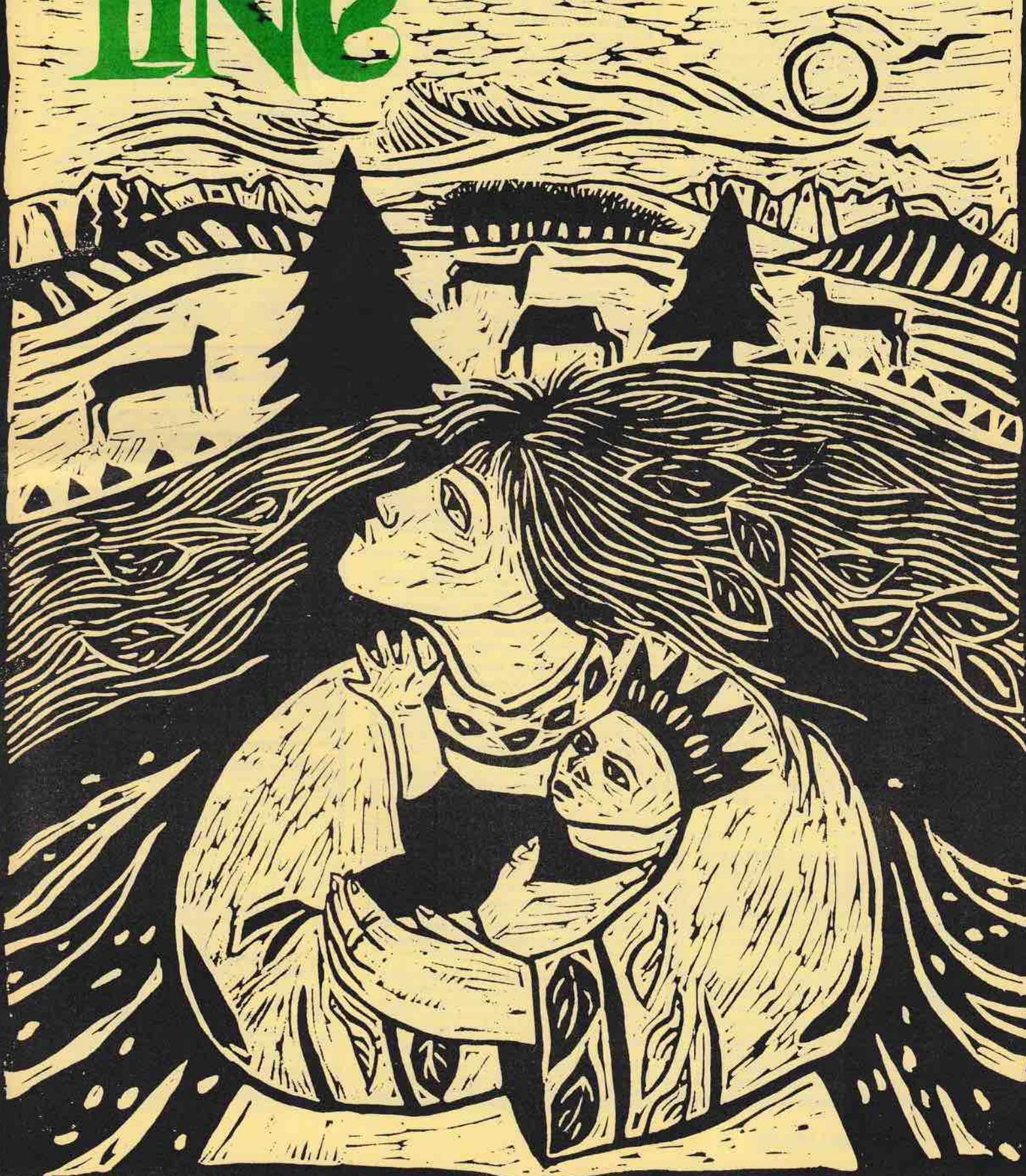


GREEN LINE

WOMEN AND
THE EARTH
PETRA KELLY'S
ANTI-POLITICS
IS LABOUR GREEN?

No 48 / NEW YEAR 1986/7 / 50p



GREEN LINE

Green Line, 34 Cowley Road, Oxford

(0865 245301)

Monthly magazine of
Green politics and lifestyle

GREEN LINE is published ten times a year, and is produced by a collective based in Oxford.

This issue appeared with the help of Sally Billings, Jackie Morris (cover picture), Leigh Shaw-Taylor, Barry Maycock, Graham Hooper, Ann Davison, Carol Guberman, Wayne Adams, and Andy Kaye. It was edited by Jon Carpenter.

SUBSCRIPTIONS

Until Christmas, use the form on page 6 and give yourself an annual subscription for only £5. Otherwise our usual rates apply: normal rate £6, low/unwaged £5, voluntary hi-waged "supporter subscription" £10. Overseas readers please add £1.50 to all these rates (surface mail), or enquire for air mail rates to your area.

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Green Line reaches an audience of several thousand people very much like yourself. Display advertising is only £45 a page, smaller sizes pro rata (£5 for one third of a column on this page, for example). Send camera-ready copy by the 10th of the month prior to publication, or enquire for our typesetting and layout charges.

DEADLINES

We try to be flexible, but it isn't always possible. Some people send us material by 2nd class post to arrive on the 30th of the month, and expect us to include it in the issue due to be in your hands a day or two later! The next issue is due out on February 1: we need all news, letters etc by January 14.

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LIGHTNING FLASH, magazine of Qabalah, Magic and Occultism from a green perspective. No 8, 32 pages, £1.20 from BCM Lightning Flash, London WC1N 3XX.

"BOYCOTT POSTCODES - They Promote Unemployment." Stickers £4 per 100 from The Fourth World, 24 Abercorn Place, London NW8.

THE CENTRE FOR ALTERNATIVE TECHNOLOGY needs an information officer to develop and run our information service, and help with CAT administration. Background in environmental issues, ability to write accurately and coherently, typing, knowledge of computer systems would all be helpful. Low wages, hard work, convivial colleagues. SAE for details to CAT, Machynlleth, Powys by December 30.

Small Ads

5p/word

"GROWING OUR OWN". How to produce healthy food from small gardens or allotments, free of exploitation of animals, people or soil. Movement for Compassionate Living, 47 Highlands Road, Leatherhead, Surrey.

LOWER SHAW FARM WEEKEND EVENTS 1987

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May 1-4 Women's Weekend
For details of these and other events, send sae (please) to Lower Shaw Farm, Shaw, ne Swindon, Wilts (Tel 0793 771080).

BADGES: "CIA - Campaign for Independence from America!" 25p each plus sae; 10+ 18p each; 30+ 16p each. Also stickers, 12 for 50p plus sae. All proceeds to April Libya Demo at Upper Heyford. Contact "April Event", 34 Cowley Road, Oxford OX4 1HZ. Donations and support also needed.

NATIVE TREES AND SHRUBS; wildflower seeds; herbs; biological pest control; organic fertilisers; recycled paper. For catalogue send sae to: Danny and Lindy, Limit's Field (GL), Prospect House, Long Preston, nr Skipton, N Yorks. BD23 4QH.



News from Green Line

THANKS for all the feedback to our new design. The type size throughout has been increased in response to criticism of the small print in some parts of the magazine: otherwise you seem to like what we're doing. More comments welcome.

We are very pleased to have had an offer from Jackie Morris (whose work appears in New Statesman, New Internationalist, the Listener and Radio Times, to mention but a few!) to do occasional artwork for us. This month's cover is hers, together with several illustrated headings inside. Apologies to Andy to understating his future involvement with GL last issue: he's still in the editorial group, and will be doing illustrations still!

More helpers are still needed, particularly in the following fields:
* word processing: if you have an Apricot xi computer, or live within easy reach of Oxford and can spend some time (day or evening) typing/word processing for us, please get in touch. This is urgent.

* paste-up and/or design: we need people with some experience, whose work would be consistent with our house style. You don't have to live in or near Oxford: you can work by post. We pay for all materials and postage.

* promotional work: a lot could be done by way of getting new subscriptions, shop outlets, etc. by someone happy to work from home for a few hours a month.
* in the editorial group, we welcome people interested in sharing some of the editorial responsibilities. In general this means coming to our monthly meetings, but some work can be done wherever you live.

* distribution: we spend a couple of days at the end of each month folding, collating, stapling and packing. Many hands do make light work of this, and anyone willing to come along for a little while will be very welcome indeed.

IF YOU CAN HELP in any of these ways, please ring us (daytime 0865 245301 or 726229; evenings 0865 726229). All of us work voluntarily, but expenses are paid.

Stop press

THE GLASTONBURY FESTIVAL is on next year after all. Plans are already being laid for the Green Field. If you build, sing, dance, cook, farm, facilitate, coordinate, act, paint, run a stall, live in a truck, bus or bender, work in a co-op, or are just dreaming of a peaceful solstice at the stones - then Kim McGavin (Green Field co-ordinator again for 1987) would like to hear from you at Hillview, Swimbridge, North Devon EX32 0QU (0271 830332).

This means a promise of TWO big green outdoor events next year, as plans for the Green Gathering are still going ahead. No site confirmed yet, but the next planning meeting is in Glastonbury Assembly Rooms on December 13/14: info from P O Box 23, Glastonbury, Somerset.

Huddersfield Green Party has just been formed, and meets every fortnight at the Blue Rooms. Over 40 people attended the launch meeting. Info: Terry Barnes, 10 High Royd, Mold Green, Huddersfield; or phone Nick Harvey on Huddersfield 661650.

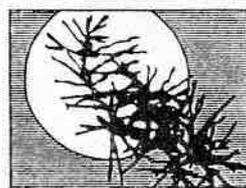
Next issue

We always skip January, so our next issue is due on February 1.

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CHRISTMAS IS here again - and that's bad news for one hell of a lot of animals. So in this issue we've decided to focus on a number of animal rights protesters who have ended up in prison. Green Line will be remembering them, and you may like to as well. Below we tell you how.

Christmas - time to remember the animals

The 22 people listed below were sentenced on 27/6/86 after being convicted of conspiring to burgle Unilever laboratories in August 1984. Boris Barker and Nancy Phipps have been released.

Paul (Moi) Watkins L64779 (2½ years), Peter Anderson L64805 (2 years), H.M.Y.C.C. Lowdham Grange, Lowdham, Notts, NG14 7DA

Duncan Thorpe N41997 (2 years), David (Duggs) Carre L64807 (2 years), H.M. Prison, Ashwell, Oakham, Leics, LE15 7LF

Nick Sweet N42186 (2 years), Gari Allen E74947 (18 months),

Keith Griffin E74948 (2 years), Alan Cooper E74960 (2 years), H.M. Prison, 54 Gaol Rd, Stafford, ST16 3AW. Tel (0785) 54421.

Karl Garside L65137 (18 months), Eric Marshall L64806 (18 months), H.M.Y.C.C. Hewell Grange, Redditch, Worcs, B97 6QQ.

Mike McKrell E74949 (18 months), H.M.Prison, Renby, Retford, Notts, BN22 8EU.

Nigel Crouch N42187 (2 years), H.M.Y.C.C., Onley, Willoughby, Rugby, Warwicks, CV23 8AP.

Jim Snook N41998 (2 years), H.M.Prison, Greetwell Rd, Lincoln, LN2 4BD.

Alistair Fairweather L64804 (18 months), H.M.Prison, Leyhill, Wooton-under-Edge, Gloucester, GL12 8HL.

Julian Webster E74950 (12 months), H.M.Prison, Stocken Hall, Stocken Hall Rd, Stretton, Nr Oakham, Leics.

Delia Lowick D28008 (2 years), Virginia Scholey D27317 (18 months), H.M. Prison, Drake Hall, Eccleshall, Stafford, ST21 6LQ.

Sally Levitt D27314 (2 years), Debbie Smith D28007 (2 years), H.M. Prison, Bullwood Hall, High Road, Hockley, Essex SS5 4TE.

Beverley Cowley D27316 (2 years), H.M. Prison, Cookham Wood, Rochester, Kent ME17 3DF.

Sally Miller D22865 (12 months), H.M. Prison, Styal, Wilmslow, Cheshire SK9 4HR.

Carl Egan E74945 (2 years), H.M. Prison, Welford Road, Leicester LE2 7AJ

The two following were sentenced to two years imprisonment after being convicted of an attempt to dig up the Duke of Beaufort's grave:

John Curtin F17288, H M Prison Dartmoor, Princetown, Yelverton, Devon, PL20 6RR

Terry Helsby P85326, H.M.Prison, Romsey Road, Winchester, Hants S022 5DF.

Steven Rowe P85714 is in Winchester Prison (address above) sentenced to 9 months imprisonment for causing £8,000 damage to the Admiralty Research Centre, Portsmouth, and for rescuing animals from Portsmouth Poly and Haven College.



The following four people are on remand, charged with conspiring to cause damage in Sheffield and London, in relation to the incendiary devices planted in department stores with fur departments. Some of them are also charged with conspiring to steal the Ecclesfield beagles.

Ronnie Lee V02682, Kevin Baldwin T02959, Gary Cartwright T02960, Ian Oxley T02961, H.M.Prison, Armley, Leeds, West Yorks, LS12 2TJ.

Serving a four year sentence for an arson attack on vehicles at Cottage Patch Kennels, Fareham, Hants. (The kennels supply dogs for vivisection.)

Iain Mc Cann J92353, B(2) Wing, H.M.P The Verne, Portland, Dorset, DT5 1EQ.

