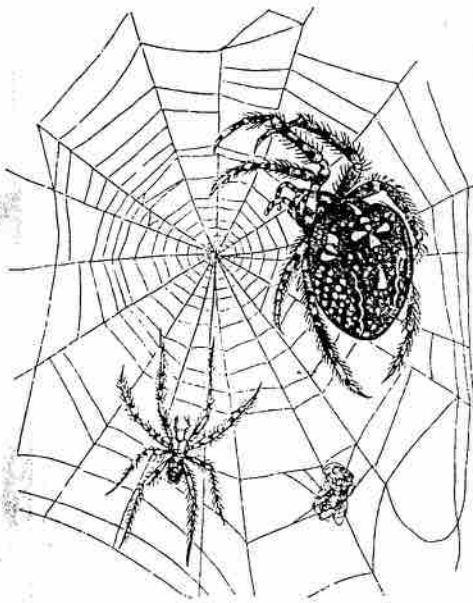


GREEN LINE

Men • Animals
Green Party

No. 44 / July 1986 / 45p





GREEN LINE

Green Line, 34 Cowley Road, Oxford

(0865 245301)

Monthly magazine of
Green politics and lifestyle

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COLOURFUL ADHESIVE WINDOW TRANSPARENCIES (11 varieties, rainbow, mandalas, peace dove, etc). Now available wholesale. SAE for catalogue to Earthcare, 33 Saddler Street, Durham.

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ARTISTS - please would anyone with knowledge or information about green/environmental art contact me as I am writing a thesis about it. A Oliver, 1 Morant House, Stockwell Gardens Estate, Stockwell Road, London SW9. Thank you.

GILLETTS' COMMUNITY is looking for new members. Rented house in 2½ acres. Organic garden. Meditation room. Diverse interests. Vegetarian meals. Smarden, near Ashford, Kent. 023-377 224.

"SUSTAINING AND SUSTAINABLE" - the case for home-grown vegan diet, plus nutrition information, balanced menus, recipes. Free of exploitation of people and animals. Sustainable in the over-populated, post-industrial Britain of the future. 60p plus 15p p&p. Also recipe booklet "Whole New Ways", same price. Movement for Compassionate Living, 47 Highlands Road, Leatherhead, Surrey.

BUDDHISM - a good selection of books available. For list please send 17p stamp to Great Tortoise Books (GL), 72 Mincinglake Road, Exeter EX4 7DX

THE NEW UNIVERSITY PROJECT (see 'Network' this issue) is planning a knowledge/skill sharing workcamp, 1 - 6 September, in Suffolk to experiment with a non-hierarchical, relevant and holistic education. There will be pre-arranged workshops as well as time for people to initiate their own workshops and groups. Info: NUP, 11a St Quintin Ave., London W10. Tel: 01-960 5773.

GALA WEEK, August 22 - 29. A holiday with the emphasis on looking at Gallo-way, its wildlife, farming, forestry, rivers, shoreline and gardens. What's happening now, and what's the future? Write: Laurieston Hall, Castle Douglas, Kirkcudbrightshire.

SENIORS FARMHOUSE SUMMER SCHOOL. August 23 - 30 Creative Holiday incl. Yoga, Meditation, T'ai Chi, Art, Music, etc. Rural residential centre, peaceful atmosphere, wholefood meals. Sae to Seniors Farmhouse, Semley, Shaftesbury, Dorset (0747 3961).

COUPLE, EARLY 20s, are looking for self-supporting community to live/work in, or co-operative to work in. Anything considered. Contact Chris, 4 Palace Road, Ripon, N Yorks (0765 3605).

NEW MEMBERS are required for Glaneirw, comprising a mansion, pottery, out-buildings and 36-acre organic farm. A number of new projects are starting this year, including market gardening and building work. Please write to: Glaneirw Housing Co-operative, Blaenporth, Cardigan, Dyfed SA 43 2HP; or phone Aberporth 810548.

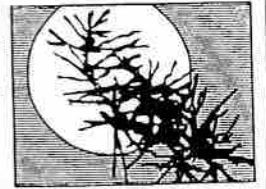
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news from Green Line

More people are getting involved in the production of GL. You'll soon notice the difference! Editorial responsibility is being shared round: Leigh Shaw-Taylor has already taken on 'Green International'; Graham Hooper starts 'Living Green' this month; Julie Gale starts shortly as Third World editor; and Barry Maycock is Peace editor. Euan Dunn starts soon as resident cartoonist. Last month's cover as well as this are the work of Andy Kaye, who also designs and illustrates the major articles.

From further afield we're always very aware of the contribution made by Patrick Whitefield (Glastonbury) and Tony Cartwright (London).

We'd like to hear from more people, especially in or near Oxford, who would like to join the group... whether with a specialist interest or talent, or just a willingness to stick stamps and stuff envelopes.

We also badly need help from a competent typist.

And most of all we'd like to hear from women. Our appeals for help locally here in Oxford have drawn a considerable response in the last month, but as the above list indicates, it's almost only from men.

Jon Carpenter

Like any other party?

A party's organisation, says TONY FLETCHER, should reflect its vision of society. The Green Party, with its unique integrity of vision, should seek to empower its members from the grassroots upwards. The proposals put forward by Maingreen, Tony argues, have nothing to offer.

AS, PRESUMABLY, one of the "anarchists and anti-centrists" identified by Jonathan Tyler as standing between the Green Party and wider electoral acceptability (and me a civil servant too!) I feel that I should reply to "Maingreens for the Mainstream" in GL 43. In particular I would like to show that the Green Party is in no way like any other party, as Jon Carpenter wearily concludes, and that in fact it is about to take a leap in a direction that will enable it to turn itself into a working reflection of the kind of society it believes in.

At its AGM last September the party, as well as changing its name, empowered a new working group to come up with a set of proposals that, if accepted, would result in the party becoming a Confederation of Autonomous Green Parties. That group has now almost finished its work, and after extensive consultation is ready to present to the next AGM in Newcastle this September changes which we in the group feel will give the party a chance to show that a radical restructuring of the way it is organised is not to be feared but embraced with open arms.

Who would fear such a restructuring? I would quote Paul Ekins, in his Maingreen paper, who described our proposals as "unbelievably trite", and Jonathan Tyler with his concept of "the essential centre". They seem to fear the eventuality of members of a truly decentralised party not recognising the need to pursue a common cause, and to give that common cause the resources, both in terms of personpower and finance, that will enable it to be pursued. I find it particularly strange that Paul Ekins can write in the Green Party pamphlet "Green Politics: Fact or Fiction?" that government in Britain should be at the "lowest appropriate level" whilst at the same time describing such an idea for the Green Party (the group even came up, independently, with the same form of words) as "unbelievably trite".

But enough of this. The whole idea behind the group's thoughts has been to take a positive look at the way the party does its business, and to find ways that will enable members of the party to proceed at their own pace in taking responsibility for political action in the areas in which they live. We did not even believe that the party should in any way define what a



local party is: we believe that this is a decision for the local parties themselves, be they the whole of England (Scotland and Wales are already going ahead with autonomy) or, at the other extreme, your street.

We believe that whilst accepting an overall strategy (the Manifesto for a Sustainable Society?) local parties should be free, and encouraged, to evolve their own policies for their areas. We believe that where neighbouring parties so choose they should be free and encouraged to take action on areas of mutual interest (Windscale springs readily to mind, as both North-West England and South-West Scotland are affected by its outpourings.) We believe that all finance should be controlled by the local parties, with a built-in safeguard for the essential centre (which we are sure will be preserved despite all those fears).

We as a group have nothing but a great hope for the future of the Green Party. At the last conference in Malvern in February some five separate workshops were held, all attended by large numbers of people, and almost without exception our ideas were met with enthusiasm and approval. Virtually all the subsequent feedback has been equally positive. We take great encouragement too from the reaction within the party to the Maingreen proposals - several of those "in the know" from the outset, those who were contacted verbally before the two papers were produced, were horrified at what they subsequently read, and immediately dissociated themselves from Maingreen. Outside of that very small group, reaction seems to have been almost entirely hostile - the SDP was mentioned to me more than once!

The Green Party has one asset that no other party possesses - integrity, both real and perceived. Even our worst enemies would only be able to accuse us of being misguided. The green vision is precious, and we believe that on it rests the future of our planet. We cannot allow that vision to be clouded. We must build a way of working that empowers and enables, one where power flows from the bottom up - if power is even the right word. And we must start by living our vision so that others may see that it is something that they too wish to join in.



GREEN INTERNATIONAL

More Germans vote Green

AT DIE GRUNEN'S 4-day conference in Hanover in May, the Fundamentalists in the party (opposed to any cooperation with established parties) passed a series of motions effectively ruling out co-operation with the SPD. They laid down conditions widely agreed to be unacceptable to the SPD. In Hesse, where the environment minister in a Green/SPD coalition is Joschka Fischer (a prominent 'realo' - proponent of co-operation with the SPD), the congress instructed Greens to pull out of coalition if concrete steps have not been taken by the end of the year towards closing nuclear plants in the state. Mr Fischer, who was jeered during the congress, said he did not feel bound by the resolution, and that the decision was up to the local party in Hesse.

A string of other radical resolutions were passed. One called for a drastic reduction in the length of conscription possibly leading to the eventual dissolution of the military. The realo wing of the party managed to get one motion passed allowing green MPs to sit for the full four years rather than rotating after two. This will entitle them to sizeable life-long state pensions. The rotation of MPs was originally designed to minimise individual power and personality politics, but was very unpopular with some of those required to stand down.

Police resign over violence

In the meantime, following on from the Chernobyl accident, anti-nuclear protests have become the scene of ever-increasing violence with police and demonstrators in pitched battles. The violence has come from both sides. Several hundred black-dressed and masked anarchists known as the "autonomous groups" regularly appear at the demonstrations and express their dislike for the state apparatus by throwing stones and catapulting steel ball bearings at the police and setting fire to police cars.

The authorities' response has been violent and indiscriminate including aggressive baton charges, water cannon, and the dropping of CS gas from helicopters on peaceful and violent demonstrators alike. Hundreds of people including children have been injured.

Peaceful protesters who have become involved in the pitched battles have also turned to violence. In one of the worst incidents - at Wackersdorf in Bavaria, site of a new reprocessing plant - over 1,000 of the 20,000 demonstrators clashed with police leaving 400 people injured (183 of them police). The Christian Democrats have been

pushing for tougher police action and wider powers, restrained only by their coalition Free Democrat partners.

Die Grunen have accused the police of provoking clashes with demonstrators, and the Hamburg greens have demanded the resignation of the state's interior minister Rolf Lange over the police "strategy of escalation". The realo greens in Hesse have called for a temporary halt to demonstrations. The vicious circle of increasing levels of violence on all sides is unlikely to be broken until the first death occurs. Franz Joseph Strauss, the Bavarian Conservative leader, has sacked a police chief "for only half-heartedly following offensive police tactics." On June 14 about 100 police in Bavaria resigned in protest at dangerous duties at Wackersdorf. Surprisingly, with all this going on, local residents are now getting in the anti-nuclear protests particularly at Wackersdorf. As well as demonstrating, they are supplying tents and blankets to demonstrators and sheltering them from arrest.

