

GREEN LINE

HUNT SABS

GERMAN GREENS:
FROM STRENGTH
TO STRENGTH

FAMILY LIFE

GREEN IDEOLOGY

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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 Jerry Spring, Leigh Shaw-Taylor, Barry Maycock, Graham Hooper, Ann Davison, Carol Guberman, Wayne Adams, Andy Kaye and Euan Dunn. It was edited by Jon Carpenter.

SUBSCRIPTIONS

Normal rate £6, low/unwaged £5, voluntary hi-waged "supporter subscription" £10. (The "supporter" rate helps build our publications fund. The first of our Green Line pamphlets is scheduled for publication at the end of this month.) Overseas readers please add £1.50 to all these rates (surface mail), or enquire for air mail rates to your area.

BULK ORDERS

We'll send you 5 - 8 copies for only 40p each, or 10 or more for only 35p each - post free. Send cash with order first time, please; after that, if you want a regular standing order, we'll give you a month to pay.

For special occasions like demos or big meetings, we'll supply you sale or return: you pay us 40p a copy for however many you sell, and recycle the rest. We can sometimes supply limited numbers of back issues for the cost of postage only (less than 10p each); please write if you could put them to good use in stimulating future sales.

ADVERTISING

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

The next issue is due out on April 1: we need all news, etc by March 14. Space for articles is often booked up longer in advance, so please allow more time for these. In general, all articles are read and discussed at an editorial collective meeting on the first Wednesday of each month.

FUTURE ISSUES

Coming shortly: how the response to AIDS scapegoats minorities; the development of green politics in Brazil; how, from a feminist perspective, the "new" economics looks much the same as the "old"; a visit to grassroots initiatives in India; more on the question of men and men's lib; how a conservation group is setting out to revitalise links between nature, landscape and the arts; green pressures on power in Yugoslavia; the growth of the peace movement in Poland; and how the UK anti-nuclear scene looks after the Layfield Report.

SPECIAL OFFER!

BACK ISSUES

WE'LL SEND YOU SIX RECENT BACK ISSUES FOR JUST £2, POST FREE. AN IDEAL OFFER FOR NEW SUBSCRIBERS.

• Cover illustration by JACKIE MORRIS.

A GREEN SHROPSHIRE? Active, enthusiastic Greens needed to help participate in district elections, form local branches and help build a thriving Green movement in the county. Contact Robert on Telford 53705.

TRAVELLING HORSE, harness and flat-bed cart for sale, £1,000. Contact Mike, 3 Cerrist, Van, Llandiloos, Powys.

GREEN/NEW AGE COMPOSER / SINGER / PIANIST (songs include "Nuclear Power - No Thanks", "Ecotopia", "Only One Earth", "Gaia", etc.). London based, but will perform anywhere. Simon Young, 01-992 6124.

MOLESWORTH/ALCONBURY LAND TRUST. This fund has now been wound up. All monies which have been reclaimed have been returned or forwarded to causes of the donors' choice. Unless reclaimed by April 1 1987, any further unclaimed contributions will be used towards the funding of a full-time peace worker at Molesworth during the coming year. Any contributors who did not reply to earlier letters and who now wish to reclaim their money should write without delay to MALT, c/o CND, 22-24 Underwood Street, London N1 7JQ.

HARD WORKING, enthusiastic person required for 6-8 months from March on 30-acre organic / biodynamic farm producing vegetables, wheat and thatch. We offer unique experience, from propagation to co-operative marketing. You would be part of a full-time team of 4. We receive many visitors from all over the world. Live in. Small wage according to experience. Shorter visits by arrangement. Bindon Home Farm, Langford Budville, Wellington, Somerset. Tel. Milverton (0823) 400644.

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

ENERGY EXHIBITION. The Wind and Sun travelling energy exhibition, with working examples of the latest wind generators, solar panels etc (which can be used to power lighting or a PA in a marquee if required), is taking bookings for the summer. If you're planning an outdoor fair, gathering or similar event this summer, contact Steve Wade, Wind and Sun, Laneside House, King's Head Lane, Islip, Oxon OX5 2RZ (08675 6349).

GREEN GATHERING, Smarden, Kent, from June 6 - 14. Registration fee £5, plus camping at £1 per night per tent. Map and full details will be sent on receipt of registration fee. Campaign charges payable on arrival. Concessions for unwaged, etc. available on request. Please make cheques payable to "Green Gathering" and send to "Green Warehouse", 50 Mackenders Close, Maidstone, Kent ME20 7JE. All enquiries to 0622 77043.

RISING SAP: A SPRING DRAMA WEEKEND at Lower Shaw Farm, 13-15 March. Games, exercises and improvisation, no previous experience is necessary - simply bring with you a sense of fun! Tel 0793 771080.

LOWER SHAW FARM Events, 1987.
13-15 March: Drama weekend
27-29 March: Crafts. Basket-making, spinning or simple clothes
17-20 April: Easter Celebration
Low cost. Wholefood vegetarian meals.
SAE for details to
LOWER SHAW FARM, SHAW, SWINDON, WILTS.

Small Ads

5p/word

LEEDS GREENFAIR, May 2. Promises to be even better than last year's, with a Nicaraguan focus as well as the usual women's space, children's triangle, peace corner, discussion forum, etc. Anyone who wants to hold a stall (free), do a workshop, or do anything, please contact Gordon Haycock, 11 Chestnut Avenue, Leeds 6.

CENTRE FOR ALTERNATIVE TECHNOLOGY needs a Director. If you are experienced in the environmental movement and collective working, with good administrative and management skills, this could be the job for you. SAE to Tim Brown, CAT, Machynlleth, Powys, SY20 9AZ for details, by April 20th.

CHILDREN AND I have to find a caravan, house or whatever to rent in March, preferably mid/north Wales. If you have anything please contact me. Thanks! Charlie Mounney, Plas Meini, Pant, Penrhyndeudraeth, Gwynedd, Cymru.

COME TO OTLEY GREEN FAIR. There will be lots of charity and craft stalls, video and slide shows, a tumbling act, music and dancing. There will be workshops on Menwith Hill communications base, Vegetarianism, One World Week, Vivisection and Morris Dancing. Admission for all this is only 30p, and the event runs from 10.00 a.m. until 6.00 p.m. Vegetarian / vegan food will be available. A ceilidh will follow at 8.00 p.m. (extra £2). So come to Otley Civic Centre, Otley, West Yorkshire on Saturday 11th April. (Further info from Alan on 0943 461631).

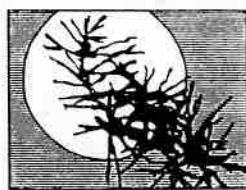
GREEN WORKSHOPS AT THE NEW UNIVERSITY. Weekends in April / May on the themes of organic gardening, green politics, practical skills, health / medicine, radical education. Very cheap, informal friendly atmosphere! Plus skill / knowledge sharing camp July 17 - 28; ongoing workshops on topics of interest to greens. Send for information from: "The New University Project", 24 South Road, Hockley, Birmingham 18.

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5 YEARS, 50 ISSUES

"THIS MAGAZINE", began the editorial in the first issue of Green Line, published in March 1982, "has grown from a desire within the Ecology Party to see an independently edited and self-financed paper which would serve both the Eco Party and the wider green movement with which it is allied."

It had in fact started as an imaginative response to a decision taken by an Ecology Party Conference in the autumn of 1981 which prohibited the party's national council from further publishing a magazine for members. The magazine had proved costly, and there had been scandals related to the sacking of at least one editor because the council didn't like his politics - he was an anarchist as well as a green. Conference instructed council to assist any independent attempt to launch a green magazine.