Sentenced on 4/12/85 after being convicted of conspiring to burgle Wickham Research Laboratories and associated premises (Gordon Bryant & John Quirke have been released):

Mike Nunn J92297 (3 years) H.M.Prison, Cornhill, Shepton Mallett, Somerset BA4 5LU

Sentenced in September 1986 to 18 months imprisonment for the raid on the Royal College of Surgeons in August 1984:

Mike Huskisson P69140, H.M. Prison, Griston, nr Stretford, Weyland, Norfolk.

[This information was supplied by SARP (Support Animal Rights Prisoners), who may be contacted at BCM Box 5911, London WC1N 3XX - phone 01-888 2482. SARP works for the welfare of animal rights prisoners, and welcomes contributions to its work.]

SEND GREEN LINE TO PRISON!

Why not remember some of these prisoners this Christmas? You can write letters or send cards (where there is more than one prisoner at a particular prison, write separately), but remember that ALL correspondence is opened and censored. Don't expect a reply: prisoners can only write so many letters a week.

We have sent a copy of this issue of GL to all these prisoners. We can't afford to keep this up throughout the year, but if you'd like to sponsor a subscription to a prisoner, we'll help by reducing the charge to £4. You can either sponsor one of the animal rights prisoners listed above; OR you can nominate a prisoner of your choice.

Prison subscriptions

I'd like to give a subscription to ___ prisoner(s), starting with the next issue. [Please give names and prison numbers / addresses on a separate piece of paper: if you do not supply your own name(s), then we shall send subscriptions to one or more of the animal rights prisoners listed above.]

I enclose £___ (being £4 per subscription).

Name:

Address:

[We will write and tell you who your sub(s) will be sent to.]



MARITA HAIBACH is die Grunen's Minister for Women's Affairs in the West German state parliament of Hesse, where the Greens are in a coalition with the SPD. SARA PARKIN met Marita last April.



MINISTER FOR WOMEN'S AFFAIRS

MEETING MARITA is in itself a pleasure. The strain of the challenge she has undertaken and the endless interviews she has given have not dimmed one bit her obvious natural warmth and enthusiasm. The eldest of five girls and one boy, and born into a working class family, she experienced the usual difficulties. Under parental pressure, she left school at 15 and worked in an office, only leaving home at 18 to go to university and start what she describes as her education and personal development. The family contact and influence continued however, and she embarked on a marriage that ended after 6 years and the birth of one son.

But at last this new position means that my parents and my sisters are giving me some approval, but it took a long time and was hard for me. But my family is representative of a major part of society, and it's true that if I had been a boy, I would have had their acknowledgement and approval much earlier. It is particularly hard for women to be surrounded by prejudices such as these, and you have to be very strong to survive them.

It was divorce and the consequent re-examination of what she really wanted that coincided with her work (in a pressure group trying to get housing for battered wives) and a strong local campaign by die Grunen (against the new runway at Frankfurt Airport) and brought her to Green politics.

I found that the predominantly male politicians were not aware of the problems, and it was this that made me

decide to take political action myself rather than waste time having to convince them that there was a problem first.

She joined die Grunen in 1982 and quickly became involved in the development of their Women's Programme; she was soon elected to their list, and thus to the Hesse state parliament. She admits to being more enthusiastic than realistic when she entered parliament, but she and Women's Affairs were to play a major role in the negotiations that led to the eventual 'toleration' agreement with the SPD and the resulting coalition.

She sees the 'experiment' in power sharing in Hesse as a vital step for Greens everywhere. All the programmes tend to be too general; so, although they did have demands about how they wanted society to be in future,

nobody had thought or written about how to put this into reality. It is very easy to say that men and women should share housework and that there should no longer be violence against women, but what can you do in a state parliament to achieve this?

As Marita is fond of pointing out, it is easy for Joschka Fischer as Minister of the Environment to put filters into chimneys to make the air cleaner, but she cannot put filters into men to make them less violent.

She acknowledges that her battles tend to produce small victories and often need to be repeated. Abortion is a case in point. It was an argument that she thought had been won some time ago, but here it is raising its head again. But the all-party women's committee that she was allowed to set up as a one-year experiment has been kept on by popular demand. Women from other parties can get equally fed up with the domination of their male colleagues. And when she obtained 2m deutschemarks for a project to provide retraining for women returning to work after bringing up a family, she sees her analysis of how the money was spent illustrating some of the best ways to work from the perceived problem to the desired solution. Information that will be useful in other German states as well as further afield.

Her handling of the job and its obvious strains is due, Marita insists, to the support she receives from other women: those immediately around her in her office who care about her personally and not just about her work, and those women in the state Women's Group who give her the encouragement, support and criticism that everyone needs to thrive. She admits that she demands much of herself and of those who work with her:

I think women feel responsible for relationships in society just as they do in politics. They do not try to set priorities but try to take care of many things at once. I feel that I should try to set myself priorities, but if you have a woman with big problems, how do you tell her that she is not your priority right now? I am unable to do this.

On self-confidence, Marita is certain that this is simply a question of practice, and both men and women can best help themselves by doing things like public speaking over and over again. This way they can learn to function reasonably well even when nervous, especially if they have friends in the audience who will provide the moral support and, afterwards, the constructive criticism.



GREEN VOTE UP IN HAMBURG

ELECTIONS WERE held on November 8 for the state parliament of Hamburg, one of the 11 partially self-governing states which comprise the Federal Republic of Germany. The results showed a tendency towards political polarisation with substantial gains for both the CDU (Right) and the GAL (Greens) at the expense of the Social Democrats (SPD) who, for the first time in 30 years, lost control of the Hamburg parliament. The Green vote increased from 6.8% (1982) to 10.4%, giving them 13 seats. The CDU have 54 seats and the SPD 53. As the right-wing Liberals (FDP) failed to reach the 5% threshold, the 13 Greens - all of them women - now hold the balance of power in Hamburg.

The local SDP leader Klaus von Dohnanyi refuses to consider coalition with the Greens, though most Green voters are said to favour this solution. The possibility exists of a 'grand coalition' between the two major parties, with the Greens forming the official opposition, and it took intervention from the SDP national leadership to prevail upon the local SDP not to enter a coalition with the CDU at present (on the grounds that this would hinder their campaign against the CDU in the forthcoming federal elections on January 25.)

The possibility remains that new elections will be called in the new year to resolve the deadlock, as happened in 1982 when a second election was called to give the SDP its overall majority.

These results in Hamburg, coupled with recent SDP losses in Bavaria and a national opinion poll published on November 18 showing Chancellor Kohl's conservative CDU/CSU grouping ahead of the SPD by 50% to 35%, seem to indicate little prospect of an SDP victory in January. On the other hand one can anticipate an increase in the Green vote over the 8.2% of four years ago, and the Greens are hoping to hold the balance of power - though this is less likely if the FDP (coalition partners with the CDU/CSU in the Bonn parliament) retain the 5% of the vote required for representation.

Since last spring a split has developed in the Hamburg Greens between those who are opposed to any cooperation with the SDP and those who are prepared to 'tolerate' an SDP administration under certain conditions, including the immediate abandonment of nuclear power. The party has however managed to distract the attention of voters and the media from this split. Their campaign emphasised the nuclear power issue (Hamburg has its own electricity authority which has invested in several nuclear power stations both under construction and operational in the vicinity of the city) and the refugee question. The decision to field a list of candidates composed entirely of women was taken as the most direct means available of redressing the imbalance of representation of the sexes in political office. The results showed that the decision was certainly not an electoral disadvantage - in fact, quite the opposite. The party now intends to operate a system of rotating representation, with a new group of 13 women replacing the first at the mid-point of the 4-year term.

The Green vote exceeded 20% in certain inner city areas with a high student and graduate population, and was lowest in some strongly working class areas. In only one of the 98 electoral wards in the city was the Green vote below the 5% threshold. There would still seem to be scope for the Greens to campaign more effectively at both state and federal levels for working class votes, emphasising social issues such as women's rights as well as such environmental issues as chemical hazards and river pollution.

REPORT BY HUGH ROPER AND HELGA SCHWALM.



CND TO EXAMINE FOREIGN POLICY IMPLICATIONS

JON CARPENTER writes:

MUCH OF the tone of this year's CND Annual Conference was set by Meg Beresford, CND's General Secretary, who described the organisation in her opening address as being "in the throes of the run-up to the General Election." CND's task was to convince the public that "change is both safe and desirable." And in response to public demand the big demo is back: apparently Coughport didn't count, only London is for real, and we'll all be back in Hyde Park for a Chernobyl (approximate) anniversary rally on April 25.

The election was certainly uppermost in the minds of many floor speakers: though these often forceful and generally male characters don't necessarily represent what most people think, a great many of them took the view that CND was basically out to secure the return of a Labour government with a unilateral pledge still intact.

The campaigning guts was taken out of a motion opposing nuclear power; a proposal that CND "initiate an urgent, major campaign" was watered down to "support a campaign" - and as we discovered later in another context, CND "support" can mean no more than a cheque. But unanimous support went to an excellent, union-backed motion calling for an arms conversion programme and the redirection of military R&D cash into beneficial research - though the motion didn't ask CND to do anything very specific.

The highlight of Saturday's business, however, was the passing of a motion on non-nuclear defence and foreign policy. Political parties, it was argued, are not exploring the foreign policy implications of disarmament, so CND must initiate research. As one speaker put it, CND should stop just saying "No" to the bomb and letting Labour get away with a very right-wing foreign policy. This clearly alarmed some delegates who wanted CND to remain a "single-issue, campaigning organisation": creating a foreign policy would, they said, involve CND in making "some fundamental political assumptions," and it was clear that many speakers were alarmed that such assumptions might run counter to their own brand of left orthodoxy.

And well they might. As it turned out most delegates rejected the notion that you can campaign for peace in this kind of political and ideological vacuum: conference passed an amendment recognising "the imperative need to campaign for a non-nuclear, peaceful, autonomous foreign policy" and passed overwhelmingly the motion calling on CND to initiate studies of the means of achieving, and the consequences of, nuclear disarmament and a non-nuclear foreign policy.

Conference also called on National Council to give a higher profile to campaigning for withdrawal from NATO; to take a tougher stance on Star Wars; and to incorporate the positive aspects of the recent Soviet disarmament proposals in its campaigning. Post-Reykjavik, conference voted for a "priority campaign" to persuade the UK government to declare a moratorium on nuclear weapons testing and to withdraw from the Memorandum of Understanding.

It was on the subject of Molesworth - and what action CND should take in the light of the rapes there - that conference fell apart. Clearly an opera house seating 1500 people was not the place for a sensitive discussion, and whatever happened people would be hurt. An emergency motion in three parts was the means whereby the issue was put to conference. The second and third parts, calling for "positive action for dealing with male violence within the peace movement" and for support for further actions (mixed or women-only) at Molesworth, were almost entirely uncontentious. The first part of the motion called upon CND to "withdraw any support from those who wish to camp at Molesworth at the present time, and to make a public statement to that effect." It was agreed to take the three parts separately, a move which greatly angered the supporters of the motion who presumably thought people would in the end go along with the controversial bit rather than vote against the whole motion. The argument for clause 1 was based on the need to achieve maximum publicity for the rapes so as to ensure that they could not happen again, and on the principle that it is totally unacceptable for a "peace" camp to exist where a woman has been raped, even though the men concerned have left. Other women (only women were allowed to speak in the debate on this motion) argued that CND should support the women who are presently camping at Molesworth, and that they should not be "isolated" by such a move. Women who told conference they had been raped themselves came down on both sides in the debate. Eventually many fundamental issues were put and skated over, conference voted overwhelmingly for clauses 2 and 3 and almost as overwhelmingly against clause 1, and that part of the session concluded in screams, tears and unhappiness.

Yet overall, people seemed to feel that the conference had been in better spirit than previous ones. Certainly members wanted to come again: National Council tried to amend the constitution to make conferences happen only every two years, but literally no one raised a hand in support of what was seen as an attempt to restrict the running of CND even more to staff and council members! Blackpool proved a less partisan environment than Sheffield (though it seems that Sheffield will be the venue again next year) because the 'hard left' was not represented locally; debate generally was more about peace matters and less about general politics than usual, with less aggro in the air.

From the point of view of organisation, the conference left a lot to be desired. All credit to CND for opting for a format which provided generously for workshops - though in a moment of cynicism I did wonder if this was an attempt to restrict

floor debate and make members' voices less well heard within the movement? Given the National Council's attempt to reduce conferences to alternate years, and the failure to integrate the workshops into the pattern of debate (workshops were on separate issues from the debates; there was no 'reporting back' from workshops to the floor of conference; and there was no provision for members to arrange their own workshops and discussions despite lengthy gaps in the arranged programme, notably on Saturday evening) I might be excused for at least asking the question.

Green influence may have been apparent in the vote on foreign policy, and elsewhere too, but green presence was virtually invisible. Green CND was represented by a tiny handful of people (though Linda Churnside triumphed electorally by being elected to the post of treasurer). I didn't hear a single speaker identify themselves as coming from a Green Party branch. CND at the grassroots may be taking a position more in keeping with an overall green point of view, but on the showing of this conference it would be difficult to give the greens themselves any credit for it, or to identify a role they play within the movement. But CND itself is very much alive, and hard at work.



PEACE DIARY

December

Mon 1: Prisoners for Peace Around the World - see "Movement News" this issue.

Mon 8: Talking Sanity: 'Nuclear Defence Policies: strategies for the general election'. Jim Wallace MP, Mary Kaldor, Marjorie Thompson (chair); details from Colin James, CND, 22-24 Underwood Street, London N1.

