

GREENT



Green Line, 34 Cowley Road, Oxford

(0865245301)Monthly magazine of Green politics and lifestyle

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GREENING THE INNER CITY

Work in the inner cities, TONY CARTWRIGHT argues, would do a great deal for the green cause and would radicalise green politics further. The May elections offer a real challenge in this respect, but greens will have to get actively involved in 'real' political issues such as race, housing and unemployment.

IN NOVEMBER 1984 there was a by-election in the Lea Bridge ward of Hackney. The then Hackney Ecology Party decided to stand and put forward as their candidate Dave Fitzpatrick, who lives in the ward. They obtained an impressive 10% of the vote, and came fourth. It was an important result not just because of the 10% received but also because it was in an inner city borough which is notoriously deprived. It suggested that Hackney Eco must have gone some way to shaking off the image of the Ecology Party as predominantly white and middle class and that it must have begun to tackle the issues which matter in the inner city.

To follow up their success Hackney decided in June '85 to change their name and go "Green". They held a well-attended meeting in the Town Hall which was addressed by Paul Ekins, then co-chair of the party. He spelt out the issues for Greens in the inner city, namely employment, housing, race and health. Larger causes are important - such as nuclear power and arms, destruction of the biosphere, and Third World poverty but it helps if these can be related to matters which count locally.

Changing the name from the "Ecology" to the "Green" Party is not, as was pointed out at the Ecology/Green Party conference last September, of itself going to bring new members flocking in; but when it is done in the context of a political programme focussed on issues which matter to people at a grassroots level, it may well be very significant. But the fact also that the lead was given to the national party by an inner city borough does suggest that there might be a new direction and emphasis discernible in the party towards thinking about policies and their practice in the urban setting.

HACKNEY IS of course a London borough, and because of its monstrous size London is not traditionally thought to be a fertile arena for the practice of eco-politics. With a population of about 8 million, and using up a few thousand square miles of land, it is about forty times bigger than the agreed size of an organic urban community; and given the formidable ecological problems which that poses, many ecologists consider it to be long since beyond the ecological pale. Urban

historians tend to confirm this. Though Lewis Mumford for instance thought of the city as the "most precious collective invention of civilisation, second only to language in the transmission of culture", he was also aware that it was the "container of disruptive internal forces. directed towards ceaseless destruction and extermination" which was related to its tendency to expand to an irrational size. And Patrick Geddes suggested that each historic civilisation begins with an urban core, the polis, and ends in a graveyard of dust and bones, the city become either a burnt-out ruin or empty shell with mountains of useless refuse and an alienated and immiserated population. It's a sobering thought that such an apocalyptic reading is not far from the truth today. Hiroshima and Nagasaki were examples of the instant Necropolis which threatens every city, if not the whole globe, now. And there is also the sense of a slow extinction in the fate of our inner cities.

But it is precisely for these and other reasons that Greens must involve themselves in urban politics. As Roszak, among others, insisted it is in the cities that the "disease of colossalism" begins before it reaches out to infect the whole of the planetary economic and social fabric. And whereas Mumford described the ancient city as symbolically a world in itself, he viewed the modern world in reverse, as a planetary city. He showed how the metropolis helped to create the powerful nation-state while the "megalopolis" in turn has bred the even more Babellike institutions of transnational business and technology. The inference from his writings is clear: changing the cities will help to change the world.

Orthodox socialism has grown out of the urban condition and perhaps for that reason is reluctant to set itself against the unecological nature of modern conurbia. Greens are freer of that historical tie and can claim to have the interests of the whole planet closer to heart. Surely what is now needed is the widespread propagation of green concepts as they apply in a practical way to urban local government? And instead of dreaming about de-urbanisation and the magicking of the ideal city from some sense of wishfulfilment, Greens will have to tackle the problems as they are now. This means London, Birmingham, Manchester and everywhere the issues are most acute.

Of course, when the inner cities ignited last year everyone sat up and took note again, even the present Tory government, but it is to be doubted whether the obvious concern will be sustained to much avail. The riots will have been no great surprise to anyone who works with the problems of the inner city. All societies create their own myths about themselves. There are two in particular held in Britain which serve to conceal the social and economic truth about a certain section of our society. One is that we have left behind us the absolute poverty and deprivation engendered by the Industrial Revolution in the 19th century. And the other is that we live in a welfare state in which the needy are adequately provided for. The reality contradicting the myth is

now increasingly evident.

A recent study of Hackney, for example, as an inner city borough confirmed this picture. Paul Harrison is well-known for his books on the Third World and it is significant that he has turned his attention from there to a borough like Hackney, areas of which contain Britain's own Third World. In fact he cites the list of basic human and social needs the International Labour Office has drawn up for developing countries and applies it by analogy to Britain. His conclusion is that Britain is far from meeting those requirements for over 20% of her population.



The facts speak for themselves. In our inner cities bad working conditions, unemployment and educational failure are legion and are compounded by an ugly environment, substandard health care, maladministration and lack of access to redress. The cycle of deprivation is a fact. It is multiple, self-reinforcing and self-perpetuating through generations. People are locked into it less by their own deficiencies than by the structures of social, and geographical inequality. The welfare state, which has not been able to prevent this for those at the bottom of the social strata, is merely a safety net to save the worst-off from utter destitution, and it sometimes fails to do even that.

In short, Harrison paints a picture which remains a major challenge to any political party intent on getting to the heart of Britain's problems:

The inner city is the social antipodes of middle class Britain, a universe apart, an alien world deviod of almost every feature of an ideal environment. It is the place where all our social ills come together, the place where all our sins are paid for... The inner city is a microcosm of deprivation, of economic decline and of social disintegration in Britain today. It is not only a sort of place on the map, but a symbol and summation of the dark side of a whole society.

The Labour Party at least addresses itself to the problem but does so with policies that still belong to the old left/right political pathology. Greens on the other hand have policies that claim to supercede the traditional polarisations but they are not seen to be pursuing them where they matter. Addressing himself to the then Ecology Party Walter Schwarz summed it up when he wrote in the Guardian after last year's European Green Congress in Dover:

Work in the inner cities would turn the greens' image inside cut. Instead of being against a long list of things, they would be for jobs. Instead of being the party of middle class dreamers, they would be at the heart of the workers' struggle. Instead of being seen as rural retrogrades they would be urban renewers.

The problem for the Green Party, as no doubt for SERA and the Liberal Ecology Group, is that they are just too thin on the ground. Though London has a fifth of all Green Party members in Britain, local borough parties are still very small and their degree of activity and effectiveness is thus limited. Lack of funds is an additional handicap. A membership of 50 for a local party is comparatively large. A core of 10 activists would be a good number. Hackney, at the last count, had less than 40 members. This is a tribute to them in achieving 10% of the vote, but it is also an indication of the potential support if it continues its interest in, and action for, issues which really matter there.

For example, Henderson Dalrymple, former editor of Caribbean Times, laid down a challenge at a London Greens Conference earlier last year by charging the Green Party with having no explicit policy on issues relating to the black population in Britain. Yet he also said that Afro-Caribbeans, for one, were not automatic supporters of the Labour Party and could just as well give their vote to the Green Party if the latter were able to translate their ideals into action on behalf of black minorities. If the Green Party were likewise able to address itself to the unemployed then it would become a political force to be counted.

Hackney's favourable vote in Lea Bridge may well have had a lot to do with their commitment to ethnic minorities: Lea Bridge has a large Afro-Caribbean population. Hackney Green Party is involved in the Hackney Ethnic Minority Alliance for Cypriot, Asian and Afro-Caribbean minorities and in the Hackney Council for Community Relations. It supports the Freedom of Religion Campaign and lends its voice to individual, often ethnic, shopkeepers in asserting their rights in respect of local traffic plans. It is also thinking about the needs of the Chinese community in the borough. Other local parties in London are also showing they need to get involved in the major issues of racial discrimination, police harassment and black unemployment.

Unemployment is of course a major issue. It may be facile in the present economic and political climate to encourage the notion of positive unemployment the opportunity to engage in pursuits the "employed" person has no time for - but Greens can argue more vociferously against the absurdity of disqualifying those on the dole from engaging in any kind of work and at the same time present the case for some sort of basic national income. They also need to be heard pressing for small-scale, socially useful, locally controlled industries, but need to do so hand in hand with practical involvement in local job creation schemes and support for actual initiatives that are taking place. To be seen doing something is crucial. In Hackney the companies Metal Box and Leslie Toys recently shut down. Dave Fitzpatrick, himself a community worker who is involved in running a large and successful youth employment scheme in another London borough, helped his party draw up plans now submitted to the Council which indicate what might be done with the empty industrial buildings and how greens could thereby contribute to job creation in accordance with ecological values.

Housing and transport are two further important areas of policy. Hackney has some of the most benighted estates, of which Nightingale is the most notorious. Hackney Greens have again sent plans in to the Council suggesting methods of rehabilitation. On transport it is well known that the DoT has huge funds which can only be spent on motorway building in inner London, and it is suspected that it will go ahead with its schemes regardless of the communities they will destroy. Hackney are actively supporting the campaign to fight the proposed motorway box in East London.

Hackney is not alone. In neighbouring Islington the local party also went "Green" in early September before the national party - and it too is turning its attention to the harder issues of the inner city. Again, they have members involved in the campaign to oppose the projected Government plan to drive a motorway through the middle of the borough, thus making Islington a thoroughfare for traffic from the M1 making its way down to the M2 and Dover. On housing one of its members is about to publish a report on insulation and solar heating schemes for a local housing estate. On race they supported a recent NALGO strike against racial harassment in the housing department of the council. And last autumn they held a series of public meetings on unemployment. race, and the greening of the inner city.