It has been a feature of GL - and a basic editorial tenet, perhaps in fact the only one - that the magazine has refused to accept a narrow definition of what green is about. Greens are a diverse group, and GL has always believed that a richness derives from the diversity. Our very first issue had an article by Stephanie Leland laying the foundations of green feminism, and we have always kept ecofeminist issues alive in our pages. Likewise, we have pursued the debate between anarchists and socialists and those who believe greens are neither. Both these areas of interest have aroused intense anger and resentment among some readers: to us, however, only the anger itself seems to be un-green.

The magazine would never have made the early progress it did without the tremendous enthusiasm and creative ability of Richard Hunt, whose cover illustrations in particular included some remarkable works of art. He left in October 1984 with issue 26, when he started a magazine of his own, Green Anarchist. But we turned disadvantage to advantage, and the departure of Richard meant there was space for new people. Gradually the editorial structure of the magazine has changed: more people have become involved, until last year the change was dramatic and it became possible at last to form something like a real collective. There is now a healthy nucleus of people in Oxford with a real commitment to GL. Though work breeds work, and the more we improve the magazine the more work again goes into it. So the collective still welcomes more participants.

We've cultivated an "amateur" look to GL (though at times this has been little more than to make a virtue of a vice!) Last year we were able to use a computer not only to word-process articles, but also to print out the text of the entire magazine camera-ready. It's not our computer, but we have free access to it. This has meant that GL has moved somewhat up-market in its appearance, though one reader wrote and told us that it would be our death sentence. As a result we seem to have broken through something of a credibility gap: suddenly, articles have more interest and merit because they look "typeset" rather than just typed. Doesn't it make you sick?

Other improvements in our appearance have been easier to recognise as progress. We now have five people illustrating articles or doing covers on a regular or occasional basis, and we're

trying to insist on photographs to accompany articles. This month for instance poor Barry Maycock, having completed his armchair interview with Joe Hashman, spent the next weekend out hunt sabbing with camera firmly in hand!

Not all our problems are as easily solved. We're very aware that GL is mainly written by men, and a woman member of the collective is looking at ways of correcting the balance. We're also aware that our circulation, at around 1750, is way below its potential. Our sales through "alternative" bookshops are probably at their limit; we have to live with the fact that most such shops are too "left" to take GL, or simply see us as marginal.

Since we are independent of any one organisation or party, we can't expect local groups of, say, FoE or Greenpeace to sell GL with the same enthusiasm that they will sell their own literature. In fact, the only groups that sell GL, so far as we are aware, are a number of local green parties and several independent student groups. To those stalwart individuals who have been sufficiently committed to the independence and

green free-thinking for which GL stands to take copies of each issue to sell to friends, at meetings and so on, we and the rest of our readers should be ever grateful. Extending our sales will be achieved primarily by increasing the number of subscribers, which is in itself an expensive business. We'd like to hear from any reader responsible for the mailings and/or newsletters of any group, large or small, and who would be willing to enclose a leaflet advertising GL in a future mailing.

The future is open. The potential is enormous, if we had but the energy to fulfil it. We try to be more than "just another magazine", to involve our readers rather than just provide another consumer article for them. In the end the magazine will be and become what we all make it together, and to that extent it will continue to be that rather curious and interesting animal, a reflection of the continuing growth and the undisputed importance of the green insight in all its diversity of thought and form.

What do you think?

• JON CARPENTER



A birthday card from ANDY KAYE, a major contributor to GL for nearly 3 years.

GAYS AND LESBIANS PICKET

GREEN SPEAKER

DAVID ACRES writes:

ON WEDNESDAY January 21 Wilfrid Price gave a talk on Social Credit to a meeting of Green Action, the Cambridge University environmental society. The invitation had gone out before his letter appeared in GL, and we felt there was no need to withdraw it as he would be speaking on a completely different subject.

Local lesbian and gay activists organised a peaceful picket of the meeting to voice their outrage at Wilfrid Price's views on homosexuality as expressed in GL.

It is the first time that the greens in Cambridge have found themselves opposed by a group whose aims they support. The experience was very uncomfortable to us, as it forced us to realise that greens have no automatic

credibility and need to work consistently at their attitudes in order to be able to reach the support and political respect they would like to have. It is clear now that greens do work within an established political spectrum and have to take a practical stand even on issues which may not personally concern them. One moment's thought beforehand would have been sufficient to realise how insensitive this invitation would appear to outsiders.

Considering the offensive nature of Wilfrid Price's views, the action taken by the lesbian and gay campaign was surprisingly restrained. It could have been a lot worse for us. We hope that green groups all over the country will take our experience into account when discussing political attitudes and trying to win support for their campaigns.

GREENS FOR A LABOUR VICTORY

THIS IS a new campaign launched a group of people with a background in environmental campaigning and the labour movement. Its appeal letter is signed by Joe Weston, Nicola Hallam, David Pepper, Victor Anderson, and Andrew Smith.

The group is anxious to say that it is not looking for long-term support for the Labour Party (although Andrew Smith is in fact a Labour PPC for the next general election!), but "a statement from you that the most important environmental, peace and development campaign for 1987 is the one that brings a victory for Labour."

GLV says that Labour's relationship with green groups has not always been friendly, but that things are changing. They say that Labour's promises if they form the next government include:

- Extend planning controls over agriculture and forestry, as well as

- providing greater protection for wildlife and countryside
- Phase out nuclear power
- Increase public expenditure on insulation and conservation
- Arrest the decline in health standards
- Dismantle the British nuclear weapons system
- Provide greater controls over polluting industries
- Bring in a Freedom of Information Act
- Set up major inner-city regeneration schemes
- Begin a massive programme for improving the condition of housing
- Set up a special government department to cover women's issues.

Labour, says GLV, is the only alternative to the Tories that can realistically form a government and put these policies into practice. Contact: GLV, 58 Mickie Way, Forest Hill, Oxford [08677 2679].

HOLISTIC HOLIDAYS

OAK DRAGON Camps provide holistic educational holidays for people of all ages, backgrounds, nationalities and paths. They are designed for "individuals and families seeking healthy new perspectives and down-to-earth experiences." Known teachers and facilitators are chosen for their "integrity, originality and naturalness, creating a relaxed atmosphere of growth and sharing."

Justin Laurence has run three seasons of educational camps at Glastonbury, and has now set up a programme covering a number of sites in England, Cornwall and Wales. Areas covered include arts and crafts, music and dance, healing, earth mysteries and Celtic archaeology, astrology, and new age communities. Marquees, children's facilities, food, and hot tubs and showers are provided: you bring your own tent or mobile home. Camps last 7-10 days and cost £80 - £100 per adult (children £30) all-in.

Info: Oak Dragon project, PO Box 5, Castle Cary, Somerset [0963 40939]. In Wales, write to Eifane, Mynydd Cerrig, Dyfed SA15 5BD [0269 870959].

• "Bicycle Beano" have just issued their sixth annual brochure of cycling holidays in mid-Wales and the borders. The cost starts at £110 for 7 days (reductions for under-14s), with more expensive options with indoor accommodation. Both the lazy and the energetic are welcome, cycling route sheets are provided, and exercise is tempered with the temptations of real ale, cream teas and sunbathing. Informal bike maintenance workshops will be run by Sarah Dent (from Wheel Right in Birmingham) on two of the holidays.

Info: Bicycle Beano, Erwood, Bulith Wells, Powys LD2 3EJ [09823 676].

MEN AGAINST SEXISM

TWO MEETINGS in Manchester, both at 7 pm at the YMCA Building, Peter Street. March 4: 'Men and Sex'. March 11: 'Antisexist mens' activities and groups in Manchester'. Info: Manchester Men against Sexism, PO Box 25, Manchester M14 6ND [061 225 6137]. "Growing up to be men, we have a lot of experience in common, but sometimes find it difficult to share that experience with other men."