Sun 14: Interfaith Service on Human Rights Sunday. Mill Hill Chapel, City Square, Leeds at 3 pm.

Wed 31: Torchlight procession to York Minster, 5.30 pm. Info: York 59617.

Wed 31/Thur Jan 1: 'A New Year's Resolution Action'. Actions speak louder than words. Demonstrations, vigils, marches, NVDA etc at USAF Upper Heyford near Oxford. Organised by Upper Heyford peace camp as a first step towards other NVDA events, particularly the demonstration planned for Sat April 11 next. The latter event marks the anniversary of the US bombing of Libya, and will take the form of a march through Oxford and a rally in the city centre. Details from Upper Heyford Peace Camp, Portway, Camp Road, Upper Heyford, Oxon.

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LIVING GREEN

FIRST WHALES, NOW CACTI...

IT WAS good news for whales and conservationists when the jojoba plant was discovered, as its oil can replace sperm whale oil in cosmetics and elsewhere. However, the picture is not entirely rosy. According to the newsletter of the "Endangered Species - Tropical Rainforest Campaign" organised by North Herts FoE, jojoba plants are being grown on cactus sites in Arizona. This is likely to be at the expense of the cacti, and cactus sites in the US have as much biological value as SSSIs in the UK. There are plenty of cactus-less, cycad-less deserts etc. worldwide (including in the US) which could be

cultivated, so there is no good reason for using valuable desert sites. Come to think of it, there must be better things than cosmetic ingredients that could be grown on cactus-free deserts. Trees?

ENDANGERED SPECIES

The North Herts FoE campaign has been going on since the early 80s. They have been calling for pressure to be brought to bear on companies and shops involved in the exploitation of endangered species for furs, skins, turtle soup, frogs' legs, etc., and those with stakes in tropical rainforest destruction - by boycotting the firms concerned, and writing letters to managers and directors. A newsletter gives lists of guilty companies, which includes such high-standing names as Selfridges, Harrods, McDonalds, Volkswagen and Unilever.

The group also points out that those endangered and exploited species to be avoided when shopping include invertebrates (butterflies, corals, sponges, etc.) and many garden plant species, threatened in the wild due to commercial exploitation.

Subscription to the campaign is only 2 per year. Interested readers may wish to contact N.H.FoE at 23 Clifton Road, Henlow, Beds. (Tel Hitchin 814672).

WHOLEFOOD PRICES SOAR

THE PRICE of many wholefoods is rocketing in the shops.

- Most nuts are up due to:
 - strong winds blowing the blossom off almond trees in California before the bees pollinated them;
 - fallout from Chernobyl destroying half the Turkish hazel nut crop, up to 60% of which is said to be above the EEC import limit of 600 bq/kg. Green City wholefoods in Glasgow has bought a radiation counter and will now publish the becquerel level of all their products;
 - the weak pound;
 - other nut producers raising prices as a result.

□ Due to heavy rain in the southern US crops of red kidney, haricot and butter beans are reduced; and low rainfall in western states has affected the peanut crop.

□ Wholefood cooperatives throughout the UK have formed a network organisation to facilitate bulk buying, provide a more efficient service, and trade with producer coops in the Third World which give their workers and the ecosystem a better deal than the multinational distributors of most Third World produce. (Thanks to Steve Mynard and SCRAM for this information.)

GIVE GREEN LINE FOR CHRISTMAS!

The gift that's politically acceptable, ideologically sound, and lasts a whole year!

We've a special offer to make it easier for you to send a gift subscription to the friend(s) of your choice. Send us the name and address of all the people you want to give GL to, plus a seasonal card and £5 for each one. Or leave us to enclose a card for you, free. We'll send this issue as the first one of the subscription, unfolded in an A4 envelope, by first class post.

If you prefer, we'll send your friends the next 5 issues for just £2.50. Otherwise, the same deal.

Here's a form to help:

Please send a Christmas gift subscription to each of the following. I enclose £5/£2.50 for each one. I enclose / please send a card to go in the first issue.

Name:

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Please use a separate sheet of paper for additional names.

If you are not a regular subscriber, why not give yourself a subscription? Tick here [] if you want to start with the NEXT issue.



Recipes

SOLSTICE FARE

HAZELNUT ROAST WITH STUFFING

Fry 1 onion, 1 grated carrot, and 1lb tomatoes. Add 8oz ground hazelnuts (cobs or filberts), some yeast extract, and 2oz porage oats (more if necessary) to make a firm but not a dry mixture. Line a loaf tin with this mixture, leaving enough to cover the top.

For the stuffing, boil 2 peeled onions, then roughly chop them. Add a teaspoon of dried sage and 4oz fresh breadcrumbs. A little oil may be necessary to bind the mixture. Use this to fill in the centre of the roast, then top with the remaining nut mixture: press down, particularly at the edges. Bake in a medium / hot oven for 30 minutes. Any leftover stuffing mixture can be baked in a separate pan.

This is also delicious cold with salad. (From Whole New Ways, C & D Yates, Movement for Compassionate Living).

CUT AND COME AGAIN FRUIT CAKE

- 4oz margarine
- 8oz 100% S R flour
- 4oz muscavado sugar
- 1lb dried fruit
- 1tsp mixed spice
- 1dsp vinegar
- warm water

Mix all dry ingredients well together. Melt margarine and mix well with an equal amount of warm water; add the margarine and water to the dry mixture. Stir well, adding more water if necessary. Add vinegar and mix well again. Turn into a well-oiled 2lb bread tin and bake at the bottom of the oven, 130 degC for 3 1/2 - 4 hours.

(From New Leaves, Autumn 1986)

* Living Green is edited by GRAHAM HOOPER.

ECOLOGY IN EASTERN EUROPE

EUROPEAN NUCLEAR Disarmament (END) have a briefing sheet on Ecology in Eastern Europe, free in return for a sae. Comecon countries have taken the view that "environmental pollution is the price that has to be paid for industrial development of civilisation." The briefing looks at the situation in general, and reviews protest activity in the various countries.

END have a new sales brochure with Christmas goodies, including a new Steve Bell Christmas card and earlier Biff cards, T- and Sweat Shirts, etc. Also available for a sae; or see the merchandise stall at the END Christmas Bazaar (Sat Dec 6, 12.30 - 4, Seymour Hall, Seymour Place, London W1).

In the run-up to the General Election, END will be working to develop the foreign policy perspectives of the parties, with briefing notes on party policies coming soon. Meanwhile, the date for the next END Convention is July 15 - 18, in Coventry.

Info: 11 Goodwin Street, London N4 3HQ (01-272 9092).

EDUCATION NETWORK

THE LIBERTARIAN Education conference, organised by Lib Ed magazine in Leicester on October 4, led to the formation of a Libertarian Education Network. Subscribers will have access to an information library, contact lists, and a means of exchanging news and information. The sub of £5 includes the termly Lib Ed magazine. Info: The Cottage, The Green, Leire, Lutterworth, LE17 5HL.

URANIUM FOR TAIWAN

LEAKED DOCUMENTS from the Roxby Downs uranium mine project in South Australia reveal plans to sell uranium to Taiwan. Production at the mine, which is 49% owned by BP Australia, is expected to start within 2 years. The documents also confirm that finding customers for the uranium has been difficult, and that a contract with the CEGB is about to be approved. Info: Bristol Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific Support Group, c/o 82 Colston Street, Bristol 1.

BIO-DYNAMIC GROWTH

A VISIT to biodynamic agricultural centres in Germany is being planned for late Spring by the Biodynamic Agricultural Association. A detailed itinerary is available. Earlier, from Dec 30 to Jan 2, an international biodynamic conference is being held at Emerson College (Sussex). The BDA publishes a journal, 'Star and Furrow', which contains practical articles on biodynamic methods: issue 66 has articles on poultry rearing, and labour requirements, among other items. It appears twice a year, annual sub £2.40. Info: B.D.A., Woodman Lane, Clent, Stourbridge, West Midlands DY9 9PX.

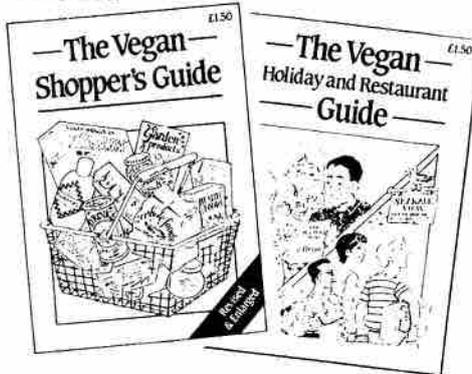
STONEHENGE 86 AND 87

A CAMPAIGN has been launched to reconstitute the People's Free Festival at Stonehenge next summer. 1987 will be the 14th year of the festival. The campaign is open to any "sensible offer" of a site in the Stonehenge area. "Egyptian Eye", a 2 hour video of the '83 and '84 festivals, is available for £20 post free. Info: Polytantric, 99 Torriano Avenue, London NW5 2RX in return for a sae.

The winter solstice is on Dec 22 at 4 am. Access to the Stones has been promised by English Heritage from 4 pm

on the 21st. A discussion on 'Anarchy and Stonehenge' takes place at the Mary Ward Centre, Queens Square, Russell Square, London on Dec 12 at 8 pm.

The latest publication from Unique Publications in Glastonbury is a memorable booklet telling the story of Stonehenge '86. A chronological account of events provided by NCCL is interwoven with personal accounts, photographs and press clippings. Price £1.50 post paid (or £5 for the set of five Rainbow Chronicles to date, including Molesworth and Greenlands Farm material) from Unique Publications, PO Box 23, Glastonbury, Somerset.



VEGAN GUIDES

TWO NEW guides from the Vegan Society are selling very fast. The Vegan Holiday and Restaurant Guide lists more than 300 establishments, while the Vegan Shoppers' Guide is a classified listing of vegan food products, toiletries, cosmetics, etc. Available for £1.50 each post free from the Vegan Society, 33 - 35 George Street, Oxford OX1 2AY.

WAR TOYS

WAR RESISTERS International (WRI) is again organising protests against war toys. One US company is marketing a Rambo doll - but Rambo's creator Sylvester Stallone says he wouldn't let his own children play with them and is "very embarrassed" about it. In Yugoslavia it will be the third year of street action against war toys: activities include a toy exchange where people can exchange war toys for peace toys. December 1 is 'Prisoners for Peace Day': WRI has published a list of 80 'prisoners for peace' held worldwide for conscientious objection or taking part in NVDA. People are encouraged to send cards: send sae and a small donation for the list. WRI, 55 Dawes Street, London SE17 1EL (01-703 7189).

COMPASSIONATE LIVING

AFTER JUST over a year, the MCL's membership is approaching 500. They have just published their third pamphlet, "Growing Our Own", a guide to vegan gardening by Kathleen Jannaway (25p plus 13p stamp), and an appointments calendar with a vegan recipe for each month (£2 post free). MCL, 47 Highlands Road, Leatherhead, Surrey KT22 8NQ

GREENS IN THE CITY

CITY OF LONDON Greens is a new group attempting to get green ideas across in the City. Its first public meeting last month was addressed by Paul Ekins, who described the work being done in the UK and elsewhere on new economic indicators which separate out the social costs of economic activity from the financial benefits. City Greens, 8 Seymour Court, Whitehall Road, Chingford, London E4 6DZ.

PACIFIST CONTACTS

BRADFORD IS the probable venue for a pacifist contacts' conference for members of the Peace Pledge Union, due to be held over the weekend of January 16/18. Workshops will look at the content and methods of PPU campaigning. The PPU maintains a list of 'contacts', so write if you want to be included.

Since war toys are seasonal, now is the time to stock up on the PPU's introductory A5 leaflet (90p per 100), and the campaigning guide leaflet (£1.15 per 100). "Peace Education and Education for Peace" is the title of the latest issue of 'Pep Talk' (£1); written for parents and teachers, it presents a thorough introduction to these subtly distinct concepts. And looking ahead to the general election, the PPU is bringing out "a factual and critical commentary on the different parties' policies on 'defence', the arms trade, etc." A sae will bring a sample copy and details of bulk prices.

The PPU's Winter Bazaar is on Sat Dec 13 (2 - 5) at Marchmont Info: PPU, 6 Endsleigh Street, London WC1.

FRIENDS OF THE EARTH

FOE'S ANNUAL Report for 1985/6 shows a total of 26,000 national supporters and 220 active local groups, with income up by 52% (£217,000) on the previous year. The annual conference also showed record participation.

Looking to Christmas, FoE have produced an excellent catalogue of gifts, including a beautiful Rainforest Calendar and a jigsaw of the Cities for People cartoon. Send sae for details.

FoE's next major actions are likely to be over Sizewell. The Layfield Report is expected at any time, and the parliamentary debate will follow shortly. Try to persuade your MP to push for a free vote (as there was on the Windscale Inquiry report). If parliament gives approval, then FoE will be looking to NVDA to harrass and delay construction at the site. FoE, 377 City Road, London EC1V 1NA (01-837 0731).

FARMING POLICY

BRITAIN HAS just announced its second largest grain harvest ever, with a 15m tonne surplus: the Green Party's agricultural spokesperson Bernard Little, launching the party's latest publication, "Our Borrowed Land: Food, Farming and You", took the opportunity of denouncing this as "an immoral waste".

EEC support for agriculture costs £150m a week, forcing people off the land, devastating the countryside and creating enormous surpluses while 500m people starve worldwide. The Green Party's pamphlet calls for basic income support for all farmers, taxes on nitrate fertilisers and a ban on dangerous pesticides, as well as for a switch to organic methods of food production. It recognises that sound agriculture is based on long-term soil fertility and revitalised rural communities. Post free for £1.25 from the Green Party, 36/38 Clapham Road, London SW9 0JQ (01-735 2485).