But despite the initiatives being taken in London and elsewhere, the crucial question for greens remains: when there are an estimated 3m of the population involved in environmental groups, why is actual direct political activity and representation so slight? Of course the absence of PR is an important factor, but is it not also because British greens have traditionally been too inward-looking? The emphasis placed on inner values is an important ingredient in the green approach to anything - but does it have to stop there? On the one hand it takes a certain synthesis of thought to see that all the different environmental issues are inter-related and that only through political means can they be most effectively expressed as a whole. But on the other, that only through direct political action can the message be given the force it really requires.

Individuals in the party have tended to work through already existing environmental groups, or seeded their own. But surely the party as a body needs to be more active itself. One example of this in London is the South-East London Green Fair Committee, prompted by members of Greenwich and Lewisham. Local parties got together last year to form a steering committee which then invited a wide range of London groups to cooperate in staging a two-day conference and fair. It became a green rather than a purely Green Party affair, though the latter were clearly the organising spirit. The event itself was a substantial success,



given that it was the first of its kind in that part of London, and proved a valuable way of network building which augurs well for the future of green politics south of the river.

Networking with environmental groups is essential as is their politicisation. But greens also need to be active in groups that are directly relevant to local politics, whether they be tenants' associations who need support in facing up to an insensitive council, transport groups pressing for better public transport, ethnic alliances formed to fight for equal opportunities, or the unemployed looking to create work for themselves. Greens need to be involved on all these fronts if they wish to be heard and their politics taken seriously by the public at large.

Work in the cities would do a great deal for the green cause. It might be argued that it is the central institutions and their theoretical economic and political base that needs to be addressed; but theory and institutions grow out of real communities. Helping to change the actual way in which people live must change their thinking and, in turn, the nature of industrial and governmental models in the whole of society. Work in the inner cities would radicalise green politics further. If greens could face up to the task, it would add a new dimension to their challenge to the existing standards of the society we live in. The May elections this year offer the best opportunity yet to rise to that challenge. "Unless greens come to terms with key elements in Marx's analysis of how capitalism works... they will fail to understand the problems they are grappling with and they will forego any chance of solving these problems."

GETTING RED AND GREEN



TOGETHER

TED TRAINER argues that Marxists and greens need one another, and that no analysis of the global crisis can be complete without the insights of both. Although he takes many of his examples from the Australian situation, what he has to say is true of all the "rich" countries of the world. THERE IS a resurgence of interest in the possibility of forging a more unified alternative or "new age" movement. Many people are saying that the time is right for this and various initiatives are under way. There are however difficulties in the road ahead, mainly set by the wide range of goals and perspectives held by the many groups having some general interest in social change. It is therefore very important that we should try hard to work out the common ground which might make a viable coalition possible.

The biggest potential source of difficulty lies in the gap between basically red groups and basically green groups; more accurately between those who take a Marxist view of society and the many groups concerned with specific social problems to do with the environment, peace and disarmament, aid and Third World development, women's lib, aborigines, prisons, welfare, etc. This division is giving rise to heated debate in Europe, especially within the West German Green Party, and it is capable of being quite destructive.

I want to argue that it is extremely important to recognise that these two general perspectives are not contradictory but <u>complementary</u>. Each side has crucial insights, but each is quite deficient in its neglect of themes the other deals with; only by combining the two can a satisfactory analysis be arrived at.

One thing many greens and others tend not to see is that the many apparently separate problems they are concerned with are not independent; they are all different consequences of the one basically mistaken social system. The environmental problem, the resource and energy scarcity, the "need" for nuclear energy, the many Third World problems, the problem of international conflict and the threat of nuclear annihilation, and the many problems of quality of life and social breakdown in rich countries, can all be seen as largely due to the pursuit of affluence and economic growth on a planet whose resources simply do not permit all people to have the levels of resource use per capita that people in rich countries now have. When you examine these apparently separate problems you can see how each is being directly caused, not always solely but primarily, by outrageously unnecessary levels of production and consumption on the part of a very few of the world's people. My "Abandon Affluence!" is just one of many recent books which attempt to demonstrate this in detail.

Unfortunately most greens seem not to realise that no solution to these problems can be expected before we carry out quite radical social change. Reforms which leave the growth and greed society intact can solve some of our problems, but they cannot solve any of the big ones. For instance:

(a) there is no possible way of solving the greenhouse problem and the consequent probability of catastrophic climatic change without reducing the world's amount of fuel burning;

(b) the Third World's problems cannot be solved without massive redistribution of world wealth; i.e. unless the few in rich countries cease hogging 80% or more of world annual resource output, including much produced in the Third World;

(c) it is absurd to expect peace in this world before a much more just global economic system is achieved, and that is not possible without radical redistribution of wealth.

This point is very difficult for many nice middle class people in environment, aid and peace groups to accept. Many of them "just came in to save furry animals" etc., and good on them for that; but these people usually fail to see the way the problems they are working on

are being generated by an economic system in which profit, market forces and free enterprise are allowed to determine production and distribution. Such an economy must inevitably result in economic growth even though our present output far exceeds necessary levels, in massive waste, in production of the wrong things, and in neglect of urgent human needs. There is little point in fighting to save this wild river or that forest if we do nothing to turn off the growth economy, because even if you save that forest the economy will just move on to devour some other forest to keep up the flow of woodchips to Japan for more and more video cassette recorder packaging. The most serious threats to the global ecosystem, such as the CO2 problem, acid rain, the loss of forests, soils and species, cannot be removed without reducing presently outrageously unnecessary levels of production and consumption in rich countries - that is, without fundamental economic and other changes.

This economy <u>requires</u> continued massive waste. We churn out mountains of unnecessary products, but we could not cut down on any of these without risking recession; if for example we stopped producing the 230,000 litres of nail polish we now produce each year there would be an increase in unemployment and bankruptcies. This is not an economic system that can permit us to reduce production and consumption to sufficient levels. So we all go on working about 40 hours a week when 20 or 10 might do, and the rich nations use up most of the resources for sale in the world each year while tens of millions of people die every year because they are deprived of necessities those resources could provide - but this economic system will not allow us to stop doing these things.

An even more critical point is that this is an economic system which cannot get the most important things done. It is characterised by massive contradictions; for example, take the desparate and unmet needs for food experienced by 500 million or more people alongside the 540 million tonnes of grain fed to animals in rich countries every year, or the 5000 oranges the EEC dumps every minute. In this economic system, what is done is that which will return most on investment, not that which is most needed. This explains most of what is wrong in the Third World. For example:

(a) most of the world's precious resources flow into rich countries and each Australian gets 18 barrels a year while 10 million children die each year because of contaminated water more fuel could have sterilised;

(b) much of the Third World's land, labour and capital produces luxuries for exports to rich countries;

(c) the wrong industries are developed in the Third World: Volkswagen factories and Hilton hotels are built when people need simple food and tools. These are not accidents or mistakes; they are the <u>inevitable</u> consequences of allowing market forces, the profit motive and free enterprise to determine what is developed and who gets the resources. It is far more profitable to put Columbian land into growing carnations to export to the US than beans for hungry Columbians.

Free enterprise, the profit motive and market forces have some notable merits; they do some things well and there could be an important place for them in a satisfactory economy (although I would prefer to try to do without them), but it would have to be within a framework of priorities and guidelines planned (hopefully democratically) in view of what needs doing.

Most people in the green camp totally fail to attend to these sorts of underlying causal issues. They are <u>reformers</u>; they proceed as if goals such as healthy ecosystems, satisfactory Third World development, and a peaceful world order, can be achieved without fundamental change in this socio-economic system, when it is precisely this system which systematically generates the problems they are working on.

Now these have, of course, been basically Marxist points. One cannot make sense of the problems this society has got itself into without reference to consepts like class interests, contradictions, ideology and the dynamics of the market and production for profit. It is crucial to business interests that there be as much production for sale as possible. When a capitalist invests £1 he gets back £1.10 or more and he can't invest that profitably without increasing productive capacity somewhere, so economic growth is essential to capitalist interests. The continued pursuit of high living standards and limitless economic growth is in the interests of the few



who own or control the capital. It is not in the interests of most of us: indeed I firmly believe it is reducing our quality of life now and has a good chance of terminating all our lives before long. But most of us have become victims of the ideology which says that this is the path to the solution of social problems and a better quality of life for all. This ideology is of incredible power. It has fooled us into working 40 hours a week in boring factories and offices when maybe 5 or 10 hours might produce all we need for a comfortable life, into earning £100,000 plus to pay for an ordinary house (when interest payments and tax are taken into account), although £5,000 is more than enough to build a perfectly adequate mud brick house, therefore into giving the total value of 5 years' work as interest payments to the capitalist whose money was borrowed, into accepting the legitimacy of something like £5b in interest etc. going each year to the 5% or 10% of Australians who own all the capital and have to do no work at all for this income, into accepting 600,000 people here in Australia being dumped on the

scrapheap of unemployment and something like 2 or 3 million living under the poverty line. It has convinced us that the best way to solve these sorts of problems is not by redistributing the abundant wealth but by baking a bigger cake. Our faith is not dinted by the fact that although real GNP per capita has grown to <u>3 times</u> what it was after World War II, about one fifth of Australians live in poverty and the numbers are increasing. And what a tribute to the dominance of capitalist ideology that 20 million Americans accepted hunger while 40% of cropland was kept out of production in 1983 at a cost to the taxpayer of \$18.3 billion.

