already patriarchally moulded. (Even if women had a part in them, this was rare and mostly as subordinates.) This patriarchal character is expressed above all in the one-sided orientation of energy "forward" (expansive, progressive, etc.) and "upward", toward world appropriation by masculine conquest and toward heaven (away from the Earth). As opposed to this, feminine spirituality tends rather to be directed "backward" and "downward", toward the origin in the mother's womb and the Earth, nature.

That contractive mode of production will only be possible if at least a slight dominance of the feminine element is achieved in human spirituality.

"I think that the radiation emitted from the love of a Buddha is something which many had hoped for in vain in and from the Green party."

Luise Rinser spoke recently - in front of soldiers! about it being time that men should accept the era of the anima - i.e. men should submit to the feminine part of their own nature. This seems to be a condition of salvation. It does not mean a permanent reversal of the power relationship between the sexes, but it may well be important for a transitional period, in which the male-masculine state of mind is still dominant, to give women as much influence and power as possible in formal terms as well.

### TRANSFORMATION

"I believe that transformations can only come from the transformed; I mean transformations which lead out of the usual framework. From Bhagwan - admittedly he is not the first and not the only person to teach it - you can in any case learn what a central significance selftransformation has for the transformation of the world."

What is fundamentalism? Externally it puts ecology before economics, and fundamental, long-term interests before immediate short-term ones. (Priority does not mean exclusivity, but keeping to a rank order.) Simply in order to survive it has to be a policy with spiritual impetus and moral standard. A policy of conversion in the metropolises begins with the readiness to change oneself, and in a certain sense with the self-sacrifice of the bourgeois individual, at least in his characteristic of "Roman citizen" who enjoys the advantages of belonging to the exploitative centre of the world. Huber's eco-reformism has for us precisely the function of temptation: to show us once more "the kingdoms of the Earth and theor glory". Despite all we know we would still like to continue our tourism

around the world and not forfeit any luxury, even if we can't have it all without getting the Bomb into the bargain.

Those who stand for transition from Having to Being must make it clear that this means a change in values such as can only succeed through what up till now has been described as a religious experience. "Transformations can only come from the transformed." Changes in the material foundation of civilisation, a farewell to the Big Machine, the industrial disarmament of the rich countries, presuppose the breakup of the spiritual cement. But that requires a social context which emboldens people to expose their character armour even though (and because) the danger is growing! What is coming goes deeper than all the political and social revolutions Europe has seen since the transition from Antiquity to the Middle Ages. Radical ecologism is only the external side of preparedness for this radical change.

Obviously fundamentalism is made comparatively harmless if you reduce your conflict with realpolitik to the inconsiderable between going along with cosmetic measures against the ecological crisis and a merely rhetorical "No". Fundamentalism can never prove itself to be constructive or destructive by the <u>objects</u> that are dealt with in parliament because it is aimed at the <u>attitudes</u>. The dynamic of the industrial system can only be stopped in external reality after it has disintegrated in its motivation.



Insofar as we have a role to play on the official stage - what is that role? A parable play by Friedrich Dürrenmatt shows the last Roman emperor, Romulus Augustus (looking old: in fact he died very young) in the middle of his flock of chickens. His sycophants are besieging him, begging him to dedicate himself to the affairs of government, above all to military matters. For the leader of the Germanii, Odoacre, is before the gates. Meanwhile the emperor remains stupidly inactive. In the end it turns out that he only took on the office in the beginning so that nobody else could cause any harm by <u>doing</u> something. For he came to power with the understanding that Rome was not worth defending.

We are told that we should change the SPD and improve the government. Our actual fundamentalist duty is to nurture in every person we meet in the institutions the mentality of the stage emperor Romulus Augustus. Anyone among us who wants to carve out an up-to-date plan for overall repair, which means quite automatically a solution in the grand style from above, presupposing a well-oiled state, has not understood at all that a world is disintegrating, that this disintegration is the best thing about it, and that we must say "Yes" to it and assist it as far as possible. Let us distribute as much as we can out of the coffers of military and industrial armaments, rationalisation and modernisation! Economic policy

"I don't see the main problem as being how we overcome capital as a specific form. I see the main problem as much more how living spirit can overcome dead spirit. You know there is actually no guarantee that it will succeed. The development of the species, like the development of other species, can come to an end."

juggling instead of sour-faced help with the restoration of bankrupt and anachronistic industries. "Only tribes will survive", that is, new communities, to some extent unprecedented, this time consciously chosen by us, in which we first of all must transform ourselves.

### BEYOND

"The Green party is becoming more and more conventional; I am not at all saying this out of disappointment, but simply that it is almost bound to be so. If nothing happens outside the parliamentary political work, we shall not get any further."

Bahro resigned from the Green party at its congress in Hagen last June. He gave his reasons as follows: '

What people are trying to do here is to save a party no matter what kind of party, and no matter for what purpose. The main thing is for it to get re-elected to parliament in 1987. It has no basic ecological position; it is not a party for the protection of life and I now know that it never will be, for it is rapidly distancing itself from that position. Yesterday, on the question of animal experiments, it clearly came down in favour of the position taken by the speaker who said, more or less; "If even one human life can be saved, the torture of animals is permissible." This sentence expresses the basic principle by which human beings are exterminating plants, animals and finally themselves.

Gerda Degen spelled it out yesterday - in the words of Jürgen Dahl. You listened, you applauded, you know it - "really". There is not a single issue where the Greens are taking seriously the purpose for which they ostensibly entered the political scene. You can blame it if you like on "Realos" or "fundamentalists", or - more narrowly - on the paedophile issue.\* We are in decline because the people who had placed their hopes in us realised, at least when they saw the behaviour of the North-Rhine-Westphalian Greens after the Saarland elections, that their course is not a sincere one; they are like everybody else, only they are trying to kid both others and themselves that they are different.

The Greens have identified themselves - critically with the industrial system and its political administration. Nowhere do they want to get out. Instead of spreading consciousness they are obscuring it all along the line. They are helping to patch up the cracks in the general consensus. The theorists of realpolitik state directly that nothing else will do but to "rule out" extremes. Lafontaine is better at Green ministerial politics.  $\blacklozenge$ 

\* A debate in the party on paedophilia was said to have contributed to the defeat of the Greens in elections in North-Rhine-Westphalia in spring 1985.

✤ In Saarland, the SPD under Lafontaine stole some of the Greens' clothes and drove their vote down to 2.5%.

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It once looked as if some kind of salvation would come from us - but the applause for Petra's speech, which reminded us of this, won't bring it back. All that will be left is a normal party along with all the others. I can't carry on in it in that situation. After what happened yesterday am I still supposed to try to win serious animal protectionists onto our side? With us they will just waste both time and energy. Or cleaning up pollution. The proposal accepts that alternatives must be "competitive" in the market. "Mission to nowhere" with the chemical



industry. I feel all the more sad in that some of the people involved would "really" like things to be different.

I want above all to ask those people who genuinely regret my departure and have pleaded with me not to go, to be clear as to their motive. Do you need me so that despite your doubts you have something to hold on to? That can't depend on me. Everyone has to reach their own decision. I can't carry on as if nothing had happened, as if nothing were happening, as if the exit were still open. Michael Stamm is telling the truth. His solution is the only one left if we admit to ourselves what we really are as a party. Bankrupt.

This experience is the end of traditional political existence for me altogether. At last I have understood that a party is a counterproductive tool, that the given political space is a trap into which life energy disappears, indeed where it is re-dedicated to the spiral of death. This is not a general but a quite concrete type of despair. It is directed not at the original project which is today called "fundamental", but at the party. I've finished with it now. I wouldn't consider it right just to withdraw silently. I am not becoming unpolitical. I am not saying goodbye to the political process. I want to contribute to creating a new place and a new practice. Clearly we have to take a longer run-up. We must risk some cold water if we want to assemble the necessary substance for our withdrawal from the industrial system, first of all within ourselves.

# Uncreating plutonium

### Back to Mount Doom

Before December 1940 the element plutonium did not exist. Today UK nuclear reactors alone produce two tons a year. Can the process be reversed, the substance being fed back into the reactors which bred it? Professor John Fremlin, emeritus professor of applied radioactivity at Birmingham University, believes that it could, and that we could benefit from the energy generated. NICK KOLLERSTROM explains the importance of this argument.