Against this backdrop and the general political aftermath of Chernobyl there were elections in Lower Saxony on June 15. The state has been ruled by the Christian Democrats for ten years. Local SPD leader Gerhard Schroeder came out against the possibility of a coalition with die Grunen, blaming extreme positions adopted by the greens at their congress last autumn. After Chernobyl he came out against completing the state's new reactor at Lingen on the East German border: though he opposes the immediate closure of the other three reactors he does accept that they must be closed eventually.

Die Grunen wanted immediate shut-down, saying there was enough electricity available from other sources to make this feasible.

The Christian Democrats ran a smear campaign against the SPD and the Greens, claiming a vote for the SPD would let the Greens in, and accusing the Greens of wanting to kill all babies in the womb and letting murderers and sexual offenders run free.

On the day 80% of the electorate voted. The results were Christian Democrats 44.3% (down 6%); SPD 42.1% (up 5.6%); Die Grunen 7.1% (up 0.6%); FDP (liberal conservative) 5.8%. The FDP formed a coalition government with the CDU with a one seat majority in the 155-seat state parliament.

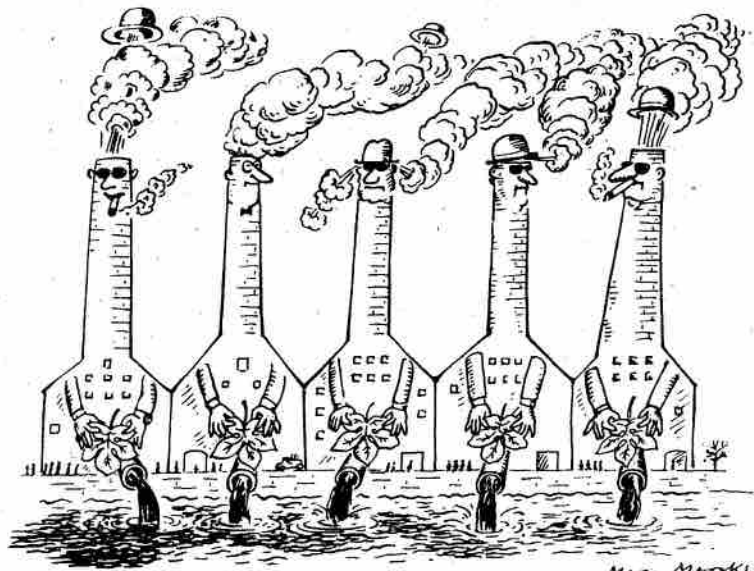
The green vote was less than the 10% they had expected. Thea Dueckert, number one on the green list, blamed the CDU's "dirty campaign" for the result. Lukas Beckman, die Grunen's parliamentary spokesperson, said the result showed a split between voting habits and public opinion. Public disquiet at the level of violence at anti-nuclear protests may have cost the greens votes.



Dutch greens outmanoeuvred

THE DUTCH system of proportional representation has no threshold level for gaining entry to parliament, so a mere 0.7% of the vote gets a party an MP. So not surprisingly small parties of all colours proliferate.

In the 1984 Euro-elections (for which there was a 5% threshold level) three small left parties stood together under the banner of the "Green Progressive Agreement". These were the Communist Party of the Netherlands (CPN), the Radical Political Party (RPP), and the Pacifist Socialist Party (PSP). They won 5.6% of the vote and gained two Euro MPs. Other Dutch greens, having



worked hitherto in these three parties but now feeling politically exploited, set up their own new party amid much acrimony. This party, the Green Federation, polled only 1.3% in the Euro-elections. Unlike the other three parties it is not explicitly left-wing.

All four parties entered the General Election on May 21 this year on their own - though each put forward a 'green' platform. The Green Federation hoped that their 1984 vote of 1.3% would hold good, as it would give parliamentary seats to Martin Bierman and Hein van Meeteren (first and second on the list). It did not contest the local elections in March, preferring to concentrate resources on the General Election for which it fielded full lists of candidates in every province.

Bierman and van Meeteren opened their campaign with a mock battle in which they set about each other with papier mache clubs. Then it was all smiles, and Bierman announced that "this was our last goodbye to the old politics." The environment is an important issue in Holland, with acute industrial, agricultural and motor vehicle pollution. Bierman brought his vast experience as an environmental campaigner (he is credited amongst other things with keeping the petro-chemical industry out of Amsterdam and putting a stop to land reclamation on the Zuider Zee) to bear with well-researched technical arguments at his finger-tips; while Hein van Meeteren concentrated more on the political and social issues - unemployment, minimum wage schemes, decentralisation and so on.

The main opposition party, the Dutch Labour Party, fought the campaign on an anti-nuclear ticket. They were committed to reversing the decision by the ruling Christian Democrats last November to deploy cruise missiles.

The last few weeks of the campaign were dominated by Chernobyl. In a skilful political manoeuvre Mr Lubbers (leader of the Christian Democrats) suspended the commissioning of two new reactors on the eve of the election.

The election was a disaster for the small parties. The Green Federation polled a pathetic 0.3% of the vote; the CPN lost all its seats; the PSP lost two of its three seats. The PPR - the traditional anti-nuclear party - retained its two seats. The small right-wing and religious parties also did badly. Little media attention was given to any of the small parties or the issues they raised, and this must be a contributory factor to their poor performance. But the Labour Party, mopping up a lot of the anti-nuclear vote, gained only five seats and these only at the expense of the smaller parties: it will now be tempted to re-examine its anti-nuclear policies. The Green Federation needs to think long and hard about its own future.

Meanwhile the conservative Christian Democrat / Liberal coalition continues in power in Holland.

++ Green International was edited by Leigh Shaw-Taylor, with help this month from Mark Kinzley, Sarah Parkin and Roland Clarke.

NETWORK

Drax B - the ultimate in coal pollution

DRAX B, the final plant in the largest concentration of coal-fired power stations in Europe, came on stream on May 25 - with no pollution control equipment. It will produce 150,000 tonnes of sulphur dioxide a year, more than Norway's total annual emission.

The power stations of the Aire Valley burn 11m tonnes of coal a year, producing 800,000 tonnes of SO₂ and nitrogen oxide. Most of the fuel burnt at Drax B will be from the Selby coalfield: with a sulphur content of between 1.8% and 1.9% Selby coal is almost ten times

as polluting as, for instance, most of the coal burnt in West German power stations.

The average sulphur content of the coal burnt in UK power stations has crept up in recent years from 1.4% to 1.6%.

FoE's Pollution Campaigner, Adam Markham, comments: "The government's response to the World Conservation Strategy stated that it 'fully recognised international concern over the environmental effects of sulphur dioxide and nitrogen oxides'. If the recognition is there, then why is there no action to reduce pollution?"

Government cop-out on acid water

ACIDIFICATION OF lakes and rivers is worse than a new government report is prepared to admit, says Friends of the Earth. "Acidity in United Kingdom Fresh Waters" was published a month ago by the UK Acid Waters Review Group, and is available from DoE Publications, Victoria Road, South Ruislip, S Middx. HA4 0NZ.

According to FoE the report reveals a woeful lack of standardisation of monitoring programmes and methods, and

a distressing lack of information relating to the most sensitive areas. Instead, the report concentrates on analysing areas where acid pollution is known to be minimal. There is virtually no attempt to discuss the causes of acidification of lakes and rivers, and where causes are examined the acid rain hypothesis is virtually ignored.

Info: contact Adam Markham at FoE (01-837 0731).

Birmingham centre

Roger Hallam writes:

BIRMINGHAM IS to be the centre for the pilot project of the New University. It was decided at a recent conference to set up a small centre in the city this autumn to act as a base for a growing national Green knowledge/skill sharing network, and as a focus for the local radical education community.

The aim is to set up residential communities where members will all participate in the upkeep and decision-making and engage in a radical, holistic education which connects theory with practice. There would be a balance between arts/crafts and academic study, and between the personal and the global.

The object is to promote subject areas usually neglected by conventional universities (e.g. Green economics, humanistic psychology, nonviolence, etc.) and bases the learning setting upon dialogue between equals rather than one-way instruction. It hopes to develop a non-elitist way of doing education without hierarchies, exams or qualifications which has a real relevance to the learner and society's present problems. The project is in need of financial support.

Information from: New University Project, 11a St Quintin Avenue, London W10. Tel: 01-960 5773.

Nonviolent camp

THE ELEVENTH International Nonviolent March for Demilitarisation comes - for the first time - to Britain. Over the years the "March" has come to take the form of a fortnight's camp, with increasing emphasis on lifestyles and personal growth as well as direct action. This year's camp, expected to attract up to 500 participants, will be held in Dunbartonshire, in the highly militarised zone north of the Clyde estuary, from July 19 to Aug 3. Info: send SAE to Martin, 16 Donville Grove, London SE5. (Scottish contact: 0436 820901.

Torness rally

A POST-CHERNOBYL rally is being held by SCRAM at Torness on Sat July 5. There will be speakers from all the parties and the NUM, and Billy Connolly has agreed to do a spot for free and read out extracts from the Torness Emergency Plan. There will be the usual stalls, buses from Edinburgh, and hopefully a shuttle from Dunbar station: there's limited parking at the site.

The Electricity Board hopes to begin fuel loading this month, ahead of schedule. Torness will be the first nuclear power station to be commissioned in this country since Chernobyl - and possibly the first in the world.

Info: SCRAM, 031-557 4285.

50 years of peace in print

PEACE NEWS celebrated its 50th birthday on June 6. DENNIS GOULD writes:

HUMPHREY MOORE, a Quaker, had the vision to create Peace News in 1936. An individual effort which quickly captured the imagination of the then current peace movement - and became the official organ of the Peace Pledge Union. Street sellers became the backbone of the distribution during World War II when the circulation reached over 40,000!

After the war wholesalers resumed their role, killing the street sales as the need seemed less great. When Hugh Block became editor in the 1950s he developed the very crucial cultural role - with a broad base where cinema, novels, theatre, poems, songs, libertarian education, anti-psychiatry, radical alternatives to prison, ecology, feminism, anarcho-pacifism are all discussed to deepen the awareness of those involved in non-violent direct action. Now known simply as NVDA. Such people as Richard Mabey, Tom McGrath, Richard Boston, April Carter, Pat Arrowsmith, John Arden, Albert Hunt, Adrian Mitchell, Theodor Roszak, Betty Roszak, Donald Roomm (cartoonist), Roger Mayne (photographer), Gary Snyder, Alan Lovell, all contributed major features.

As PN became independent in 1961 it was simply recognising the shift in active pacifism which saw young people from PYAG (Pacifist Youth Action Group) getting involved in the newly formed DAC - Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War. The group who set up DAC was centred around Peace News. When the Committee of 100 (founded by Bertrand Russell, Gustave Metzger, Rev Michael Scott and others) came into being, the DAC merged with it: PN became the unofficial but influential organ of the Committee of 100.