BOYCOTT THE BULLFIGHT

ANIMAL AID has launched a campaign to discourage British tourists from attending bullfights in Spain. Some tour operators and agents still promote bullfights, and should be avoided (with a letter telling them why): these include Globalair, Thomas Cook, Enterprise, and Club 18-30. Thomson and Horizon have agreed to join Animal Aid's list of operators which will not even include bullfights in their lists of optional tours: if you book through them, be sure to write and tell them why. Leaflets are available for campaigning: £1 per 100, £4 per 500, or £6 per 1000 from Animal Aid, 7 Castle Street, Tonbridge, Kent TN9 1BH.

Croydon's Tory Council has voted 44-12 to ban circuses using performing animals from their area, after a campaign by Croydon Animal Aid. In Sheffield, an AA group has gained a council ban on the giving of goldfish as prizes on their land. Haringey Council has stopped selling veal in its canteens, after being presented with a 2000 signature petition and the result of a ballot of council workers showing that 53 out of 60 supported a ban. And Nottingham Animal Rights Confederation has successfully pressed Notts County Council to adopt a Charter for Animal Rights and Welfare.

BUILDING SOCIETY REPORT

THE ECOLOGY Building Society reports a 33.5% increase in assets in 1986, with a net inflow of funds of over £400,000. It is now more optimistic about the consequences of the Building Societies Act, which it had thought might threaten its ability to advance most of the categories of loan it exists to provide. Lobbying by investors and borrowers appears to have had an effect.

The society holds its AGM on March 28 at the Birchcliffe Centre, Hebden Bridge, West Yorks. This will be an "Ecology Day", with stalls and entertainments, and wholefood refreshments provided by one of the society's borrowers who runs a wholefood restaurant. Visits may be arranged to local properties where the EBS has helped with a mortgage. The day runs from 11 to 5, with the AGM (for members only) in a separate room at 2. To book stalls, phone 0535 35933.

Info: EBS, 8 Main Street, Crosshills, Kelghley, W Yorks BD20 8TB.

MIKE HUSKISSON APPEAL

INVOLVED IN the animal rights movement for many years, Mike Huskisson was sentenced on September 25 last to 18 months imprisonment for his involvement in the burglary of documents from the Royal College of Surgeons, documents which led to the College's conviction for causing unnecessary suffering to a 10 year old monkey called Mone. A fund has now been set up to help Mike and his family. Please support this fund: contact Dave Wetton, Mike Huskisson Appeal, 100 London Road, Crayford, Kent DA1 4BT.

A sponsored walk in aid of the fund starts from Tonbridge Castle at 11 am on Sun March 15. Sponsor forms from the above address, cheques payable to "Mike Huskisson Appeal".

PLYMOUTH MAG

PLYMOUTH GREEN Collective is producing its own magazine, Alternative Times. Articles, etc. to the Resource Centre, Virginia House, Peacock Lane, Plymouth.

STONEHENGE '87

MEETINGS WILL be held at 88 Torriano Avenue, London NW5 on March 19 and April 23 (workshop at 4, meeting at 7). Plans for this year include pilgrimages from London and elsewhere, setting off at the beginning of June and gathering in Wiltshire for a festival in the week leading up to the solstice. There will be support vehicles to carry belongings. There'll be a weekend party at Calleva (Roman town near Silchester, SW of Reading) on Sat June 6. The solstice itself is on Sun June 21 at 23.11 BST, with sunrise at 5.43.

A go-for-it benefit will be held on May 31 at 88 Torriano Avenue (food and drink, poetry and acoustic music - bring an instrument): tickets in advance only.

DERBYSHIRE GREEN GATHERING

ANYONE WHO can help organise a Green Gathering in Derbyshire in May (probably 23/24 or 30/31), also bands and acts who could play benefits for this and the Stonehenge '87 Campaign in the North Midlands, please contact Nik, at Green Peak, 109 Wharf Road, Pinxton, Derbyshire. Negotiations with the County Council, who have offered two possible sites, are expected to bear fruit shortly.



GREEN GATHERING SITE FUND

THE SUNSEED Trust has offered to guarantee a loan of up to £25,000 to enable the Green Collective to purchase a permanent site for the Green Gathering. The collective is looking for a site of about 40 acres, near Glastonbury or in the south / west / central area (any suggestions to Glastonbury 32452).

There is still no site for this year's gathering, although other arrangements are proceeding. It has not proved possible to use the Lambert's Hill Farm site again, as Michael Eavis (farmer / organiser of the CND Festival) has put pressure on the farmer there to safeguard the CND Festival by keeping other events away from the Pilton area.

Meanwhile plans are going ahead for the Green Field at the CND Festival this year. Co-ordinator is Kim McGavin [028 883 421]; book stalls through Anne Waterhouse [0722 742977]. Weekend meeting and site visit at Easter.

BRUM GREENS

THE WEST Midlands Think Green Network links many organisations working on the greening of Birmingham and the Black Country. It offers a resource centre with a comprehensive range of services including many of interest to teachers. Contact: 3 Tower Street, Birmingham B19 3RL [021 359 3973].

ORGANIC WINES

VINTAGE ROOTS is a new importer of French organic wines. Their list includes 11 wines, red, white and sparkling, starting at £3.42 a bottle. Several are vegan. Cheapest case is £43.90 delivered. List from Vintage Roots, 88 Radstock Road, Reading, Berks. [0734 662569].

For those who believe home-produced wines to be more ecological, Pine Ridge Vineyard produces organic Sussex apple wine. A case of 12 bottles is £29.50 delivered. Address: Pine Ridge Vineyard, Robertsbridge, E Sussex [058083 715].

Bibendum (113 Regents Park Road, NW1 8UR - 01 588 8781) sell French organic wines, with five on their latest list. Starting price £2.70 a bottle, but they only sell by the case. Cheapest case is £31.05 (you can mix), delivery free in London, £3 per consignment elsewhere. NB: Cranks retail organic wines, but buy at least some of them from Bibendum at the "case" prices. So you can go straight to Bibendum yourself, and pay a fraction of the Cranks price!

Garlands Organic Farm Shop (Upper Basildon, near Reading, Berks - 0491 671556) sells organic French and German wines. Their list of 13 wines starts at £2.95 a bottle, 5% discount for cases. Garlands deliver in an area some 20 - 30 miles round Reading, and also carry a wide range of organic vegetables, fruit and wholefoods: customers can call, or place a weekly order by phone which is then delivered to your door.

PR; Getting Parliament into Proportion

IN ONE respect, the outcome of the forthcoming general election is irrelevant. No matter who "wins", electoral reform is sure to be high on the political agenda.

In increasing years there has been increasing dissatisfaction with our present 'first past the post' electoral system. This reached a peak in 1983 when Margaret Thatcher's party captured 61% of the seats in the general election, although they had only 44% of the votes cast. In view of the fact that the turnout for the election was only 75%, this means that her cast-iron majority is based on the votes of less than 1/3 of the electorate.

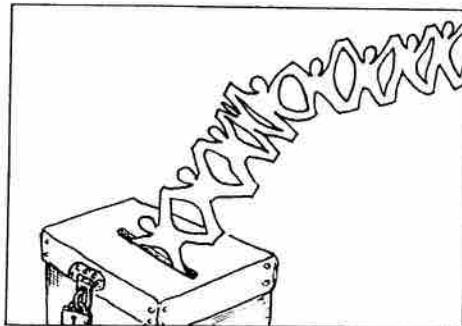
In view of these and other similar results, there has been a widespread demand for a change to proportional representation (PR), with a lot of support in the media and among politicians of all parties (yes - even some Tories!). Any system of election in which the seats won by a party are in proportion to the percentage of votes cast for that party is a PR system. However, different systems differ in the degree of proportionality they offer.

At one extreme is the system used in Israel, often used as an example by the anti-PR lobby. There the whole country is treated as one constituency: if you get 1% of the vote you get one seat. This system leads to a large number of small parties, because the threshold of votes needed is so low. It also means there is no direct link between an MP and any one constituency.