"Marxists can be and often are rabid growth maniacs and staunch believers in technical fixes."

Unless greens come to terms with key elements in Marx's analysis of how capitalism works and of the need for fundamental change to <u>some sort of</u> socialist system, they will fail to understand the problems they are grappling with and they will forego any chance of solving these problems. (Perhaps no <u>existing</u> socialist system is very satisfactory either.) This does not mean that immediate conservation, aid and disarmament campaigns should be abandoned. It means that their goals should be broadened to include raising public understanding of the need for radical social change if any more than bandaiding is to be achieved.

But what most basically-Marxists fail to grasp is the centrality of resource and environmental considerations in thinking about the alternatives we should move to. They tend to see these just as other problems that will disappear when we get rid of



capitalism. They tend not to focus on the fact that major premises in social analysis now must be the limits set by mineral, energy and enviconmental resources. At least many greens realise that resources are not abundant and that we must try to live in ways that do not damage ecosystems. In other words the most important thing the green side brings to the discussion and the thing which Marxism neglects is the concept of a sustainable society. A sustainable society must be conceived in terms of living on renewable energy and resources and of living in harmony with ecosystems. Among other things this implies the need to shift from modern agriculture to Permaculture sorts of food producing systems, to alternative technologies, to high levels of regional self-sufficiency, and to a more "rural". labour-intensive and village way of life. These are conclusions which tend to disturb Marxists who have thought about the post-revolutionary society mainly in terms of industrial abundance. They are strongly inclined to attribute all our troubles to the capitalist control of the means of production and therefore to assume that the revolution will liberate the forces of production to provide us all with even higher standards of living. Marxists can be and often are rabid growth maniacs and staunch believers in technical fixes.

In other words, where our typical Marxist makes his or her greatest mistake is in failing to grasp that the good society cannot be an affluent society. Tn chapters 3 and 4 of "Abandon Affluence!" I try to show at length that present mineral and energy resource estimates would have to be wildly invalid before there was any chance of extending our present living standards to all people. It is the green camp which is more ready to accept that we must eventually "de-develop"; i.e. that it is not possible for all to live as affluently as we do now and therefore if we try to do so (let alone strive for endless economic growth) then all the big problems will accelerate - and therefore that "the rich must live more simply so that the poor may simply live".

The Marxist vision of the good society is excellent regarding equity and democracy and the rational planning of production and distribution according to need. But it is at its weakest concerning material "living standards". If we get rid of capitalism but remain obsessed with affluence and growth, then we will have just about the same range of potentially catastrophic resource and environmental problems as we do now. Perhaps even more important, Marx was simply wrong about the need to achieve high levels of output before socialism becomes possible: Australia passed the necessary per capita levels many decades ago. The alternative lifestyle and sustainable society literature (and my own record of household expenses) indicates that we could have a very satisfactory lifestyle on one fifth or less of the GNP per capita that Australia now chalks up. Of course Marx could not be blamed for not seeing what resource and environmental constraints we are running into, but contemporary Marxists have less excuse.

My main concern has been to emphasise the need to combine these two general perspectives and to head off fights between the two. A sound foundation for the analysis and improvement of our precarious situation can only be built by coupling an understanding of the contradictions of capitalism with an understanding of our resource and environment situation.

ii Ted Trainer's arguments are developed fully in his book "Abandon Affluence", published by Zed Press at £7.95 in paperback.

The ecological demise of one refrigerator

RICHARD WATKINS turns the theory of heat pumps into cheap and practical heating for his caravan home.

I HAD known about heat pumps for a long time - how they could pump into a building more energy than they consumed from the electricity supply. Not wishing to miss out on such a something-for-nothing thing, I duly acquired an old fridge - one that still had some working life in it but which was deemed outmoded in someone's kitchen. (As I've had two more since I can't remember how much I paid for it - anything from free to about a fiver. Maybe a pound to the chap who delivered it.)

Well, here I was with this ole fridge. First problem was how to get the works out without cutting any of the vital pipes. I don't mind cutting a wire or two as having an electrical training I could soon get the things to work again - but cooling pipe systems were none of my scene. With a bit of luck, after removing as many screws as I could find, I found a route by which I could hack away at the sheet metal sufficiently to separate the working part from the rest. On a later model this was a cinch; it seemed ready-designed for easy dismantling, but on none of them could I fathom how they managed to make the thing look as if it had no screws or anything holding it together.

Having extracted the vital organs I then proceeded to instal them in my caravan. I had to arrange it so that the ice box or cooling element stayed entirely outside, while the heating element (that maze-like system of tubes on the back of the fridge) stayed inside. In the end I was able to achieve this by temporarily knocking out a thin wooden panel at the wheel arch and replacing it, leaving just a little tunnel through which the vital pipes passed.

Once I had done this and connected it up, all I had to do was wait for a cool day - and lo! Yes, it acted it like a small heater and was definitely churning out more than the mere 130 watts that it was drawing from the mains. So chuffed was I that I kept my eyes out for another, and later a third (though that one didn't seem to work so well. Before going to the trouble of stripping and installing, you must make sure that you have a real worker by testing placing your hands on the back while it is still a fridge and being certain that it is churning out a reasonable heat. Of course it could have a faulty thermostat, which you won't be able to tell quite so easily.

These heat pumps are super on cool days, but they are no good once the mercury creeps down to about 4° C. But what with these and the natural solar heating a caravan receives, I do not need the solid fuel stove on from about March till October..

At first I put the cooling element in the ground, but soon found that it froze the soil into a solid block and the element seemed in danger of corroding. I have found that at least as good results are obtained by leaving the element in the air. And when there is a good wind blowing on a mild day, it receives a constant flow of fresh warm air and so pumps plenty of heat indoors.

For those of you who live cut off from Nature in brick or stone houses, I suggest you could make use of an old fridge by hanging the cooler out of the window. It is a bit unsightly but my! does it work!

Now for the rest of the thing. For quite some time I kept the shell of the fridge in a shed and used it as a poor kind of storage cupboard. Then recently I decided to complete its demise. So I hacked away at the plastic lining - finding, as I said, no way to unscrew it. To my delight this exposed some wads of glass fibre. I started pulling at this and putting it in a box, only later to realise that it formed part of a nice flat sheet, probably off an original roll. So I removed the rest of the plastic more carefully and out I was able to life the sheet of fibre glass. I hope later to be able to use this to improve the insulation of the caravan. I have already lined walls and ceilings with polystyrene slabs, of the fire-resistant type - the ordinary type must not be used on ceilings as it drips molten plastic if it ever catches fire. As I have so far no under-floor insulation I hope to use the fibre glass there.

I had already removed the chrome metal bars and shelves for any possible future use. So all I was left with was the shell and the plastic lining torn to bits. I trundled the empty case to a scrap metal dealer, luckily only across the road. Tin sheet fetches nothing these days so I didn't even get 50p for it, but at least the metal has gone for recycling. The only thing I didn't discard was the rubber sealing strip round the door, which could be used as trim for any other sheet metal object.

The only thing new left to dispose of was the plastic lining. I tried burning a bit of it in the stove but it was fumey, so I burned it in the bonfire place. I didn't like burning it as it sent a cloud of dirty smoke into the air; yet if it had gone to the dustbin man it would only have been burned on the council incinerator.

When you think that there are millions of fridges and other domestic household appliances being chucked away, it does represent a lot of potential environmental pollution. At least I have the satisfaction of having done a microscopic bit towards reducing this. Probably the best thing to do with the plastic is to bury it, hoping that in centuries to come it will have biodegraded. The tin case shorn of all its works and lining could with a bit of imagination be turned into a cupboard or a chest. And the motor pump and all the rest of the gubbins will at least give a few years of heat pumping, reducing both my call upon the grid for nuclear power stations, and my electricity bills.

So, all of you out there who want some practical ecology to get your teeth into. Hunt out a few fridges doomed for the knacker's yard. Salvage what you can. Warm your homes more efficiently and look for somewhere to stuff the fibre glass to improve insulation.

BIOREGIONALISM

The alternative movement is split into so many competing fragments, argues MARK KINZLEY, that it is misleading to speak of a movement as such. This is partly because we are all trying to effect change on too vast a scale. If we really want to work together and achieve some measure of success, the regional level is the one at which we should operate.

THE ALTERNATIVE Movement is to be found in so many movements, so many diverse philosophies and groups, that I feel self-conscious when even referring to 'the Alternative Movement' in conversation with the unbeliever.

One description has it, for example, that there are four categories of movements, which are all parts of the same alternative movement. And as we look more closely we find spectrums within spectrums:

- Work on ourselves: therapies, meditation, religion, right diet, yoga
- Nonviolence to other people: peace movement, feminism, anti-racism, Third World issues
- Nonviolence to nature: environmentalism, green politics, animal rights, permaculture
- Rejection of institutions which do violence to us: Alternative technology, cooperatives, 'Education Otherwise', natural childbirth, holistic health centres, etc.

(See David Taylor's article in GL 4).

This is neat - but is it true? Are these thousands of different groups and activities all part of the same thing, or has this connection been imagined where there is in fact only a thousand unconnected groups?