However, as is nearly always the case, the active members of the Committee and of CND left the street-selling of PN (and of Sanity) to the very few who realised in fact how important this job is! Subscriptions are invaluable for a paper's bank balance, but on the whole do not create activists or street sellers. Every major meeting, NVDA, peace walk, picket or vigil should see one or two street sellers present. (It's fun to do and you meet great people!) Magazines such as Peace News, Green Line, The Pacifist, Sanity, Campaign, Green Anarchist, Freedom, Lib Ed, IT, together with the numerous

local magazines like the Campaign Atom Bulletin (Oxford), Leicester MVDA News, Beano (Maidstone Anarchist Group), Heretic (Stonehenge Peoples Free Festival & Solstice Celebration '86 Positive News), Northampton Libertarian: all should be as visible and as easily obtainable as is, say, Socialist Worker!

However, if the editors themselves feel their job is done when the paper hits the press, they will get few street-sellers. The growth of new magazines like Green Line and Green Anarchist is partly due to the editors being seen to sell their own papers. This has a wonderfully encouraging effect on other involved readers!

Design is not peripheral. It is the front cover which conveys the style and content. In 1962 Peace News was re-designed by Robin Fior, who also designed the brilliant Committee of 100 posters. Overnight this gave the paper a new face and a strong visual element - mainly photographs: cluttered type no longer obscured the pictures. When PN became a collective on moving to Nottingham this saw the sharing of mundane tasks. It brings problems in reducing content to formulae, as sometimes happens in the news pages today. (The Molesworth Diggers Walk, for example, got a very sparse, dull report: several pages could usefully have been devoted to this imaginative action).

A magazine is only as good as its editors and contributors - aided by sellers on the street, in the parks, at the festivals and city meetings. If an event you attend or organise isn't covered, perhaps the reporter should have been you?

** PN appears fortnightly: subscriptions are £12 (1 year) or £6.50 (6 months). Unwaged less 10%. Or take out a 'trial sub': 5 issues for £2.50. Albert Beale has written an illustrated history of the first 50 years of PN, "Against All War" - price £1.50 + 25p p&p. Peace News, 8 Elm Avenue, Nottingham 3.



Greening the Sahel

Linda Hendry writes:

MAOLINN TIAM is a Canadian Indian and president of the World Council of Peoples (founded in 1936). Last year the Council met in Japan with the Aimu as hosts, and decided to prioritise the replanting and rewatering of the Sahel area of Africa because it is the most urgent world problem needing attention. For more than ten years the Council has been running research on related topics, such as the properties of suitable plants, and the charting of watercourses.

Governments of Sahel countries have agreed to villages of settlers and volunteers being established on a belt far enough into the recently desertified area for herded animals not to be able to eat the vegetation which will be planted. Over the next 15 years 12m people are needed to do the work: 60,000 of the volunteers are expected to come from the UK.

These volunteers have to be trained to live in the Sahel at the same level as the locals, to recognise edible plants, use digging sticks, build shelters and consume the minimum of water.

The printed materials I have available on the World Council of Peoples and the SOS Deserts Transcontinental are on 12 pages of French, which I have had translated. Send £1 for copies to me at 2a West Preston Street, Edinburgh. The contact addresses are: World Council of Peoples / SOS Deserts Transcontinental, BP 169 Bruxelles 5, Belgium, or: Presidency, angle rue Colbert et pl. de l'Independence, Dakar, Senegal. I would be glad to hear from anyone else who knows about the scheme.



Books for a change

CND, FRIENDS OF the Earth, War on Want and the United Nations Association have collaborated in setting up a new bookshop on a prime site at 52 Charing Cross Road, London WC2H 0BB. "Books for a Change" opened on June 5, and we're pleased to say they've agreed to sell Green Line... (which is more than can be said for a great many of the so-called "alternative" or radical bookshops around the country!)



Events

- July 5: SCRAM rally at Torness (031-557 4285)
- July 7: US Embassy picket in support of Navajo Hopi Indians, from 4 pm.
- July 12: Worcester Peace Festival (Pitchcroft, 12 - 8).
- July 17-20: Green Youth Gathering, Groundwell Farm, near Swindon. Info: 0793 618974 (see GL43 too).
- July 19-20: Norwich Rainbow Fayre, Earlham Park. Info from 48 Bethel St.
- July 19-25: Lifeways Gathering at Emerson College, Forest Row, Sussex (see ad. in GL 42).
- July 25-27: Elephant Fayre, Cornwall (0503 30816).
- July 31: Caribbean Music Village, Holland Park, London.
- Aug 3: Bristol Tree Fair, Ashton Court.
- Aug 8-10: Torpedo Town Festival, Brambles Farm, Waterlooville (Portsmouth 737819).
- Aug 9-16: Take Back the Land - the Green Action at Faslane (0436 820901).
- Aug 11-15: Men and Peace gathering in Yorkshire. Info: 0743 249489 / GL42.
- Aug 23-25: Notting Hill Carnival.

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LIVING GREEN



A new monthly feature covering issues of green lifestyle, edited by Graham Hooper. Contributions and comments from readers are very welcome.

Organic research

IT APPEARS that the MAFF is to make some money available for research into organic farming at the Department of Agriculture at the University of Wales. The research project, entitled "The Nitrogen Cycle in Organic Farms", aims to obtain quantitative information on the nitrogen balance and nitrogen cycle in organic farming systems. As well as studying nitrogen movement, the project will seek to develop different methods of management to improve sustainability and efficiency of a farm. Potassium and phosphorus will also be studied.

MAFF will provide a £76,475 grant to pay for two research officers (Paul Barney and Christine Watson), materials, travel expenses and college overheads. A steering committee consisting of representatives of BOF, OGA, Elm Farm Research Centre, University College of Wales and ADAS will ensure that research is appropriate to the needs of the farmer.

This is something of a milestone for the organic movement, when there is little interest in organic cultivation in the Ministry of Agribusiness and Factory Farming.

The consuming kettle

THE MODERN kettle is an extravagant and wasteful way of boiling water for tea, etc., especially if it is electric. Kettles tend to wastefully boil more water than is needed, either to cover the element or because it is difficult to judge the right amount when filling. They fur up, becoming even less efficient; elements and leads cost money and materials to replace; and left-over water corrodes aluminium kettles,

Using a cheaper saucepan with a good lid saves energy, money and materials.

Exact amounts of water can easily be measured out to save wasted boiling, and a saucepan doesn't scale up if used for other things. No electric elements to change and less dependence on electricity - itself wasteful of fossil fuels and partially dependent on nuclear power.

The old kettle could be used as a small watering can, for indoor plants.

**** Send us your practical tips for lightening our impact on the biosphere!**

People's Land Group

THIS IS a group of people concerned about land ownership and intending to do something about the problem. The central beliefs of the group are that it is an offence against the planet for someone to own part of her surface, and that land should be cared for and nurtured to allow long-term healthy survival of all species.

The PLG's idea is that all members pay 2% of their income (a sort of alternative income tax) into a land liberation fund which is used to buy back land from the "owners". They are researching alternatives to land ownership which are viable within the restrictions of the capitalist state. Growth of the group is intended to be by "cell-division", with the group(s) splitting into smaller diverse groups as membership increases - reflecting the diversity of life and avoiding a large centralised bureaucracy.

The existing group, mainly of people with links with England's canals, currently intend to acquire land for organic agriculture, boat building, repair and mooring, and any other uses compatible with the needs of the planet.

Membership is open to all, and it is hoped that the more people join the quicker land can be liberated. The PLG's address, for interested people, is 7 Railway Cottages, Hardy Road, Norwich.

Recipes

Give meat the boot with Vegetable Wellington

Chop finely 1 onion and 2 cloves of garlic; fry until soft. Add 1lb ground hazelnuts, 6 oz wholemeal flour, 2 oz oatmeal, 1 lb tomatoes (chopped and liquidised or sieved), and herbs to taste. Knead to a dough, then roll out to an oblong shape on a large sheet of greaseproof paper.

Steam 1½ - 2 lbs chopped mixed vegetables. Place these on the centre of the pastry and fold into a parcel. Seal the ends and decorate extravagantly with the remaining pastry. Brush with a little oil and bake in a moderate oven until browned - about 30 mins. Serve with gravy or tomato sauce, and greens.

(From "New Whole Ways", Catherine and Dean Yates, Movement for Compassionate Living, 1986.)

It's the time for elderflowers: so why not make some

Elderflower Wine

2 pints elderflowers
juice of 1 orange and 1 lemon
½ cup of raisins
2 kg sugar (beet sugar if possible - G.H.)
1 cup cold tea
yeast and one slice of bread

Place all these ingredients in a bucket and pour tepid (previously boiled) water over to make 2 gallons in all. Stir. Add yeast on the slice of bread, or if preferred use yeast nutrient. Cover and leave for a week, stirring once daily with a plastic or wooden spoon.

Strain into jars. Fit airlocks. Leave to ferment: it may take some months. Rack every 2 months. When fermentation stops, leave to clear. Bottle and keep 6 - 12 months before drinking.

(From North-West Newsletter No. 52).

(How ideologically sound are the sugar and the tea - and perhaps the citrus fruits too? - G.H.)

Men: a way forward

HAS MAN a place in a world where women have taken their power? In a book to be published later this year by Routledge and Kegan Paul, JOHN ROWAN argues that there must be - and is - a place for man; and that the archetype to follow has an ancient lineage as The Horned God (which is also the title of the book). The Horned God is found in relationship to, and not separate from, the prime life and nurturing force which is the Goddess: a positive and creative model for male power. Only in this ancient religious vision do we find man empowered with natural creative energy, working within the natural cycles rather than against them.

The article which follows is in fact the last chapter of the book, and we are grateful to John Rowan for letting us use it here as a contribution to the debate about male sexuality and what it means to be a man.

WHEN WOMEN realise what patriarchal consciousness is and does, they feel a terrible, terrible pain which extends into every corner of their lives. They realise how many putdowns, how many slights, how many harassments, how many threats, how many blows, how many mutilations, how many rapes, how many deaths are suffered by women. If anyone doubts this, let them go to the classics of feminism: *Against Our Will* (Susan Brownmiller, 1976), *The Dinner Party* (Judy Chicago, 1979), *Gyn/Ecology* (Mary Daly, 1979), *Woman Hating* (Andrea Dworkin, 1974), *Take back the Night* (ed. Laura Lederer, 1980), *Women against Violence against Women* (Rhodes and McNeill, 1985), and the rest.

When men realise what patriarchal consciousness is and does, their feelings are much more varied and complicated. My own first reaction was to say - "How awful for them. Something must be done about this." Then I went through - "The liberation of oppressed people must be the work of those people themselves. All I can do is to support their struggle as and when invited to do so." Then I went through - "Men are twisted and limited in very important and crippling ways under patriarchy. Let's do something about that." Then I went through - "It's all no good. There is nothing that can be done. The system is too big. Its supporters are everywhere. Maybe I am one too. There is no hope." Then I went through - "Now that I don't hate women, things look more hopeful. But now that I can feel their pain, I realise that things are much worse than I could conceive of before. And now I realise that my own pain about my father is worse than I thought, too." And then I came to:

"It is not just about individual fathers and mothers, or even about social problems on a large

scale which are oppressive - it's about deep archetypes where the pain is on a cosmic scale. The depths we have to go into are much deeper than we thought, and the dangers are not just physical dangers or mental dangers, but spiritual dangers too."