The Single Transferable Vote (STV) system is in operation in several countries, and is the one advocated by the SDP / Liberal Alliance. As proposed for the UK, there would be about 130 - 140 constituencies, most having 5 or 6 MPs. The voter would place the candidates in order: 1st choice, 2nd choice, etc. The first choices would all be counted, and the votes of those people voting for candidates who lost on the first round would be reallocated to

the remaining candidates. The actual process of counting is complex, but the outcome is that all voters have played a part in selecting the successful MPs; if not through their first choices, then through their 2nd and 3rd choices, etc.

Although this system would give some degree of proportionality to the "major" parties, it would still effectively cut out the smaller parties. This is because a candidate would need to get at least 15% of first preference votes in a 6-member constituency to have any chance of being elected, and even more in smaller wards. If the Green Party could expect, say, 5% - 10% of the vote in most areas, then clearly very few candidates would be elected in spite of wide electoral support. The Welsh Party and the Scottish Nationalists would be similarly affected.



Furthermore, although STV can be seen to work reasonably well in a large urban area, even the proponents agree that in areas like the Scottish Highlands and rural Wales, STV with 4 to 6 members would not work. The enormous size of such constituencies together with the difficulties of communication would make any purported "constituency link" worthless.

Another major PR system is the

Additional Member System (AMS) as used in West Germany. It's simple. Each voter is given two votes. One vote is used for an individual MP, and the other is used for a party. Half the MPs are elected as constituency MPs in the traditional, first past the post method, using the first vote. The other half are elected as party MPs ("additional members") using regional lists submitted in advance by the parties in such a manner that the final representation in parliament is in proportion to the total second votes cast. There is one important provision. To prevent any very small or extremist parties exerting undue influence, a party must achieve 5% of the vote or 3 constituency MPs before being entitled to any additional members.

The advantages of this system are that it maintains the link between voter and MP, whilst allowing a say in who should control the government. It also gives genuine proportionality.

The last parliamentary committee that looked at electoral systems decided that STV was the best system for the UK (in spite of the fact that the UK helped set up the AMS system in West Germany). This is hardly surprising! The established political parties know that the effect of STV would be to convert a cosy two-party system into a slightly less cosy three-party system, whereas AMS would mean the beginning of truly representative democracy. Asking sitting MPs to decide on the method of electing MPs is a bit silly anyway: it is the electors who should decide.

If the green movement is to move from the fringes to become an integral part of future politics, we must start getting our message across loud and clear - not only about the need for proportional representation itself, but also about which is the best PR system to adopt for Westminster elections. The AMS system is clearly the best: don't let them go for anything less.

• CHRIS SIMPSON and IAN SMITH.



Living Green is edited by GRAHAM HOOPER.

UNSHELVED

WHAT TO do with those books that you've read and are now sitting ignored in the bookcase when others could benefit from them? Here are two interesting suggestions that have come my way:

1) Books could be passed on to friends and acquaintances with an instruction on the inside cover to the effect of: 'this book lives by being read. Please read then pass on to someone else.' This a book will be read by several people instead of just one, (hopefully) saving paper.

2) The Ranfurly Library Service collects books and despatches them free to developing countries where there is a demand for books in English. Unsuitable books are sold or sent for pulping, raising money to meet the service's cash needs. Why not organise a collection of unused books to send to them. Their address is: Ranfurly Library Service, Third Floor, 14-20 Shand St, London SE1 2ES. Tel:01 403 3864.

SOFA SO GOOD

MANY TIMBER products manufactured these days have wood from tropical rainforests in their make-up, and avoiding tropical wood when buying wooden furniture or whatever can be difficult. One could of course buy secondhand but this is not always possible.

FoE have produced a Tropical Hardwood Product List to aid conscientious purchasers as part of their Tropical Hardwood Campaign to reduce tropical hardwood imports by consumer action.

FoE are also appealing for more information on tropical hardwood products to update the list and to produce a "Good Wood Guide". They would also like info on alternatives, such as products of temperate hardwoods, and particularly examples of alternatives to products listed in the Tropical Hardwood Product List.

A Tropical Hardwood Campaign action pack is available to individuals and local FoE groups and it, and a copy of the Tropical Hardwoods list, can be obtained from Charles Secrett or Simon Counsell c/o FoE, 377 City Rd, London EC1V 1NA.

BRIGHT IDEAS?



HAVE ANY of you readers any original energy or resource-saving tips and ideas? For example, a new way of washing up that uses less water? Send them in to GL for inclusion in Living Green, along with any other material relevant to leading a greener and less destructive lifestyle.

News from FoE

FOOD FROM THE FORESTS

ACCORDING TO FoE's new leaflet on tropical rainforests, our lifestyles are heavily dependent on the survival of the rainforests.

As well as protecting the soil and regulating the weather systems, rainforests are valuable sources of genetic and raw material for medicines, rubber, plastics, soaps and many other of our household products - and food. For instance, tea, coffee, sugar, several species of fruit, rice, maize, cocoa and nuts are some of the foods that originated in the forests and whose wild relatives provide revitalising genetic material to improve yield and resistance to pests or diseases. Even the domestic chicken has been bred from red jungle fowl of the Indian forests. Finally, at least 1650 known tropical forest plants have potential as vegetable crops.

Food for thought?

• Local FoE groups raised a total of £15,000 for FoE UK last year, £5,000 up on 1986.

• With the increasing interest being shown in diesel as a car fuel in addition to its exclusive use in buses and lorries, FoE have produced a timely report that takes a critical look at pollution by diesel engines. The report considers the effects of emissions on health and the environment and the possible means of control. It highlights the weakness of legislation regarding diesel engines in Europe compared with America and makes a number of policy suggestions, particularly the need for an objective test of smoke emissions. The report, Air Pollution From Diesel Vehicles, is by Dr. Claire Holman and available from FoE, 377 City Rd, London EC1V 1NA at £3.00.

• FoE have launched Action On Drinking And Driving along with other medical and motoring groups to campaign for random breath testing. Where it has been introduced abroad, random testing has had an excellent record in reducing drink-drive road accidents. If you want to show your support, write to MPs, newspapers etc. and if you don't, then consider the 2000 people killed every year through drunken driving.

• May 18th has been designated FoE Day Of Action On Potholes and local groups will be organising protests. Contact Roger Higman of FoE at City Rd for further info.

• A Women And The Environment conference will take place on March 7th in the London Women's Centre. Write to Elaine Saiter at 52D Westbere Rd, London NW2 3RU for details.

• Don't bother to ask Shell or BP to sponsor cycle lanes - a bicycle does 1,650 miles for the energy equivalent of a gallon of petrol.

ALL FOR ORGANICS

"FARM LEADERS are intent on making farming more dependent on ill-considered technology and oil-based multinationals," says Green Party agricultural spokesman Bernard Little in a comment on the Oxford Farming Conference held in January. Organic methods must be adopted, he says, and farm leaders must stop pandering to the notion that they are the victims of unstoppable technological change. He notes the prominent role of the deputy chairman of ICI at the conference.

A correspondence course in Organic Crop Production is available from Country College, and students are successfully getting all their fees paid through YTS and similar schemes, or by local authorities. In other cases employers may be able to get MSC funding for employees' courses. A leaflet is available from Country College, 5 Roseberry Terrace, Frieze Hill, Taunton, Somerset TA1 1EZ [0823 88232].

The full cost of the course, which lasts a year and takes up an estimated 200 hours inclusive of practical work in the garden, is £115 (£150 from April 1). The fee will be refunded in full if the first unit is returned in good condition within 10 days of receipt.

BIKE WEEK

THIS YEAR'S National Bike Week is to be held between May 18 and 24 and promises to be bigger and better. Each of the nine days has a different theme, including women's day, urban cycling, environment, etc. Interested cyclists and pro-bike activists can obtain information (send an A5 sae) from: National Bike Week Co-ordinator, Cyclists Touring Club, 69 Meadrow, Godalming, Surrey, GU7 3HS [04868 7217].