FOOD IRRADIATION

WALES GREEN Party has just issued a pamphlet on food irradiation. As well as issues of safety, and an explanation of just what the process involves, the pamphlet examines the commercial interests behind irradiation and the nuclear links, and concludes with a list of action points for readers and proposals for government action. Price 30p (single copy 50p post incl.) from Wales Green Party, 94 Victoria Street, Caerau, Maesteg, Mid-Glamorgan, CF34 0YP.

Beyond the green tinge of Labour

Roland Clarke

AS THE next General Election draws closer, many greens are going to be asking – what hope is there that the next government will tackle at least some green issues seriously? Some may even be considering – given the impossibility of a massive Green Party breakthrough – which of the main parties is best placed to implement some, if not all, of the most pressing 'green' policies?

To some, the prime contender is the Labour Party, which at its Conference this year adopted some comprehensive statements on the environment, nuclear power and defence. These were not the result of the window dressing so loved by Party leaders, but of a groundswell of opinion amongst the rank and file of the labour movement.

The National Executive Committee's 'Environment Statement', passed unanimously by the Conference, arose out of the Party's Environment Committee. A number of the environmental organisations had an input, not least the Socialist Environment and Resources Association (SERA). At a recent post-conference meeting of SERA activists, it was generally felt that the Statement covered almost all the priority issues and some of the implementation procedures hoped for.

As an Environment Statement it is extensive and puts the proposals in some sort of context; 'For the Labour Party, environmental responsibility means being concerned for the situations in which people must live their daily lives, their surroundings, their working conditions, the food they eat, the water they drink, the air they breathe, and the noise they have to endure.

We do not see caring for the environment only in terms of protecting sections of the countryside; in an urban society such as ours, we must have equal concern for the environment in which the overwhelming majority of people live.'

The statement gives detailed proposals on recycling, noise, water supplies, marine pollution, clean air – including the necessary action on acid rain – asbestos, hazardous waste disposal, as well as two large sections on the countryside and the urban environment. Most of the proposals go a long way towards tackling the problems, as far as if not further than the Liberals, though in some cases they fall short of the measures proposed by the Green Party. This clearly reflects an underlying acceptance of ongoing industrial society, not just by those in power but also by the mass of the population.

Conflict of policy

In some cases there is a clear conflict with other Labour Party policies. One example of this is transport, where the jobs of car-workers and lorry

drivers in the TGWU conflict with the needs of the majority who use public transport – an issue any government would have to face, though. The statement as it stands is good, opposing 'inappropriate road-building' or so-called 'improvements' and proposing 'greater use of existing rail and water systems', improved public transport designed to also 'meet the needs of people with disabilities, elderly people and those with children', plus grants for local authorities 'to encourage environmental improvement, pedestrian priority, cycling and public transport.'

Some of this could be lost, unless the much leaked 'forthcoming' Transport Statement with all its inconsistencies is altered and properly addresses a shift from personal to public transport. Such concerns are indicative of where green socialists in groups like SERA now feel they must work for changes. The Environment Statement must be integrated into the overall programme. Labour's present economic and industrial policies, with their central aim of a lasting reduction in unemployment, do not always reflect the statement when it says –

'The close links between economic and environmental problems that exist on a world scale are reflected within Britain... The environment is not therefore something which can be considered in isolation from the question that socialists have traditionally regarded as central: how is the economy to be controlled, and in whose interest?'

Furthermore, the statement even has a section on the introduction of a 'comprehensive system of environmental impact analysis' to be carried out by local authorities, assisted by an Environmental Protection Service. This is reflected in the other proposals but not in the economic policies. For instance, in Neil Kinnock's new book on Labour's economic strategy, 'Making Our Way', the environment is mentioned just once, on p 193, relegated to a passing bit of lip-service along with women and blacks.

This book, taken with other economic statements by the Labour leadership, shows that the Alternative Economic Strategy of 1983 is still alive and well, though heavily modified. Labour's number one priority is getting people back to work, re-building the country post-Thatcher and Co. As a result every conceivable type of job will be

considered - within an incomes policy of course - and the long-term consequences and the nature of the jobs will be secondary considerations, not just to a Labour government but also to many currently unemployed.

Economic debate

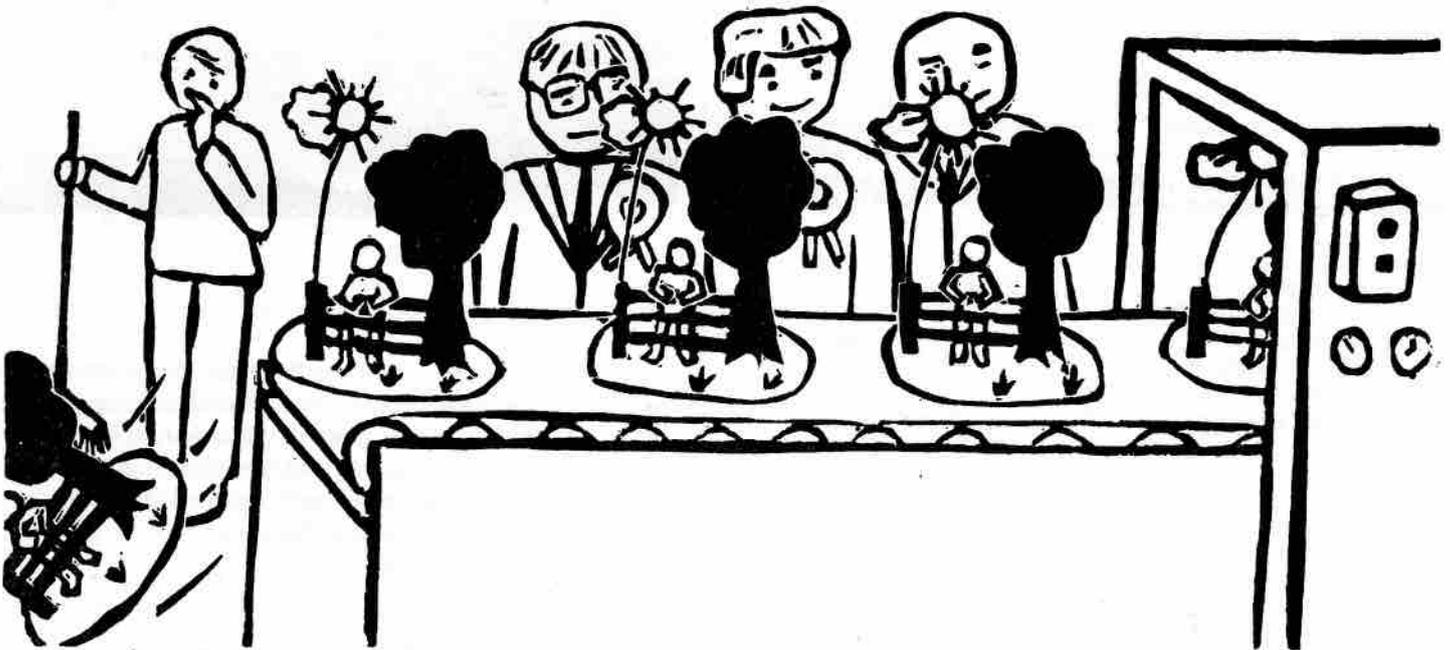
In his address to SERA's post-conference meeting, Robin Cook MP (and President of SERA) expressed his anxiety that the jobs programme, which sets a specific target of 1 million jobs to be created in only two years, 'represents a form of the political numbers game of the crudest kind... You inevitably end up looking at a crash programme of job creation which starts to value a job because it is there rather than for what the job can produce, or what the job can offer to the person... Most of the jobs that we are likely to be creating will be low-skilled and low paid; should we be producing such jobs? To what extent should we be demanding a job that offers a reward to the person carrying it out, other than financial? To what extent are we prepared to tolerate the proliferation of de-skilled, de-humanised jobs? What is it that these people are going to do and to produce?' This is a debate that he felt was crucial for green socialists to get involved in. Since it is so fundamental to any

But while TOES is rooted in the realities of the distant tomorrow, Neil Kinnock (and one must presume many of his Shadow Cabinet colleagues), are clearly stuck in the past. The basis of the economic programme on offer is the supposed need to build a strong manufacturing base, to go out into the world and sell British so as to pay our way in the world and acquire all those desperately needed foreign imports like Japanese computer games or Sahel peanuts.

'For selling manufactures is how we pay our way in the world. Unless we can pay our way in the world we will be plagued by balance-of-payments crises, financial crises, and inflation, and the jobs programme will grind to a halt.' Not only does this run counter to many of the environmental policies but it is likely to undermine many international policies - though over things like Tied Aid there are careful omissions. Labour policies are clearly motivated by the desire to improve the lot of the majority of the British people, but this is dangerously close to being at the expense of the rest of the world.

The Environment Statement itself gives a valuable starting point for the creation of a more realistic economic strategy -

'We are committed to an economy that grows and that meets the needs and expectations of people,



economic strategy, all greens must address it in a practical manner for the economic growth being offered by the Labour Party is not sustainable, although it does recognise the need to prioritise certain basic needs. However the economic strategy being offered by the green movement is unable to address itself to the short-term problems of today's economy and those who suffer because of it.

Robin Cook pointed to the enormous gap in economic debate within the Labour Party, illustrated by the tiny handful of economic motions to Conference (only 10), and to the opportunity presented to green socialists to steer debate towards such fundamental issues as 'what sort of production?' His disappointment with the new TOES book does perhaps indicate that the 'new economists' have still to grasp the value of the socialist and Marxist analysis in presenting a viable strategy for the next two decades.

all people; but we recognise that it must be a sustainable growth that enables us to leave future generations a planet worth inhabiting. Alongside indicators such as gross national product, we will introduce new economic indicators that take the environment and resource depletion into account.'

A relatively new SERA working group on economics is already trying to bring the ideas of TOES and socialist economics together. This is not a vain hope, for in many respects the starting point for such a strategy is the Local Economic Strategies of the Labour local authorities. And it is at this level that the most reasons for trusting in Labour lie. One major step taken beyond the AES in economic strategy is the recognition by Kinnock and Co. of the crucial role of local authority action. Unlike environmental considerations, the local dimension is seen as crucial by Kinnock -

'These regional agencies must be fostered and expanded, local authorities must be enabled to

(Continued on page 16)

▼ What are the main issues facing the Green Party?

I believe that we have quite a few issues, critical issues, which we must face today. We must, first of all, face the fact that we are no longer able to win elections as automatically as in the past, since we have made our fair share of political mistakes and since we have become very much polarised in the question of forming a coalition with the SPD (Social Democrats). We have many issues where we must show our difference to the Social Democrats. Sometimes it has become quite difficult since the established political parties tend to make cosmetic 'green' changes without going radically to the source of the problem. And this tends to blind people as to what ecology is really all about. We must definitely show our strong opposition to the subtle building up of a super-power called Europe, we must stop the idea of a unified nuclear European superpower a la Franz Josef Strauss and other reactionary politicians in Europe. The European Economic Community, once a civilian community and meant to be a peace factor, is becoming a militarised community exploiting the Third World more and more every day, being a community only for multinational companies and leaving the poor poorer, leaving the sick and the unemployed with no real future.

I am also becoming more and more concerned about the role of Germany within this Europe. For example, they are cooperating with the French nuclear fast breeder in Malville and we are getting a nuclear reprocessing plant in Bavaria. Also, there are projects like the joint French-German military spy satellite, which means that the Federal Republic of Germany will become co-owner of an instrument which is likely to be connected to the French Force de Frappe. All other political parties share a common position on building up a strong technological and strong military Europe. But the Greens must show their alternative model, which is a decentralised Europe of the regions, a real authentic peace factor, a community which is not militarised. We must also deal with the problem of introducing non-military defence alternatives; for example, the model of social defence.

It is not enough to campaign against mass destructive weapons and against the philosophy of deterrence, we must also show that there are usable, non-military defence alternatives like those which Professor Gene Sharp of Harvard University has researched.

I also believe that the Green Party must do much in the way of spreading information and initiating campaigns so as to show that ecology is in fact politics. Or one could say, it is anti-politics. Anti-politics meaning that we are looking for a common power, a power to be used by all and be shared by all.

You do not change or implement policies through legislation. This is done first and foremost through the people themselves.

▼ Do you consider these ideas radical or do you think they are practical?

Many people tell us that we are far too utopian and that we should become more realistic. In fact, there is also a wing within the Green Party that is becoming too realistic and is looking only for moderate changes and small steps. But when we are facing a nuclear and/or an ecological holocaust,



AS SPEAKER of the Green Party from 1980 to 1983 that roared through the Bundestag in March 1983 with intensity.

Survival for Petra Kelly has been a relative calm imposed by a breathtaking schedule of international tours. Not to mention the pamphlets.

Winner of the 'Alternative Nobel Prize' (Stockholm) and political, Petra is an articulate and compelling little comprehended by the creaking geriatric government of Australia earlier this year.

when not only the forests but also the children die, when all over the world we are turning into nuclear victims, whether it be through the fall-out of French or Soviet or American nuclear tests or through living too near a nuclear power plant, then we must not look towards so-called moderate ecological steps, we must go to the root, be radical and subversive and gentle. And daily look and practise the soft path toward a soft politics. I believe that we have the most realistic solutions and that those who are planning SDI or Eureka programmes are the ones who are quite utopian and quite ridiculous.