And it was not until I got to that last point that I began to feel that I had got anywhere at all.

It is this experience which leads me to believe that meeting and dealing with patriarchal consciousness is more difficult for men than it is for women. We as men seem to have to go through a much more tortuous process than the relatively direct route open to women. And because less has been written about the archetypal level of response than about the other two levels (conscious-political and unconscious-therapeutic), I want to focus more particularly on that.

Male and female

We saw earlier, in a chapter which may have seemed rather negative, that the idea of androgyny, while very valuable at a therapeutic level (healing the splits in the personality and all that) will not do at the spiritual-political level which we have now reached. So if androgyny won't do, what will do?

The account which fitted best with my own experience, and seemed to illuminate it further, I found in Alan Bleakley's (1984) book, *Fruits of the Moon Tree*. This is a Christmas pudding of a book, indigestible in large quantities, delicious in small spoonfuls, and with the odd threepenny bit here and there.

Bleakley says that if we take a bit of elastic (or a guitar string, etc.) and hold it stretched loosely between our two hands, and pluck it (or get someone else to pluck it), nothing much will happen. But if we stretch it tight and do the same thing, we will get a musical note. If we stretch it further, too far, it will snap, and again no music.

If the two hands represent the male and the female poles of experience (Bleakley says masculine and feminine, following I suppose Jung, but I have argued against that terminology) then we have an interesting analogy. If the male and female poles are too close together, this could be a crude attempt at fusion, or perhaps androgyny - the liberal pretence that there is really no difference, that we should talk about people's liberation rather than women's liberation, and so on. No music - no creative outcome - can result from this.

Similarly, if the male and the female poles get too far apart, and the string snaps, this could be the situation where men retire into their clubs, and women into their sororities - the men cultivate war while the women cultivate peace - the two do not meet, and again no music results. (On a temporary basis it



may make a lot of sense for women to separate, in order to work out things which they cannot work out in the presence of men, but we are talking here about more long-term truths.)

But if we pull the male and female poles far enough apart for each of them to differentiate and work out their full essence, without losing touch with each other, then some creative outcome can result.

Bleakley carefully points out that this is true within each person as well as between people and groups of people. The contrasexual archetypes within each person also work in this way. Thus each man needs to cultivate, get to know, allow to develop and encourage the female inside himself. This is not necessarily easy to do. I remember one time when I tried to do this, the female who came out was one who hated and feared men. I found that this was my twin sister, who I had killed in the womb in order to ensure my own survival. In the therapy group I then had to enact a ritual where I went back into the womb and this time rescued my sister, and made sure that she was born with me. This produced such extreme feelings of relief, and such a further improvement in my relations with women, that I feel there must have been something in it.

What comes out of Bleakley's analysis is a very strong emphasis on the importance of difference. We have to differentiate before we can integrate. Kate Millett says in *Sexual Politics* (1971):

Because of our social circumstances, male and female are really two different cultures, and their life experiences are utterly different - and this is crucial.

We have to recognise this much better than we usually do at the moment. But to recognise it is not to lose hope about it. It is to see that difference as the very heart of the answer. The wounds of feminism can only be healed by deeper feminism. Difference, as Audre Lorde (in 'This Bridge called my Back', ed. Moraga and Anzaldna, 1981) tells us, is

a fund of necessary polarities between which our creativity can spark like a dialectic... Only within that interdependency of different strengths, acknowledged and equal, can the power to seek new ways to actively 'be' in the world generate, as well as the courage and sustenance to act where there are no charters... Difference is that raw and powerful connection from which our personal power is forged.

So what does this actually mean in terms of the relation of female to male and male to female? It means that we as men have to become much more aware of how different we are, and how heavy that can seem to women, and how problematical it is to be a man. No longer can we take it for granted that we know what it is to be a man. We have to open our eyes to our own nature and conditioning. We have to wake up from our semi-hypnotic state.

Our difference from women means that we have to be very careful how we talk about feminism and approach feminists. Bruce Woodcock, in *Male Mythologies* (1984), made a very important point about this:

Claims as to the values and goals of feminism have a quite different function and meaning when women make them on their own behalf than they do when men make them. When women assert values as "feminist" or "female", even those which have been traditionally ascribed to them within patriarchal ideology, their activity declares a conception of themselves as part of a process of self-definition. When a man adopts the same arguments, their political function changes quite simply because of the relationship between those arguments, whose aim is to challenge male power, and male power itself. One must inevitably suspect a conscious or unconscious attempt to contain their impact, or somehow subvert or appropriate the cutting edge of feminism by containing it within male-defined limits.

That is why, in this book, I have tried to talk not about feminism, or about women's experience, but about men's experience, and about male responses to what men understand by feminism in its critique of patriarchal consciousness.

I am saying that in my own response to that critique I have been most inspired by the power of the spiritual insights of people like Starhawk and the authors in *The Politics of Women's Spirituality* (ed. Spretnak, 1982), and by Virenda Hills ('The Courage to Let Go', in *Soluna* 4/4, 1982). My spirit rises when I hear Starhawk saying that the Horned God can make men

free to be wild without being cruel, angry without being violent, sexual without being coercive, spiritual without being unsexed, and able to truly love.

The emphasis on polarity, on difference, makes it very natural to see sex as polarity, sex as difference, and to know that

In its essence, it is not limited to the physical

act - it is an exchange of energy, of subtle nourishment, between people. Through connection with another, we connect with all. (Starhawk, *The Spiral Dance*, 1979).

And this way of putting it means that we do not have to see it as just heterosexual - such a statement can be just as true for bisexual, gay or lesbian sex.

In a way, though I am quite nervous about putting it this way, we are talking about a third sexual revolution. The first was about getting rid of Victorian fear and hypocrisy - just bringing things out into the open and freeing people from harmful guilt. That revolution was going on all through the 1920s, and right up to its culmination in the 1960s with the discovery of the Pill. It is still continuing today, though now there is a backlash as well.

The second sexual revolution was about women starting to notice that the whole thing had been organised by men, with male assumptions and male values, for the benefit of men. The way in which women had been supposed to participate was by being just like men in every way. And indeed the notion of unisex which was prevalent in the 1960s was very much on these lines - both sexes were to dress like men, think like men and behave like men (men in pink shirts and flowered ties, to be sure). But women, now able to explore their own sexuality more freely, found that it was not a mere replica of male sexuality - it was both different and more varied. And this was discovered not in a spirit of pure objectivity, but in a context of resentment. Resentment at men for the way in which they had offered sexual freedom on their own terms, in ways which favoured them, and which gave them the advantage in terms of power and control. What women demanded was to be seen as persons with their own female



culture, just as real and just as deep as the dominant male culture, but far less well known and far harder to be clear about. Their message to men was - "Lay off until I am clearer about what I myself want. Maybe I want sex with a man, maybe I want sex with another woman, maybe I want sex by myself; maybe I don't want sex at all. Maybe it's important to me, maybe it isn't. Let me find out." For many men this was confusing and frustrating. They had just woken up to the glories of the first sexual revolution; and now here was the second, which seemed

to take them all away again. We are still working through all the implications of this second revolution. Because men own and control the media, many men still haven't heard of this revolution, but they will, they will.

Union with the Goddess

Now since this second revolution is still not finished - indeed, in many ways it has hardly begun - it may seem premature to talk about a third. This is especially so for men, since there are very few writings about the second sexual revolution for men: perhaps only Emmanuel Reynaud (*Holy Virility*, 1983) and a few others get near it. The third revolution has been even less talked about, and is little known. But if Starhawk is right (in *Dreaming the Dark*, 1982), and if "potentially, the erotic bond could be the model for all other associations, all connections in freedom", then it seems worthwhile at least to look a bit further in that direction. When someone says:

Alice and I went to bed and made love, and it was very different for me from what it usually is. I wasn't tense at all and I just let myself go. Alice and I just seemed to merge into one, our breathing became synchronised and then we seemed to become attuned to the rhythms of nature that surrounded us, the distant Atlantic breakers, the wind blowing across the island, the pulsing of the stars. When I came it wasn't just a tension release, but like the exploding of the universe inside me. (Ken, in *Male Sexuality* (Jenny James, 1985)).

What are we to make of this? Is it just a good orgasm, where the earth moves? Is it just a Reichian orgasm, where the whole body surrenders? Or is it cosmic sex, where a creative and spiritual experience emerges from the polarities in tension? I see it as pointing to the possibility of a third sexual revolution, where by invoking the earth powers of the Goddess and the Horned God, we allow sex to become the archetypal union of opposites that it fundamentally is.

In this way we would see the aim as being not androgyny but the hieros gamos, the conjunctio in alchemy, the sacred marriage.

"Hieros gamos" is the Greek name for the union of a king or sacred king (surrogate for the real king) with his Goddess, usually in the form of a priestess-queen impersonating the Goddess. The sacred marriage was once considered essential to the king's right to rule. As Barbara Walker (*The Women's Encyclopaedia of Myths and Secrets*, 1983) tells us:

British romances show kings unable to rule unless they possessed the queen, whose name was often given as Guinevere - also rendered Cunneware, Gwenhwyfar, Jennifer, Ginevra or Genevieve. Some early sources say that there were three of her (the Triple Goddess). King Arthur married all three. Repeated abductions of her by Meleagant, by Lancelot, by Melwas, by Arthur and by Mordred signified many would-be kings' claim to sovereignty. The collapse of Arthur's kingdom was intimately related to his loss of the queen.

This makes it clear that the sacred marriage was a form of initiation. J L Henderson tells us (in *Man and his Symbols*, ed Jung, 1964):

The novice for initiation is called upon to give up willful ambition and all desire and to submit to the ordeal. He must be willing to experience this trial without hope of success. In fact, he must be

prepared to die; and though the token of his ordeal may be mild (a period of fasting, the knocking out of a tooth, or tattooing) or agonizing (the infliction of the wounds of circumcision, subincision or other mutilations), the purpose remains always the same: to create the symbolic mood of death from which may spring the symbolic mood of rebirth.

Again we find that these perhaps rather mysterious words are illuminated by actually current pagan practice. In the Wicca tradition, a High Priestess and a High Priest are normally present, but in the absence of one of them, a difference appears. A valid ceremony can be held with only a High Priestess, but if only a High Priest is present, no valid ceremony can be held. As J and S Farrar put it (*The Witches' Way*, 1984):

They are essential to each other, and ultimately equal (remembering that the immortal Individuality, the reincarnating monad, is hermaphroditic), but in the context of Wiccan working and of their present incarnation, he is rather like the Prince Consort of a reigning Queen. He is (or should be) a channel for the God aspect, and there is nothing inferior about that; but Wiccan working is primarily concerned with the 'gifts of the Goddess', so the Priestess takes precedence; for woman is the gateway to witchcraft, and man is her 'guardian and student'.

This relationship, which involves a man giving up his 'healthy male ego' and surrendering to the Goddess - and going through a rebirth as a result - is what makes pagan religion safe for the earth. A man in that relationship cannot risk destroying the earth, for the Earth is the Goddess. A man in that relationship cannot seek to outdo the creativity, or the destruction, of the Goddess, as the atomic scientists described by Brian Easlea tried to do (*Fathering the Unthinkable*, 1983).