A T WEEKEND

THERE'S AN alternative technology weekend at the Steps Bridge Youth Hostel, Dunsford, Exeter, Devon on March 27/29. To book, contact Jeff Sleeman at the hostel. Info: 0647 52435 or 0392 217371. 25% off for those bringing their own AT hardware!

~ Recipe ~

SPLIT GREEN PEA AND TARRAGON CROQUETTES

12oz split green peas
2 bayleaves
salt
oil
1 large onion
1 clove garlic
4 tblsp fresh tarragon or 1tblsp dried
about 6 tblsp seasoned wholemeal flour
3 tblsp tarragon vinegar

Soak peas. Put in a pan with 1½ pints water and the bayleaves. Cover and bring to the boil. Simmer for 1 hour until reduced to a thick puree. Remove bayleaves. Chop onion and garlic and saute in oil until soft. Mix in the split peas and half the tarragon, and add a little flour if the mixture is too runny. Season, form into small balls (about 16) and coat in flour. Fry the croquettes in oil until golden brown, and then remove and keep warm while the sauce is made. Add a little more oil to the pan, the rest of the tarragon and the vinegar. Allow to bubble briefly and pour over the croquettes. Serve immediately.

JOBS AND THE ENVIRONMENT

A ONE-DAY conference on this theme is being held at Oxford Polytechnic on Sat March 7. The eight (all male) speakers include Michael Heseltine on "Urban Renewal and Job Creation". Bookings had to be received by the Faculty Short Course Unit at Oxford Poly by February 23, so if you're still interested ring 0865 818412 to see if there's room for you. Cost £5.

SEAL RALLY
Sunday March 15
Trafalgar Square, 2 pm



BRUCE FOR LABOUR

◦ BARRY MAYCOCK writes:

WHAT'S THIS? Bruce Kent berating peace campaigners in the February issue of *Sanity* for being less than enthusiastic about Labour's defence policy? "Stop carping, start campaigning." This is certainly a dilemma for anti-nuclear campaigners: they can't be too critical during these crucial pre-election months, and must smother their reservations. Bruce says that we've got to be pragmatic. "Politics is the art of the possible." (Harold Wilson? Machiavelli?). The trouble is that you can't get people out there canvassing if they don't feel very enthusiastic.

The implication (which I reject) of what Bruce and Labour apologists are saying is that a truly bold, consistent and radical approach to foreign and defence policy would be completely unacceptable to the electorate. But no such policy has ever been offered to them! All we have at the moment is CND's single issue (unilateral British nuclear disarmament) grafted on to quite a conservative approach to foreign policy. My own ambivalence, however, is quite apparent here. I can't see myself wanting to canvass for Labour on defence - but nevertheless I'm sure I'll be dancing in the streets when Thatcher's "thousand year Reich" comes to an end.

But whoever wins the election, my guess is that extra-parliamentary opposition will get stronger and stronger.

Coming events

• Peace camps in action
There's certainly lots going in, most of it coming from the peace camps. An ALDERMASTON CAMPAIGN has been launched to draw public attention to this infamous 'bomb factory'. The campaign has been initiated by women, but is not strictly women-only. A women's peace camp is well established, with lots of good actions. Send for a full info pack from "The Aldermaston Campaign", PO Box 28, Newbury, Berks (with a donation if possible). And please do anything (nonviolent, and respectful of the women's initiatives in this) to bring Aldermaston Weapons Research Establishment to the public attention.

• Don't tell anyone... but CORSHAM in North Wilts is the site of the Central Government War HQ (in Westwells Road, Hawthorn). Officially the place doesn't exist. Another stage of the Snowball is being held there on Saturday April 4 - details from Brian Jones [Bath 318563].

• Do you fancy marching to FASLANE, where the Trident fleet is to be based, from these five places that play major parts in the Trident programme? March 26, HMS Vulcan; April 18, Torness; April 20, Glengarry; April 24, Chapelcross; and also Barrow in Furness. Details from Faslane Peace Camp, Helensburgh, Dunbartonshire [0436 820901].

• And looking ahead to April, UPPER HEYFORD PEACE CAMP and friends are organising a march and demonstrations to mark the anniversary of the bombing of Libya by USAF planes from the base, and to show solidarity with the victims of US policy throughout the world. On Sat

April 11 a march leave Upper Heyford at 9 am, re-assembling in Cutteslowe Park (by the A40 north of OXFORD) at 1 pm for a march through the city to a rally at 4 pm at Oxpens Field near the city centre. There will be speakers from many groups concerned with US policy, as well as music and refreshments. On April 14/15 there will be a vigil from Tuesday 6 pm to Weds noon at the main gate of the base, with DIRECT ACTION on the Wednesday (theme: "Stop the Flying"). Plenty of space at the camp for tents, and limited accommodation for those without; can men please leave the area round the women-only bender for women's tents. If you plan to bring kids, please give notice so a creche can be arranged.

The organising group is ad hoc, with support from a lot of groups (including CND) but no funds. If you can help distribute posters or leaflets, or with the organisation in advance or on the day; if you want a stall at the rally; or if your organisation can make a donation; please write to "April Event", c/o 34 Cowley Road, Oxford, or phone Nuala [0865 722883] or Martin [0865 242229]. Information about the vigil and the trespass from Upper Heyford Peace Camp, Portway, Camp Road, Upper Heyford, Oxon.

•••
A month of events has been organised by LAMBETH Council to mark International Women's Day (March 8). CND has organised a mass demo against nuclear weapons, nuclear power, mining and waste dumping in PARLIAMENT SQUARE on March 6, 2-6. Christian peace groups have an Ash Wednesday Action in WHITEHALL at the MoD on March 4 [info: 01-250 4010]. "Steps to Nuclear Disarmament" is the title of a public meeting in GREENWICH Town Hall on March 5 at 7.30, with speakers invited including John Silkin, Simon Hughes and John Mapels.

CAPENHURST SNOWBALL

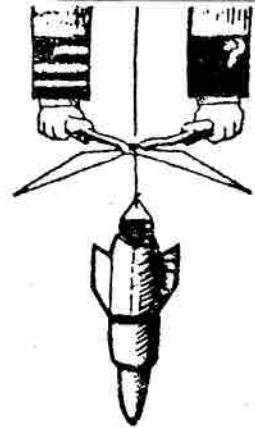
JAN SEAR writes:

THE SIXTH Capenhurst Snowball on Sat April 4 will be something of an 'occasion', an event not to be missed. We are aiming for 100 people to cut the fence and, more important, to combine the Snowball with a Spring Festival with stalls, music and well-known speakers (E P Thompson, Paul Johns and Meg Beresford have been approached).

Why Capenhurst? BNFL's uranium enrichment plant on the Wirral has been the scene of all types of protest over the last five years because of the link between Trident and the new A3 military plant (costing £100,000,000). This MoD installation will produce highly-enriched uranium for Trident submarine reactors and, after 5 years, will produce weapons grade uranium. BNFL Capenhurst is also engaged in the reprocessing of "old" uranium from reactors at Chapel Cross and Calder Hall, contaminated by decay products of fission which is more dangerous and radioactive.

Capenhurst supports apartheid in Namibia by using uranium mined in the notorious Rossing mine owned by the British multinational RTZ. Black miners are exploited in inhuman conditions, working in clouds of radioactive dust, and without trade unions. A private army quells unrest. BNFL and Britain overtly support a harsh apartheid regime by using this uranium at Capenhurst. The plant is also part of the civil nuclear power programme, enriching uranium in the form of uranium hexafluoride to produce fuel for nuclear power programmes. Uranium 238 is used as a "tamper" for nuclear bombs, a "blanket" for H-bombs, and as a target rod in military reactors.