▼ How will the Greens, with only 28 of the 500 seats in the German Bundestag, move towards implementing their policies?

We have done very much in these first two years to change consciousness outside but also within the parliament, to introduce completely different questions to the government, new topics for discussion and also to change the language spoken in that parliament.

An interview with PETRA KELLY

TREADING THE SOFT PATH

l, Petra Kelly survived the centre of the cyclone
, and continues today even if with somewhat less

erm as she counted the cost to her health, the
conferences, lectures, committee meetings and
ring, the letter writing, the campaigning.
holm 1982) and numerous other honours academic
ng spokesperson for the new order that is too
ntlemen of politics. This interview took place in

But I believe that you do not change or implement policies through legislation. I believe this is done first and foremost through the people themselves on the street, in their homes, in their factories, in their offices and in the meeting place. For changes take place first outside, before they move into the sterile and grey parliaments. Grassroots democracy is, of course, a very difficult process and one which is sometimes misused by certain people who are not at all ecologically orientated. We are a very small parliamentary group and thus we must work very hard. But we must never give up being a lobby for all those who have no lobby, for the plants, for the animals, for the minorities, for women, for children, for the old, for the handicapped, for the unemployed, for those who are daily oppressed. But I must add, that at the present time I am quite worried whether we will be able to move into parliament in 1987. We cannot be so sure about that because of the grave problems we have had internally with the 'fundamentalists' and the 'realistic' wing within the Greens.

▼ But on such a major and politically sensitive issue as the demilitarisation of Europe, are the Greens confident that they will be able to exert some influence? Is it in fact a realisable goal or purely ideological?

Pointing to the dangers of a unified militarised superpower called Europe is one of the most important issues at this time. And it is very difficult to show to people the connections between the EEC, the Western European Union (WEU) and NATO. We must also point to the fact that there is a 'United States - Europe - China - Japan axis' and that Europe is being pushed in a direction technologically and economically that will exploit the Third World even more!

It is a sad story, because in this Europe we are unable to remove the border barriers between countries, we are unable to solve the problems of Northern Ireland or the problems of poverty in Sicily or in Greece. Yet our European politicians dream of

We must show our strong opposition to the building up of a super-power called Europe.

creating a mini-Star Wars programme for Europe, dream of reprocessing plants and of fast breeders all over this continent and have run away from the daily problems they cannot seem to solve.

The eight per cent we received during the last European parliamentary elections showed us quite clearly that we have considerable backing for our European programme among the voters.

▼ When the Greens were first elected to parliament (Bundestag) the party wasn't taken seriously. Has this changed?

I believe that we were taken quite seriously already during those parliamentary elections because we stated quite uncompromisingly that we were against the deployment of Pershing and Cruise and that we would wage civil disobedience campaigns within the Peace Movement to stop this deployment. Because our position was so clear, we were also, I believe, able to get beyond the five per cent required to gain seats. Of course, at the beginning we were looked at as if we were exotic animals and yet, very quickly, the media, the general public, the parliamentary services realised how hard we worked, how diligent we have been in our parliamentary initiatives and how each Green member of parliament took his or her work seriously.

On the other hand, we had many internal problems, which were reported in almost every important paper around the world, for there was a very bad strain between those who entered parliament and the leadership. There was a kind of hidden envy, a feeling that the members of parliament had become, in a very short time, far too prominent and far too well known.

It was difficult to speak with members of the other political parties and to ask for their assistance or their help and there was a long time before those boundaries were finally also removed. We have done much successful work on the areas of an alternative ecological agricultural policy, in the area of raising consciousness on such issues as children's cancer, animal protection and also in presenting a very credible and non-aligned human rights policy. Of course we should not forget all the discussions we had in parliament about nuclear deterrence, about first strike policies, about NATO's

policy of first use, about Star Wars, about nuclear testing in the Pacific and so on.

▼ **What kind of support do the Greens have now throughout Germany?**

We have had up to eight or nine per cent Green vote in European and regional elections and we have had over five per cent truly authentic green voters and a large percentage beyond that of sympathy voters. I believe roughly five to six million people support green ideas and our green programme and that there are another five to six million people who are sympathetic to these ideas. We have much support among the very young people, among farmers, especially young farmers, among activists called the 'Grey Panthers', who are people in their 60s and 70s and 80s fighting for more social justice, including my own nearly 80-year-old grandmother, and also among many committed people in the churches.

There is a wing within the Green Party that is becoming too realistic and is looking only for moderate changes and small steps. But we must go to the root, be radical and subversive and gentle. And daily practise the soft path towards a soft politics.

▼ **How serious are your present problems within the party and do they threaten the future unity of the Greens?**

At the moment I am quite worried about the state of the Green Party and, as I have said before, it is not yet clear whether or not we will get over the five percent in January. I am an independent fundamentalist within the Greens and I am against coalitions with the Social Democrats, as I know them quite well and believe that a coalition at the present time on a national level or even on a regional level will take away all radical aims and our lifeblood. It might bring the SPD back into power, but it would make us lose many supporters who voted for us because of our crystal-clear positions which allow no compromise in areas of life and death issues. For example in questions relating to health and safety, to security policies, to the type of disarmament we would like to see initiated. There is a great danger that we might become a moderate environmental party gaining a few votes in the next elections but losing the three-four per cent conscientious and authentic green voters. I believe the Social Democrats are trying every possible way to integrate us into old-style power politics, remove us from our grassroots support and to moderate not only our aims but also the way in which we have been involved on the streets.

Civil disobedience and non-violent direct actions must be a part of our politics and I have become sad and sometimes very depressed to see that only very few people within the Green Party truly continue to participate in non-violent blockades, attempt tax strikes, risk paying high fines over and over. I feel there are far too few and that we must do much more than we have been up to now to engage people in campaigns of civil disobedience.

As you know, we have also made some very major mistakes, for example, the letter written by two of my colleagues to members of the Red Army Faction in prison, a letter that had perhaps the right intention - to speak with prisoners of all political colours - but at the same time a letter which

contained no clear position of non-violence and which was very understandable for the general public. We also made a very bad mistake in Northrhine-Westphalia, where at one point there was an addition made to the party's programme without any real in-depth discussion, simply trying to cater to minorities without really knowing what this demand was all about. We must protect and work with all minorities, but at the same time we cannot have minorities dictate their requests without a real political discussion. Children need to be protected - and this must be discussed.

▼ **What is the future for the Green Party? Is it here to stay or is it just a passing trend?**

I believe that the green 'idea' is here to stay and is not just a passing trend. I don't want to pin myself down to the little box called "Green Party". On the one hand, all over the world, especially in Australia and New Zealand, there are so many hopeful movements toward green politics which need not necessarily be called green parties; on the other hand, I do believe that the green parties are especially necessary where Social Democrats or Socialists have failed so terribly. I do have one hero at the present time and that is Prime Minister Lange of New Zealand who kept his election promises and who is also standing up against the pressure of the United States government. There are very few socialist or social democrats who show such courage after they are elected. If one looks at the policies of Gonzalez in Spain (pro-NATO and pro-EEC) or the politics of the Labour Party in Great Britain, one realises how very important it is to have a radical and truly authentic green party, one that does not make compromises on the most important issues.

I believe that the green parties and the green movements must interconnect better and have much more information exchange between them. We must learn from one another. And my visit to New Zealand has shown me how little we in Europe know about the highly militarised Pacific region. And how little solidarity we have shown to those many groups fighting so courageously there. We cannot become so 'eurocentric' as to forget how very bad the situation is in other parts of the world. I believe the Pacific region is like a powder keg and that the European peace movement must link up with many issues which are interconnected; for example, uranium ships from Australia arriving in European harbors, or French nuclear testing in the Pacific. We don't have very much time any more and that is why it is all the more important to create a kind of Green International, meaning that we must do many international joint actions against the military-industrial complexes all over the world.

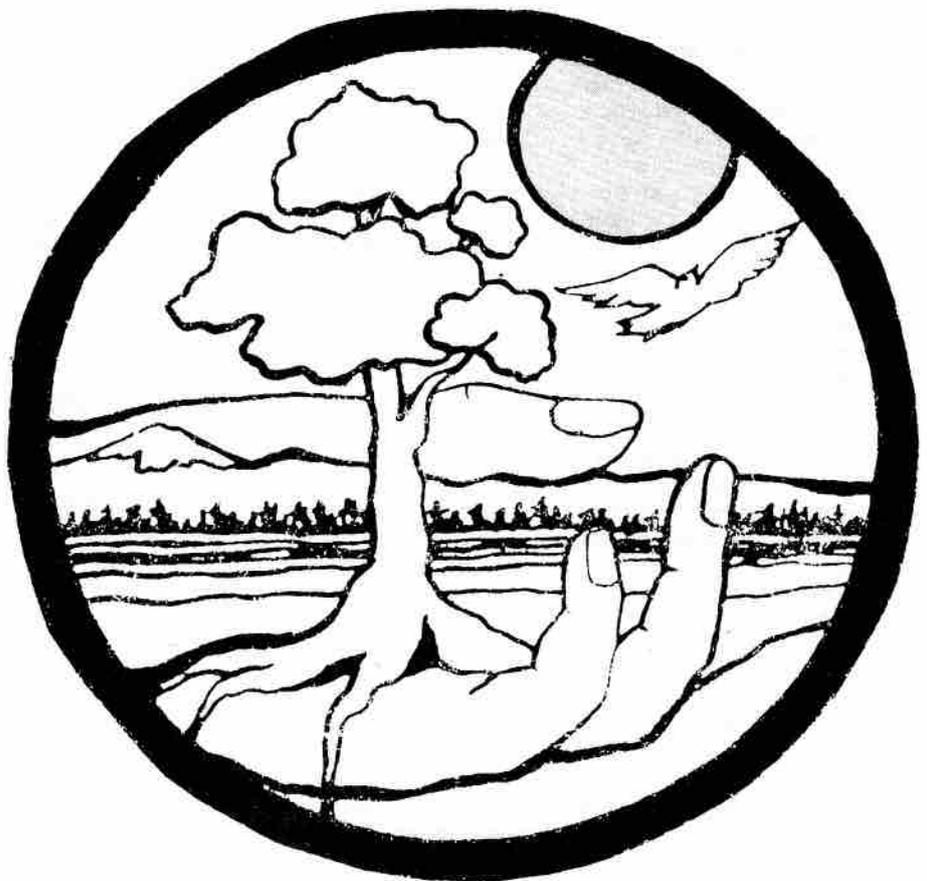
Ecology is anti-politics. Meaning that we are looking for a common power; a power to be used by all and shared by all.

[This article was reprinted by permission from "Simply Living", a lavishly produced Australian magazine which combines professional and full-colour presentation with often radical treatment of green and environmental issues. Overseas subscriptions are 30 Australian dollars per annum (4 issues). It is quite unlike anything available in the UK, and is a cross between a political journal and a coffee-table magazine. Highly recommended if you can afford it.]

Women and nature have had a long association throughout history, and it is only now that the deepest meanings of this association are being understood.

Women and Nature

JUDITH PLANT



ENVIRONMENTALISM AND FEMINISM are converging with similar analyses. The coming together of the two gives us hope for an understanding of the world that has the potential to be rooted in 'thinking feelingly'. It can suggest answers to such questions as:

- Why does patriarchal society want to forget its biological connection with nature?
- Why does it seek to gain control over life in the form of women, other peoples, or nature?
- And what, on earth, can we do about dismantling this process of domination?
- What kind of society could live in harmony without its environment?

Bioregionalism, with its emphasis on distinct regional cultures and identities strongly attached to their natural environments, may well be the kind of framework within which the philosophy of eco-feminism could realize its full potential as part of a practical social movement.

•ECOLOGY AND WOMEN

Within human society, the idea of hierarchy has been used to justify social domination and has been projected onto nature, thereby establishing an attitude of controlling the natural world. Because the natural world has been thought of as a resource and as raw material for human refinement, it has been exploited without regard for the life that it supports. We are becoming aware that human beings are part of the life that it supports and that if we continue to abuse nature we do so at our own peril. The convergence of feminism with ecology is occurring because of an increasing awareness that there are in fact no hierarchies in nature. A belief in the virtues of diversity and non-hierarchical organisation is shared by both views.

Women have long been associated with nature – metaphorically, as in 'Mother Earth', for instance. Our language says it all: a 'virgin' forest is one awaiting exploitation, as yet untouched by man. In society, too, women have been associated with the physical side of life. Our role has been 'closer to nature', our natural work centred around human physical requirements: eating, sex, cleaning, the care of children, and sick people. We have taken care of day-to-day life so that men have been able to go 'out into the world', to create and enact methods of exploiting nature, including other human beings. Then to return to a home-life which awaits in readiness. (A man's home is his castle.)

Historically, women have had no real power in the outside world, no place in the decision-making. Intellectual life, the work of the mind, has traditionally not been accessible to women – due in part to society's either/or mentality, coupled with a valuing of the spiritual over the natural. Women have been generally passive, as has been nature. Today, however, ecology speaks for the earth, for the 'other' in human/environmental relationships; and feminism speaks for the 'other' in female/male relations. And eco-feminism, by speaking for the original others, seeks to understand the interconnected roots of all domination, and ways to resist and change.

The view of 'other' held by feminists and ecologists is non-hierarchical, and as such does not objectify the other. Rather, the other is regarded as one whom we, as subjects, are dependent and inter connected with. The whole notion of the other is part of the subjugation of the object, the 'other'. When people objectify something, they are separating themselves from it, obscuring the reality of their connectedness with that 'other'. Simply put, it becomes a way of forgetting that we are all part of one another. In the case of nature, forgetting that it is the source of all life; and, with respect to women, forgetting that we and our attitudes and experience and ways of being in the world are fundamental to society.