Sadly, any connection is invisible. There is no joint work between the different kinds of groups towards short-term, visible goals. There is only the idea that at some unknown time in the future it will be revealed that these separate paths have led to the same romantic and unspecified destination. This is suggested by pop books such as The Aquarian Conspiracy and Turning Point, which repeat this claim at great length.

This lack of connection is a great shame. There are so many of us scattered about, each with our little bit of specialist interest, that if only we all pushed at the same times things would shift. What people achieve together goes up geometrically as their physical numbers increase only arithmetically. But we just don't seem able to get into rhythm together. We remain segregated, the AT people here, the holistic medicine people there, the Green Party over there, each in our own exclusive circuit of conferences and workshops, barely even aware of each other. There is so much energy bound within these

circuits or hosing wildly outwards on single issues. Britain isn't composed out of single issues and can't be changed in a fragmented way.

We seem unable to resolve the conflict between work for one alternative issue and work for all the others. It seems as if every issue is separate from and in addition to the others. Sheer limits to our time and energy force us to choose one, or two, which look the most fundamental or urgent. The alternative movement, insofar as it can be said to exist today, is a collection of issues actually competing against each other for our time and energy. It's not surprising that people in the peace movement, for example, suddenly find themselves accused of not having given thought to anti-racism. It's only natural that, having been forced to select the most fundamental issues, we tend to notice the things relevant to that issue, and find what is not relevant to it irrelevant, a chaos of trivial details. Ideally we should live with integrity moment by moment, but instead we are fragmented into a thousand issues and forced to select one and deselect the rest.

We seem to accept this hard choice on the grounds that we are all travelling by separate paths to the same destination, and in some utterly invisible way we are reinforcing each other's various efforts. But the goal is not a destination which we will reach but a way of going about things. If our method is wrong we will not have arrived. If we look like a thousand competing ways of being sensitive; like a thousand personal identities founded on various belief-systems about the act of living; like a thousand unrelated activisms, not so much reinforcing each other as mutually exclusive... then we look that way because that's what we are. We will go on looking that way until we change.

It's been said that our movement is a microcosm of the world, and that we have to face problems inside the movement before we are able to face them outside. This movement isn't a microcosm of separateness: with our eager grasp of philosophies and activisms it is a veritable ghetto. We wall ourselves in for good when we decide that the work we do to help the world and

We think small is beautiful but we don't feel it. If not now, when?

what we do to satisfy our personal needs shall be two separate things. Then we get philosophical, in a desperate bid to overcome resistance.

There's nothing new or different in what's being said here. We have all heard the mystical cliches about mistaking a destination for the way of travelling. Nobody can come to The Truth or to living except by the Way. The way that can be said in words is not the way, etc. etc. If anything, we don't listen because this stuff is old.

That's why it's interesting to hear about the alternative movement in the USA, because they have come up with a new formulation of old truths in our own vocabulary. They call it "bioregionalism".

A "bioregion" is a "geographical terrain and a terrain in consciousness". It is a region which is bounded by geographic features like rivers, and with which people identified until the advent of TV and mass transport. Probably it had its own dialect and culture not so long ago. We talk vaguely about a sustainable society. Here is the natural unit of sustainability.

"Reinhabitation" is the way of becoming a part of your bioregion. It is the process of becoming dependent on your bioregion, rather than on the global and national economies. Step by step you transfer your dependence to the local economy, and come into economic relationship with your neighbours. A new element enters into history: community which is deliberate and self-aware. Community is created by the creation of local institutions which are alternative to the national institutions. Through these local institutions a web of dependencies is created between me and my neighbours.

This willingness to create our own local alternatives as and when we are ready to transfer to them extends even to institutions of government. For example, David Haenke of the Ozarks Bioregion writes:

We never made a serious attempt to become a political party. Rather we are simultaneously an unofficial eco-political organisation and bioregional congressional body for the Ozarks. Again, we have no official standing in the eyes of any government and we seek none. Instead, (and I believe this is our greatest gift to share), we are engaged in a long-term non-adversarial, by-pass operation with regard to the present established systems. There was no existing representative governmental body in the Ozarks. So we became one.

Every year the Ozarks Bioregional Congress convenes. There are standing committees to deal with every field from health to education to energy. A political manifesto offers general solutions to general categories of problems: the Ozarks standing committees propose specific solutions to specific local problems. And whereas a party manifesto describes its future intentions for when it gets elected, "bioregional programmes can be assembled around position-statements of short-term and long-term goals." (Peter Berg, Planet Drum Foundation). In other words, the standing committees decide their solutions and then put them into practice. This kind of definite, specific thinking has enabled the Ozarks, for example, to take the spectacular step of founding their own currency.

This way is different in kind from the electoral process or from pressure group campaigning, in which a divorce takes place between what we want to bring about and what we are actually doing. Instead, the bioregionalist attitude is "As we travel we are healed." This allows us to act from our needs instead of from our head. We act to satisfy our own needs with local alternatives to the impersonal and the bureaucratic. It frees us to value work to create personal relationships - the thing we crave and yet don't hear our 'craving because we have more important things to do.

There are no external barriers to creating the alternative society now, today. Skills Exchange networks, vity farms, alternative health centres... the list is endless. Why aren't we doing it? It's all legal.

We survey the alternative scene today and see people in CND, the Green Party, SERA and so on putting their private lives behind them, burning themselves out trying to conquer the heights of the old order. Why do we value the old order more than the new order? Because to found one co-operative, one Skills Exchange is so small and finite it makes us feel trapped. We



want our time for bigger things, more open-ended. We would rather be instrumental in inspiring a big number of people to do the small things. Bioregionalism allows us to value the small. We think small is beautiful but we don't feel it. If not now, when?

How is a bioregional movement founded in a given bioregion? David Haenke's formula is to convene a congress/assembly around the theme of sustainability for your chosen region. List and invite representatives from all strands of the alternative movement in your region. Clarify that this is to be participatory event for co-workers, not a conference with speakers. Invite the congress to form standing committees which will create long and short term goals within your region. Your bioregional movement than has the impetus of its own goals to keep it rolling.

 The networking journal of the bioregional movements of the USA is "Raise the Stakes", \$25 from Planet Drum Foundation, P O Box 31251, San Francisco, CA 94131, USA.

On the deliberate creation of neighbourhood by creating alternative institutions, see "Neighbourhood Power: the New Localism" by David Morris and Karl Hess (Beacon Press, Boston, 1975), available from ILSR, 1717 18th Street, NW Washington, DC 20009, USA.

The movements in Britain for regional selfgovernment are networked by "The Regionalist", 3 Asquith Court, Eaton Crescent, Swansea (sub. £2).

Autonomous green networks in the UK based on distinct and limited geographical areas are linked via "The Green Collective Mailing", P O Box 23, High Street, Glastonbury, Somerset (sub. £5).



Community and Resistance in Guatemala

I... Rigoberta Menchu: an Indian woman in Guatemala. Edited by Elizabeth Burgos-Debray. Verso, £4.95 paperback.

MANY BOOKS have been written about the "Third World"; about the problems that peasants and native peoples face when confronted by modern "civilisation"; but hardly any allow the people to speak for themselves. "Solutions" always seem to be imposed on them from outside, often by white, western, male "experts", as if the people were incapable or stupid. Rigoberta Menchu, a Quiche Indian from the mountains of Guatemala, puts paid to that idea for good. In clear, direct language she describes the ways of her people, the threat they face, and their resistance to it.

The community is the centre of Quiche life. Even before a baby is born it is introduced to the ways of the community:

When she's in her seventh month the mother introduces her baby to the natural world, as our customs tell her to... She also has to show her baby the kind of life she leads, so that if she gets up at three in the morning, does her chores and tends her animals, she does it all the more so when she's pregnant.

When the child is born the community brings gifts and looks after all the household expenses of the family for eight days. The child has a place to fill in the community, to help the community remain whole and to ensure that the ways of their ancestors are maintained. This sense of continuity and belonging runs through everything the Quiche do; there are rituals, or rather traditional ways, for everything, whether it be planting crops, preparing foods, getting married or dealing with the dead. These rituals are a natural part of their lives, not something to be performed at a separate time and place. Each individual also has his or her special bond with nature, their nahual:

The nahual is like a shadow, his protective spirit who will go through life with him. The nahual is the representative of the earth, the animal world, the sun and water, and in this way the child communicates with nature. The nahual is our double, something very important to us.

Their attitude to the natural world is very gentle, animals are rarely killed, all plants and the earth itself are disturbed as little as possible. Mothers tell their unborn children: "You must never abuse nature and you must live your life as honestly as I do."

The Indians have been under attack ever since the first white men landed. They know the murderous ways of the whites and of their own feats of resistance. They have been driven out of the fertile lands and into the mountains where it is hard to grow enough food; and so they are forced to spend months on the rich men's estates - the fincas - picking coffee and cotton. With fraud, theft and fines the bosses manage to reduce the meagre wages that they pay to practically nil. Rigoberta's brother died from the poisonous chemicals sprayed onto the crops; and for taking a day off to bury him the whole family were thrown off the finca, without being paid for the days they had worked...

When the landowners saw that the Indians were making the mountains fertile they attempted to take that land as well. With help from the government and corrupt lawyers they tried to trick the people out of their land; and when the people resisted the landowners turned to violence. The Indians drew inspiration for resistance from their traditons and turned to their everyday tools - hoes, machettes, catapults, salt and chile - for weapons. They also drew on the stories of resistance they found in the Bible - a gift that many of the Catholic missionaries may not have meant to bring.