If you would like to register to take part in the Snowball, have a stall, are a musician, could support the event, or would simply like more information,



please contact Merseyside CND, c/o 24 Hardman Street, Liverpool 3, or phone 051 708 7764 any Tuesday.

• A Snowball day school, with NVDA training, is being held on Sun March 1 at Bishop Lloyd's Palace, Watergate Row, Chester, from 10.30 to 4. Phone 051 722 5388 for details.

PLOUGHSHARES

PLOUGHSHARES HAS grown out of the Tools for Eritrea campaign and the actions involving planting of wheat at Molesworth. Activists have felt that the cause is best served by local actions, and a digging action is being organised at RAF St Mawgan for Easter Saturday (April 19). Workshops and other preparations; meet in Penzance on Good Friday, venue to be fixed. This will be preceded by a campaign of tool collecting for Eritrea throughout the south-west, and a final collecting tour starting from Exeter on April 10. There may be tool collecting campaigns in some towns in other parts of the country. Groups in the south-west who would like more information, or a speaker (with slide show), and anyone interested in taking part in the actions, should contact Ploughshares, 2 Rosebury Road, Lipson, Plymouth.

Two Plymouth women who set up a "permanent" peace camp outside the naval nuclear arms depot at Bull Point on Jan 24 were forcibly removed nine days later by 13 MoD police, who refused to show any documents or warrant. The women had set up a large tent in which they were refurbishing tools as part of the Ploughshares campaign.

CRUISE CONVOY RIOT

MICHELLE INGLESON of the Green Party has written to the Chief Constable of the Thames Valley Police asking for proper implementation of the new Public Order Act. The Act says that conviction is warranted "where 12 or more persons who are present together use or threaten unlawful violence for a common purpose and the conduct of them (taken together) is such as would cause a person of reasonable firmness present at the scene to fear for his personal safety." The definition of "violent conduct" includes "throwing at or towards a person a missile of a kind capable of causing injury," it being sufficient to be found guilty of riot that "a person intends to use violence or is aware that his conduct may be violent."

On this basis, Michelle argues that it is the duty of the police to arrest cruise missile convoys upon leaving their bases.



Family life

Archetypes of inequality

The Family is a hotbed of problems. At the same time, it's the only "convivial" environment within which most people seek to develop themselves and explore the meaning of relationship. In this article, MARTIN RYLE argues that one of the major problems which undermines the development of meaningful relationships is the division of labour which is seen as "normal" in family life. Another is the current fashion among many greens - and among eco-feminists in particular - of dividing people along sex divisions understood in the language of gender "archetypes", with a consequent betrayal of our individuality and complexity and a rejection of the need for changes at a practical, everyday level.

SOME OF THE difficulties in writing about the family assail you even as you try to define the term. We can perhaps agree that the family comprises, as its original basis, a woman and a man and their child or children. But then adjectives and phrases crowd in, whether we want to accept or reject them: the family is / is not lifelong, monogamous, patriarchal, based economically on the man's wage, "nuclear"... And what family are we trying to define? The "norm" (i.e. tying image) of advertising? The actual and various forms and consequences of "family life" as they exist socially? Our own families - the ones in which we were children, the ones in which we may be parents? Or perhaps our ideal of the family, our utopia, which might be the goal of green politics insofar as that politics envisages the continuation of the family at all...

Some of the terms are descriptive ("based on the male wage"); others ("patriarchal") are also evaluative; others ("monogamous") will evoke approval in one reader, impatience in another. The family focusses conflicting and competing political / moral / ideological perspectives which clash inside us too. In my head I hear voices from the libertarian sexual politics of the late 1960s, prophesying and welcoming the "death of the family". I see and hear my parents, now divorced, and remember my own very happy childhood - spoiled forever now because I have to believe that my parents did not love each other, or did not do so as I need to love my lover. I register sarcastically, but not perhaps as coolly as I think, the "official version", the "dominant ideology" as purveyed in cornflake ads and in Royal Weddings, where the Sun's picture of Princess Di displaces for a day the page 3 girl who as a rule - "normally" - invites the paterfamilias to enjoy a wank. Above all, and as the inspiration for whatever deliberate changes I have been able to make in myself and in the way I live my sexuality, I hear the voices of feminism - inspiring even when they contradict each other, even when I disagree with them.

But to speak of "differences deliberately made", of my 12 year love affair with K. as if it were a project, is half false. It was rather nonchalantly, so it now seems, that we chose to have children (K.'s daughter, now 18, had lived with us from the first) and determined (without any formal bargaining, though equally without hesitation or disagreement, and we have carried this through completely) to share equally from the very start in caring for the babies / children, just as we'd always shared other housework. (Luckily we've always made ends meet with the bits and pieces of part-time work we've both had.) So that now we find ourselves the couple at the centre of a family, with a son of 9 and a daughter of 5.

Why is it that after this nonchalance - this reluctance, maybe, to confront myself as "father of a family" - I now want to express some of what I feel about it all? One impulse, I admit, is defensive. The family doesn't get much of a press on the left. If not dismissal, there is often reticence. In all the discussion of gender

and sexual politics in GL over the past couple of years, there's been little sustained consideration of the family. Rightly pushed aside from its oppressive role as the norm against which to judge and condemn all other ways of living, is the family becoming no more than an anti-norm for the political avant-garde? If so, I want to register a protest.

But it's important to be clear about what one's "defending". To repeat the point just touched on: to say that the family (man and woman and child/ren living together, with the couple committed in intention to staying together till death parts them) can be a good setting for the happiness and development of its members, and can play its part in a more autonomous and emancipated wider society, must not be understood as a rejection of other, non-familial ways of living. What is more difficult to say - because it involves a measure of moralising, of seeming to prescribe the "right" kind of family - is that I believe "family life" can only point to a different future insofar as there is a challenge to the division of labour at the heart of the traditional family, where the man is mostly out at work and the woman mostly at home while the kids are small.

Of course, economic pressure makes it very difficult for many women and men to break down that division even if they want to. But in my own view, that is the objective. If so, we need to do what we can, wherever we can, to realise it in the here and now.

What is the relation between the old/new family that I've been talking about and have been living in, and the wider perspective of green politics? How do the values which it embodies relate to the language in which greens talk about maleness, femaleness and gender? To try and answer those questions was the other reason, apart from my feeling of "defensiveness", why I set out to write this piece.

• A green politics of the family

It is one thing to write about the family in a green movement magazine, and to do so in the recognition that this is a very political question. It is another to argue that greens have, or should have, a "politics of the family" in the sense of prescribing or advocating particular ways of living. Myself, I think this would be quite mistaken. The green perspective is at once more and less ambitious. Rather than drawing up blueprints for how we should live sexually and emotionally, we are concerned with altering the structures within which those choices have to be made.

The key here is the economic (or "anti-economic") perspective of the greens. Socialism in its major forms has become not just a "politics of production" - as Neil Kinnock has it - but a profoundly productivist politics. Labour politicians, absorbing the central impulse of capitalism, present the "need" to produce more, more

"efficiently", as their chief priority. Against this, the greens are saying that reproduction (making / doing what's needed for everyday living) on a much simplified scale must be our crucial concern. We actually need to withdraw energy and social labour from the productivist "formal economy", and break free of the "economic laws" which subordinate our lives to productivist imperatives.

This reevaluation of the "informal economy" has a double background. First of all, it obeys the ecological wisdom which tells us that of course we can't go on like this, making everything hinge round the business of turning the planet's resources of energy and raw materials and human lives into commodities. But green politics also moves from the conviction that, given the satisfaction of "basic needs" (a deeply problematic term which can itself only be "defined" by political argument and agreement), our wellbeing depends on the recapture of space, time and energy for "non-economic activities" - talking, walking, listening to music, cooking and eating, being together, loving. In a greener world, we would spend more time "at home". Judith Plant points out (GL48) that a better realisation of what home (oikos) is and might become could be the catalyst in a wider ecological reawakening.