•WOMEN AND NATURE: THE POWER OF AN IMAGE

Before the world was mechanized and industrialized, the metaphor that explained self, society and the cosmos was the image of organism. This is not surprising since most people were connected with the earth in their daily lives, being peasants and living a subsistence existence. The earth was seen as female. And with two faces: one, the passive, nurturing mother; the other, wild and uncontrollable. Thus the earth, giver and supporter of life, was symbolized by woman, as was the image of nature as disorder, with her storms, droughts, and other natural disasters.

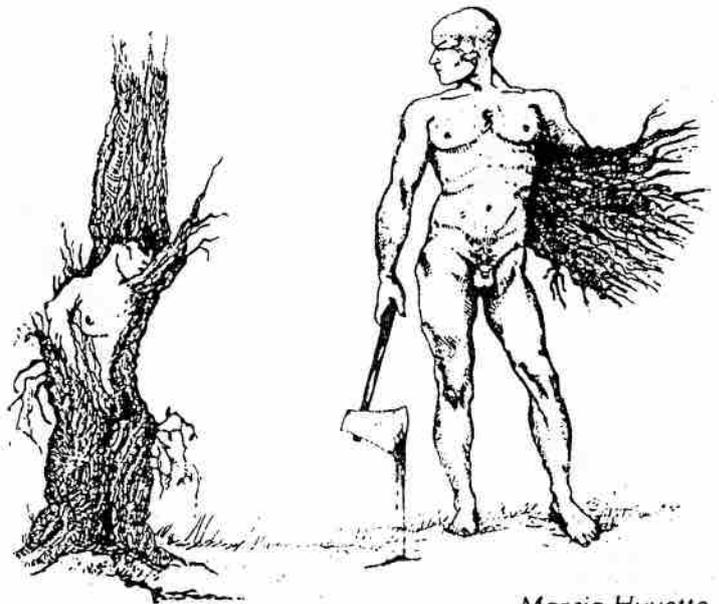
These images served as cultural constraints. The earth was seen to be alive, sensitive; it was considered unethical to do violence towards her. Who could conceive of killing a mother, or of digging into her body for gold, or of mutilating her? In relation to mining, people believed that minerals and metals ripened in the uterus of the Earth; they compared mines to Mother Earth's vagina, and metallurgy itself was an abortion of the metal's natural growth cycle. So rituals were carried out by miners: offerings to the gods of the soil and the subterranean world, ceremonial sacrifices, sexual abstinence and fasting were conducted and observed before violating what was considered to be the sacred earth.

As society began to shift from a subsistence economy to a market economy, more and more resources were required to meet the needs of the market, an institution which would gradually replace what were once relations of mutual aid within a peasant society. As European cities grew and forested areas shrank; as irrigation systems channeled the fields, and powerful new technologies began to dominate the landscape; and as the people moved away from the immediate, daily organic relationships which had once been their basis for survival, peoples' cultural values - and thus their stories - had to change. The image of earth as passive and gentle receded. The 'wrath and fury' of nature, as woman, was the quality that now justified the new idea of 'power over nature'. With the new technology, man (sic) would be able to subdue her.

The organic metaphor that once explained everything was replaced by mechanical images. By the mid-seventeenth century the new science of mechanics put forth the theory that knowledge of the world could be certain and fixed, and that natural law was god-given. Matter and the material world were seen as separate from the spiritual world, rather than intrinsically connected: the body was seen as a machine, separate from the mind. Thus society rationalized the separation of itself from nature, objectifying what was once seen to be the source of all life. With nature 'dead' in this view, exploitation was purely a mechanical function and it proceeded apace. (By the end of the century, however, an 'organicism of the Renaissance' was emerging which attempted to synthesize the new mechanical philosophy with the organic view of the world. The tension between the two views remains with us today.)

The new images were of controlling and dominating: having power over nature. Where the nurturing image had once been a cultural restraint, the new image of mastery allowed the clearing of forests and the damming of rivers. Nature as unlimited resource is epitomized today by scarred hillsides, uranium mine tailings poisoning river systems, toxic waste, and human junk floating in space.

One theory bases this propensity for domination over nature on the human fear that nature is more powerful than human beings. By subduing and



Marcia Huyette

controlling nature, society thus can assume power over life. Women, with their biological connection with life-giving, are a constant reminder of the reality of human mortality. Thus patriarchal society, based on a view that subjugated nature to the spirit of man (sic), also subjugated woman.

Increasingly the serious contradictions of this social system are making themselves apparent. The extent of our poisoned environment and its effects on all life are beginning to be realized and understood. And human culture which, in organic terms, should reflect the wide diversity in nature, has now been reduced to mono-culture, a simplification solely for the benefit of exploitation.

•ECO-FEMINISM: VALUES AND DIMENSIONS

Once we understand the historical connections between women and nature and their subsequent oppression, we cannot help but take a stand on war against nature. By participating in environmental stand-offs against those who are assuming the right to control the natural world, we are helping to create an awareness of domination at all levels. From this perspective, consensus decision making and non-hierarchical organisation become accepted facts of life.

Eco-feminism gives women and men common ground. While women may have been associated with nature, this does not mean that somehow they have been socialized in a different world from men. Women have learned to think in the same dualities as men, and we feel just as alienated as do our brothers. The social system isn't good for either - or both - of us. Yet, we are the social system. We need some common ground from which to be critically self-conscious, to enable us to recognise and affect the deep structure of our relations, with each other and with our environment.

In addition to participating in forms of resistance, such as nonviolent civil disobedience, we can also encourage, support and develop within our communities a cultural life which celebrates the many differences in nature, and which encourages reflection on the consequences of our actions, in all our relations.

•BIOREGIONALISM: AN INTEGRATING IDEA

Emerging from the counter-culture, or from those who are seeking social change, is a way of living and thinking about life which, for lack of a better name, is referred to as bioregionalism. Simply put, it means learning to become native to place, fitting ourselves to a particular place, not fitting a place to our pre-determined tastes. It is living within the

limits and the gifts provided by the place, creating a way of life that can be passed on to future generations. As Peter Berg and Raymond Dasmann have so eloquently stated, it "...means learning to live-in-place in an area that has been disrupted and injured through past exploitation. It involves becoming native to a place through becoming aware of the particular ecological relationships that operate within and around it. It means undertaking and evolving social behaviour that will enrich the life of that place, restore its life-supporting systems, and establish an ecologically and socially sustainable pattern of existence within it. Simply stated, it involves becoming fully alive in and with a place. It involves applying for membership in a biotic community and ceasing to be its exploiter."

Bioregionalism, with its emphasis on distinct regional cultures and identities strongly attached to their natural environments, may well be the kind of framework within which the philosophy of eco-feminism could realise its full potential as part of a practical social movement.

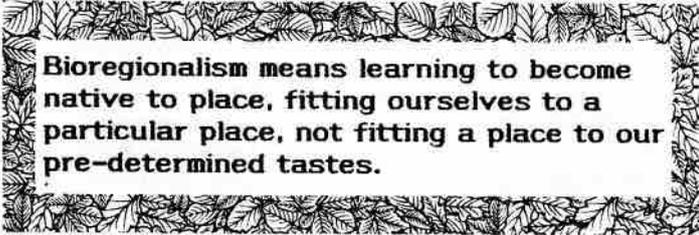
How can humans meet their requirements and live healthy lives? What would an ecologically sustainable human culture be like? It is in dealing with these questions that the bioregional movement and the philosophy of eco-feminism are very much interconnected.

To refer to particular places as bioregions is to recognise the diversity of regions that exist on the planet. Each is shaped by specific geological and climatic activities, as well as by the activities of plants and animals which are native to that place. Life, in a bioregional community, is constantly being 'worked out' - some species adapt, others do not. Some creatures eat all of their potential food and thus are forced to leave, while others get eaten themselves. All are co-evolving. Humans are no exception.

Our adaption has to do with culture. What has happened with the rise of civilization and most recently with the notion of mass culture, is that what could be called bioregionally adapted human groups no longer (can) exist. In our culture almost every city exists far beyond its carrying capacity; diverse regions are being exhausted, and ecologically devastated. This is the non-sustainability to which bioregionalism is responding.

Becoming native to a place - learning to live in it on a sustainable basis over time - is not just a matter of appropriate technology, home-grown food, or even 'reinhabiting' the city. It has very much to do with a shift in morality, in the attitudes and behaviours of human beings. With the help of feminism, women especially have learned an intimate lesson about the way power works. We have painfully seen that it is the same attitude which allows violence towards us that justifies the rape of the earth. Literally, the images are the same. We also know that we too are capable of enacting the same kind of behaviour. Not only do we have a personal stake in changing society but, because of our experience at the hands of domination, we have the potential for understanding its consequences. We know what it's like to be the 'other'.

The ideas of bioregionalism are being practised all over the world - just rarely referred to as such.



Bioregionalism means learning to become native to place, fitting ourselves to a particular place, not fitting a place to our pre-determined tastes.

It's useful, though, to have a name, even if it is yet another 'ism'. The name gives us common ground, like eco-feminism. But bioregionalism also gives us something to practise - together they could be seen to offer a praxis, that is, a way of living what we're thinking. Here we can begin to develop an effective method of sharing with our male friends the lessons we have learned about power, as well as our hopes and aspirations for an egalitarian society. One which would be based on the full participation and involvement of women and men in the process of adaptation and thus in the maintenance of healthy eco-systems.

•HOMING IN ON A NEW IMAGE

One of the key ideas of bioregionalism is the decentralization of power: moving further and further towards self-governing forms of social organisation. The further we move in this direction, the closer we get to what has traditionally been thought of as 'woman's sphere' - that is, home and its close surroundings. Ideally, the bioregional view values home above all else, because it is here that new values and behaviours are actually created. Here, alternatives can root and flourish and become deeply embedded in our way of being. This is not the same notion of home as the bungalow in the suburbs of western industrialised society! Rather, it is the place where we can learn the values of caring for and nurturing each other and our environments, and of paying attention to immediate human needs and feelings. It is a much broader term, reflecting the reality of human cultural requirements and our need to be sustainably adaptive within our non-human environments. Even the word ecology, in its very name, points us towards home: 'oikos', the Greek root of 'eco' means home.

Women's values, centred around life-giving, must be revalued, elevated from their once-subordinate role. What women know from experience needs recognition and respect. We have had generations of experience in conciliation, dealing with interpersonal conflicts daily in domestic life. We know how to feel for others because we have been socialised that way.

At the same time, our work - tending to human physical requirements - has been undervalued. As discussed earlier, what has been considered material and physical has been thought to be 'less than' the intellectual, the 'outside' (of home) world. Women have been very much affected by this devaluation and this is reflected in our images of ourselves and our attitudes towards our work. Men too have been alienated from child-care and all the rest of daily domestic life which very much nurtures all who participate. Our society has devalued the source of its humanness. Home is the theatre of our human ecology, and it is here that we can effectively think feelingly. Bioregionalism, essentially, is attempting to rebuild human and natural community. We know that it is non-adaptive to repeat the social organisation which left women and children alone, at home, and men out in the world doing the 'important' work. The real work is at home. As part of this process, woman and nature, indeed humans and nature, need a new image of ourselves, as we mend our relations with each other and with the earth. Such an image will surely reflect what we are learning through the study of ecology, what we are coming to understand through feminism, and what we are experiencing by participating in the bioregional project. Much depends on us, on our determination to make things different and to take a stand.

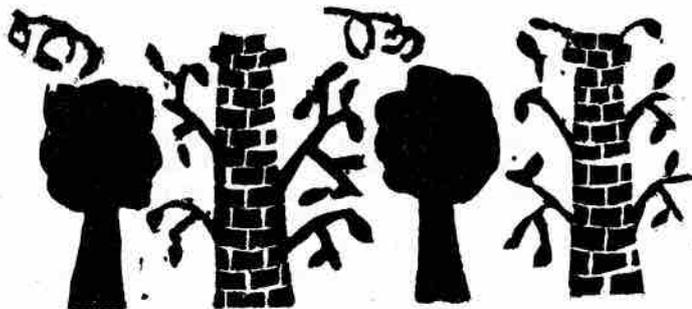
[This article is adapted from a talk given in Canada in March 1986].

develop local industrialisation initiatives and people in small businesses must be provided with help in navigating through the requirements of bureaucracy. And on the basis of their record and their relationship with real conditions at the 'sharp end' of the economy, those agencies must have access in terms of advice and influence at national level.'

Local socialism

In fact this is one area where green criticism of Labour is unjustified - given the Party's traditionally top heavy structure. Perhaps the only good Thatcherism has done is to strengthen local activism and to force the struggle to survive into the local communities. Labour's main opposition has not been at Westminster but in the local areas, from Met Counties to mining communities. The Environment Statement does in fact give more power over the environment to local authorities than to central government. This is to some extent a natural progression from Labour's ongoing concern for the urban environment - far more important a factor in the electorate's mind than nature conservation or, unfortunately, Third World poverty. Labour's concern about inner city poverty has led to a recognition that environmental problems, more often than not, result from poverty. It is not difficult to see how a gradual concern for wider issues can begin from this concern for bad housing and poor diet. The housing and Urban environment sections of the NEC statement are, for the most part, likely to be acted on as are those sections granting more power to local authorities in areas like planning - even in rural areas.