And this can go further. By focussing on the 'hieros gamos', we can rescue the father. One of the tragedies of the anti-sexist men's movement is that it has so often downplayed and looked askance at the father. Even the word "patriarchal" seems to be saying that fathers are bad. But J W Perry reminds us (*Lord of the Four Quarters*, 1966):

Among the principal functions of the Royal Father in the archaic era was his performance of the rite of the sacred marriage with the queen (or perhaps the priestess) which represented the Father God and the Mother Goddess in their hieros gamos. At the level of earth cult this was obviously designed to promote the invigoration of the life force and fertility in which sexual union means the propagation of life. However, the union of male and female came to signify much more than procreation during the archaic era. It gathered many meanings of a mythological and cosmological dimension, such as the union, balance and harmony of opposites, thus comprising the image of wholeness and completion. The Chinese Chou-li said of the position of the overlord, "There Heaven and Earth are united: there the four seasons are at one: ... there, the Yin and the Yang are in harmony"; the Indian Satapatha Brahmana said of the role of the queen, "For she, inasmuch as she is his wife, is half of himself... In finding a wife he is born, for he then becomes complete."

This means that we cannot only be sons and lovers of the Goddess, but also fathers in relation to the Mother. The father is OK. One of the great documents of ancient times speaks of the marriage of Inanna



(*The Sacred Marriage Rite*, S N Kramer 1969; Inanna, Queen of Heaven and Earth, Wolkstein and Kramer 1985), and her husband Dumuzi is one of the names by which the Horned God is invoked in pagan ceremonies.

But the god is never self-sufficient. At the moment that he tries to be self-sufficient, the Goddess will drag him down, as Sylvia Perera makes clear (*Descent to the Goddess*, 1981). He must be connected to the Goddess. In talking of the sky god, E O James tells us (in *The Worship of the Sky God*, 1963) that he must be connected to his Shakti if he is going to be active. As Barbara Walker explains, Shakti is the tantric vision of the Great Goddess, realized both as a sexual partner and as the innermost, animating soul of man or god. "Every god needed his Shakti, or he was powerless to act." An ancient tantric text says that not even God could become the supreme Lord unless Shakti entered into him. "As the god required her power before he could do anything at all, so her worshipper on earth required the power of his own *Istadevata*, Shakti or lady-love."

The male counterpart of Shakti is Shiva, and Bleakley prints side by side the two pictures of Shiva from the Mohenjo-Daro excavations, and of Cernunnos from the Gundestrup cauldron. He says:

The Hindu Shiva, as *pasupati* (lord of animals), and Cernunnos, a Celtic variant of Mercury, are shown in similar postures, wearing an animal-born headdress and stag's antlers respectively, and surrounded by animals.

So Shiva, a horned god, relates to Shakti as divine universal force or energy. Lawrence Durdin-Robertson (*The Goddesses of India, Tibet, China and Japan*, 1976) tells us that a much-esteemed medieval ode to the Goddess in India says: "If Shiva is united with Shakti, he is able to exert his power as lord; if not,

the god is not able to stir."

If we as men deliberately and consciously take up this position, going through the initiations, the death- and-rebirth conditions required to do so, then we shall be fit to live in a post-patriarchal world. We have to go beyond patriarchy and matriarchy to what lies beyond, but at this point in history it is the female principle which needs to be put first.

A way forward

So it is time now to draw the threads together, and examine the design we have now discovered. What must a man do, in realistic terms?

Firstly he must admit that there is such a thing as patriarchal consciousness, and that he is a living example of how oppressive it can be. He has to learn from women what that oppression feels like, and how he contributes to it. He has to agree to be wounded by this knowledge, and to feel the pain of that realisation.

Secondly he must do what he can at a conscious and political level to change the patriarchal world - to make new laws, new rules, new organizational forms, or whatever is needed to make the life-chances of women more equal and more fair, and to stop them being exploited, threatened and attacked. He can boost women's egos and make them feel better, to the extent that they permit that.

Thirdly he must work on himself at an unconscious level, to remove his resistances to taking the second step. The reason why the second step is so limited in the world is because the third step has not been taken. (In most cases the first step has not been taken either.) He will discover how to relate better to himself, to women, to men and to children. He will find out more about his internal female, and how to relate to her.

Fourthly, he must work on himself at a spiritual level, first of all getting in touch with his own real self, and then daring to die all over again by going into the world of the Goddess, and being reborn as the Horned God, who can relate to the Goddess in a complementary and helpful way, while regaining that full maleness he had questioned and perhaps lost along the way. He can find that deep masculinity that lies on the other side of the female. He can draw on female energy without exploiting females.

Fifthly, he is then fit to relate to feminists and enter into dialogue with them. It may be that feminists can make a new world without male allies, but I don't see it as very likely. And if there are to be such allies, they can only be men who have been through that whole process of development. Only such men can enter into genuine dialogue with women who want to dismantle patriarchy. By recognising that such women are invoking the power of the Goddess; men can relate to them as guardians and as students.

By doing this, men can gain immeasurably, because instead of seeing power as essentially male and essentially untrustworthy, they can relate instead to the much deeper and stronger female power - the power of the Shakti. What I have tried to do in this book is to show how men can cooperate in this process without losing their male quality, and gaining something quite new. The Horned God, as Starhawk reminds us, is untamed:

He is all that within us that will never be domesticated, that refuses to be compromised, diluted, made safe, moulded or tampered with. He is free.

RELATIONSHIPS

TO LIFE

Part two

We continue our translation of an interview given by RUDOLF BAHRO to the West German magazine NRW Green Information, following his resignation from Die Grünen.

The first part of the interview appeared in last months GL.

Info: You said one can let oneself acquiesce in nuclear power stations, and also over the question of missiles; and that obviously one can also let oneself acquiesce when one sees starving children on the TV: but that animal liberationists do not let themselves acquiesce. How does this come about? What is the qualitative difference, why is this the issue which burns so deeply into the soul that it can no longer be endured, while the other issues can be endured?

Bahro: Insofar as you mean that as a reproach, I must first of all respond by saying that our present concern over starving children is like a storm in a teacup, while the animal liberationists are experiencing a hurricane. And besides, I don't know exactly - not, that is, from my own experience. Someone like myself who has based his whole existence on his intellect, on his "organ of detachment for analytical thought", is upset by nothing so much as - and finds nothing as unbearable as - the typical animal liberationist, male or female. Those human beings (and in our intellect-dominated decadent culture that still particularly means women) who have built up few barriers to communication between themselves and other living things, feel the pain of animals by means of a direct resonance: they actually suffer with them. There is an identification with the tormented creature which is not derived from rational abstraction, but is more elementally founded. Furthermore, those who are more sensitive, more open to emotional currents around them, are also more vulnerable, and have as a rule in their own lives been more frequently or more deeply wounded and endangered. Animal experiments thus symbolise the threat that they experience. We should look upon those people who react like seismographs to the threat to life, and are thereby sometimes driven to the verge of madness, as the most important "organs" of the ecology movement. Formerly they would have been regarded as saints.

What - above all! - does it matter whether such people, whose existence is determined by the direct experience of danger, answer to our intellectual satisfaction the other questions - such as: Am I supporting or opposing the state in this action? or: Are we helping or harming the industry? or: Does this action help or harm people? However, politicisation is hardly ever absent, and since the experience is so vital hardly anybody loses interest; even if other movements fall asleep.

Info: Certainly a great deal of strength is gained precisely from such emotional concern. But is it not also in a certain sense inhumane if the concern is present when it's a question of animals, but isn't there when it's a question of human beings? Why should it be that on the one hand the suffering of animals can disturb us so directly and immediately, while on the other hand virtually everything else leaves us cold?

Bahro: Just as with Sabine Bard and her borderline cases, you are interested in finding at least one animal liberationist who is left cold by everything else. That is your own projection. If an animal liberationist sees a starving child on the TV screen, they will find it harder to bear than less emotional people. Starving children leave us (if I may include myself in the political type) physiologically cold, they often merely serve as points in an argument, as in your question. To the same extent that animal liberationists are aroused by their personal concern for animals, the other political type is aroused if they feel their identity is under attack, and then any subject can be brought into play. In both cases it is a matter of identity, integrity and invulnerability, but in different parts of the soul.

Neither type can do anything in front of the TV screen about starving children. But the animal liberationist wants to do something here, since it is here in this country and right now (and hence accessibly) that the suffering of the creature cries to high heaven. Reproducing the suffering of the whole world in our minds just does not hurt in the same way. Neither of these extremes of character is particularly convenient either for the matter of concern or for the person themselves, but they ought not to be abandoned. That is another reason why the departure of the Greens into another camp must be regretted; it is because something is being torn apart. The respective types, rationality and emotion, ought to unite for the protection of life instead of defending themselves against each other and portraying the opposite pole, whose situation is in any case barely tenable the way things are, as an enemy.

Our history, our eco-peace-movement, has been built up because non-strategists, people who were concerned with a wide variety of matters in their own lives, have got involved in a single issue. Suffering is the most important influence which leads people to action and to consciousness. Human beings are differentiated by how and from what they suffer, by their experience of suffering, by where their particular armour is open and vulnerable.

Info: But why do you make animal experiments into the central issue, ignoring everything else that has a different quality?

Bahro: Where do you get that idea from?

Info: That is how I understand you.

Bahro: No.

Info: You made animal experiments the occasion for your leaving the party. A lot of people are indeed thinking of leaving. But that is surely over the question of coalition.

Bahro: But I explained in Hagen that I am leaving



because of the hopelessness of the fundamental ecological position of the Greens and because their upright stance has been lost. Otherwise there would be none of this coalition debate, which is such a superficial issue. Even for Christine Schröter the question of animal experiments was only the dot on the i. Admittedly it is a perfect example, there is no better acid test as to whether it is an ecological policy or not. In the abstract you have been aware all along that it is a matter of the re-integration of the human race into the biosphere which sustains it. How can one just for a moment overlook the bloody abyss which makes that impossible if we stick to battery farming, abattoirs and animal experiments?

Of these three evils, animal experiments occupy a very central position in the fundamental structure of industrial "suicide-logic". They are a corner stone of the science which arose as a twin sister of the money economy and capitalism. Experiments on animals are equally important from a pragmatic point of view. If we really wanted to make progress with the "splitting of consciousness" in our society, and to extend it into society's scientific and managerial elite, I couldn't think of a more emotive approach. Just think how effective it will be to lay hands on that most sacred cow of modern western idolatry, the Freedom of Science!

But at an even deeper level we are dealing here with a fundamental question which is nothing short of a matter of human existence. Humans behave differently from animals regarding life. From the very beginning something like malice appears to have built into the human constitution, something which animals do not have at their disposal. Whether it is the infliction of torture on human beings or on animals, only

humans are capable of either. It is this that makes the human species a greater danger to itself than does the poisoning of the earth, as the latter in reality (insofar as it is much less intentional than torture) is only a consequence. The western ego which wishes to assert itself and to get its own way at any price is an especially dangerous manifestation of homo sapiens. Its psychology is found in everything of a scientific, technological or economic nature that we are undertaking around the world. This is what the question of animal experiments is all about. Man must be subjectively more evil in order to cut open the belly of a helpless animal than to take part in the making of a gun, or to cut off welfare coupons. But it is this dimension of the soul that is now becoming crucial, if we are hoping for salvation.