This would have repercussions for "family life". Even if much of the energy recaptured from production would go into "public" activities and projects - music making, education in the broadest sense, and so on - there would still be a need to make our families or other convivial arrangements more attractive and vital than they often are today. At present many people find welcome release in the opportunity to get away from home, even if only to help turn out barbecue flavoured crisps. And shorter working hours would create the material basis - restricted at present to those with part-time work and those who find themselves psychologically able to make a creative use of unemployment - for a redefinition of roles, especially gender roles, within the family.

• Archetypes and the division of labour
If I return to the division of labour, it's because I see it as the focal point where gender differences are materially reproduced. This is where the diverse individuality of wo/men living together is habitually simplified by an allocation of tasks which assumes at the outset what it then goes on to institute: namely, that women are better at caring, that babies need mums more than they need dads, that men are better fitted to public / economic / creative / competitive "struggle"...

Several contributors to the gender debate in Green Line have made similar points. However, the debate as a whole has been largely conducted in the language of gender archetypes, of woman / nature opposed to man / culture. This is a language which itself bears all the marks of the stereotyping we are trying to challenge and transcend, to say nothing of the fact that the Nazis too thought that women were "close to nature".

I suppose we could sum up the underlying eco-feminist argument like this: The dominance of men has meant the suppression not just of women but of female values and principles. This has led to / been expressed in

a one-sided instrumental science and technology in which nature and the earth are seen just as something to be used, exploited. In order to survive, we now have to reassert "female values".

This is the core proposition of a book like Brian Easlea's "Fathering the Unthinkable" (which shows "male science" at work in the builders of the A-bomb), and no one in the green movement will deny that it seems to grasp something wrong with our culture. And yet, and yet... in the end I cannot overcome my resistance to all forms of "archetypal" thinking. As expressed in essays like those by John Rowan (GL44) or Monica Sjo (GL36) I find it reactionary, irrationalist and dangerous. Even in Judith Plant's recent essay (GL48), almost all of whose conclusions and proposals I agree with, I find myself wincing at phrases like "women, with their biological connection with life-giving..." Judith Plant's argument, like the eco-feminist position in general, seems to invoke two incompatible perspectives. Are women really different, because of some "biological connection"? Or is it that women have been seen as "close to nature", and have seen themselves like that, but that this is part of what we want to change?

• The need for practical change
My rejection of "archetypal" language has several motives. It is certainly bound up with a more general suspicion of non- or anti-rational, "mystical" terminology - a suspicion which no doubt sets me at odds with many greens, and which there's no space to defend here. Suffice it to say that while it's true - and important to acknowledge - that none of us are just "rational beings", it is one thing to recognise the reality and potential of non-rational energies and experiences, but another and dangerous move to invoke the irrational as part of a political credo.

I would also contest ideas of a natural / archetypal difference between women and men because, being themselves derived from the status quo, they tend to leave us, even intellectually, where we began. As Jan Palliser wrote in GL41: "Take for instance the nature / culture division, which has traditionally assigned women to 'natural' roles... Those women who now argue that women are 'closer to nature' and therefore superior to men are falling into the old trap..."

I would contest them, too, because in deriving our character / temperament from our gender, they obscure our individuality. Katy Graham summed this up in her angry reply to John Rowan's "Horned God" piece (GL44): "To reduce the male and female to archetypes is a dangerous game... Frankly there is more to me than my womb and cunt. Reduce women to such an essence and you deny those who cannot or do not wish to bear children any meaning to their existence. Until such time as men and women remove such archetypal ideas from their thinking and treat each other as individual, complex human beings, no progress will be made in achieving a sane balance."

Finally, and this brings us back to the family, I believe that change is little use if it is simply undertaken in introspective, self-centred "archetypal" psycho-voyages. John Rowan argues that political action must be preceded by a man's "work on himself at an unconscious level... He must work at himself at a spiritual level... getting in touch with his own real self... daring to die all over again into the world of the Goddess, and being reborn as the Horned God..." It is more to the point, and also much more demanding - it certainly hasn't produced simple, calm happiness, that kind of easily harmonious utopia in my life - to make concrete practical changes. The family, like any other convivial arrangement where men and women share living space and care together for children and for each other, is one place where those practical changes can happen, and where we can cease to see ourselves and each other only through the reducing lens of gender.



Grün means GO!

Green Line sent its very own reporter to Bonn and Hamburg to cover the recent West German federal elections. More or less recovered from the experience, LEIGH SHAW-TAYLOR now presents the first in a series of articles on the Green political scene in Germany.

DIE GRÜNEN

ARRIVING IN Bonn it was impossible not to notice the election campaign. Over half the city's billboards were carrying huge adverts for one political party or another and thousands of smaller posters were attached to lamp posts. The billboards for the established parties were uniformly drab. The imposing pictures of the candidates, anonymous men in grey suits, overwritten with trite slogans such as 'Both votes for the CDU' and 'SPD the party of freedom'. The Greens' billboards were in sharp contrast, each one being imaginatively painted by hand and therefore different from the others. Pictures of the candidates were conspicuous by their absence: each billboard dealt with a particular political issue such as the right to asylum and the government's policy on the environment. Like their billboards, the Greens' posters were much more visually exciting than those of their rivals.

The most striking difference between election campaigning in Germany and Britain is the complete absence of door to door canvassing. However in place of the tiny and uninformative leaflets that come through the letterbox in this country the Bonn Greens have been producing a small newspaper - a single tabloid sheet called GrunePhase. Financial and human constraints have limited the print run to 20,000 copies (Bonn has 300,000 inhabitants) once a quarter, with monthly editions in the run up to the election. They have been delivered door to door in areas with a high green vote. These areas have a high population of students, academics and old people. Solidly working class areas get a miss.

All over Bonn, the Greens held meetings where the public could meet their candidate, typically drawing between ten and twenty people. They also held larger public meetings attracting up to 200. They had the usual problem of largely preaching to the converted.

The party faithful braved the subzero temperatures to run information stalls in the city centre once a week and once a day in the last week. At these stalls they really came into contact with non Green voters who frequently raised questions on such emotive issues as abortion, socialism and nuclear weapons.

• The electoral system

The electoral system in West Germany has been a key element in the success of the Greens. West Germany is a federal republic composed of eleven states each with its own parliament and government. Elections to the federal parliament in Bonn are a combination of proportional representation and a first past the post system similar to our own. Every party puts up a candidate in each constituency as well as a list of candidates for each state. Every voter has two votes, the first for a candidate and the more important second vote for a party list. The eventual number of MPs from each

state going to the federal parliament in Bonn depends on the proportion of the second votes polled by each party. Firstly the candidate with the highest number of votes in each constituency is elected (as in the UK, the Greens could never expect to win a seat on this basis). The proportion of MPs is then corrected using the list. This is done by electing MPs from the list going as far down the list as is necessary (all the Greens elected would thus be drawn from the list). Hence the system gives both constituency MPs and proportional representation. One side effect is that the total number of MPs fluctuates from one parliament to another. Any party polling less than 5% in a state gets no MPs elected from that state. The government pays the parties just under £2 for each vote they receive so long as they get more than half a percent of the vote - a sharp contrast to the British system of stiff fines euphemistically called parliamentary deposits. The payments are one off but are also made for elections at the local and state level.