SUPPOSING THAT a disarmament programme commenced in Britain. Bombs containing both plutonium and enriched uranium would be dismantled. Plutonium cannot be thrown away: inhaled it is toxic in mere millionths of a gramme. Stolen by terrorists, a mere grapefruit sized ball will go critical. Is it a responsible attitude to leave the stuff around, for the whim of tomorrow's politicians to put it back into bombs? It cannot be left to decay, for its half-life is 24,000 years. It has to be unmade. We do not have the right to hand it down to posterity without their having the means to unmake it. The machines which bred it are the sole means of consuming it, releasing its unnatural existence so the earth can breathe easy again. 1,000 tons may exist at present on earth, some 40-plus of which are in the UK.

While the military-grade plutonium may be the most urgent to consume, most samples will give a bang and release highly toxic amounts of isotopes into the atmosphere. And a machine is being developed in the US which will be able to extract military-grade plutonium from any plutonium, strengthening the argument for developing some means of consuming the stuff.

The 'peace movement', if one may speak in generalities, tends to favour dismantling bombs and closing down reactors, more or less simultaneously. The two are linked because reactors have, throughout their lifetimes, been clandestinely used to extract material usable for military purposes. So an alternative may in fact exist - of keeping those reactors suitable for the job open for long enough for the deadly, ultraheavy unnatural elements to be fissioned out of existence. The core of an AGR reactor will contain around 100 tons of uranium fuel; so on the diet suggested below, each reactor would consume 1 - 2 tons per year. So all of Britain's plutonium should be consumable within a decade.

Professor Fremlin proposes that 2 - 3% of plutonium be mixed in with 'depleted' uranium, which mixture be fed into thermal reactors. Eight AGRs exist in Britain, and these would be suitable for the job. Some additional plutonium would be created, but the main process would be a burn-up and a net decrease would take place. No precise data are available because it hasn't been tried.

At present we have no use at all for depleted uranium. Thousands of tons of it are stored around Windscale. Once the 235 isotope has been extracted from it - to use in atom bombs - no further use exists for it. It isn't thrown away, however, because come that day long dreamed of by the CEGE when Fast Breeder reactors start to be constructed in Britain, it would be usable as blankets around the plutonium core of the reactor to generate high-grade plutonium. So depleted uranium consists of only one isotope, 238.

The CEGB tends to present it as a fact of life that any nuclear reactor produces both heat and bomb material - and that the only way to start burning up the bomb material is to build a Fast Breeder. The problem with a Fast Breeder for this function, explains Fremlin, is basically the huge amounts of heat produced by burning neat plutonium - about 4000 megawatts per ton per annum. It would be easier, he feels, to consume the bomb material in a more dilute form, in existing UK reactors, using the non-fissile U-238 as a dilutant.

To an extraordinary degree, the problem of what to do with the bomb material is ignored by those proposing



disarmament, almost as if they did not believe that what they advocated would ever come about and so there was no need to plan for it. The proposal in fact involves a gradual disarmament programme as gradually the bombs are burned up - with a special carrot of a 20% or so reduction in the price of electricity for its duration! Although the lives of some of our nuclear reactors would be extended, we must remember that the bomb material does contain an enormous amount of stored thermal energy: is it ethical to leave it unused, merely 'stored'? Surely a Green policy should be that it's OK for a nuclear reactor to work, just so long as it's running on atom bombs!

A transmutation process would be placed into reverse gear. The Ring would be taken back to Mount Doom where it was initially forged. No other path is safe!

# DREAM DRAMA

Dream Drama draws its insights from a wide range of therapies. Here DAPHNE FRANCIS describes how it may be used in women's groups, though it is also applicable in mixed or men's groups.

OVER MANY years I have been fascinated by the wisdom of dream-life, and I would like to share a way of working with dreams that has come together for me and others over the last few years - Dream Drama. Working as this technique does with unconscious material, I have found that it cuts through a lot of verbal and bodily defences which seem more resistant to therapies based on everyday experience. This approach is particularly suited to women's groups where women are committed to working at a deep level with each other over a longish period of time, though the one-off Dream Workshop can also be very useful. Dream Drama as I have practised it combines insights and tools from Co-Counselling, Gestalt and Psychodrama, and it would be helpful - but not necessary - for a group starting this sort of work if at least one member has some experience with these or compatible therapies.



Before I outline how to enact your dream-dramas, there is one assumption in this sort of work that needs to be made explicit - that is, that everybody and everything in the dream represents a part of oneself. This can be difficult to embrace fully at first, as it may seem pretty impossible to recognise oneself in the feared image of the bogey in the dark, the rapist lurking in the woods, or at the lighter level, in the seemingly trivial junk that sometimes crowds our dreams. However, working with this assumption and learning to deal through the drama with the different energies involved in the various roles helps the dreamer to integrate difficult experiences and go forward into waking life with more options in terms of both feelings and action. Once you have decided you want to do this sort of work, you need to form a group with other women and to make a commitment to the group to attend as regularly each week or fortnight as is possible and to work together for at least six months. Your group should be of at least 5 women and could go up to 8. Bigger groups are possible if you have access to a big space, but in practice it is often difficult to get continuity of attendance from such a large number. Set aside at least  $2\frac{1}{2}$  hours for your time together and find a pleasant and ideally womb-like space where you will be free from interruption and can make some noise if you want to. The space needs to be big enough for the acting out of dreams which involve a lot of movement.

Start your sessions together by settling into dreamtime with a short meditation together, breathing deeply and rhythmically. One of the group can guide a visualisation exercise that you can evolve as you go along. I give a suggested outline:

"We are a group of women standing together in a beautiful valley. It is dusk and by the light of the new moon we set off in a procession up a track, one after the other. We are in a country that seems very ancient and yet also very present. As the darkness closes round us, we reach a small breastshaped earthen hut which is our dream chamber. We enter into the dark warm womb within. We seat ourselves in a circle and link hands. We breathe together and softly chant. And we invoke Arachne. she who weaves our dreams and our lives, linking us through her threads with the dreams and lives of others, in the gleaming web of existence. As we remember Arachne, we focus on one particular dream which we would like to present to the group that night. Bring it into consciousness in as much detail as possible. (Silence for 5 minutes). Then we slowly gather the threads of our dream, press the hands of our sisters and bid farewell to the dream chamber, coming back to our waking space together."

Next, go straight into each doing a sketch of your dream. Lots of colourful wax crayons are handy for this. Try not to think too much about this - you have about 5 minutes for your drawing. If your dream is long and detailed, focus on one scene or bit of a scene that comes forward into your mind, even if the piece presented may superficially appear insignificant.

Next, take it in turn to share your dream with others, holding up your sketch for illustration. In this sharing, do not get bogged down in intellectually analysing the dreams presented. You move swiftly into acting out the dreams, in whatever order is agreeable to all of you. A short dream, however, may not necessarily mean a short dream-drama, and vice versa. As a group you have to work out over the weeks a way of deciding how to organise who works in the time you have together. It may be that you can get through all your dreams in one night, if you are a small group. But as this process is so deep, it is more likely that only one or two dreams can be dealt with in a session. However, as all group members take part in the drama, it is an exciting and absorbing evening for everyone. At subsequent meetings, women can work with dreams already shared or ones they have newly introduced to the group. Repititive dreams are very useful as they indicate some important message, as are also night/ mares, the gift of the dark horse who wakes us hearts pounding in the night. Finally, on organisation of

work, it is a good idea to always do some sort of meditation or dream-share together at the start of cach session, even though some of the dreams do not get worked on in that session, or you have already decided at a previous session what to work on.



Now, once you have decided which dream you will enact first, the group chooses one woman to act as a facilitator for that dream. In a small group the facilitator also acts a minor role in the dream. The role of the facilitator is to help the dreamer if she feels she has got stuck, by making suggestions as to things the dreamer might try next. Also, at times of emothional release, the facilitator is there to support and counsel the dreamer. Although there should always be one facilitator per dream, other members of the group are not precluded from chipping in as they see fit.

Now the dreamer chooses women to act the people and significant objects in the dream. If one woman feels particularly drawn to act in a particular role, it usually works well if she does so if it feels fine with the dreamer. If the dream has many characters and objects, women will have to play several roles as best they can, sometimes several roles in one scene, or changing roles from scene to scene. This may sound horrendously impractical, but in fact usually works surprisingly smoothly. For the first run-through, the dreamer herself does not act in the dream, she directs and observes the drama, instructing others as necessary in making the drama as close to her feeling of the dream as possible. She may need to run through the drama more than once till she feels she has got the feel of the dream.