It is more clearly demonstrated in the case of animal experiments than anywhere else - and Green politics could have been based on this - that every ecologically relevant issue turns out independently to point the same way - to the abandonment of western industrial civilisation being the only effective solution. This abandonment must be predetermined by individual actions, it cannot be carried out under orders, it must be fulfilled in people's souls. It can be encouraged by means of well-directed spiritual intervention. In the matter of science the Greens, along with Sabine Bard and Arnim von Gleich, stick to the disastrous principle which the (male) human mind established upon its entry into civilisation. This humanism, which falls back if need be on arguments about "borderline cases", is just unconsciously exterminist.

Info: So far we have spent the whole time discussing strategic questions. There is another matter which I find very interesting - namely whether the relationship between humans and animals, as it is here, is actually a specific expression of industrial civilisation, or whether in essence it is also present in other forms of society which are to a certain extent regarded by the Greens as utopian - for example primitive peoples, who also may not have such a harmonious relationship with animals?

Bahro: But we were already close to that just now. The superiority of the human species lies in its extraordinary brain. Right from the beginning it became the organ for this process of armament called culture, which we use to pre-emptively confront the hazards of living. Stone age hunters were already doing this when they chased animals down a rocky slope so that they would fall to their deaths and thereby be more easily "defeated". But there is no comparison between that and the scientific-industrial "processing", nor even with the cheapest safari, which is not backed up by any need for nourishment.

Info: Is that then a quantitative or a qualitative difference?

Bahro: Clearly the latter. Whereas in the past there were individual cases, aberrant cases of animal torture we have made it into a profitable branch of industry and an academic career. However I see no qualitative difference between the torture of human beings and the practice of animal experiments. They are crimes of the same order. On any level, "external" as well as internal, they must (in the souls of the criminals) disturb the harmony of the world. If that isn't a qualitative leap, integrating feeling beings into the factory, into the scientific process, into the hospital, effectively treating plants and animals like building bricks! It was evident to the famous Chief Seattle that whatever happened to the trees and the animals would soon also happen to humans. Contrary to certain appearances, we haven't yet internalised this during the first decade of the ecological movement.

And the approach via the "issue of political power" (alias the issue of feasibility) prevents us from reaching this. What we will eventually have to understand, to express this paradox approximately, is that soon nothing of what is useful to the human species will be useful to it any more.

Our problem is our obvious and direct superior power over other lives and over nature, in our selective intrusion into an entity to which we are in no way superior. But the Greens are merely helping to cure the symptoms which result from these arrogant intrusions, instead of working towards a new relationship of our species with nature.

Info: Can there be any relationship at all with nature which is not moulded by human interests?

Bahro: That is just what I am getting at! We have become so influential in the biological and atmospheric context that we can completely disrupt it. In such a situation society must set itself limits which function like taboos in ancient times. That is where the sense of the ecological movement lies, definitely beyond mere protection of the environment. Those who merely want to kill a few less animals are on that account quite out of the question. On the contrary, such a policy of self-appeasement avoids the task of creating such taboos, which, of their nature, do not allow any exceptions.

Humans do not renounce their superiority, but only do justice to it if they see themselves as serving (to quote the ancient Chinese Lao Tzu) as "protectors not rulers" of their fellow beings. Far from being just altruistic, it is only wise not to harm anything "below" us on the ladder of evolution. But what Lao Tzu taught long ago, the Greens do not now teach.

** Translated by Helga Schwalm and Hugh Roper.

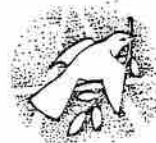


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Promised land?

PROMISED LAND: Peasant Rebellion in Chalatenango, El Salvador. Jenny Pearce, Latin America Bureau, £6.95.

THE STRUGGLE of the people in El Salvador against their murderous government and its system is part of the wider struggle that has been going on for many years and in many countries against the legacy of colonialism. In essence it is a movement to overthrow Western dominance. In this light it is perhaps more than a sense of altruism that should urge us to understand what is happening in such places.

Jenny Pearce proposes to describe the situation in El Salvador from the point of view of one province: that of Chalatenango, a poor land on the border with Honduras. It has been an area of major support for the guerrillas and, consequently, the site of many atrocities and battles. At the time the book was written it was under the control of the guerrillas and experiments in local government, health care and education were taking place.

Inevitably it is not possible to describe Chalatenango in isolation, and much of the book is concerned with explaining the national situation and fitting Chalatenango into that. Thus the first chapter is a brief history of El Salvador from the time of the Spanish conquest; the third an account of the forces used to control people, from direct repression to the traditional teachings of the church; the fourth a list of the "catalysts" that set the opposition forces in motion - from the radicalisation of the churches, the creation of peasants' and workers' organisations, to the emergence of the revolutionary organisations themselves. Other chapters look at the peasant organisations in detail and give a broad history of the recent struggle, culminating in the start of the civil war in 1979/80. Detailed accounts of Chalatenango only really come at the end, and even then greater attention is paid to the structure and role of the organisations than to the direct experience of the peasants, contrary to what might be expected from the book's subtitle.

It is true that there are many quotes from peasants, but - and apart from the fact that the longer ones tend to come from more "responsible" people such as guerrilla commanders, doctors, and leaders in various organisations, rather than from peasants - they seem to be used merely to illustrate the author's points or to add a little detail. Not that some of the quotes are not informative or moving, especially the accounts of army attacks or brutalities, but the question remains: just how carefully were they selected?

Jenny Pearce makes no attempt to disguise her support for the revolutionary war, it would indeed be absurd to put up a mask of "impartiality" in such a situation, but in her enthusiasm she tends to overlook problems. She takes an especially uncritical view of the revolutionary organisations and glosses over their internal disputes which - if, as we are told, they have led to murders and suicide - must be extremely bitter. Which in turn suggests the presence of an

unpleasantly large element of intolerance and dogmatism. Indeed, reading between the lines a bit it is clear that much of the acclaimed self-organisation and self-government in the guerrilla-held areas is in fact structured from above. It may not be a matter of deliberate manipulation so much as the inevitable result of the adoption of Marxist-Leninist theories, and especially that of "democratic centralism".

However this is not to deny that people have in fact turned with great enthusiasm to the revolutionary organisations, or that to some extent they have managed to make them their own. In a situation as bloody as in El Salvador people turn to anything that offers (or seems to offer) a way out. This perhaps explains the simultaneous support for the liberation theology of some catholic priests and for the communist ideology of the revolutionaries, as well as the ease with which people are initially fooled by various reformist and reactionary tactics; and it is wrong to criticise people for doing so. But criticism both of what has been done and of the structure of the organisations must be possible - not just as an intellectual game, but as a matter of lives saved or lost. What is at stake is not just the best way of bringing the revolution about, but the very nature of the revolution itself. What is implicit in the structure and ideology of groups like the FPL, FMLN and the FDR is a predilection for centralism and economism (the predominance of economic "problems" over all others and continued participation in the world economy) which would give a specific form to any post-revolutionary society.

Although accounts of organisation and structure predominate in Promised Land, such issues as these are not raised. The nearest Jenny Pearce comes to considering them is when she discusses the position of women in the liberated zones. Firstly, she laments the fact that "the majority of women ... still tended to be involved primarily in tasks traditional to them" and then goes on to quote from a publication of the women's organisation:

Even after the Democratic Revolutionary Government is constituted we will have to continue to fight against the traditional attitudes of men and women. The bad traits of the system of exploitation and oppression will continue to exist for some time, mainly in those areas which concern women; it is impossible for them to disappear from one day to the next.

But the two parts are never drawn together into a critique of the role of the revolutionary organisations themselves in actually prolonging such "traditional attitudes" and "bad traits".

Promised Land thus falls between two stools. It is neither a full account of peasant life in Chalatenango and their experiences of rebellion, nor an adequate discussion of the revolutionary organisations in El Salvador. It can only be seen as an unsatisfactory introduction to both.

Andy Kaye



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THE END OF EMPLOYMENT



FUTURE WORK: Jobs, Self-Employment and Leisure after the Industrial Age. James Robertson. Maurice Temple Smith / Gower Press, £6.95 pbk.

I MUST ADMIT to having approached reading "Future Work" with scepticism. Having read James Robertson's "The Sane Alternative" some years ago and then heard him lecture, I had concluded that his 'grand vision' was informative about possible alternative futures but totally out of touch with where things are at now. This meant his work was of little immediate use to green activists. However, "Future Work" has brought the analysis more down to earth without yet having lost the vision, and I consider it to be an important - at points crucial - step in the development of the movement.

The central message of the book is that we are witnessing the end of the "age of employment" and that it is necessary for us to redefine our relationship to work in terms of what is called "ownwork". This is work, paid or unpaid, done for one's self or household or community, essentially working locally to meet local needs with leisure and work running into one another. Whilst the book contains much by way of analysis of our current problems, it is above all an impassioned advocacy of "ownwork".

The analysis opens with three future scenarios: "business as usual" wherein full employment is achieved again; "hyper-expansionism" (HE) involving economic growth with little employment but considerable welfare handouts to the unemployed; and "sane, humane and ecological" (SHE) which (need one say more?) is the Green vision. The first two scenarios are portrayed as unrealistic aspirations and in any case the third alternative will be more satisfactory all round. The SHE scenario is seen as currently in the process of emerging. ("The Sane Alternative" proposed two further possibilities: "disaster" comprised of nuclear war and/or ecological collapse; and "authoritarian" eco-fascism.)

There follows a lengthy discussion of attitudes to work, explaining how the modern work ethic emerged after the middle ages as an attitude of mind. This culminates in a critique of the way in which our lives have become circumscribed by quantitative assessments of value; of work time, money, and productivity. It is asserted that we must return to a qualitative view of values.

In coming to grips with the ending of the "employment empire", the analysis focusses on three important subjects. First the problem of dependency attitudes amongst unionists is aired, noting that these work against the extension of ownwork. Next the domination of the banking fraternity is seen as potentially inhibiting progress - except that we are probably in for a banking collapse which, if properly managed, could help smooth the way. And finally the changing role of political parties is discussed. This part of the analysis borders on the brilliant in judging the place of green politics in the general spectrum over the coming years. On the one hand we have a growing attempt of all established parties to rescue some sort of social democratic consensus versus the growth of green politics; and on the other hand we have the internal tensions amongst greens between those who see green as the new force within established parties versus those who are intent on establishing a radically

new kind of participative politics.

The final section describes many of the initiatives that are emerging which illustrate what ownwork is all about, and then sets up the ownwork agenda. The agenda includes several mechanisms with which Green Party people are already familiar: the establishment of a guaranteed basic income (National Income Scheme), social credit and land tax. But the key discussion concerns the call for a more coherent approach to local economic development, to pull together the various strands and develop self-reliance as a conscious strategy and not just hoping that we can muddle through to it.