Rigoberta Menchu's family took an important role in organising resistance. Her father and mother were the representatives of their community. They were both active among the peasants; her father became a leading figure in the CUC (United Peasant Committee), and was imprisoned and beaten before being killed during the occupation of the Spanish embassy. Her brother was kidnapped by the army and brutally tortured before being burnt alive in frontof the family. Later her mother was also kidnapped, raped and tortured to death. Despite these atrocities Rigoberta continued working in the CUC, while her sisters joined the armed resistance in the mountains. She gives her reasons simply:

They've killed the people dearest to me, and here I include my neighbours from my village among my loved ones. Therefore my commitment to our struggle knows no boundaries or limits.

Teachers who offer education and experts who offer to help them "improve" their agriculture are firmly turned away.

The ways of the Indians - their knowledge of plants, animals and the whole natural world - are secrets that they keep to themselves, knowing full well the dangers of revealing themselves to outsiders:

I'm still keeping my Indian identity a secret. I'm still keeping secret what I think no one should know. Not even anthropologists or intellectuals, no matter how many books they have, can find out all our secrets.

The strength and continuity of the Quiche communities together with the freedom and flexibility within them should make us all wonder at just what we have lost in the name of "progress". Whether the Quiche will survive remains to be seen.

The story of the Guatemalan Indians is the story of the North American Indians before them and of all native peoples faced by advancing capitalism (whether in its western or eastern form). The acts of genocide committed against these peoples are no accident; they are an essential part of capitalism's profiteering and a necessary precondition for the advance of "civilisation". If the Indian communities of South America are in the jaws of a vast monster, then we are stewing in its belly - our own introduction to "civilisation" long since forgotten. As our world becomes ever more alienated, we would do well to listen to those still outside; to those who are still free people.

New Letters

Collective directions

Dear GL,

As one of the founder members of the Green Collective, I welcome the further development and formation of a Green Network (one exists already, doesn't it?), but would suggest that we think carefully before throwing the baby out with the bath water to declare the old Collective dead. I feel that it still has a function within the framework of the new network system.

Historically, the group which organised the first Green Gatherings in 1980 and '81 under the label Ecology Party Summer Gatherings formed themselves into a Green Collective in 1982 to embrace the wider green movement, and then diversified into four working groups (i.e. the Green Roadshow; the Green Field Group; the Land and Resources Group; and the Green Gathering Group) and gave birth to Sunflower Trading and later Greenbase (the computer which the Collective are buying.

We still met regularly and while respecting the autonomous decisions of the separate working groups there was and still is cross-fertilisation of ideas and finances between them. More than that, I feel there is a Collective identity - or family spirit if you like, which was more than the sum of four autonomous working groups. Certainly I have found that many people who subscribe to the Collective Mailing and come to events, who perhaps as yet haven't got time for deeper involvement in any of these groups, also seem to feel themselves to be part of that family.

If we dissolve the Collective, I don't know whether people will be able to relate to the Green Network in the same way. A tribal identity is important. I feel the Collective would be stronger still under the network umbrella than separately, and as such would fit more easily into the framework of the network.

What we are talking about is power and decision-making, use of resources and ways of working with each other. Maybe it is too late already. I certainly don't relate so easily to the Green Gathering Group now it is turning itself into a limited company to deal with the problems of putting on a large International Green Gathering, Perhaps the problems they are experiencing reflect the problem that the scale is too large (small is beautiful after all - that's what we are always telling everyone). Don't let's be rushed into saying "The Collective is dead - Long live the Green Network." I think both can co-exist if enough people wish it to, but I don't think that this has been presented as a real choice. At least let us see how the Network functions before we declare the GC redundant.

The next Collective meeting is the weekend of April 26/27 in Glastonbury Assembly Rooms, after the Easter meetings to discuss the formation of the Green Network.

Anne Waterhouse 55 Stuart Close Emmer Green, Reading RG4 8RF

Green confusion

Dear GL,

I write in some alarm, having read the recent issue of your eminent magazine. I refer to the piece (GL38, p 16) concerning the proposed European Green Gathering, which states that the Green Collective has virtually been wound up (in the middle-aged sense of the term).

What am 1 to make of this? I, who have been a fully-paid-up subscriber to the Green Collective for all of 23 years? Will I now no longer receive my Green Collective mailing, which I have loved so well for its unpretentious, homespun and slightly untogether tone? And what has become of the Green Collective Land Fund? I was so looking forward to my dreamed-for retirement, in natural green surroundings, with friendly ecological neighbours and roses growing up the portcullis. Can this now no longer be?

I beg you sir to investigate this matter in the most rigorous journalistic manner, and to report back to your readership in the frankest terms, giving us the true facts of the situation - howsoever unpalatable. I do not trust this talk of "Green Networks" - it makes me feel like a fish being chased by a trawler. Please, for your pages are the only recourse for the honest, everyday green reader, please pursue this business to its ultimate detail. And please feel free to publish this letter, lest there be other Green Collective subscribers who similarly need alerting.

I remain, sir, your obedient servant,

(The Reverend) Boris Gestetner Vicar of Avalonia P O Box 23, Glastonbury, Somerset

Rational case

Dear GL,

I have been a subscriber for about 18 months. During that time its contents have often instructed me, often entertained me, and too often annoyed me. The last item to annov me was your editorial comment following Suzanne Williams' letter in February's issue. I see that you intend to suppress or censor (I use the words deliberately) so-called "sexist" language. Unlike Suzanne (who is entitled to her opinion) I believe that the issue is at best one of trivial semantics and at worst of sinister political tinkering with language. A language is a natural thing, and rational women and men should use their capacity for rationality to rise above its shortcomings rather than try to impose, by constructing a Newspeak, a way of tinkering which conforms to a particular political line.

As I doubt if you will reverse your unliberal policy, please delete me from your list of subscribers, and carry on by yourself!

Paul Thompson

P 0 Box 32, Shrewsbury SY1 1ZZ

PS Do you not consider that Richard Oldfield's use of "axe-men" and Suzanne's of "sisterhood" in their letters are sexist? "All animals are equal..."

Quite superb

Dear GL,

Your February issue is quite superb. It is so heartening to read a magazine which really finds its way behind the more obvious political issues, withdraws from the industrial system!

Long may your spirit live!

Charles Dowding Orchard House, Sheptor Montague Wincanton, Somerset BA9 8JW

 H[™] glad to say we get a lot of letters like this. (Ed.)

Saunders Lewis

Dear GL,

Charles Crute is quite right (GL38). "None of Saunders Lewis' writings have been translated into English" is a gross overstatement. What I meant to say is that most of his serious political writing is unknown in English, and unfortunately that was the way I wrote it. Mea culpa!

D M Davies

13c Alfred Street, Maesteg Morgannwg, CF34 9YW

letters weeks and the second s

Traidcraft replies

Dear GL

I read with interest your article "Food for All" in issue 38 of GL and would just like to outline a few points in reply.

Having benefitted from an exploitative system and developed our economy and social relationships, the morality of then denying that "progress" to others in order to keep our hands clean must be questioned. We are in the fortunate position of being able to opt for a simple lifestyle in the context of a welfare state, free education and a health service. You must be aware that it is from this context that we come to conclusions about the simple life being also appropriate for the really poor.

I am certainly aware that development is a complex process, for ex-colonies in particular. It is certainly easy to say that short-term problems for the poor are justified by the longer term goal of "equitable development", however it is only by getting our hands dirty and by putting ourselves in the position where we can make mistakes that progress has been and can be made.

None of us has the privilege of knowing that we are right but we do have the ability, perhaps also a privilege and a freedom to do what seems best. We do try to consult with the partners that we work with overseas and overall we have close and good relationships with more than two dozen producing groups. We are therefore very aware of our responsibilities to them and to the societies in which they live and I suppose this tends to make us more sensitive to criticism from that point of view than to criticism from people who have no direct personal stake in the system that exists at present.

It is attractive to many who are seeking clearly defined "answers", to pain things in black and white. Those of us presenting an alternative view are of course white and multinationals are black but the reality is that we all have strong and weak areas within our activities and in many cases we conform to similar patterns of operation. I am not arguing that we should not be looking at structures overall but I do feel that we need to try and consider both sides of an argument objectively. For example the tea workers of Indian estates (from whom Brooke Bond buy tea) get quite a good wage by comparison with other rural workers. We may dislike the system of land ownership and

employed labour but occasionally within that system multinational corporations are not necessarily all bad.

It may be the best that we can do is to offer what we consider to be the most appropriate of a less than perfect range of options. The Sri Lankan tca which we sell is an example and because we are aware of practical weaknesses in most of our product range when contrasted with theoretical purity we do keep our source criteria and purchasing policy constantly under review. We wish to achieve a number of objectives. For example to make tea drinkers more aware of the real cost of tea; to raise the profile of Sri Lanka and its people and the range of issues with which they are involved; to use tea as a vehicle for concern about the Tamil people; to offer a tea that provides more benefit to the growers; to offer a tea which because of its quality will encourage people to move towards a higher priced tea and thus vield higher benefit to the producing country. Often these different interests are mutually exclusive or at least sit very awkwardly with each other.

Clearly we have not achieved all these objectives with regard to this one product, and we are very far from feeling satisfied with either our product range, our presentation of issues or our ability to really make changes in the process of international trade. However we do feel that we are in there, fighting, learning and trying to see how existing structures and systems can be changed in the light of our practical experiences.