Next the dreamer steps into the drama, moving first into the role to which she feels most powerfully drawn. This may, of course, be herself. Again the dream is re-enacted, firstly as a straight run-through, then with a bit of experimentation. The dreamer may want to dialogue in detail with some of the characters, to move or get rid of certain objects, behave otherwise than she did in the dream. She may want to play some other character in the dream or she may want to speak with another actress who is acting her. The scope for experimentation is endless, and it is very much up to the dreamer to improvise and others to make suggestions. The role-play continues for as long as seems useful. The aim is to act the dream to the point where the dreamer feels complete. This may involve some intensive emotional release as she wends her way through the various roles in the dream. Little details can be very useful in this respect. E.g.: a woman's dream may have contained a sequence where her eye is caught by a beautiful and fascinating

carpet. Acting the carpet, she may say, "I am beautiful. People walk all over me." This may bring up a lot of emotional material.

Torepeat: the dreamer should re-run the dream to the point where she feels that she has said and done everything she wants to in each of the roles that feels important to her. Also, she can choose to re-tell, then act, the dream changing the story in whatever way she wants. She can for example give the dream a 'happy ending', she can change the way she behaves in it to a way she prefers over the original story - instead of running from the bogeyman, for example, she confronts him and deals with him to her satisfaction. Also, where the dream is reminiscent of a recurring waking situation which gives her a problem she can role-play a rehearsal of different ways of dealing with this difficulty in the future. She practises this until she feels more confident about dealing with her problem-situation in daily life. Another useful tip is to enact what would have happened if the dream had lasted another five minutes.

Although the dreamer remains in charge through all of this process and others change parts etc. as she requests, other women can urge her to, for example, act a part she has been avoiding, to repeat certain phrases that seemed emotionally laden or difficult, to go ahead and experiment with totally different approaches. Ultimately however it is up to each dreamer to decide how far and how deep she wants to go and when she wants to call an end to the drama (within the limits of the time available). A good way of finishing is for the dreamer to take some statement which has emerged from the drama as a positive affirmation for herself; or she can make a commitment to herself to take some action which she thinks will be positive in her own waking life-drama. Finally, coming together in a circle for a quiet few minutes together brings everyone gently back to the time when the session is over.

I hope that this necessarily brief outline is sufficient to give an idea of the methods and potential of this sort of work. The first few weeks together may be a bit tentative as each woman explores acting in dreams and learns how to facilitate for others. This last role comes with a bit of practice, so do not be put off by preliminary awkwardness. For using this technique I feel is a good way of gently prising into our psyches for the energy that we need to heal ourselves and our society which so desparately needs the energy of our wildest dreams.



LE CUN is situated in the south of France. It is an experiment in alternative development. There is a mixture of practical, cooperative living and rather more academic argument (it is after all a centre for research and study); a balance between the individual and the collective: a living concern for alternative lifestyles, viewpoints and technologies. It was born out of protest at a single issue. It has grown to develop a holistic view of world issues. It is a focus for much energy and many green ideas. They are disappointed that they get so few English-speaking speakers.

The plans which are being developed in Britain for a New University could do well to incorporate some of the ideas as well as the working practices and the 'flavour' (international, not just French) of "le Cun". Until those plans on this side of the Channel begin to bear fruit, the French inspiration is there.

DICK BROWN writes about le Cun for Green Line.

IMAGINE, ON Salisbury Plain, a permanent Centre for Peace Studies, Third World Development and Alternative Defence, subsidised by the government and partly run by conscientious objectors. The very thought would seem as improbable as Tarzan Heseltine wearing flowers in his hair.

There is such a centre, but not on Salisbury Plain. About 350 miles south of Paris, 60 miles from the Mediterranean, is "le Cun de Larzac". It's on the northern edge of the Larzac plateau, one of the driest and most thinly populated areas of France. Scenically, much of the Larzac is reminiscent of the image of the Wild West shown in films - open prairie, weird and impressive rock formations, the occasional wooded hollow. Cultivable land is in minute and scattered pockets, but the Larzac supports. a farm economy, richer in tradition than in financial terms, raising sheep to produce the milk to make Roquefort; peasant farms contributing to the most famous and the most expensive of French blue cheeses.

In the centre of the Larzac is a military camp. In 1970 the then right-wing government announced its intention of extending the camp from 7500 acres to nearly seven times that size. A large part of the plateau was to become a tank training ground and, it was suspected, a weapons testing site. Initially there was little activity and a lot of rumour. Some farmers moved out; others saw the potential of rich pickings from compulsory purchase by the army. But



Recuperation de l'eau de pluie et recyclage des eaux usées... Le CUN du Larzac.

the majority gradually became incensed at the potential loss of their livelihood and the destruction of their farms. They just did not believe the propaganda message that the most profitable farms would be allowed to continue to run inside the camp boundaries, nor that several thousand new jobs would be created by the project. They began to look for ways of resisting, and in 1971 began to mobilise, forming a Save Larzac Association, demonstrating, and publicising their case.

The struggle of the Larzac farmers took a new turn in the spring of 1972. Up till then they had used constitutional means of protest, sometimes having to rely reluctantly on outside supporters - political groups and trade unions mainly - to carry out their protest activities. Some began to realise the danger that their campaign might be taken over, and also that violent resistance was a possible development - a development they rejected totally. In March 1972 a talk on "Active Nonviolence" was given by Lanza del Vasto - philosopher, disciple of Gandhi, and founder of the Community of the Ark. "To prevent the army taking root on the Larzac is to help peace; it is therefore a just endeavour," he told his audience. "With a mixture of truth, courage, love, humour and imagination you will find forms of action that will reach the heart and force men to examine their consciences."

The struggle was to last for over ten years. One of the early meetings took place at a farm called "le Cun" in the middle of the plateau and close to the military camp. Le Cun became the focus of much of the resistance, and a regular meeting place for objectors to the camp extension. The farm was soon compulsorily purchased. The occupants held out until 1977 before being evicted by the army; soon afterwards the farm buildings were bulldozed. By this time le Cun was not just a focus of protest against the camp extension. The community that had settled there had begun to turn its attention to a range of issues prompted by the reactions aroused by the Larzac struggle, by the militaristic mood of the government, but above all by the nonviolent resistance of the Larzac farmers. They moved to the north of the plateau and began building the present Centre, without licence or planning permission, right in the heart of the proposed camp extension.

The present buildings are in an area of open woodland. The main house, of stone and breeze-block, contains kitchens, a common room, showers and washrooms. During the summer of 1985 work started on a small



dormitory extension. Nearby is a 'terrapin' housing the office, a bookshop, and a unique library of several thousand books, periodicals and pamphlets mainly in French though there are a lot in German and Dutch, and some in English as well. Spread out in the trees are other buildings - workshops, meeting huts, staff houses, and a unique organic, waterless loo! One of the buildings is an experimental house constructed of straw bales in a rough timber and chicken wire frame. Single-storied, four-bedroomed (and, with four-foot thick walls, well insulated all year round) the 'maison de paille' was built by a dozen people in less than a week. The house has been standing for nearly ten years now, and the design has been used in the Third World where there has been a need for low-cost, fairly instant housing made from locally available materials.

Even when the dormitory is finished most of the sleeping at the Centre - in summer at least - will be, as it is now, in dozens of tents of every shape, size, colour and state of repair, scattered among the pines and juniper bushes.

The Centre is open throughout the year. There is a regular programme of courses - NVDA, Third World Development, alternative technology, women's studies, human rights, health, alternative defence. But peace to le Cun is not just the absence of hostility and the academic study of issues. People are invited to experience an alternative and cooperative lifestyle, to live and relate to each other differently. Peace involves the active promotion of understanding and reconciliation, particularly of the inequality, aggression and tensions that exist between peoples.

When le Cun is not running its own courses the Centre is open to other groups. During the fortnight we were there last summer, one week was taken over by the French equivalent of CND; the second by a collection of NVDA groups and the 'Theatre of the Oppressed', involved in confidence-building games and assertiveness training. We were there, with others, enjoying an "acceuil detente" - just taking time out, meeting other people and relaxing among friends who shared common ideals and beliefs.

And what about the conscientious objectors? France still has a 12-month military national service. Objectors can do two years civil service in approved projects instead. It is an irony that government attempts to defuse organised dissent within the armed forces means that Friends of the Earth, Greenpeace, and le Cun are "approved"; many of their full-time workers are COs, who each bring in a £250 monthly national service allowance from the government! That's where the government subsidy comes in. Other funding at le Cun is from private subscription and through shares in their own building society. Shares can either be bought for cash or earned through working at the Centre - building, staffing the office, running the creche or helping generally. Regular work camps take place throughout the summer, and there's a constant flow of casual labour.