What is in some ways so refreshing about "Future Work" is the insistence on looking to the future creatively. So much of radical thinking in the U K is "oppositional", seeing problems everywhere with no time left to think about solutions; "Future Work" is exactly the opposite. However, herein also lie problems. In two places, the potential for social unrest inherent in current processes of transformation are mentioned in passing; in practice this is already growing and it is really inadvisable to avoid analysing this because you can't come up with satisfactory ideas concerning how to organise around such unrest. More central to the argument of the book, perhaps, is the dismissal of the notion that ownwork might lead to individualised poverty and exploitation. This is not simply a spurious argument put forward by unions to protect their power base: it is a genuine and spreading problem that requires confronting in a much more structured way. And lastly the mention in the book from time to time of the opposition of existing vested interests to the spread of real independence through ownwork nowhere finds any concerted answer. Is it really good enough to think that all these forces will simply be overwhelmed by the patent rightness of the ownwork movement?

Perhaps the fundamental problem lies in the steadfast refusal to acknowledge even the existence of the Radical Right. Not only does this represent a possible future scenario, at this point in time it represents the dominant trend against which the growth of the green movement is but a pale shadow. We must be perfectly clear in our minds that the Radical Right is not only intent upon reinforcing class distinctions but; unlike in the HE scenario, of destroying the welfare of the workless class at the same time. The Victorian values which they so regularly extol require an utterly impoverished and dependent class as a foil at once for its self-righteous philanthropy and, above all, paranoia.

The chapter on "Labour" is an excellent start at counteracting the glib dismissal of class as a relevant issue that characterises most of the green literature on economics. In general it takes foreigners to understand the full horror of the Victorian creation of the English working class (more accurately caste) and, of course, equally dependent in its own way, the middle class. For English people it is their lived experience so that it cannot be set aside and seen for what it is. But the dependency that James Robertson talks of is a deep cultural thing on both sides of the divide which has been the real cause behind the relative failure in the U K of social democracy. And it will surely destroy any genuine possibility of a more liberated economy involving extensive ownwork unless we face up to the depths of the problem and tackle it right at its root.

Of course the solution is being sought by some of the

new ownwork initiatives in organising co-operative and community businesses that bring together people with cultural experience from either side of the divide, doing the same work for the same return. But there are many initiatives of an individualistic nature which are referred to in "Future Work" which can be almost guaranteed to perpetuate the caste divide - either by supporting middle class hegemony or by tipping individuals into the abyss of poverty and dependence. So the next stage of the argument is to clarify how we can create community structures which build a genuinely self-reliant local economy and destroy the caste divide. The real alternatives are the Radical Right scenario, and the creation of genuinely integrated and self-aware local communities.

Adrian Atkinson

"ALTERNATIVE" DEFENCE...



NEUTRALITY: A POLICY FOR BRITAIN. Peter Johnson, Temple Smith, £3.95.

WITHOUT THE BOMB: Non-nuclear defence policies for Britain. Alternative Defence Commission, Paladin Books, £1.95.

ONE HUNDRED YEARS ago Britain was at the zenith of empire and 'greatness' yet had no military alliances and no army to speak of. Now, the same country in a state of dereliction is not only deeply enmeshed in a politico-military alliance (NATO) but is committed to the long-term maintenance of a standing army overseas (the British Army of the Rhine).

There is of course a wretched irony in the fact that Britain today has the largest 'defence' commitment she has ever had when she can least afford it. On the other hand surely there is something inevitable about a country whose political and economic independence has been undermined finding itself a cow-towing satellite to somebody else's defence and foreign policy considerations, in our case the United States?

Peter Johnson's argument for neutrality is pretty good in showing us how this situation, in classical military terms, does us no good at all. Not only is our forward defence a long way from home - in Germany - but this leaves our home defence incongruously weak. Yet because of Britain's role as NATO land base in the North Atlantic component of its defence plans, we are the first likely target for incineration in a showdown between the superpowers. Even a war which is limited to the sea, suggests Johnson in almost prophetic vein, is likely to see Britain, because of this role, an early casualty. And an attempt to avert this by threatening to use our submarine based nuclear missiles would, thinks Johnson, only the more quickly precipitate the final nemesis.

The way out, says our author, is a policy of neutrality. Armed neutrality, mind (there's no room for pacifists here) with strict reference to aspects of the Swedish, Swiss, Yugoslav and Finnish models. To do Paul Johnson justice, he is by training a military man, and in those narrow terms his suggestions on how we should go about a policy of independent armed 'dissuasion' do make considerable sense. Beyond this, however, it is difficult to know whether some of his conclusions are drawn from astute reasoning or simple lack of imagination. For example, he dismisses the concept of a democratic

army based on conscription or regional and local militia forces (as in Switzerland) in favour of the continuation of professional standing forces assisted by extended territorial army type units. Such a dismissal, in the context of our currently scarred and fractious social environment, seems astute: only a radical change in the structure of our society could make democratisation a going concern. But then he doesn't actually bring the social base into the discussion, so we are none the wiser.

As for his assumption that neutrality should lead to "no drastic differences in our commercial or diplomatic relations" surely this is plain blinkered.

It seems to me ironic that the one clear thing which neutrality would force us to do, namely to reassess our relationship with other countries, most particularly the Third World, is something of which our author seems most fearful. We can almost hear him wringing his hands as he goes on: "The change cannot fail to have an effect on Britain's defence industry which is an important factor in the economy and one of its more successful sectors and in which any serious disturbance would be less than welcome."

How we get to this 'desired' goal is not something to which Peter Johnson considers he should address himself. He rather hazily suggests a referendum. The authors of the Alternative Defence Commission exercise "Without the Bomb" seem however in many respects more keenly aware of this conundrum and of its potential international ramifications. While going over much of the same ground as Peter Johnson they seem to me more implicitly sympathetic to the post-1980 intellectual arena carved out by EMD, and of the need to reassert European and extra-European autonomy against both superpowers. In terms of practical politics, neutrality for them is not a desired goal but a fall-back position only if a Britain which has "dropped the bomb", while remaining in NATO, has failed to convince its partners of the need to turn the whole alliance non-nuclear.

The ADC recognise, I think rightly, that Britain can have more leverage for change within the alliance than outside it, preferably as part of a radical European and Canadian wing pulling and pushing the US into a reorganisation of NATO defence policy which is not only more consensual but which actually and actively seeks to reduce the likelihood of superpower confrontation and war, not to increase it.

This was the exciting challenge which refusal to accept Cruise by the five European receiver nations would have meant, a challenge which would have heralded the most significant shift in the political and military relations between Western Europe and America and, as a spin-off, between the Eastern Europeans and the Soviet Union since the Second World War. Had it succeeded!

I suspect that many greens will find both books annoying in the degree to which they demote civil disobedience and resistance as significant defence policy. In fact the ADC book (through, I suspect, the good services of April Carter, Michael Randle, and researcher Howard Clark, who served on it and are all experienced old-time NVDA-ers) has a serious and informed section on it. But it is considered as part of a fall-back policy of resistance to occupation, not as defence policy enshrined.

Greens committed to NVDA and civil resistance should perhaps read these books as starting points from which to discuss and develop their own opinions, and with a view to bettering or overcoming (nonviolently!) the complexities of national defence policy and international relations!

Mark Levene

Letters

No resistance without nationalism

Dear GL,

Greens have to think and live dangerously and responsibly - or perish. I felt that all the more strongly when reading Andy Kaye's querulous and negatively defensive reply (GL 43) to my original article (GL 41). Anyone seeing that reply could hardly think that my proposal centred firmly on how Greens are to face the next General Election especially in connection with US bases in the UK. He avoided all that, and offered no alternative to the proposed pledge to be asked of all candidates on the lines used so successfully in New Zealand.

And his comment on the New Zealand situation was so incredible that I had to re-read it twice before I could believe my eyes! He said: "NZ's stance does indeed cause some inconvenience to the Americans (!!) - an inconvenience that will probably be sorted out at the next General Election." Unless I can't read, that means capitulation!

If "there is no good nationalism" then invaders anywhere are presumably not to be resisted, since there will be no resistance without nationalism.

Nationalism first surfaced in the 14th century, but was born as a mass sentiment in this country in response to the Spanish Armada of 1588. It was five years later that Shakespeare wrote the classic "This royal throne of kings" speech.

Of course the success of colonial nationalism does not solve the deeper problems of erstwhile colonies. Centuries of sickness are not to be cured in a day. All that is solved is the initial problem of autonomous government as the first, limited, precondition of political progress. The overall problem calls for the work of three to four generations.

Andy Kaye assures us that "the Westland/BL affair was a non-issue." We seem to have lived in different worlds. According to my memory the subject engrossed the media and public opinion for weeks and led to the departure of two key cabinet ministers. It led also to a major switch in public opinion over relations with the US. Was Libya a non-issue too? How about other non-issues like SDI, the abandonment of the SALT agreements, and the savage new attack of the US on the EEC to force US grain surpluses on Spain and Portugal? Presumably the US bases are the ultimate non-issue? Why else does Andy Kaye ignore them?

The fact is that we are now back in

another kind of colonial situation, to which some form of nationalism is a wholly healthy response. Almost the whole world is subject to the "global management" of the US and the USSR. Is there a free corner anywhere? Part of the green message, therefore, is a campaign for authentic self-determination everywhere. Britain has been subject to death by a thousand usurpations since 1945 - no less effective by virtue of piecemeal stealth. Only in the last few months has public opinion begun to wake up to it.

As I see it our future belongs to that of a demilitarised, decentralised Europe (including the Soviet Union) in a great confederation of sovereign city-regions. Within that context there will be another confederal layer made up of what used to be the old nation-states, so we can start working now for a Confederation of the British Isles. But there can be no significant move in either of these two directions so long as our thinking remains hypnotised by the superpower paradigm. Therefore break free!

I think incidentally that this discussion is not unrelated to the deeper issue of "fundis" and "realos" spelt out in its British context by Jon Carpenter's "Maingreens for the Mainstream" in the last issue. Surely we need two Green parties: one parliamentary, centralist and formal - the other extra-parliamentary, decentralist and informal. With separate organisations we can put secret conferences, secret memoranda, factions and internecine relationships behind us, and the two wings can then act together or separately as they please.

I don't think people realise that, historically speaking, splitting is a sign of health, vitality and growth. Original puritanism was bred of it, as was early socialism, and the Trots have thriven on it since the mid-50s. It is time that Greens here and in Germany gave up the hopeless pursuit of a unity that would be deadly anyway.

"L'audace, l'audace et encore l'audace."

Peter Cadogan
3 Hinchinbrook House
Greville Road, London NW6.

Party hi-jack

Dear GL,

I am truly shocked at what Jon Carpenter reveals about the Green Party.

As a Green Party member I feel outraged that people like Paul Ekins and Jonathan Tyler should in effect try to set up a group of "pragmatists" to hi-jack the party. To suggest that "a small number of anarchists / anti-centrists ... exercise undue influence at Conference" is wide of the mark to say the least. I scent an attempt to do a "Militant" in the Green Party by those who claim to be more "representative" of the "moderate majority". Where have we heard this before?