Richard Adams General Manager, Traidcraft plc Kingsway, Gateshead NE11 ONE

Fremlin gremlin

Dear GL,

It was with some disquiet that I read you article on "Uncreating Plutonium". The errors and misconceptions in this article are many and it really is of a standard I would not normally expect to see in GL. Drawing as it does on the writings of Professor Fremlin, its validity should be suspect from the This is after all the man start. who suggested that water mills are more dangerous than nuclear power (people fall into the mill ponds and drown...) and who has claimed that exposure to a small amount of radioactivity is "probably good for you".

As in most pro-nuclear con-tricks the article is most notable for what is left out. In the fantasy world of Nick Kollerstrom and Fremlin there is no mention of the words "nuclear waste". Using plutonium or uranium in reactors produces large quantities of highly toxic waste. of which plutonium is but one small fraction. Do they imagine that when plutonium is "burnt" in a reactor it all disappears into thin air? Plutonium is undoubtedly a massively toxic substance, yet in its pure form as an alpha-emitter it can be stored indefinitely, since it generates little heat. Spent fuel rods containing plutonium reaction products, and uranium reaction products (including more plutonium), would be far more radioactive, far hotter and far harder to control than would pure plutonium. The fantasy about consuming "all Britain's plutonium in a decade" would lead to production of a lot more plutonium and a massively toxic array of mixed nuclear wastes.

Then there's the idea that a 'carrot' of 20% cheaper electricity be offered to consumers while this is going on. Where does Nick Kollerstrom think this money might come from? Any independent analysis suggests that even ignoring such costs as job losses in the coal industry due to nuclear power introduction, nuclear enjoys little if any cost advantage over coal. Running reactors to consume plutonium would involve running them at less than peak efficiency, thus making them even more expensive. One can only assume that the money needed will come from. the Treasury - and thence from the taxpayers ... the very people who are somehow meant to be henefitting from cheap electricity.

Kollerstrom and Fremlin should perhaps read page 16 of GL where they would find out about struggles against uranium mining. No mention of the problems and cancers associated with that, to say nothing of the racialist exploitation of uranium workers in far too many countries. See what I mean about Fremlin's fantasy land?

Frankly what is most worrying is that GL should waste space on such an inaccurate article. I was going to call it naive, but Frofessor Fremlin was radiation adviser to the determinedly pro-nuclear Cumbria County Council and knows exactly what kind of misinformation he wants to peddle. If you really wanted to set up a debate about how to physically rid the world of nuclear material I could think of quite a few ways to do so.

Chris Church Friends of the Earth 377 City Road, London EC1V 1NA



"DT'S BETTER than it was when the ≇ence was first put up," Ali says. "The police are a lot more peaceful." He was just 4 last year (two weeks after his birthday) when the troops arrives in the middle of the night to evict us - all the people of Rainbow Fields Village at Molesworth - and put up the fence. Days afterwards the snows came and I remember returning to the base to look for my cat, calling plaintively through the wire and feeling utterly bemused by the strange changed landscape, what had been a colourful hotch-potch laid bare, flattened, devoid of benders, vehicles and trees and blanketed with snow.

So it was odd going back there yesterday in the snow. It still feels odd standing this side and peering through at what was once our home land - cold war / barbed wire curtain / the chill getting through.

Masochistic coming back here, it still hurts even though recently I had a vision that I could fly back inside the base anytime I want; the magic we all put into and experienced at the place is still in there ... and we are still all connected, many of us still living together, and those who are not are still joined in spirit. On the way there, singing the rainbow song in our minibus from Glastonbury and painting rainbow posters (Rainbow Fields Forever!) I felt I was on my way to a celebration. But on my way back from Peace Corner I felt it had been more like a funeral. The stark reality, death in all its forms. Death of a beautiful community, death of a marriage, death by nuclear destruction, death by war, death by starvation happening now. And in my grieving I remembered all the beautiful, happy times. I also remembered taht from death of the old come new beginnings...

Jumped onto the Happy Times bus, Happy Times Lin as chaotic as ever, still running a soup kitchen in her new double decker - inside the bus it's like a New Year's Day party, manic, packed out with Rainbow Villagers having a reunion and clinking tea cups with each other. Reclaiming this day as our own.

Celebrating the 6th

Moz's bitterness: half of the people here haven't even <u>heard</u> of Rainbow Village, not a word about us in the CND publicity, yet we were the ones who were living here, we were the ones who created this. Yes. But dear beloved Moz, our bitterness keeps us separate from one another. it's playing the them-and-us game when deep down you know we are one. And yes, we did make history and we're still making it, all of us, the thousands who've come today to blockade and the thousands out there on the road - so many different factions, different strands but each time we come together we make a rainbow, a statement, a shared intention. It is not our egos we will be remembered by but our will.

Best of all being with all the babies who were conceived at Rainbow Village: Mranda, Phoebe, Dagalith (Phoebe nearly one! - born three weeks after eviction), Sharma, "Baby" Tarot who was born there and looking really big now, Emily at the School House, and not forgetting little Isaac. These babies are the real fruits of Molesworth. Babies not bombs. Sheila



EVEN CAMBRIDGESHIRE County Council had made plans to commemorate Feb 6th - £9,000 spent on "marking the highway boundary" with 40 concrete bollards, coincidentally across both entrances to Peace Lane. The mobile toilets arrived. The police showed nervous symptoms of Rainbow Village blues. Peace campers prepared to sign on and hide in Huntingdon. Lots of alarm clocks went off very carly on that Thursday morning. Only a year since Michael Heseltine's demonstration here - would more than



3,000 turn up this time? And of course, it snowed and snowed. Snowcovered Eirene chapel. Snow-covered barbed wire. Snow-covered all-night vigilers.

The Press swarmed eagerly. Peace protester smiled at peace protester, relieved that they were not the only one to have risen so early, hurriedly stuffed newspapers into dustbin bags to sit on, and endured the nighttime coach ride. The police smiled too. Playing the game. Guarding the Earth Gate which was never used anyway. Nobody was to know. Both "sides" seemed happy. And the day rolled on. Had anyone really expected it to be a sit-down blockade? Numb bums and creativity saw that it didn't remain that way. Electric guitars and street bands. rowdy Christian singing, snow people, circle dances, hot soup, vegan cakes, walking, talking, singing. And sitting. Rumours were that contingency plans had been made to send in mixed affinity groups to the womyn's gate if not enough womyn turned up. O ye of little faith!

The Quakers rediscovered some Molesworth silence as what seemed to be a hundred or so latent Quakers appeared for Meeting and disappeared, all with a touch of magic. The cold wore through but didn't wear out. A few arrests (five?). The various regional shifts came, went, decided to stay longer. The workers kept up a good appearance, having been sneaked in the night before. Mysteriously they began to take down one of the inner fences near Peace Lane (it's easy when you know how!) smiling, ignoring, talking, joking, insulting. Three o'clock drew near: Paul Johns spoke; protesters sang; protesters were dismissed; protesters disppeared in the space of a few minutes. The workers knocked off soon afterwards.

Exhausted silence and quiet descended. We flopped into our caravans and benders. Now you see them, now you don't. Was it all real? Or had we been overdosing on Barleycup? A few tattered banners still flew. Post-action blues. Post-action relief. CND - Go home! CND - Carry Molesworth home! A somewhat deflated snowperson carried on the blockade into the night. Stephen

(Stephen was living at the Peace Camp at the time of the blockade.)





HAVING HAD very close connections with the Rainbow Village and the various other Molesworth campaigns, I felt a very personal commitment to return to the base on Feb 6th. On a very emotional level I wanted to blockade - a gut response to what had happened last year. However, I had been asked to join one of the CND gate teams organising support - to work with old friends from Greenham, Burghfield Peace Camp, and the Star March support group (and some people in the group had been together on the Heyford blockade). Affinity groups work well for support groups as well as for blockaders. So after some initial conflict I decided to join the support group: after all, we might get the chance to do both.

The early shift of blockaders was due around 5.00 for a 6.00 start. We had been allocated Water Gate (i.e. Clopton Gate) to look after. Not a particularly strategic position - arrests would be unlikely here - but we had the problem of the "Rabbit-catcher" to keep us on our toes! A caravan resident of some years standing, unconnected with the peace movement, his home lay behind our blockade lines near the gate, and legend had it he was prone to brandish his shot-gun at every opportunity! A situation to test our nonviolent principles!

As it became obvious that the blockade wasn't to be challenged (the workers had either been given a holiday or overnight accommodation: as yet it wasn't known which) it became clear that the peace movement was having another party. There was song and dance - the meeting of old friends - and the passing of bottles of brandy (which everybody knows is really bad for hypothermia but very good for the morale). The freezing temperature and the icy wind were our only immediate enemy. The peace campers in their caravans some way distant down the track did sterling service with cups of tea; CND did a surprise hot soup run; and my van became a refuge for the gate team to defrost in and later for two of the potential hypothermia cases to rest in until they were taken away The day finished at by ambulance. 3.00 with a 4 minutes silence and a dignified retreat to the sound of "Break the Nuclear Chain" as people filed thoughtfully away.

We will be back - again and again. Old affinity groups have been reactivated and new ones formed. The energy is there.

Green International

GREEN INTERNATIONAL is a new Green Line feature which will appear each month. We shall bring you news of green action, both parliamentary and other, from all over the world. To do this we are setting up links with groups, parties and individuals worldwide: it's a big task, and if you have contacts or sources of foreign news, please let us know. We also need translators in all the European languages.