One crucial element in this decentralisation of power is the creation of a regional tier of government. This will have strategic powers including democratic control over policy areas such as health which up to now were 'undemocratically' controlled. Furthermore, many of the towns in shire counties will be given single tier status, which should break the stranglehold of the rural areas around them. The exact details will be known when the paper on it is published. At the moment, it is unclear to what extent this addresses the major question of Scotland and Wales, which would be vital if Labour was to gain the support of Plaid Cymru and the SNP - a better coalition than reviving the Lib-Lab pact.



A further indication that Labour under pressure is capable of moving from an environmental shopping list to a coherent programme, lies in the proposed creation of a 'specialist Ministry of Environmental Protection' which will 'have a responsibility to ensure that the environmental concerns are reflected in all the areas of policy of the next Labour government; monitor the activities of other departments and quangos; include representation of environmental organisations on the boards of

national economic planning bodies; see that economic plans are structured so as to take into account environmental factors; ensure that criteria for government assistance to industry include environmental considerations; issue a yearly 'State of the Environment' report, after consultation with all relevant bodies, and set targets for a Labour government to achieve.' Two enforcement agencies, the Environmental Protection Service and the Wildlife and Countryside Service, covering the full range of environmental issues together with the Health and Safety Executive will report to the Ministry and their information will be publicly available.

An anti-nuclear tide

The machinery of government proposed in the Statement is in many respects more comprehensive than that outlined by the Liberal Environmental Co-ordinating Group's booklet, 'Survival. The Liberal way to An Environment for the Future'. In this respect, Simon Hughes' recent accusations in the Guardian (Nov 8th) of Labour's ambiguity on the status of Dr David Clark as 'green' spokesman, and his claim that the Liberals will create a Secretary of State for Environmental Protection, conceals a far less comprehensive policy of implementation. However, Neil Kinnock's continued unwillingness to give David Clark total freedom from Dr John Cunningham on Environmental Protection issues, only ensures a divided party in the run-up to the election. Central to the whole problem is the issue of nuclear power, which must be grasped by Kinnock if he wishes to be seen by the electorate as genuinely concerned about the future.

It is strange that a Labour leader committed to a policy of unilateral nuclear disarmament, which has fallen in popular support from 42% to 31%, can then waver over a policy of phasing out nuclear power when popular opposition stands at 44% opposed to any new reactors and 31% in favour of closing existing stations. However, it would be wrong to see Labour as a pro-nuclear party. Leaving the anti-nuclear motions passed in 1985 and 1986 to one side, the NEC's 1986 Statement indicates a dramatic shift which was also reflected at the 1986 Trade Union Congress. Much of the credit for this lies with the combined abilities of Greenpeace, FOE and SERA in conjunction with a number of Labour Parties, MPs, Trade Unions and groups like the Labour Co-ordination Committee. Although the alliance of BNFL, the CEBG and the power industry unions are mounting a massive fight-back, it is clear that the tide has turned inside the Labour movement. Given an alternative jobs strategy and a concerted effort to keep the public concerned about a repeat Chernobyl, Labour's programme will go through. Magnox will be phased out as it is almost impossible for the safety reviews due, to allow them to continue. 'Labour will immediately halt the production or supply of material for use in nuclear weapons.' Torness and Heysham, given a Labour victory in the next 12-18 months, will not come on line and Labour will not proceed with either PWRS or the Fast Breeder programme.

The questions remain over the length of the phase-out not so much of Magnox reactors, but of the AGRs, and over the status of THORP. Primarily because of the jobs issue, the Labour leadership is unwilling to indicate that it will do much about either in its first term. We are therefore dependant on two terms of office or a massive campaign to speed up the process of phase-out and to limit the

activities of Sellafield to handling spent fuel etc. as the nuclear programme is closed down - a very long-term employer even with a rapid shut-down. The NEC statement unfortunately is extremely ambiguous on THORP, proposing to complete its construction but 'not commission it for the purposes of reprocessing' - when it can clearly be used for nothing else!

A crucial part in this debate is being played by the unions. Until some alternative strategy for jobs is worked out with at least some of those concerned, it is unrealistic to expect much support for anything but Health and Safety measures. In this respect, those greens who work as part of the labour movement have more chance of being listened to. Experience gained in the campaign for alternatives to defence jobs will prove crucial; there are already steps being taken in this direction inside the TGWU.



So given all these policies, what should greens feel about Labour's green pretensions? Firstly, it must be said that although the leadership is very likely attempting to do some window-dressing while walking a tightrope between two different sections of the electorate, the leadership is by no means the party, and the NEC is by no means united behind Kinnock on these issues. What really matters is how many Labour MPs after the next election support these policies.

SERA's fringe meeting at Blackpool on 'Green Socialism' attracted a large number of PPCs and it is already clear, from the growing number of interested Constituency Labour Parties, that support is growing at a steady rate. The number of PPCs who are SERA members or supporters will be considerable and already include a number of Labour target seats. The number of Labour councils who have adopted 'green' policies to varying degrees is another encouraging development. It would therefore be self-defeating for the Green Party to waste its valuable resources opposing green socialist PPCs - far better to use them against the likes of Jack Cunningham. Purity of purpose will not help people or planet.

Obviously there are areas where there are better placed candidates than Labour to unseat the Tories - whose fundamental philosophy is totally 'ungreen'. However, in terms of a Party of Government, Labour is the only one which has begun to unite a concern for people, with a concern for the environment. This may, as yet, not be integrated into its plans for re-building a country devastated by capitalism, but its commitment to the power of local action by authorities and people makes that a possibility. With green pressure and support, Labour offers a glimmer of hope for the future.

‡Roland Clarke is a member of SERA's Council and former editor of its journal 'New Ground'.

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Star Wars

Space Weapons – Deterrence or Delusion.
Rip Bulkeley and Graham Spinardi. Polity Press, 8.95.

I HAVE to admit to approaching this book with some trepidation. It's a thick tome with large numbers of acronyms on each page and rather scientific-looking diagrams including one which seems to contain bits of washing machine look-alike being catapulted around a captive earth like so much excess baggage. Nor is the language always easy. We have endo- and exo-atmospheric, geostationery and geosynchronous orbits, monochromatic wavelengths and collimated laser light, all of which seem to require a reader well-versed in applied physics – or so it seemed to me!

But as the authors point out in their friendly 'Note to Readers' at the beginning, "there is no avoiding the fact that anyone who wants to get on more or less equal terms with military and political decision makers in the space weapons field but who sets out from little knowledge of the subject, may have to work hard with initially unfamiliar concepts and arguments that bring together aspects of weapons technology, strategy, law and international relations" (!)

In fact they have done a very good job in making all this as accessible as is conceivably possible. The heavy technical stuff, for instance, is boxed off so you get the option to skip it if you prefer. Even then I found a lot of this material really very informative and illuminating; a sort of quick layperson's guide to how things work, or at least those things which are designed to go up in the air and come down

somewhere else! Moreover there is in fact a lot more argument than technical concept here, the central pivot perhaps being a US obsession with the technical 'fix' as solution or perhaps circumvention of a political problem or problems.

In this sense a picture of President Reagan's 1983 Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI) emerges and is built upon which suggests the whole thing not to be an aberration born out of the President's overworked sci-fi fantasy world, but part of the very essence of US long-term strategy to achieve a final lasting political and military superiority over the Russians; 'the fallacy of the last step' as it has been referred to by one commentator.

Whether or not the SDI 'technical fix' can work in practice or indeed what the consequences might be for arms control, let alone world peace, is of course another matter.

Clearly there is a 'minimalist' party of the Pentagon and its allies, who see SDI as an opportunity to develop Ballistic Missiles Defence systems – space-based or no – as a way to wreck the 1972 ABM treaty and provide the US with an enhanced offensive capability vis-a-vis the Soviet Union. They don't seem wildly concerned about whether this will vastly increase the stakes in for instance times of international crisis. Nor interestingly are they much bothered with the question of 'leakage', i.e. the degree to which Soviet missiles (10%, 50% or 90%?) will still get through to their American targets, be they siloes or cities.

But of course SDI has been sold to a wider US audience as being total population defence and certainly insofar as public consumption is concerned, it is this maximalist goal which SDI is all about, a situation which, said the President, could also lead to massive cuts in offensive strategic missiles.

In this context one is intrigued to know what Bulkeley and Spinardi would have to say if the book had been finalised after and not before the Reykyavik Summit. Has the President in offering major missile cuts been carried away by his own 'Star Wars' rhetoric? There is no technical evidence to support the President's chief scientific adviser's prediction in 1985 that by the time the President leaves office (1989), the US is going to be able to demonstrate the technology 'to shoot down the Russians' entire ICBM fleet as it tried to enter space'. Yet the thrust of the Reykyavik offer is surely founded on the implicit assumption that SDI, in this total sense, can work.

Whether delusions of grandeur finally win the day or the more cynical calculations of the Pentagon, certainly the outlook doesn't look rosy for the rest of mankind should the momentum of SDI continue unabated. 'Space Weapons' is therefore heartening in bringing attention not only to the frictions SDI has caused and is continuing to cause within

the US administration itself, but also the deep misgivings it has engendered on this side of the Atlantic, not least in 'reading between the lines' language from our very own Sir Geoffrey Howe.

This book is a closely knit analysis of a complex subject. But it never loses sight of the human perspective... and there are some very funny (and telling) quotes too!

MARK LEVENE

Animal tactics

Against all Odds: Animal Liberation, 1972–1986.
ARC Print, 265 Seven Sisters Road, London N4. 1.95.

IS THE animal liberation movement in a state of crisis? Has it 'lost face with the public?' The various authors of this book, committed activists who have been involved in the animal liberation movement for many years, believe that it has; that at the present moment "the trials, the loss of widespread support, and the clear failure of leadership in times of crisis, has left the movement demoralised, divided and directionless."

This booklet deals with the past ten years of the anti-vivisection campaign, the rise of the ALF, the emergence of the regional Animal Liberation Leagues and their virtual demise, and the more desperate militancy of the Animal Rights Militias. Much of this material is fascinating, and one chapter devoted to ALF tactics contains many useful tips and hints for any group planning a raid!

What has gone wrong? Some of the difficulties discussed here (political campaigning versus direct action, centralised planning versus local autonomy) are familiar problems from other campaigns, though the sort of parliamentary lobbying undertaken by the BUAV has been particularly futile. There do not seem to be many votes in the advocacy of animal rights. Hence the importance of direct action, which plays a much more central role than in other campaigns, where it is often seen as an 'optional extra'. I for one have been haunted by photographs of rescued animals, since what is involved here is a different kind of direct action: by a laboratory raid, or economic sabotage, animals' lives are actually saved, and in some cases stolen pets are restored to their owners. This sort of action stands on its own, whether or not it receives publicity, as an act of pure compassion undertaken at considerable personal risk – and this aspect of the campaign initially caught the imagination of the public and gained the ALF widespread support.

Such actions, however, can remain marginal and random without broad public support and a coherent theory. This the Liberation Leagues, building on the success of the ALF, attempted to provide. The NALL, formed in 1979, decided to concentrate on exposing vivisection to the public rather than causing damage: the raid became a means to an end, not an end in itself, though the philosophy of 'minimum damage' led critics to refer to it as merely a 'file liberation league'. Other leagues used slightly different tactics, but all proved vulnerable in the mid-80s to a new phenomenon – the kind of policing we see today, openly political, and using tactics perfected during the miners' strike. "The days of a lone copper arriving at a lab raid and scratching his head in amazement are long gone," the book points out ruefully. As a consequence the Liberation Leagues have been broken and campaigners have been charged with conspiracy and given harsh sentences. Many who took part in the Unilever raid are still in prison. In desperation many campaigners have resorted to more violent tactics such as letter bombs and violence against the property (and threats to the lives) of vivisectioners.

The authors of this book condemn such tactics and point to a way forward, urging a coherent theory of direct action and the need to build a mass movement with public support, rather than relying on individual acts of terror. The arguments here are convincing, and the book is essential (if specialist) reading for anyone active in the animal liberation movement. I personally felt the book was too short – I would have loved to see the accounts of the political trials and the history of the ALF expanded to twice the length – but the authors have done well with a borrowed typewriter and limited cash. I also feel it's now necessary to stress in campaigning material and leaflets the central issue of animal rights placed in an ethical and ecological framework. Otherwise the issue will continue to be reduced, despite the horrors of vivisection, to a matter of 'people versus animals' ('Babies not Bunnies' was a slogan I saw recently).

Meanwhile, hopefully, the raids will go on.

BARRY MAYCOCK

Nuclear fix

We would like to take the opportunity to reply to Steve Dawe's review of 'The Energy Fix' in GL46.

Steve Dawe starts off by stating that "the authors fall down...In describing their programme as 'green'". We wonder how closely he has read our book, since at no point do we describe ourselves, or our programme, as 'green'. We are, without doubt, committed to establishing an ecologically sound socialist practice, and recognise that green politics has a contribution to make. However, on the whole, we take the view that green politics in the UK is held back by the two main currents within it. On the one hand, the Green Party's slavish commitment to fighting and losing elections at the apparent expense of genuine and pragmatic campaigning about the environment, and on the other hand, an uncompromising utopianism which comes close to seeing individual enlightenment as the only route to social change.

As socialists we oppose both these trends and see class conflict as the major dynamic in modern society - ultimately the most important factor in social and ecological change. This is made very clear in the introduction to the book:

"We follow Marx in seeing capitalism as a system in which goods and services are produced not directly to meet individual or social needs, but for the profit that their production or provision will realise. We follow Marx in seeing the direction of capitalist development hinging around the struggle between two distinct economic classes: those who own or control the means of production; and the vast majority who don't, and can only live by selling their ability to work. The long-term interests of these two classes are opposed: Capital's drive for profitability leads to a chaotic unplanned growth on the one hand, and to periodic attempts to reduce workers' living standards on the other."