Life at le Cun is relaxed, shared, and at a very different pace from most people's experience. Mornings start with the alarm clock of a sheep bell or an accordion sounding gently through the camp site. The breakfast that follows is a sleepy, do-it-yourself event. Then the first communal effort of the day: "la pluche et la plonge" (peeling the veg. and washing up). If there's a course running the 'formal' sessions start at about 10 - or as soon as the morning's domestic cooperation is over. Since the weather is predictably dry, and can be very hot in summer, everything happens out of doors: in the open if you are after sun, under the trees when it becomes too hot. The pace of meetings can be intense, and the 2-hour midday break is needed to continue unravelling the morning's ideas informally over a meal. The summer afternoon heat is often too much for efficient working to continue, so we take time off to go swimming in the Tarn or the Dourbie, or to explore the Larzac, or read or rest, picking up the formal threads again later in the afternoon. An evening meal as dusk begins to fall, then perhaps a candlelit evening session, or an informal social with folk singing, dancing and story telling. Even in summer the nights are very cold - often only a few degrees above freezing - so late nights are not a regular feature. Winters are bitterly cold, but as visitors are fewer everything can take place indoors.

If you're not involved in formal sessions there is still plenty to do. Water has to be fetched from several miles away and pumped into rooftop cisterns. When there's a wind this is done by Aeolian windmill; when it's not, everyone is asked to pump their own daily ration of about 2 gallons using a creaking, leaking handpump. In winter the ice has to be broken and water thawed - an exhausting and timeconsuming effort. Every drop is precious, and the same water can be used to wash vegetables, then rinse clothes, then to flush down the loo, then - via several settling and septic tanks - to water the gardens and plots.

These plots need tending. The gardens are organic, and although they make a contribution, the number of visitors to le Cun makes it hard to be self-sufficient. Food is intended to reflect the diet available to many Third World people. Helpings are small but adequate, with an emphasis on pulses, cereals, bread and vegetables. Meat, for those who want it, is usually on the menu no more than once a week.

\*\* A leaflet about le Cun, as well as the 1986 programme, will shortly be available from Marie-Christine and Dick Brown, 41 Station Road, Poulton-le-Fylde, Blackpool, Lancs FY6 7HU (an A5 sae please.)

A brief but excellent introduction to the Larzac struggle can be found in "Larzac - a Victory for Non-violence" by Roger Rawlinson, published by Quaker Peace and Service, Friends House, Euston Road, London NW1 2BY, price £1 plus p&p.

If you want to contact le Cun direct, their address is: Le Cun du Larzac, 12100 Millau, France (tel: 010-33-65-60-62-33).

# No peace for the rich

MOST OF the so-called debate within the peace movement (writes TED TRAINER) sidesteps the one most important aspect of the "problem" of peace. Put simply, this is the interconnection between militarism, imperialism and the taken-for-granted affluent living standards of the rich nations...

If a few super-privileged people in rich countries insist on having living standards far higher than everyone else can ever rise to, and can only have their living standards because they draw much of their wealth from the Third World, and if their supreme goal continues to be the maximum possible rate of economic growth despite increasing resource scarcity, then there can be no other outcome than more and more intense conflict between nations for resources and markets, especially between the superpowers.

One of the most irritating and depressing features of the current peace movement is its almost complete failure to grasp the way the problems of war derive primarily from the faults that are deeply embedded within our social structures and values. Most proceed as if we could scrap the missiles and then go on living in the same ways as we do now. They do not realise that we cannot bring about a peaceful world unless we undertake fundamental social change.

I think this line of argument is best elaborated in terms of our disastrously mistaken quest for affluence and economic growth. Even the richest countries, East and West, are obsessed with raising living standards although their per capita material standards are about 15 times those of the poorest half of the world's people. (This is the ratio for energy use; for GNP it is closer to 40 to 1). A glance at estimates of mineral and fuel resources shows that there is no possibility of all people ever rising to anything like the living standards we have now. This means that we can only be as affluent as we are because we are grabbing much more than our fair share of the available resources. It means we are the "over-developed" countries and they are the "never to be developed countries". It means that we in Austrália can gulp down 18 barrels of oil per per person each year while the average Ethiopian gets only 13 litres. The American average energy use is 617 times that of the average Ethiopian. (World Bank, 1981).

According to the Brandt Commission, about 70% of the resources used in the rich countries come from the Third World. The proportion will almost certainly be much higher in the future. The rich countries take 70 - 80% of all resources produced in the world each year, by bidding most in the global market. They have drawn much of the Third World's land and labour and capital into producing luxuries to export to us. This sort of development has been of great benefit to Third World elites but it has done very little for most people in the Third World, many of whom have seen their real living standards fall. There has been much development, but it has been development mostly in the interests of the rich. The development now reflects widespread acceptance that satisfactory development is not occurring and that the global economy is grossly unfair. What the peace movement has to ask itself is, can we possible have a peaceful and safe world if we do not have a just world?

The prospects for more and more intense international conflict between North and South (likely to outnumber us by 6 or 8 to 1 by 2050) are grim enough; but much more serious is the probability of conflicts between the rich nations. Their "economic health" is totally dependent on ever-increasing levels of production and consumption, and therefore on finding more sources of raw materials and more markets in the Third World. Hence in coming decades we must expect there to be an increase in concern with defending and extending "spheres of influence". The real Soviet threat is not of European invasion: this threat has been dismissed quite convincingly. The threat is to our empire: to the regions from which we derive so much of our wealth and will have to draw on more and more intensely, and if possible to extend, as the years go by.

This argument is already accepted in the case of Middle East oil. We have made it so clear that any Soviet infringement on "our" oilfields would evoke massive military retaliation that we have very effectively scared the Russians off. We cannot safeguard interests like this unless we are armed to the teeth and unless we talk and act in such an aggressive manner that our enemies will believe we would indeed hit out savagely if our vital interests were threatened.

Maintaining our sphere of influence also involves crushing any rebel movements that might displace the brutal and greedy dictatorships we prop up because they keep their countries to the economic policies that we like. It also involves us in keeping order, i.e. maintaining the bases and rapid deployment capacity to intervene when tribal rivalries etc. look like disrupting our supply lines. Hence the US maintains 3000 military bases around the world. Subic Bay naval base has nothing to do with the defence of American <u>territory</u>. It is there to defend American <u>interests</u>: the routes, the systems, the governments and the trade agreements which secure something like one third of the world's resource output for Americans.

Nuclear weapons are only an extension of our military capacity to ensure that we maintain our empire. D Ellsberg documents 13 occasions when we have used them to keep the Russians and others off our turf; occasions when we won an imperial struggle by threatening to use nuclear bombs. (Monthly Review, 33,4, Sept 1981, 1-26).

Although this theme is neglected in the current peace literature, many contributors to the literature on resources have drawn attention to the prospects of fierce competition between developed nations for agricultural products, minerals, energy and other resources.

In fact we are already locked into potentially deadly struggles to secure the resources and markets we must have in order to remain as affluent as we are. Yet the most serious implications concern the future. If we all remain determined to achieve endless growth in material living standards, then the problem can do nothing but grow more intractable. If all people we are likely to have on earth in the middle of the next century were to have the per capita energy and resource use rates presently enjoyed by people in rich countries, world consumption would be 10 times what it is now. If our material living standards grew by a mere 2% per annum until then, equity would need world production to increase 40 times. These multiples are far beyond levels that current estimates of potentially recoverable resources (or the environment) can sustain. Clearly, any commitment to the growth ideology in a context of already scarce and costly resources is a sure recipe for acceleration of international conflict.

It is commonly argued that militarism can't be explained in terms of keeping the empire open because Third World countries that have undergone socialist revolutions have still remained eager to sell their resources to us, because they need the foreign exchange. They have done so, but there are still many reasons why rich nations see the need to control the governments of poor nations.

Firstly there is always a danger that Third World countries not controlled by elites sold on our development model might abandon the goal of reaching high material living standards. If so their need to export heavily in order to import might be curbed. In crisis periods socialist governments might be prepared to inconvenience themselves in order to boycott us.

The governments of poor socialist countries are as much the victims of the global market place as are those of poor capitalist countries. If a socialist government demanded a higher price for its tin or bananas in order to raise the workers' wages, the buying corporations would simply switch to some other supplier. Moreover, the poorest have to compete for things like oil in a market, which means that if they are going to get any they will have to pay the high prices we can pay and that therefore they will have to devote much productive capacity to earning the necessary foreign exchange. In a just global economy quotas and special price arrangements would ensure that they received their fair share.