I consider myself to be a pragmatist too, and I work too for the party's electoral success, since I don't believe

sudden revolution is viable. But how far must one go to achieve one's aim? It's the old argument of compromise vs. principle. We do have to compromise in all our daily lives, but we have to be very careful we don't at the same time betray the fundamentals of our beliefs. Sometimes it's not easy to decide, or an easy choice to make. But for me, to attempt to set up an organisation which sounds highly centrist does seem to be betraying the very fundamental principle that you can't be green without being committed to a decentralist approach to life - and you have to begin with your own organisations.

Geoff Collard
Grizedale College, Lancaster University.



Eventual confederation

Dear GL,

The present internal controversy within the Green Party is I feel not so much a split between the "realos" and the "fundis" as in West Germany, but a simple case of those who believe the party should be largely controlled from the centre, and those who believe in an eventual confederation of UK green parties.

The leading proponents of Maingreen were described to me recently as parents who cannot accept that their children have finally grown up and are now ready to lead their own lives. Certainly in 1981/2 when the SDP came onto the scene the party was in genuine need of guidance and support from the centre; and I think that the Spode I conference (organised by Jonathan Tyler) stopped the party from collapsing and ensured a well-planned General Election campaign. However, things have radically changed since then, and I feel that if Jonathan and Paul went out into the Areas amongst the grassroots activists they would see this.

Anyway, it doesn't really matter what the centralists in the party say or do, the Confederation of UK Green Parties is

slowly beginning to take shape. The Green Party in Scotland already exists in its own right, Wales are not far behind, and the Area where I live - the North-West - has made it quite clear that when it feels strong enough, probably in a few years time, it will become the North West Green Party. The role of Party Council must be to accept and facilitate this inevitable organic gradual change within the party.

What has bedevilled the party more than anything else over the years has been the very serious shortage of funds. Any ill feeling that from time to time breaks out within the party can almost certainly be put down to frustration - frustration at not being able to fund properly the projects and campaigns needed to get green politics well and truly off the ground. If certain people within the party were to put their efforts and talents into getting new members and benefactors rather than spending their time worrying about the constitutional fluff in their navels, we might begin to make the sort of progress that these "maingreens" are so anxious to see.

Justin Walker
(N.W. Area Rep. to Green Party Council)
8 Weld Road, Birkdale, Southport PR8 2AZ

Pagans and sacrifice

Dear GL,

I was somewhat disturbed by Tina Pye's apparent defence of the ancient Pagan practices of human and animal sacrifice (GL 42). In attempting to justify it she uses exactly the same arguments as those used by modern animal exploiters: the "sacrifice" of the few for the good of the many, the idea that the victims go willingly, that they are treated with respect, that they have a good life before they die. She also uses their common ploy of pointing the finger at others to divert attention away from the main point in question. Surely there should be no question that ancient Pagan sacrificial rites be condemned just as much as modern "sacrifices" to "false gods" whether it be ritual slaughter or victims of the nuclear industry. The numbers are of course far greater today, but surely that was of no consequence from the point of view of each individual Pagan victim. The principle is the same.

When Tina says, "Today's Pagan still sacrifices but in a very different way," although drawing a distinction between modern and ancient Pagan "sacrifice", the very use of the word sacrifice again hints at something analogous rather than completely divorced. Why not simply condemn the ancient practice outright?

"A return to Pagan values would eradicate the need for ecology." It is not clear how Tina defines the word ecology, but she seems to imply that Pagan values are preferable to ecological values for the achievement of a better world. She does not explain why.

Don Jenkins
Gorphwysa, High Street, Penmachno,
Gwynedd, LL24 0UL

** Tina Pye replies:

I am sorry that Don was disturbed by my article. It was certainly not my intention to "justify" animal (or human) sacrifice. As a committed animal activist for many years and organiser of Pagan Animal Rights (national) and Wirral Animal Rights (local) I find all forms of animal exploitation past and present abhorrent.

What I sought to do in the article was to inform people on present-day Paganism, to draw attention to the fact that things had indeed changed with regard to attitudes to animals and also to point out the hypocrisy of condemning ancient peoples for their practices, however cruel, when our present generation commit deeds far worse in both quantity and quality. There is still a lot of misunderstanding with regard to the Pagan religion which I endeavoured to clear a little: judging by the overwhelmingly favourable response I received I succeeded in a small way.

I make no apology for using the word sacrifice in a modern-day context - if more people were willing to sacrifice their time, money and effort, the Green movement would be stronger and Gaia healthier. With regard to Don's last comment, I don't regard Pagan values as preferable to ecological values, merely the same. Ecology to me means basically living in balance and harmony with nature, and most present-day Pagans attempt to do the same.

Money supply

Dear GL,

How Fred Brown (Letters, GL 42) concludes that I think "this system will ever be changed without taking the power to change it," I do not know. That certainly was not implied in my letter, and Fred knows I am active in the Green Party.

Though the Labour Party may have a greater chance of being (re-)elected to power in the near future, its policies are far from "green", and far more than cosmetic changes would be needed to make them truly so. I see no prospect of this happening.

I reject Marxism not just for its authoritarianism - manifest in the actions of its supporters throughout history, however its theory may be interpreted - but for its failure to identify the principal cause of our problems. The "ownership of the means of production" is of minor importance. Of prime importance is the "ownership" of the money supply: the treating of money as a commodity, to be bought, sold or loaned for profit, and especially the banks' monopoly-power of its creation, and control over its lending and quantity. Marx was ignorant of this power of the banks, which was not admitted by the Establishment until C H Douglas challenged it with his Social Credit movement in the 1920s (see Charles Tacey's letter, also GL42).

Brian Leslie
12 Queens Road, Tunbridge Wells, Kent

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Colin Ward, Old Hammond Press, £1

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

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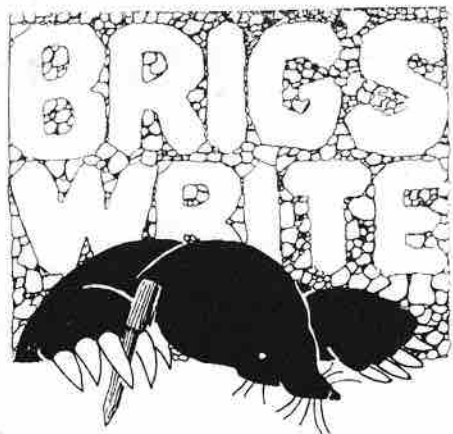
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ISN'T IT about time we decommissioned the word "hippy"? For many years I have been, quite unashamedly, first a hippy and more latterly (with the sad but inevitable passage of time) an aging hippy. Being in my mid-30s I can still remember the magical flower-power summer of '67, and the heady ideals of an "alternative" society based on peace and love, sharing and cooperation. To me the true meaning of the term "hippy" is to be found in those '60s ideals. (I can also remember most of the words of most of the Beatles' singles, and all of the names of the 1966 England World Cup team.)

Unfortunately, "hippy" has since acquired a whole wealth of new meaning. It has become a key word to summon up prejudice and emotions of fear and loathing, and its original meaning has been lost. The San Francisco hippies could see this happening way back in 1967. In Haight Ashbury they held a mock funeral for "Hippy", whose good name had been murdered by the media. Now, almost 20 years later, it is surely time to give the word a decent and final burial.

Mediaeval brigands

So who are these "hippies" who have been marauding like mediaeval brigands around our fair countryside? Most are under 25 and have no more memory of Nobby Styles or the Kinks than I have of Tom Finney or Victor Silvester. They are today's young people - the disillusioned, the dispossessed, the unemployed and the homeless - trying desperately to find at least a tolerably enjoyable present in a world which seems to be rapidly running out of future. But for Mrs Thatcher (who knows so well how to quarry a rich vein of prejudice in her supporters) they are as good as Arthur Scargill, Colonel Gaddafi and the Argies all rolled into one!

Two years ago, when we presented the Green Party's evidence to the Sizewell Inquiry, our Canadian Indian witness John Graham spoke of the "name-calling process" which had been used to justify every form of repression of native Americans. If people are "Indians", "heathens" or "savages" they can be regarded (and treated) as less than human beings. The current anti-hippy hysteria is another example of the same process.

The TV pictures of massed ranks of Hampshire police herding (or Hurding?) bedraggled and footsore "hippy convoy anarchist invaders" out of their county

Decommission "hippies"

were uncomfortably reminiscent of the road to the concentration camps. The police action was perhaps inevitable once Maggie had nailed her colours to the mast, but it certainly went (once again) way beyond legitimate law enforcement.

Apart from one bus and a small van - both loaded full of young children - the police impounded every single vehicle at Stoney Cross. As well as breaking up the convoy, this confiscation of people's homes was meant to justify police propaganda about illegal and unroadworthy vehicles: in fact, many had nothing more illegal about them than a perished wiper blade or a broken indicator bulb, the kind of marginal illegality of which almost all drivers are guilty some if not all of the time. And at least one impounded vehicle had no greater fault than one cracked indicator lens!

Forgive us our trespasses

The one thing that is increasingly obvious is that (short of the adoption of Hitler's "final solution") people cannot simply disappear from the face of the earth. Everyone must be somewhere, and people who have no legal place to be must therefore be somewhere illegally.

We do not need a new criminal trespass law. Like most laws, the law on trespass is designed to protect the property of the rich, and it does so pretty effectively.

The law which IS in desperate need of enforcement (and amendment) is the 1968 Caravan Sites Act, under which local authorities are supposed to provide sites for travellers. This Act divides the country into "designated" and "non-designated" areas. A designated area is one in which the local authorities have made a token provision for travellers' sites. Such authorities have power to evict any traveller from any piece of land (public or private) in their area by order of a local magistrate. Many official travellers' sites are grossly overcrowded, with four or more times as many families as they were intended for. Those families not "lucky" enough to rent a few square yards of council concrete face a continual round of eviction after eviction.

It is notable that Mrs Thatcher's and Mr Hurd's insistence that "hippies" do not qualify as gypsies is clearly contrary to the Home Office guidelines on the Act. Councils in "designated areas" have made full use of their eviction powers against "hippies" and traditional travellers alike.

Although Local Authorities have had an obligation to provide sites since 1968,

most have still not done so. (It is a duty of County Councils to provide sites, and of District Councils to manage them.) Progress in providing sites has been so slow that there will probably not be enough sites in 2000 for the number of travellers there were in 1970! Meanwhile the number of travellers is increasing all the time, as the recession and government policies squeeze more people out onto the road.

Brig Oubridge

Stonehenge souvenir



UNIQUE PUBLICATIONS have just published a pamphlet to commemorate the "Battle of the Bean Field" on June 1st last year.

It was fitting that I read this book on the day the convoy was yet again "de-commissioned" by the forces of law and order. Having been evicted from Stoney Cross in the New Forest, their homes and possessions impounded, it was with sadness rather than surprise that I watched them walking to Glastonbury in the rain.

The words in this book are those of people living in the convoy. These are their personal accounts of last summer, their thoughts and feelings. Despite the violence and humiliations they were subjected to, their values and their spirits were enhanced rather than suppressed. Their words speak only of peace, re-affirming my hopes.

Vehicles and festivals can be "de-commissioned" but not peoples' spirits. Go for it!

Julian

"Stonehenge Souvenir" is available for £1 post free from Unique Publications, P O Box 23, Glastonbury, Somerset.