Secondly, the review implies that we are not wholly opposed to nuclear power. This is a serious misrepresentation of the facts. Both the text of 'The Energy Fix' and our own involvement in the anti-nuclear movement over the last decade make clear our total opposition to the nuclear industry. 'The Energy Fix' was completed in the summer of 1985, before the Labour Party had adopted even its moderate and much disputed anti-nuclear stance at conference that year. 'The Energy Fix' was published just one month before the Chernobyl accident which radically changed the situation in which energy campaigners operate. Nevertheless, we explicitly stated that 'a socialist energy policy would aim to phase out nuclear power as rapidly as possible'. Indeed, during the last 18 months we have strongly argued for phasing out nuclear power plants within the lifetime of one parliament.

We view with great pleasure the Labour Party leadership's endorsement of almost all of our energy strategy as outlined in 'The Energy Fix'. This is not a question of us 'staying close to Neil Kinnock', rather it has come about through a rapid change of position by both Kinnock and the Labour Party NEC. (We will of course continue to argue within the Labour movement for the rapid phase out rather than the decades long process currently envisaged).

Thirdly, Steve is quite right in asserting that fully implementing a radical energy strategy would require 'fundamental changes in the economic assumptions of the Labour and trade union leaderships'. We argue strongly in 'The Energy Fix' for an economic strategy based on redistribution and on real growth for social need, rather than the current state-induced, profit led growth advocated by both Labour and TUC leaderships. One glimmer of hope is that the NEC Environment statement, endorsed by this year's conference, concludes with a commitment to 'the regeneration of our economy in a way that is safe, conserves



scarce resources and preserves the beauty of our surroundings; and for the international action to defend and enhance our environmental heritage'. What that means in practice rests on the result of a struggle yet to come between Labour's programme on the one hand, and the pressure from international capital on the other.

Whether Steve chooses to call us 'green' or 'ungreen' is irrelevant - he is right however in concluding that there is much work to be done inside the green movement.

Andy Porter, Martin Spence and Roy Thompson,
111 Albion Hill, Brighton, Sussex.

Gay abuse

We are appalled that you have printed the letter by Wilfrid Price in the November issue of GL.

We have never seen any other paper from the left, or green, movement allow such offensive material to be in print. Our complaint is less with the letter's author than with your insensitivity as a collective in printing it. Gay people have a hard enough time with constant abuse in the gutter press without the alternative press similarly giving abuse.

We hope never to see such an anti-gay letter in your paper again.

Ross Bradshaw, Kate Marsden, Mo Cumming,
Mushroom Bookshop, 10 Heathcote Street,
Nottingham NG1 3AA.

School meals

The motion approved at the Green Party conference in October regarding pressuring local education authorities to provide a choice of vegetarian and vegan menus for school meals is, in itself, quite a reasonable idea. But are 'green activists' unaware of the fact that education authorities are so starved of cash that they are now unable to provide any kind of meals, except in exceptional circumstances, for pupils whatsoever? Most children take a lunchbox to school containing a snack which may or may not be vegetarian or vegan, but will be made up of whatever the child's parents can afford; and vegetarian shops are not generally known for their cheapness, are they?

Catering in the new and misnamed 'Inner City Colleges', to be ruled by inaccessible 'privatised' authorities, will probably be contracted out to some 'fast food' chain and a request for an alternative menu at these 'neo-11+ workhouses' would be met with the same kind of incredulity Oliver Twist received when he asked for "more"; or the kind of malicious derision the extreme right wing Sir Walter Goldsmith - now the head of the patents office - dishes out at the mere mention of 'solar power'!

Motions like this, however worthwhile and well meant they may be in other circumstances, only serve to demonstrate that the Green Party would appear to be totally out of touch with a great deal of what is happening at the present time in British Society?

Michael R Kemsball,
207 Wragby Road, Lincoln.

Be tolerant

For goodness sake, Wilfrid Price et al, with the whole world threatened by nuclear warfare and nuclear accidents, acid rain and other pollution, desertification, destruction of bio-systems, warfare, violence and starvation, can we really worry so much about who sleeps with whom and what gender they are?

Surely green people should get their priorities right and be tolerant of how people live their personal lives (as long as they do no harm to others or to the planet). And even those who disapprove of homosexuality must recognise that it is industrialists, militarists, power-and-money seekers of all sorts who are the real threat.

Let's not make this too much of an issue, but work together for the things we all believe in rather than allowing ourselves to become divided over what is surely a minor issue relative to the problems of the world today!

Ann Gunn
8 Wordsworth Road, Braintree, Essex.

As relevant as...

I don't know whether it is me or Green Line changing, but I find the magazine less and less relevant. It seems to be changing into a cross between a Convoy newsletter and a down-market Resurgence.

Instead of philosophising, let's have reporting on some of the real things that are happening. Such as: what FOE and Greenpeace are doing; progress on nuclear dumping; CARE plans for the OAP; details of the CEBG plan for wind power; an interview with Sainsburys about wholefood; a practical guide to organic gardening; also some of the big issues such as Chernobyl and the fate of the Rain Forests.

Give us information and news of what is happening. The Convoy is about as relevant as low salt hamburgers.

Mike Bell
69 Cambridge Rd, Oakington, Cambs, CB4 5BG

True to type

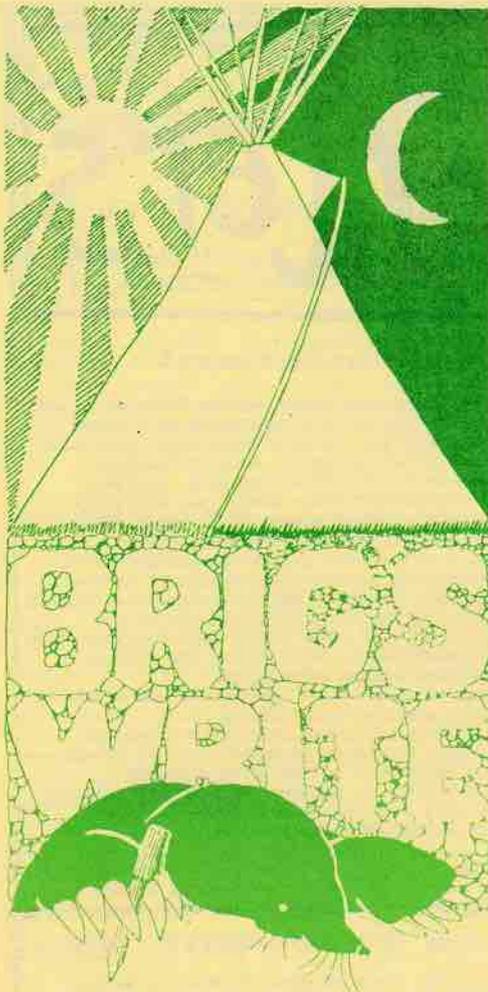
In view of the unfavourable comments in a recent issue about the appearance and production quality of GL, I thought you might be interested to hear this:

I recently suggested to Westminster City Libraries that they should aim to meet the needs of the growing number of greens in the community by subscribing to two green periodicals - Resurgence and Green Line.

Resurgence was rejected, on the grounds that it is too glossy, it being a basic bibliographical principle that the appearance of a publication should be true to its contents.

Green Line, on the other hand, was greeted with much enthusiasm and judged to be a worthwhile and interesting periodical, by a group of librarians with (in the main) little or no prior awareness of green politics and lifestyle. It will now be taken in three Westminster libraries - Central Reference, Marylebone and Paddington.

Claire Lewis
176 Sirdar Rd, London N22 6QX



Police sport fascist sticker

EVERY TIME I visit the Houses of Parliament I seem to find myself in a part I haven't seen before. In July it was the upstairs committee rooms. At the end of October it was the Strangers' Gallery of the Lords. On November 4 it was the dungeon!

It must be over a year now that I have been campaigning against the Public Order Bill. In that time I have written articles and letters, made speeches and facilitated workshops, and lobbied both MPs and peers. Before it finally became law, there was only one more gesture of opposition I could make, and I felt compelled to do so. As the Commons went through the final stage of approving the Lords' amendments, I stood up and shouted my protest from the gallery.

I had hoped to listen to all the debate, and to intervene only at the end. Gerald Kaufman made a good speech against the 'Farmer Atwell' clause which the government had brought in in the Lords, quoting extensively from Douglas Hurd and other ministers who had said earlier that such a clause would be unwise and unnecessary. I would also have liked to hear what Clive Soley had to say, but I got so angry at the Tory-like sentiments of Liberal Alex Carlisle that I could contain myself no longer: my outburst burst out, and I was hauled away.

I was taken first to the police room off Star Chamber Court, where I was able to chat amicably enough with the duty sergeant. I made no mention of the National Front sticker which adorned the front of a filing cabinet drawer, and an inspector soon arrived with the expected news that the Speaker had ordered that I be detained until after the rising of the House that evening.

The cell I was taken to was small, bare and loo-less. Its only point of interest was a 'Coal not Dole' sticker in the centre of the light fitting, at least eleven feet above ground level. I reasoned that they must have detained at least two miners together, because there was no other way it could have got there.

Although a prisoner in parliament has none of the rights of a prisoner in a police station, I was treated well enough. I was allowed to make a phone call to my father to wish him a happy birthday, and when I asked about food a policeman went off and got me beans on toast and a cup of tea from the MPs' canteen (although I had to pay!). At half past midnight the House rose, and I was let out none the worse for my six hours' confinement.

In fact, being arrested in parliament is quite a doddle. No court has jurisdiction apart from parliament itself, through the Speaker. The treatment for interrupters is standard, although apparently one could be transferred to an ordinary court if one's crime were (for example) criminal damage. With the new public order powers banning any demonstration not approved by the police, parliament could become the new 'in place' for protests simply because it will be the only place left!

One small curiosity. Despite this government's mania for cutting public expenditure, parliamentary disposable plastic cups have the green House of Commons crest printed on the side. I'm sure that's one parliamentary privilege they could easily do without!

Strictly personal

So the Green Party Council has made me one of its three co-chairs. How then, I have been wondering, should this affect my GL column? Does my elevation carry with it the risk of compromising the magazine's political independence?

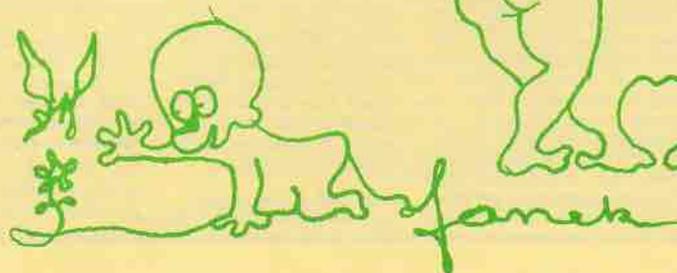
I believe I have arrived at an acceptable formula. I shall endeavour not to use the back page of GL as a party platform. I'm sure I will have to do quite enough speaking and writing from that perspective in the coming year, and I greatly value the free rein that this column this gives me. It will continue to be a collection of my own personal thoughts and concerns, written (as far as possible!) without my "co-chair's hat" on.

On the other hand I have no intention of trying to write a non-political column. If my writing were ever to become as trivial and irrelevant as Roy Hattersley's regular Guardian pieces, I trust that GL's editors would have no hesitation in putting my efforts straight in the bin.

Naming the day

The big question hanging over next year is, of course, "When will Maggie go for it?" Last time round it was too easy to lull oneself into believing that it would not be until October, so this time many are betting on June so as not to be caught out again.

So has Maggie, and have the pundits, considered the "Stonehenge Factor"?



Could she really be intending to have an election right in the middle of what has now become the annual hippy-bashing season? Could she dare to take such a gamble?

It is certainly true that she may be looking to "Law and Order" as an emotive vote winner, and that "hippies" (along with blacks, militant reds and CND subversives) are part of her "enemy within" concept. But surely it would be exceedingly rash for her to stake the result of the election on the unpredictable public reaction to another convoy saga. Hippy-bashing may rally the far right - who would be voting for her anyway - but the evidence of the last two summers is that it is far more likely to alienate the "middle ground", and even many of the more moderate Tory faithful. It would be surely be far safer for her to go in May, providing the polls give her a reasonable chance.

Public order

Perhaps, though, Maggie is pinning her faith on the effectiveness of the Public Order Act to get her through June without any trouble. Throughout this parliament it has been highly ironic that we have had to trust in the House of Lords to protect democracy from the worst excesses of Thatcherism. Their Lordships have failed again on the Public Order Act. I was especially depressed (but not altogether surprised) in reading the Hansard of the Lords Committee Stage debate on the "Farmer Atwell" amendment. This will make it a criminal offence with penalties of 1,000 fine or 3 months in prison for two or more trespassers to fail to leave land when requested to do so by the owner. Although it was introduced by the government without consultation on September 26, and has been condemned by the Law Society as well as the NCCL, only one Lord - the radical QC Tony Gifford - actually spoke against it.

Even Lord Gifford's speech failed to point out the fact that this new clause will totally undermine the very limited rights of travellers under the 1968 Caravan Sites Act, and most of the debate was concerned with an attempt by their landowning Lordships to extend the clause to cover anyone whom the police thought might be about to trespass! Happily this attempt failed. We must, I suppose, be thankful for even the smallest mercies.