The prosperity of the rich countries is also significantly dependent on markets, on the fact that we can sell so much to the Third World. One third of our exports now go to the Third World. Most of these exports are luxuries and consumer goods for Third World elites, who pay for them with earnings from the plantations that should have been growing food for hungry peasants. A genuinely socialist Third World government would drastically cut these imports. In a period when the only way we can hope to struggle out of the recession is by cranking up aggregate sales, it takes little imagination to understand what would happen to the global economy if many Third World countries started refusing to allow scarce foreign exchange to be spent on importing non-necessities from us.

Finally, about one third of foreign investment from rich countries is in the Third World. These investments achieve double the profit rates that investors achieve in rich countries, and they typically drain out much more capital each year than they bring in. Foreign investors <u>never</u> invest in the production of the most needed things, because it is always far more profitable to produce what richer people want. Again any "genuinely socialist" government would expel most foreign investors if it had any choice in the matter. If many Third World countries did this, it would be a serious blow to the health of the national economies of the rich countries.



It is therefore of crucial importance for the rich countries that the empire be maintained. The empire is best understood as the domain in which we are free to do good business. Most of what is wrong with the Third World must be understood as inevitable consequences of market forces and production for profit. In some situations these are desirable principles for organising economic activity, but their greatest defect is that they result is appallingly bad distribution of resources and wealth. It is only because we go to so much effort to keep countries within our sphere of influence to the basically free enterprise development strategies which permit our corporations to do the maximum amount of profitable business that our living standards are kept as they are.

So the Russians are an enormous threat to our vital interests - but only because we (and they) are obsessed with the pursuit of indefensibly affluent lifestyles. There is no solution to the problem of international conflict (or to many other global problems) unless we accept the need for a fundamental change to a "de-developed" society. Most disarmers do not realise that we cannot disarm and remain affluent. The "sustainable society" literature indicates that there is a viable alternative, that it would probably provide all people in rich countries with a higher <u>quality</u> of life than they now enjoy, and that a shift to it might be made fairly smoothly <u>if</u> most people understood why it is called for and were willing to work hard for it.

It is unfortunate that the current disarmament debate does not reflect this limits-to-growth perspective. For instance, simply to call for the removal of American bases is in effect to say we refuse to contribute to the systems that keep most of the world geared to supplying the rich countries with what they want. Disarmers have to understand that in the long run we cannot disarm and remain affluent; that we cannot bring about a peaceful and safe world unless we first bring about a just world; and that it is therefore contradictory and futile to be for peace if we are not for de-development.

\*\* Ted Trainer teaches in the School of Education in the University of New South Wales. His book "Abandon Affluence", which is an extremely detailed presentation of the de-development argument, was published last year by Zed Press at £7.95 in paperback.



### Democratic Defence: just more fighting?

DEMOCRATIC DEFENCE: a non-nuclear alternative. Peter Tatchell. GMP/Heretic Books, £3.95

THE MOST original thing about this book is the cover. It shows a close-up view of a camouflaged combat jacket with a large army badge bearing a CND symbol and laurel leaves and the words "Defence not Offence". When I first saw this I felt a mixture of amusement and nausea: amusement at the thought of a soldier wearing a CND symbol, and nausea at the symbol being stripped of all associations with peace other than being anti-nuclear weapons. It was also quite a shock. I think that, in a way, sorting out my reactions to this use of the CND symbol helped me to make up my mind about non-nuclear defence policies in relation to the peace movement much more than the words in the book.

The book itself is boring but useful, if you want to know details of the consequences of dropping bombs of varying sizes on London, of sexual and racial discrimination in the army, or of the formation of the Home Guard in 1940, that is. "Democratic Defence" is described by the author as a "socialist contribution to the debate within the Labour and peace movements concerning the development of an alternative nonnuclear defence strategy" and is largely historical in context. It follows a logical course of giving reasons why we need a non-nuclear, self-defensive, territorial and frontier-defending citizens' army, backed by mass civilian resistance in case of invasion. Nonviolent civilian resistance gets some mention but much more emphasis is on training most of us to slit throats and throw molotov cocktails. Great Britain should also be part of a European Self-Defence Alliance with other non-nuclear countries.

There is a solid mass of documentary evidence proving the success of individual parts of this policy in Great Britain and abroad in the past and present. In fact there is so much of this, mostly reading like an undigested list, that the book took me about four months to read. There is mention as to the effect on population of mass military training, no discussion of militarism and society. The only real philosophical argument comes in the last chapter which describes "A Democratic Defence Strategy for Britain" when there is an excellent section dealing with the threats of nuclear blackmail; but the rest is very disappointing. In a sense the book is summed up in the dedication to Tom Wintringham, who said:

"Freedom is a gain for which to fight... Freedom is also, or can be, a weapon with which to fight."

The whole book is about fighting, albeit non-nuclear, not peace. Which brings me back to where I began and the incongruity of the CND symbol on an army badge. Peter Tatchell said that this book is a contribution to the debate within the peace movement on non-nuclear defence strategy. What he has done is convince me that the peace movement has no business whatsoever developing military strategy and even less promoting any one political party's defence policy.

Linda Churnside.

### The Death of Trees

THE DEATH OF TREES, by Nigel Dudley. Pluto Press, £3.50

THE CONDITION of forests around the world has become a grave cause for concern in recent years. Tropical forests are being destroyed at an unprecedented rate and now forests in the temperate zone are succumbing to the ravages of acid rain.

What future for forests? Nigel Dudley, in his excellent short book, is giving us an overview of the fate of trees. Throughout history the removal of trees was a precondition for the development of agriculture. As forest lands were opened up human populations could expand and create the conditions for future prosperity. But as this European model for development is being copies round the world, it is becoming clearer all the time that things are not quite as simple as that. In Europe forests deposited a rich layer of humus beneficial for agriculture, but in the tropics forests grow on land which is practically devoid of fertility. Once the forests have been removed the soil cannot support more than a couple of years' crops. The forest massacre in the tropics is based on greed and fundamental misconceptions. How can the death of trees be reversed? How can we contribute to the survival of forests?

Nigel Dudley starts his book with an inventory of forests both temperate and tropical. He cites the many reasons for tropical deforestation ranging from agricultural development to ranching, logging and mining. He looks at the shrinking world of forest people, the guardians and experts of the most diverse environment on this planet. He looks at the problems of forest destruction due to the need for firewood in countries which have no alternative fuel. Will it be possible to overcome firewood and timber shortages by establishing plantations? Is social forestry the answer to the loss of trees in the tropics?

In Europe destruction of forests and trees due to disease has become a major problem. The loss of the elms is the most prominent example, but beeches and oaks too are badly affected in several countries. In the last few years air pollution has done tremendous damage to forests in the industrialised countries. In West Germany today over 50% of forests are sick and dying from industrial and traffic emissions, with secondary disease organisms such as fungi, viruses and insects often causing major additional damage.

There is no doubt that at present the prospects for forests around the world look bleak. We have to decide whether we want, whether we actually need forests - or whether we can do without them. Forest destruction is proceeding at such a rapid rate that in a matter of decades the majority of forests around the world will be gone. Can we live in a world without forests? Many of us are firmly convinced that in this victory against nature we'll find ourselves on the losing side.

"In the final analysis, forest protection is not just about cultural change. This change is only going to come from within people themselves... Actions like planting trees or reducing paper waste might seem like spitting into the wind in the face of environmental damage on the scale described in this book, but they are vital prerequisites to any real change."

Herbert Girardet

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#### letters 2000 Section Manual Manua Manual Manual

### Green Gathering

Dear GL,

We'd like to correct the factual inaccuracies and unbalanced implications contained in your report (GL38) on our plans for a European Green Gathering next summer. The idea did not arise after some recent tiff in the Green Collective. It has in fact been around for years and we've been negotiating for the present site since July.

The suggestion that a local rugby club might help with security was made by the landowner back in July - hardly up-to-date news for the New Year' issue of GL! In any case the idea was rejected by us long ago. The last Green Collective meeting didn't even discuss it.

Our policy is clear. We shall deal with any problems that arise (hostile political groups, thieving, gatecrashers, mad axe-men, etc.) nonviolently. This has not been an easy decision to take. Other events, including Elephant Fair and the CND Festival, will probably be hiring security teams who will, if necessary, use violence. If our position on this is to work we must have constructive support from our friends. GL's report was inaccurate and misleading.

We are at the moment trying to register a charity for the organisation of this and other events. Dates are not yet confirmed but we're working on a gathering which will begin on August 19 and finish on the 24th. We shall be bringing together a new team of people to work on the gathering, so offers of help - in any area - are always welcome.