If you can help in any way, please write to Green International at 24 Cardigan Street, Jericho, Oxford OX2 6BP (phone 0865 55618).

STRATEGY DIFFERENCES within die Grünen have been highlighted by recent events in West Germany. The so-called realos (realists) argue that the global crisis has reached such an advanced stage that urgent action is needed within existing power structures and that Greens should use their political power to influence other parties and be prepared to enter into coalitions if the terms are right. The fundis (fundamentalists) are against any cooperation with the political establishment. In Rudolf Bahro's words, "If we want to build ourselves up to be the junior partner of the SFD* we may as well hand in our weapons now. We would then no longer stand for the radical reversal of the capitalist industrial system which is destructive in a world scale and also self-destructive, but rather for some eco-reformist tinkering with the German model." The realos claim that die Grünen has done badly in recent elections where they ruled out cooperation with the SPD in advance.

In October of last year die Grünen's regional assembly in Hesse gave the go-ahead by a two-third majority to form a coalition with the SFD in the Hesse state parliament (West Germany is a federal republic and each state has its own parliament). On Dec 12 Joschka Fischer was sworn in as Hesse's environment minister along with two secretaries of state (including a new post for women's affairs). Fischer spoke of working constructively with the state's large chemical companies.

Die Grünen's national 3-day conference started the next day. There was a break in the conference for a protest action 250 miles away at Wackersdorf against the building of

*The Social Democrats - the established left party in West Germany, though no more left than our own Alliance. a nuclear reprocessing plant (which incidentally will be capable of producing weapons-grade plutonium by 1995, which just so happens to be the year the non-proliferation treaty ends and Germany will be entitled to build its own nuclear weapons.) After this break a motion aimed at Joschka Fischer's critics on the party executive was defeated by 468 votes to 214, glving strong backing to those greens flatly opposed to coalition with the SPD.

Die Grünen has had some recent election setbacks. In the Saar region the SPD's c

to "reconcile economics with ecology" and the green vote was halved from 4.8% in 1983 to 2.5%. Then in the North-Rhine Westfalia state elections last year die Grunen dropped from 5.2% in the '83 federal elections and 8% in the '84 European elections to 4.6%. This result seems serious as the state contains one third of West Germany's population and die Grünen have federal elections in March '87 for which there is a 5% threshold (below which they would get no seats: they got 5.6% in 1983). However, the poor result has been widely put down to a debate on paedophilia within the party at the time. In June this year die Grünen are contesting state elections in Lower Saxony where they hope to get about 7%, and a coalition seems likely.

Otto Schilly, green MP and prominent realo (so realo in fact that he wants to stay in NATO), famous as a defence lawyer and for his '70s opposition to the government employment prohibition on leftwingers, has filed a legal suit against Chancellor Helmut Kohl alleging that he gave fales testimony to a parliamentary enquiry into corruption last year. This has been taken up by the public prosecutor in Koblenz who has opened legal investigations into the allegations. If found guilty, this will obviously cost Kohl's Christian Democrat (Conservative) party votes in the coming federal elections. Sounds familiar? With a year to go to the elections it's hard to predict die Grünen's performance.

FRANCE HAS parliamentary and regional elections on March 16 and Les Verts hope to get two MPs. Watch this space for the results!

Thanks to Sara Parkin and Mark Kinzley for providing information for this month's Green International.



Plans for green network The following would be a start: (1) a regular bi-monthly mailing

Richard Oldfield and David Taylor write:

AT THE Green Collective's most recent meeting, the decision was taken to organise a networking conference in Glastonbury. The main purpose of this 'Green Network Gathering' (March 28 - 30) will be the establishment of improved and additional links between the many local green groups, magazines, centres and fairs that have arisen across the country over the last couple of years.

From the earliest days (1980 onwards) one of the Collective's main concerns has been to help establish local green groups and gatherings, and to support and extend the network process this involves. Nominally there are now about 70 "green groups" or similar in the countries of Britain. Taking a "movement-centred" approach they are party-independent, aiming to become as broadly based and accessible as possible. Very little is known about their progress, as there are no regular forums or channels for sharing such information. GL keeps track of some local activities, but its network pages have nowhere sufficient room for a full sharing of news and ideas.

A number of more locally-based green magazines provide an invaluable service by spreading information on a wide variety of groups, demonstrations and other events in their areas. A prominent example here is "Greenwave", a county-wide magazine for Cambridgeshire. One problem however is that most of these publications are produced by a small group who soon tire. Better communication between magazines would do a lot to overcome feelings of isolation and staleness.

Many community intitatives outside the relative security of national organisations like CND or the Green Party suffer from lack of support

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and information from other areas. One upshot of this is that small. local groups, taken singly, are easily pushed to the margins or vicimised. It is vital to remedy this if we are to develop a real movement, one that is coherent. effective and genuinely decentralist. If such groups were affiliates of a more formalised, wider network (and preferably were seen to be so) they would gain in confidence and carry greater political weight.

Perhaps one definition of a movement is the combined energies of many different networks. Whereas a political party is limited in its activity by what is expected of it. a movement can encompass an enormous range of interests and directions. There are now networks for a wide range of alternative activities including dance, education, "new age" businesses, astrology and natural health. Quite a few networks have been set up for specific localities - like Liverpool, Hants/ West Sussex, and Birmingham. "The Mediator" is a magazine which links up many of those active in such networks. It can be contacted through Imogen and Errol Masters, 10 Bramber Court, Eaton Gardens, Hove, W Sussex BN3 3TS (0273 723362). (Sub £5 / sample issue 50p).

27

The Green Collective itself is a variation on the network theme. being no longer the single group its name suggests. It embraces a country-wide pattern of subscribers to a bi-monthly mailing, and some 6 different working groups. These include the Greenfield Collective (for the Glastonbury CND Festival), Sunflowers (a trading operation), Green Gatherings, the Land Fund, the Green Roadshow, and Greenbase (computer networking). With its experience of organising green gatherings, and with the extensive range of contacts it has developed through this and other activities, the Collective is keen to merge further with the networking process.

One way of doing this is through helping to create a "Green Network", one which can serve as a communications channel and a resource/ contacts pool between green groups, centres and so on. The green label is important. It acts as a more coherent, crystallised link between many of the otherwise too diffuse energies that exist within the wider alternative and radical (and as yet only potential) movement.

How might a green network operate?

with information, news and dates. (2) quarterly gatherings (indoors and out) focussed around small group meetings and celebrations. These will provide an invaluable space for personal communication and the generation of new ideas and schemes. The different groups present would be able to plan and coordinate their events and campaigns so as to avoid date clashes, etc.

(3) a computerised information base including a directory of local contacts and people with specialist skills and knowledge.

Once these basics are established. county-based green networks or federations could be especially encouraged, being a convenient level to operate from; small enough to be identified with, yet large enough to provide a sizeable web of support.

As mentioned above, a first meeting to discusss (and begin establishing) this proposed Green Network has been fixed for March 29 and 30 (Easter weekend) with arrivals (where convenient) and a celebration the previous evening (Fri 28). A preliminary agenda includes workshops on local green magazines, fairs, centres, groups and federations; in addition there will be other workshops to look at how the network might actually function. The Green Network Gathering will not however be all business - we are planning plenty of time for informal celebrations and get-togethers. For full information and details of accommodation, creche and other arrangements, please contact 8 King Street, Glastonbury, Somerset (tel 0480 31970 evenings and weekends).



News from the Green Movement

ETUJORK®

TOES Rallies

THE OTHER Economic Summit is holding an International Rally on Thursday April 17 (Friends House, Euston Rd, 7.30 p m). Speakers include Amir Jamal (Tanzanian ambassador to the UN); Hisashi Nakamura (Japanese economics professor); Marie-Angelique Savane (founder of the African Women's Assoc. for Development); and Michaela Walsh (founder of Women's World Banking, New York). Tickets £5 (5 or more for £4), £3 unwaged.

The following day TOES will hold a one-day specialist conference at the LSE. Speakers from the rally and others will discuss papers from Norman Myers and Jonathon Porritt, and by James Robertson. Places are limited: apply (institutions £50; individuals £25; concessions) to TOES, 42 Warriner Gardens, London SW11 4DU for details.

And on September 12-14 TOES is holding a large 'teach-in' on the New Economics to mark the publication of the first TOES book, based on the 50 conference papers of TOES 84 & 85.

Reclaim the City

A CHRISTIAN / religious act of repentance, witness and celebration is being organised for May 27. It will centre on the economic exploitation/worship of mammon operated from the City of London. Service, leafletting, street theatre. Planning meeting April 27 at Quaker International Centre, Byng Place WC1. Info: Roger, 11a St Quintin Ave., London W10 (01-960 5773).

Ecological Survival

is the title of a conference in Swindon on Sat March 15 (Friends Meeting House, Eastcott Hill, 9.30 - 5). Speakers from Greenpeace, FoE, Vegans, etc. Info: Bill Hughes, 24 Ashford Rd, Swindon (27278).

Young Greens' Apartheid Protest

During the recent Green Party conference in Malvern, two members of the Young Greens filled supermarket trollies with South African goods, had them rung up at a checkout, and then walked out explaining they had no intention of buying South African goods. The group is aimed at young people in the party and outside. It has a growing number of regional contacts, and is planning a Young Greens Summer Gathering near Swindon late July or early August. For more information and a current newsletter, send a s.a.e. and two stamps to Steve Mynard, 2 Sheringham Court, Liden, Swindon, Wilts SN3 6HJ.