SUMPLOWERS STOCK in gold & green T.SUNFLOWERS STOCK in gold & green T.SHIRTS The Greens Are Gathering' size S. M. L E3:50 each or E3:00 each for 5 or more. ENVELOPE RE-SEALERS The Greens Are Gathering' E2:00 per pack of 100 or £1.85 per pack 15 or more! BADGES 11% The Greens Are Gathering' or Friends of the Earth' 25p each or 15p each for 10 or more PEEL-OFF STICKERS 11% The Greens Are Gathering' 50p per sheet of 20 or 40p per sheet for 10 or more. PEEL-OFF SUNFLOWER STICKERS 41% The Greens Are Gathering', 'Liberate the Earth' Animal Liberation', 'Women's Liberation'. Grean CNP', Y Dewis Ecoleg' 30p each or 20p each for 10 or more. POSTCARDS of Green Collective banner or Dove flying over 1 or (detail from banner) 20p each or 12p for 10 or more. GREEN COLLECTIVE LEAFLETS The Greens Are Gathering' £2:00 per 100 David Taylor, Stephanie Leland, Richard Oldfield 8 King Street, Glastonbury, Somerset.

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\*\* (The original letter describing the 'rugby club plan' was accompanied by a request not to publicise it at that time. Wo respected that. There was strong response from Collective subscribers: we mentioned no meeting. The letter was controversial for its attitude towards the Convoy. After listing all the problems associated with Convoy attendance at fairs and festivals (several events have been cancelled because of the Convoy, or because the police have used Convoy phobia to frighten off landowners and/or organisers), the letter said:

"We'll also need to hire security for the gate. These people must be prepared, if necessary, to use physical force. Such security will preferably include people drawn from within the green movement, but might also take up Keith's (the Earl) suggestion of using the local rugby club, who would do it, apparently, in return for a donation to club funds/local charity."

The Earl of Stradbrook owns the 3200 acre estate where it is proposed to hold the gathering.

Sorry to go on at length, but I do feel the original report was accurate, and it is unfair to rap us over the knuckles for respecting the "<u>No</u> publicity for any of this yet please" request. David did ask (at the end of July) if he could "open the batting" in a "Convoy debate" in GL: at the time I judged (?wrongly) that much space would be used up by such a "debate", and that little or no understanding would emerge from it. - Ed.)

### Sexist language

#### Dear GL,

Your November '85 issue is the first one I've come across, and I was very pleased to read green material and to see that the movement here is alive and kicking. I have been actively involved in the Canadian green movement and political party for two years and I carry this commitment with me.

I find the material you publish stimulating and informative, but I was surprised to see the use of sexist language throughout some of the articles (for e.g. man and nature, markind). Was this a slipup? As I hope you're aware sexist language is not a trivial semantic issue but a political one, indicative and reinforcive of a dominant power structure permeating all aspects of our lives. I'm positive that your readers would applaud all efforts you make to address this contradiction. Feminism and Green politics are interconnected and the use of offensive language in a green magazine is a statement in itself. I suggest that you introduce a set of guidelines or develop an editorial policy that ensures the use of non-sexist language in GL.

Best of luck in all your efforts.

In Green praxis and sisterhood.

Suzanne Williams

Lifespan Community, Townhead Dunford Bridge, Sheffield S30 6TG

\*\*\* Writers of articles and letters please take note! If you are deliberately sexist in your use of language, then your writing has no place in GL. Ifit's accidental, then check it more carefully. - Ed.

#### Party or Alliance?

Dear GL.

Malvern Ecology Party points out that irregularities and controversy exist surrounding the UK party's name change. Two votes were taken and gave different results, and local parties are still supposed to use the word Ecology.

To my mind the word party is as much a problem as the word green, and the organisation should restructure itself as the Ecology Alliance or Green Federation, similar to the Irish Green Alliance which contains groups with different names, some of which overhap geographically. Most local groups use the word green e.g. the Cork Greens, the Kilkenny Greens, the Dublin Greens. Other names include Eco 8 (covering postal area 8 in Dublin), Dublin North Alternatives, Green Action Now Group (GANG - concentrating on direct action), and the Movement for Ecology Politics which is a nationwide postal communicating group.

Malcolm Samuel

99 Prospect Road, Portstewart, N.I.





### Gay Green group formed

#### Lee writes:

The Gay Green Group wasset up in December with the intention of acting as a focus for all gay people - women and men - who are now leaning towards green consciousness and politics. Unfortunately, up till now the gay scene has been dominated by two extremes, the commercial and the left, areas in which many gays are now dissatisfied.

To adopt a green outlook on life can be an isolating experience, especially if you are gay. We hope to offer the support, comradeship, strength and interest to be able to make that switch to green and to continue and develop this particular lifestyle with special reference to those needs gay people have, and against those prejudices often forced our way: the creation of a gay space within the green movement, so to speak.

We also hope to reach out to the

Maoris extend protest

For the second year that it has been in office the NZ Labour government has made positive changes regarding the Treaty of Waitangi in line with Maori demands (see article in GL 34). A halt has been called to the treaty celebrations at Waitangi, held almost annually for 40 years: instead an official ceremony with the theme of "peace" will be held in Wellington.

A new bill of rights, yet to be passed, is to incorporate the treaty, and the powers of the Waitangi Tribunal are to be strengthened. However, the Tribunal still has only advisory powers, and the Bill of Rights states that the Treaty must be read in the light of present-day circumstances.

A protest march to Waitangi, to have been organised by the Maori independence grouping Te Kotahitanga, has been called off. Instead, emphasis will be put on creating an atmosphere of unity and reconciliation for a "hui" (gathering) at Waitangi on Feb 6 when the Treaty will be discussed.

Messages of support to: People opposed to Waitangi, PO Box 2436, Auckland, Aotearoa / New Zealand.



#### Warrior at rest

The Rainbow Warrior affair is still causing waves in Actearca (New Zealand. Now it's about where it will be 'buried'.

green movement in general to eradicate wherever they may exist any tainted views of 'the homosexual' and encourage a more enlightened and better informed understanding of what it means to be gay. The Green Party itself has practically ignored the gay issue - and, I might add, issues concerning race and women. Party policy and discussion could be vitalised in all these areas. It is also about time our voice was heard and seen in unity with all green people, for the making of a greener world. Our voice is conspicuous by its absence.

At the moment the group only exists in London, but according to response we will be happy to help coordinate independent groups elsewhere - the objective being a network of active Gay Green support groups nationwide.

For more information, and details of meetings in London, ring Lee on 01-809 2468.

Maori people from Matauri Bay

community north of Waitangi in

Northland unanimously decided to

accept the Rainbow Warrior in their

waters for its final resting place.

It is in a sheltered area with good

visibility and plans are for a buoy

marked with a tribute to Greenpeace

Roxby Downs

BP Australia announced on Dec 9 that

they are to go ahead with their 49%

Roxby Downs uranium, copper and gold

Australia. Total production however

is to be reduced to less than  $\frac{1}{4}$  of

Managing director of Western Mining

"It is the start of one of the very

few new resources projects which can

announced for the uranium or copper,

aboriginal Kokotha people, struggling

for recognition of their land rights,

have yet to receive any compensation

for the destruction of sacred sites

already caused by the Roxby project.

More information from: Bristol NFIP

Support, 82 Colston Street, Bristol 1.

Corporation, BP's partner, said:

However no markets have yet been

and the Campaign against Nuclear

that France, with whom there is

supposed to be an uranium export

ban, is being approached. The

Energy in Australia are concerned

be justified in today's world

involvement in the controversial

mine on aboriginal land in South

to locate the wreck, and for a

reserve to be designated.

the original projection.

markets."

### Green Party calls Tories' energy bluff

1986 is 'Energy Efficiency Year' and if the government is serious in wanting to increase energy efficiency it should recognise the contribution that conservation can make - and scrap plans for Sizewell B now. This call came from the Green Party in December, and is being taken up by two green MEPs.

The party published a 10-point critique of government proposals. "Conservation without production control will result eventually in a fuel glut and depress prices, thus removing any incentive to conserve," says the report. It continues:

"Whilst all efforts to conserve energy are to be praised, any scheme which at the end of five years will result in the saving of £7bn but will not slow down the depletion of the UK's resources must be regarded with considerable suspicion. The adoption of the slogan 'Monergy' (developed by Saatchi and Saatchi) betrays the short-sightedness of the Department of Energy in that it fosters the view that money and energy are interchangeable. The concept of fossil fuels as simply a source of income is as archaic as it is irresponsible, and the Department's vision of the future role of the nuclear industry as being something that can replace fossil fuels is misleading, unjustifiable and wildly optimistic. It is essential that a new attitude to energy is adopted, treated fossil fuels as a once-only capital asset, and that stringent long-term depletion policies are developed if an energy shortfall will no amount of nuclear power will fill is to be avoided."

#### 

#### New University

The New University Educational Trust now has working groups in London and Oxford. It aims to become an educational charitable trust in order to attract grants, and is seeking well-known figures to act as patrons and honorary academic advisers. According to the minutes of a meeting on December 1st "it was felt that approaching Prince Charles would be divisive, contrary to the ideal, and unlikely to succeed, but that it should be tried."

Over £4,000 has already been raised in cash or promises. Contact: 278 Battersea Park Road, London SW11.



### Green Professional register

#### Tim Cooper writes:

Recent years have seen a notable increase in self-employment, following massive redundancies and government incentives, partly because growing numbers have wished to see whether self-employment might enable them to take more control over who they are working for, the hours they work, and whether their 'output' matches the needs of a sustainable, post-industrial culture.

To encourage such people, the 'Register of Green Professionals' will be published early in 1986, containing details of people within the Green movement offering various skills. Areas covered will include, for example, transport policy, engineering, economics, computing, publishing and editing, design, translation, building (including energy audits), etc.

We expect it to be distributed among greens and that it will increase accessibility to services from people who have this perspective in common. If you would like to have your name included in the register, or would like a copy when it is published, please contact Tim Cooper, 25 Dukes Avenue, London W4 2AA.



#### Ulster Greens election plans

The newly constituted and newly independent Northern Ireland Ecology Party is appealing for funds to contest the anticipated by-elections in East Londonderry or North Antrim.

The party favours a constitutional referendum in NI, but says that a yes/no vote will only show up divisions. Instead it favours a multiple choice referendum offering at least 10 options on the constitutional future of the province. The phrasing would be decided by a public inquiry, and people would be required to list all the options in order of preference

Send donations to The Treasurer, NI Ecology Party, 11 Trostan Gdns, Portrush BT56 8DU (cheques payable to 'Ecology Party') and say whether you want your money returned if the goal of the £500 deposit is not reached (otherwise the money will be put into party funds).

#### Low level radiation

The monitoring of the health effects of the activities of the nuclear power industry is described as totally inadequate in a report just published by SCAR - the Severnside Campaign Against Radiation. They are calling on the government and the so-called nuclear watchdogs to respond much more quickly to the growing amount of evidence linking radioactivity exposure to leukaemia and other diseases.

The report is a detailed account of the First National Conference into the Health Effects of Low Level Radiation which took place in Gloucester last June. It highlights the work of guest speaker Dr Alice Stewart whose research has linked x-ray exposure of pregnant women to an increased incidence of childhood leukaemia. This research was first published in 1956, yet the Atomic Energy Authority waited until 1976 before it accepted the validity of Dr Stewart's research.

In another contribution Dr Robin Russell Jones notes that John Dunster, current chair of the National Radiological Protection Board, had authorised increased discharges of radioactivity from Windscale "to yield better experimental data". He goes on to point out that both the International and National Radiological Protection Boards are "selfsustaining oligarchies" whose members are drawn from the UK and US nuclear industries - "hardly impartial watchdogs".

SCAR claims that these bodies have consistently failed to protect the public; have been involved in coverups of Windseale accidents; have failed to protect servicemen exposed to nuclear tests; and have failed adequately to monitor the health of workers in the nuclear industry.

The report includes contributions from Dorset, Suffolk, Cumbria, Wigtownshire, Orkney, Teesside, Holy Loch and Somerset suggesting that there may well be leukaemia clusters near local nuclear installations.

The report is available from Sue Haverly, Hillside Cottage, Viney Woodside, Lydney, Glos.

#### HI. DIAVULANCENTALINIS III IL IN

#### Stop Trident

Faslane Peace Camp holds its second 'stop Trident' action on Feb 14-17. There will be a women's action, a ceilidh, street theatre and a vigil. There is a women-only caravan at the camp, and women-only camping space. Info: 0436 820901.

#### Greentown to go ahead

The Greentown Group - which plans a cooperatively-run, self-build village in Crownhill on the western edge of Milton Keynes - is set to begin phase 1 of the project this July. It will develop about one fifth of the 35 acre site. Rother Self-Build Consultants Ltd are assisting with the first phase of the project.

The Group has registered Crownhill Village Association Ltd (CVA) to develop the land. CVA will acquire the freehold/leasehold of the land for phase 1; in turn it will lease land to individual housing clusters. These may take the form of conventional Self-Build Housing Associations, Housing Cooperatives aiming for a group mortgage, or other legal structures. All adult members of the village, starting with residents of phase 1, will have one share in CVA and be able to play a full part in running the village.

The project still faces obstacles from the planning authorities. After pressure from Milton Keynes Borough Council, the Dept of the Environment gave Milton Keynes Development Corporation permission for residential development only in this part of Crownhill. Initially phase 1 will not be allowed to contain any major 'commercial' land uses - such as workshops or horticultural uses.

#### AT Courses in Bristol

A. T. S. SPILEVENESS

In Bristol the Urban Centre for Alternative Technology's new "Community Energy Workshop" is now running a large range of mainly practical courses. Topics run from DIY Solar Installation and Energy Management for community groups to tours of appropriate technology sites in Britain and a one-day "Green City" seminar on working for environmentally benign cities.

For more information, contact Keith Tutt, 109 Philip Street, Bristol BS3 4DR (tel. 0272 633895).



#### Food and Environment

A major one-day conference on food and the environment is to be held at Oxford Polytechnic on March 8. It will explore the chemical additives, agricultural input residues, and the mutritional value of the food we eat. Bookings (£9 incl. coffee, organic lunch and tea) must be made by Feb 28: Carolin Tidbury, Short Course Unit, Oxford Polytechnic, Oxford OX3 OBP. Or ring Joe Weston on Wheatley 2679 for information.

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Chris Church reports from FoE's annual conference:

In the last few years FoE's structure has changed to permit more local group say in the running of the organisation, and a majority of the Board of Directors are elected by local groups. But the major event is the Annual Conference, where policy is discussed and where local campaigners can discuss major issues directly with national workers. The 1985 conference was the biggest yet with over 200 people from over 65 of FoE's 200+ groups. Held in the surprisingly rural surroundings of Regents Park College, it provided a unique opportunity to assess the green campaigns in action. FoE's external image may be moulded by Des Wilson and Jonathon Porritt, both of whom spoke, but for the conference delegates the crucial material was coming from the fulltime campaigners.

The biggest campaign workshop was that taken by Charles Secrett on Tropical Rainforests - FoE's newest

# Green Line

- HOUSING IS THEFT: HOUSING IS FREEDOM Colin Ward (Old Hammond Press) £1
- POLITICS FOR LIFE (Ecology Party, 36pp). 50p / 5 for £2.
- PROGRAMME OF THE GERMAN GREEN PARTY. Heretic Books, £1.50
- SOCIALISM AND ECOLOGY: Raymond Williams. SERA, 75p
- COAL AND ECONOMIC GROWTH (Wales Ecology Party). 20p.
- FOOD ADDITIVES (Wales Ecology Party). 30p
- FAIR VOTES GUIDE (Guide to PR). Campaign for Fair Votes, 95p
- EMBRACE THE EARTH, Jonathon Porritt et al. (Green CND). 90p
- EASY VEGAN COOKING, Sandra Williams and Joy Scott. (Old Hammond Press). £1.20
- GREEN SONGS (Evergreen Press). Words and music. 50p.
- NEW ECONOMICS 85. Report and summary of TOES 1985. £1.20
- WINNERS ALL: co-operative games for all ages. (Pax Christi). 60p
- HEALTH, WEALTH AND THE NEW ECONOMICS. James Robertson. 'An agenda for a healthier world.' TOES, £1.20
- BRANDT REPORT: Con Trick. Richard Hunt. (Green Line). 10p

campaign, and certainly the fastest growing since the campaign launch. Charles pointed out that FoE had forced the timber industries to take notice by pinpointing their responsibility as importers of tropical hardwood products into Britain. Rather than just worry about the rainforests, FoE had picked its target - the tropical timber industry - and was aiming to get an agreement from that industry to end the rampant looting of the rainforests and replace it with a policy of sustainable use. Coming as it did the day after the highly successful "Forests or Famine" rally at the Commonwealth Institute, the news that the industry is prepared to negotiate was a great boost to the workshop.