Tools for Eritrea

MOLESWORTH PLOUGHSHARES Campaign aims to see Molesworth base returned to farmland. This Easter the campaign is collecting agricultural hand tools and walking with them to the base, where there will be a symbolic digging before the tools are sent to Eritrea. (The Eritreans have asked for <u>only</u> mattocks, heavy hoes, spades and shovels: more flimsy tools are of <u>no</u> <u>use</u>.)

The Diggers Walk leaves St George's Hill in Surrey (6m Kingston) at 1 pm Thursday March 20: send-off and service 11 opposite Weybridge Station Join walk through Central London 9.30 Sat Mar 22 at St Matthew's Peace Garden, Brixton. Easter weekend activities only: book to Old School House, Clopton before <u>Mar 15</u> and meet at Corby Civic Centre Sat Mar 29 at 1 pm. This is the last opportunity to attend a preparatory workshop, which is considered essential.

Central America Week

MARCH 17-24 is a week to heighten public awareness of what's going on in Central America. Details of local contacts from CAW '86, 13 Goodwin Street, London N4 3HQ.

London Green Centre in Crisis

THE COMMITTEE which has working for the setting up of a multi-purpose green centre in London has reached crisis point, with the loss of several key members. They need people with expertise in legal affairs, property acquisition, etc. or they may have to wind up. Their AGM is in April: if you may be able to help, please ring Brenda Sawyer on 01-402 9229 as soon as possible.

Waste Knot

WASTE KNOT plans to start a neighbourhood cooperative recycling scheme in Stoke on Trent later this year. On Mar 17 they have a public meeting on Recycling (Film Theatre, College Rd, 7.30). Info: 0782 279435.

Midlands Anarchist Get-together

will be held at Queens Walk Community Centre, Meadows, Nottingham on Mar 15/16. Price £3.50/£2.50 incl. vegan food, social and creche. Accommodation available (sleeping bags) but ring 0602 782137/624742 first. The possibility of forming a regional @ federation will be discussed.

Ulster Greens didn't stand

ULSTER GREENS didn't stand in the recent by-elections, as they could not find a candidate. But they got local press coverage for a leaflet campaign urging people to spoil their ballot papers.



GREEN LINE Mail Order

- HOUSING IS THEFT: HOUSING IS FREEDOM Colin Ward, Old Hammond Press, £1
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- RAINBOW VILLAGE ON THE ROAD: poems and writings Feb/March 1985. Unique Publications, £1.
- POLITICS FOR LIFE, Ecology Party, 50p
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- SOCIALISM AND ECOLOGY. Raymond Williams, SERA, 75p
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- FAIR VOTES GUIDE (guide to PR). Campaign for Fair Votes, 95p
- EMERACE THE EARTH: a green view of peace. Jonathon Porritt et al, Green CND, 90p
- EASY VEGAN COOKING. Sandra Williams and Joy Scott, Old Hammond P., £1.20
- GREEN SONGS. Evergreen Press, 50p
- NEW ECONOMICS '85. TOES report and summary 1985. £1.20
- HEALTH, WEALTH AND THE NEW ECONOMICS. James Robertson, TOES, £1.20
- WINNERS ALL: cooperative games for all ages. Pax Christi, 60p
- BRANDT REPORT: Con Trick. Richard Hunt, Green Line, 10p
- LAW AS CIVILIAN DEFENCE. Keith Motherson, Green Line, 10p

GREEN CND BADGES in black on fluorescent green. Bulk rate (over 20) 10p each.

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Green Party: Going Federal?

WHAT A relief to have got through the Green Party's Spring Conference in Malvern. If ever there was a conference which looked doomed to be appallingly bad, this was it. But luckily it all turned out right in the end.

For almost four years now the "Centralist Tendency" of the old Ecology Party has been trying to persuade us to adopt a package of constitutional changes code-named the POWG Proposals ("Party Organisation Working Party"). Under the POWG scheme the party's area organisations would have disappeared, to be (theoretically) replaced by nebulous self-funding "organic federations" of local parties, and the present Party Council would have been replaced by a CND-style large Council plus Executive.

After years of lobbying and seemingly endless piles of POWG discussion papers, Malvern was to be POWG's last chance to get their scheme

through. The party has consistently been moving in precisely the opposite direction to POWG, with a number of Areas growing in confidence to the point of actually starting to become a real threat to the power of the centre; and a Devolution Working Party had been set up to examine ways of shifting to a more federalist structure. Nevertheless, by a mixture of cock-up and coincidence. Malvern looked to be POWG's best chance ever of getting the required two-thirds vote: the combination of the date (the day after the Molesworth blockade) and the dreariest possible agenda (election workshops and POWG constitutional amendments) seemed likely to guarantee attendance by only the most dedicated or partisan. Even the venue was in POWG's favour, for even in the Green Party conferences in the north are noticeably more radical and decentralist than those in the south.

So it was with trepidation that I dragged my weary body from Molesworth to Malvern on that icy Thursday night. It would be my 13th party conference: did that bode good or ill? I'm not the resigning sort, but I had to wonder, if POWG got through, I could bear to remain in a party that was green in name only.

On Friday afternoon we debated POWG in principle but without taking any vote. On Saturday we would begin with a vote on the three possible choices - to keep the constitution unchanged, to proceed to a vote on the various items of the POWG package, or to vote instead on a variety of alternative proposals. The debate and the opinion in the hall seemed fairly even: it seemed it would all hinge on who carried the most proxy votes. At Green Party conferences, if it comes to a card vote (as this debate undoubtedly would) you can vote on behalf of as many members as have entrusted you with their membership cards. None of the decentralists seemed to have brought any proxies with them, but we could be sure that the POWG lobby would be better prepared.

When it came to the vote, that evaluation proved correct. On a 3-way show of hands the no-change option was easily eliminated, but there were marginally more anti-POWG hands in the hall than pros. In a card vote between the two remaining options, the pro-POWG faction should it had an advantage of about 80 votes to 30; it was enough to ensure that we would have to vote on the POWG package, but not enough to give them the two-thirds majority they required.

Mercifully we only had to vote on one of the 51 detailed constitutional changes which POWG were proposing. Despite their proxypower it gained only 56% of the votes. After a hasty huddle POWG's chief architects, Jonathan Tyler and Paul Ekins, withdrew the rest of their proposals.

I left Malvern feeling greatly encouraged, and not simply because POWG had been defeated. POWG embodied much more than a bad set of constitutional amendments - it included a whole ethos of strong central leadership which the party itself has now outgrown. To me at least Malvern '86 felt very much like the old guard's last stand: the old Ecology Party has been left behind by a party that has now actually turned green.

In terms of party organisation, all now rests upon the Devolution Working Group, which has to report to the next party conference in Newcastle (September 18 - 21). Their task should not prove too difficult: the devolutionary process is already under way, with Scotland setting the pace. The Scots are demanding a much greater share of their own membership subscriptions, and a system in which they can choose which 'central' services they buy from the centre. They are not alone in wanting this: Scotland is simply the first area to translate this demand into direct action by withholding payments to the centre.

The DWG will actually be performing the proper job of constitutional change - responding to the pressures which are coming from the grassroots rather than (as POWG was doing) seeking to impose a centrallyconceived blueprint. A similar devolutionary impetus is also building up in CND, so whatever the Green Party comes up with will also provide food for thought elsewhere.

BRIG OUBRIDGE



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



The Mailing is available to Green Collective subscribers. only. Annual subscription cots 25, including a 21 stake in the Green Collective Land Fund as well as a contribution to the various Collective projects - the Green Field at the Glastonbury CMD festival, the Green Roadshow, future Gatherings, etc.

Subscribers will also receive names and addresses of other subscribers in their areas, details of meetings, and the opportunity to buy any Green Collective publications at a reduced price; they will be subscribing to the Collective as a whole, not just to the Mailing.

Please make cheques payable to 'Green Collective (Hailing)' and send c/o PO Box 23. Glastonbury, Somerset.

> The Green Collective is sponsoring this Gathering in order to help establish a more effective and cohesive network of Green and alternative groups.

Its immediate practical function will be to facilitate communication and sharing of resources and contacts between different Green projects and groups throughout the counties of Britain.

The Friday evening will be given over to some kind of collective celebration. A preliminary agenda has been drawn up for Saturday and Sunday, including workshops on local Green magazines, fairs, cantres, groups; and others to look at how the Green letwork will actually work. There will also be plenty of time for informal celebration and Phone: (0458) 31970.

he Assembly Rooms Slastonbury larch 28th/30th 1986 getting together. TANDARD BOOKING FEE 25. MORE DETAILS:

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THE LAST NIGHT OF RAINBOW FIELDS VILLAGE AT MOLESWORTH is a vivid personal account of the eviction by Heseltine's army on February 6th 1985. Described by many as very moving, it is being sold to raise funds for the publication of the full story of Rainbow Fields at Molesworth.

RAINBOW VILLAGE ON THE ROAD is an anthology of many people's work, mostly written actually on the road between February 6th and Easter 1985. The poems, prose descriptions, songs and articles tell the remarkable story of those times.

Both are available @ £1 each, from Unique Publications, PO Box 23, Glastonbury, Somerset. Bulk rates can be arranged for groups and stall-holders (phone 0458 32452)