Local actions have been crucial to this campaign, with local groups helping build up a nationwide picture of which firms are dealing in tropical hardwoods and how the products are being sold. The workshop produced plenty more ideas for action, and there is a planning workshop in February.

### Mail Order

THE ANIMAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT Peter Singer. (Old Hammond Press) £1.10

SUNFLOWER BADGES. Seven designs printed in three colours: CND, feminist, yin-yang, anarchist, Eco, Christian and FoE. (NB the anarchist design may be supplied in a fluorescent green version instead). 20+ (assorted) 12p each; 100+ 10p. Single badge 20p plus 13p stamp.

GREEN CND BADGES in black on  $\frac{fluorescent}{(over 20)}$  10p each.

- 'MAKE IT GREEN' stickers in gold, yellow and green. 30p ea, 10+ 20p.
- 'STOP ACID RAIN' stickers (yellow and black) 25p each, 10 for £1.75
- STICKERS (5" green/white): "Peace means Sharing" and "Co-operation not Competition". 30p each, 10 for £2.50.
- BADGES (1¼"): Peace Means Sharing; Co-operation not Competition; Acid Rain Kills; Humans - an Endangered Species. 25p each, 10 for £2.

ORDERS OVER £2 ARE POST FREE. Under £2: enclose 13p stamp. SEND CASH-WITH-ORDER to Green Line, 34 Cowley Road, Oxford OX4 1HZ. Nuclear power and waste are also set to be high priorities this year, to judge by the energy workshop. FoE is still working on Sizewell, which remains crucial to the future of nuclear power throughout the world. Despite fatigue and burn-out FoE are plugging away and will be producing their own inquiry report before the official one is published. This will set the scene for the biggest ever lobbying exercise, designed to convince MPs of all parties that nuclear power is obsolete, redundant, over-expensive, and unsafe. Nuclear waste is also becoming a major FoE issue, and many of the delegates are involved in potential waste site campaigns. FoE is acting to coordinate and support the fastgrowing local campaigns on this issue and the workshop discussed plans for action when the new waste sites are officially announced. A second energy workshop looked at ways in which the environmental movement should deal with coal, conservation, on-shore oil, and other energy issues.

Other workshops covered Acid Rain, Pesticides, Transport, the Countryside, and Recycling (FoE now has a full-time recycling officer after a 3-year gap). In all these areas there is plenty for local activists to do, and it was massively encouraging to find out how much is being done.

One session was given over to motions for debate. A motion that was expected to be the most controversial was one regarding the Severn Barrage. This proposal to dam the Severn Estuary for tidal power would be the world's largest renewable energy project; but if the large version were built, would affect seriously over 20 key wildlife sites. FoE has been discussing this issue since last year's conference, and to many people's surprise a composite motion came forward as a result of the ongoing debate, which got the agreement of all parties. It said FoE would not support any tidal power scheme until there had been a full Environmental Impact Assessment, a full Inquiry with funding for objectors, and further suggested that any initial scheme should be a small-scale one.

While the conference was aimed at local groups, it was attended by individual members and representatives of other green organisations, many of whom made valuable contributions. FoE is keen to see this continue, and full details of the conference and all of FoE's workshops are in its monthly groups' mailing.



### Hello Bill: Bye Bye Rights

WHILST THE politicians and the media were busily mesmerised by the Westland saga and the Lygo letters, something else just as sinister was slipping quietly and virtually unnoticed through the House of Commons. The new Public Order Bill went through its second reading with hardly a murmur of protest and only a half-hearted speech of opposition from that great guardian of our civil liberties, Gerald Kaufmann.

What's the new Public Order Bill? Well, as Douglas Hurd would tell you, it's the new law against football hooligans. It also just happens to be the new law which will make all demonstrations illegal unless approved by the police, make it illegal to use abusive or insulting words, and make it much easier for people to be convicted of riot and possible for them to get life imprisonment.

What has happened is that the government has decided that, since so many striking miners got found not guilty, and since so many Stonehenge defendents look set to do the same, the law obviously needs tightening up. And of course it is embarrassing for the police if, after turning out in their riot gear, they can't find anyone to convict of riot. What they want, and what is being pushed through, is a law which will make anyone guilty of riot if the police say they are.

Under the proposed new law, "Where 12 or more persons who are present together use or threaten violence for a common purpose and the conduct of them (taken together) is such as would cause a person of reasonable firmness present at the scene to fear for his personal safety, each of the persons using violence for the common purpose is guilty of riot." "The common purpose may be inferred from conduct", and "No person of reasonable firmness need actually be, or be likely to be, present at the scene." Penalty: life imprisonment, or a fine (unlimited), or both.

If you only threaten violence, rather than using it, or if the group is between 3 and 11 people, or if there is no common purpose, you can still get 5 years for "violent disorder". For less than 3 people, the maximum will be 3 years for "affray": again, only a threat of violence is necessary.

If you use words or behaviour which is "threatening, abusive or insulting" and which is "intended or is likely" to cause someone either "to believe that immediate violence will be used <u>or to</u> <u>provoke</u> the immediate use of <u>violence</u> <u>by him</u>", you may be imprisoned for 6 months. If your words or behaviour are likely to "harass, alarm or distress another person", you will get away with only a fine.

So why should we nonviolent Greens be disturbed by these laws against violent offences? Firstly, because it is only the most serious charge of riot that actually requires there to be anything more than a threat of violence (or a policeman to say that someone might have felt threatened if they had been there), and because "violence includes violent conduct towards property as well as ... persons". Secondly (as anyone who has been through the courts will know), because the police can and will say whatever they need to say (true or false) to get a conviction. Thirdly, because if we are truly concerned about the desparate state of our planet and our society, we will inevitably be putting ourselves into protest situations - situations in which these laws are likely to be used.

Section II of the Bill will undoubtedly affect all of us. It requires the organisers of any march or "public procession" to notify the police at least 6 days in advance, and allows the police to determine the route and to impose any other conditions they like. The police will also be able to obtain, with the approval of the Home Secretary, a ban on all marches or processions in an area for up to 3 months at a time.

Similarly, Section II will also allow the police to impose conditions on "public assemblies". A public assembly is "an assembly of 3 or more persons in a public place which is wholly or partly open to the air" e.g. a demonstration, picket or openair meeting. The police will be able to say where it may take place, how long it may last, and how many people may take part. In other words, once this Bill becomes law, we will have just about right to protest or demonstrate as anyone in Eastern Europe.

The National Council for Civil Liberties (NCCL) has launched a campaign against this Bill, and has produced various publications explaining the proposals and what they mean. Contact NCCL at 21 Tabard St., London SE1 (tel. 01-403 3888). The Bill itself is available from HMSO price £3.70. If you're not doing so already, start campaigning against it now (while you still can).

### Stonehenge: a thread of hope

On Christmas Eve I got a letter from the English Heritage. Realising it wasn't a Christmas Card, I decided not to open it until after Boxing Day. Good job too!

The letter informed me that they had reluctantly abandoned hope that an alternative site for Stonehenge Festival could be found, and had therefore issued a press release stating that no 1986 Solstice ceremonies would take place.

However, the letter also invited us (the ad hoc negotiating team of festival-goers, Pagans, Druids and Greens) to a further meeting on Jan 6 at which English Heritage and the National Trust would explain their position; so along we all went.

By the end of the meeting they had agreed that they were still in principle in favour of the Festival taking place on an alternative site, and that if one were found they would still open up the Stones. We had all agreed to try to set up a public meeting in Salisbury to involve more local people.

It felt like half a step forward after three steps back, but at least we are still talking - just about.' Whether or not we are completely wasting our time, only time itself will tell.

### Bye Bye Tarzan

SO HESELTINE is gone, joining the long list of Maggie's ex-cabinet ministers. A shame, in a way, if one may be allowed a little sentimentality in relation to Tory ex-ministers. He was (is) an extremely hasty piece of work, but at least he had (has) a bit of style. Of all Thatcher's cabinet only he could have had the macho arrogance to swagger across the mud of Molesworth in his flak-jacket and make-up to the waiting TV cameras. I can't imagine George Younger, or any of the other faceless, ambitious, scheming mediocrities who do Maggie's bidding, ever quite taking his place.

Of course, Tarzan undoubtedly has his eye on the big banana - looking to lead the Tories after the next election. I suppose it must be good that he now has a vested interest in Thatcher's downfall - like a few million others who have lost their jobs!

BRIG OUBRIDGE