Neither left nor right

HERMANN GRUHL, one of the co-founders of the Greens, and originator of the slogan "We are neither right nor left but in front", found his efforts to stop the Greens becoming a leftist party thwarted. He and about a thousand others left the party before the '83 election which propelled the Greens into parliament. Showing the true colours of the thinking behind this kind of slogan Gruhl founded the right wing Ecological Democratic Party (ODP). In January's election the ODP found themselves to the right and well behind, not even approaching the 0.5% required for government funding. Perhaps he should think about rejoining the party from which he came - the CDU!

nor anywhere

• Election results

The federal elections took place on January 25 as the last of the smog cleared over many German cities. The Greens got 8.3% of the vote (up from 5.6% in 1983) with three million votes (second votes). They exceeded the 5% threshold in every state reaching 14% in Bremen and 11% in Hamburg, both city states and therefore almost entirely urban. The lowest Green vote was 7.1% in Saarland. The votes tended to be higher in the cities. In Munich, West Germany's largest city after West Berlin, the Greens got 13.4%, while their highest vote was 21% in Freiburg. There were very few parts of the country where they polled less than 5%.

The election campaign itself was pretty dull because the result was a foregone conclusion. Everyone knew that the Conservative coalition would be returned to power since the SPD and the Greens couldn't hope to get much

over 45% of the vote combined. There were a couple of surprises. The neo-nazi party, the NPD, got 0.5% which means they are entitled to government money; and the Liberals (FDP) polled 9.1%.

Direct action fells pylons

AFTER THE Chernobyl accident the autonomen, or autonomous groups who roughly correspond to anarchists, launched a direct action campaign against the nuclear power industry and the electricity companies that own it. In the week before the election autonomen armed with blow torches cut down their two hundredth electricity pylon since the accident.

The autonomen are one of the groups most critical of the Greens. They argue that the Greens have taken an enormous amount of energy off the streets and buried it in the harmless safety valve of institutionalised democracy. The Greens argue that they are in fact helping to sustain the momentum of the extra-parliamentary alternative movement. Before direct action fans get carried away they should note that the government's response has been to pass new laws making it a terrorist offence for three or more people to cut down a pylon. The new laws, which carry sentences of ten years or more in prison, were passed with the approval of a large proportion of the population. So far no one has been caught.

The coalition in Bonn is made up of three parties; the Christian Democrats (CDU), their more right-wing Bavarian variant led by Franz Josef Strauss (CSU), and the more liberal Free Democratic Party. The government's foreign policy is controlled by the FDP through the foreign minister Dietrich Genscher. Strauss had his eye on this job, wanting to put an end to detente and building up a European nuclear super-power. The CDU leader Kohl has upset a lot of traditional conservative voters with various ridiculous remarks about the East. He compared Gorbachov with Goebbels and claimed that East Germany was full of concentration



camps. Kohl's idiology and the far reaching dangers of a foreign policy controlled by Strauss caused many Germans to vote for the FDP to ensure that it was strong enough to hold on to the foreign ministry. (Many conservative voters abstained altogether.) A year or two ago the Greens had hoped that they could push the FDP out of parliament altogether. In the event their vote was higher than that of the Greens.

Campaigning under the slogan 'Show your true colours', the Greens focussed on unemployment, pensions, womens' rights, nuclear energy and the environment. The CDU carried on its mudslinging campaign from last year, trying to scare the voters. The SPD attacked the Greens at their weakest point, depicting them as incompetent on economic matters. This is one area where the Greens have failed to get their message through so far, particularly to the working class.

The new parliament will have 42 Green MPs (up from 27), 25 of them women out of a total of 497. More about them and what they do in another issue.

• **Rising fortunes**

The Greens are now an established part of the political landscape in West Germany. But only a year ago many people predicted that they were in decline. They had some disastrous state election results in 1985. In North - Rhine - Westphalia, a state containing one third of West Germany's voters, they fell below the 5% threshold (7.5% this time). These elections followed a smear campaign in the press after a debate in the party on the age of consent. The debate was portrayed in the press as a policy to legalise sex with children of all ages under the banner of freedom.

The Greens themselves were not too optimistic about their chances in the elections. One result of this was that people who were selected for the lower parts of the various lists from which they did not expect to get elected have now taken up seats in the federal parliament in Bonn. The best known beneficiary of this upsurge in the Greens' electoral fortunes is Petra Kelly. Way before the Greens entered the parliament for the first time in 1983, they decided that half way through the life of the parliament their candidates would resign and have their seats taken by more candidates from further down the list. Petra Kelly was one of the most ardent supporters of the so-called rotation. It was also decided that the Green MPs would pay most of their hefty salaries into the party coffers.

End of alliance with socialists

IN OCTOBER 1985 the Greens formed a coalition with the SPD in the state parliament in Hessen. The Greens had 7 seats out of 110, the SPD had 51. This gave the Greens their first ever minister, Joschka Fischer the environment minister, as well as Marita Halbach as secretary of state for womens' affairs. Most Greens regarded the coalition as a failure.

Since the coalition started, no steps have been taken to shift the state away from nuclear energy. Instead of tackling the root of environmental problems, Fischer has simply become responsible for them. For instance all the chemical waste dumps in Hessen are now full, and it is Fischer's job to find some other place to put the waste, which probably means exporting it. He's not in a position to stop the production of the waste. Moves by Fischer to organise the collection of household rubbish in different categories such as; waste paper, organic matter, glass etc, had to be aborted after federal intervention.

Last year a national party conference instructed the Hessen Greens to break the coalition if no moves away from nuclear energy had been initiated by October. No moves were made, but the Hessen Greens carried on with the coalition. By January even Fischer, one of

the most ardent supporters of cooperation with the SPD, was saying that he thought that cooperation with the SPD at a national level was out of the question. Finally in February, shortly after the federal election, the coalition collapsed. The cause as many people anticipated was the SPD granting an operating licence to a nuclear processing plant in the state. At a meeting of the Hessen Greens, delegates instructed their members in the state parliament to break the coalition in two weeks time if the SPD did not rescind the licence. Fischer agreed and said he would resign if the ultimatum was not accepted. Mr Boerner the state premier then wrote to Mr Fischer dismissing him. The following day Mr Boerner resigned on 'health grounds'.

It is possible that the Hessen Greens provoked Mr Boerner into breaking the coalition quite deliberately in order to enter the forthcoming state elections unhampered by their connection with the SPD. They are likely to increase their representation in the elections. They might then try to reform the coalition. However the CDU and the FDP are hopeful of winning the election, which on the strength of the federal election results in Hessen they are capable of doing.

These measures were adopted to stop members of the parliament becoming too removed from the grassroots, and to exclude careerists. Petra Kelly lost most of her credibility with party activists when she not only refused to rotate, on the basis that she was too important, but proved less than happy about handing over the money. She made it clear that she was prepared to leave the parliamentary group if necessary. The obvious response would be not to put her on the list for the '87 election. However, when the time came for drawing up the lists, the Greens were doing so badly that the Bavarian Greens decided to put Kelly on the list, sufficiently far down not to get elected, but there as a media figure to help the overall result. The irony was that they recovered, got 7.7% and Kelly is back in Bonn still very popular with the media and the voters.

Each Green list started with a woman and then alternated between men and women (except in Hamburg where they had just had a women-only list elected to the state parliament), in accordance with the party constitution which stipulates that every other party post must be filled by a woman. This resulted in nearly two thirds of the Green group in parliament being women. Another interesting feature of the Green lists was the inclusion of non Green Party members as candidates. The Greens see one of their roles in the parliament as a lobby for special interest groups and a voice for the oppressed. Consequently they have included representatives of other organisations on their list. For instance Trude Unruhe, head of an old peoples' organisation The Grey Panthers, was elected from the North - Rhine - Westphalia list. The Greens now have a sizeable constituency in the over 70s. It's in the 35-60 age group that they can't make a mark. Electing non Greens can cause problems of course; Trude Unruhe is uncomfortably authoritarian for many Greens. Another non-member was Frank Stulcken, put in prison for his part in an antinuclear demonstration. To show their solidarity for him the Hamburg Greens put him on their list. They were none too pleased when he said he thought people should give their first vote to the SPD. Maybe he just resented being put too far down the list to go to Bonn.♦♦



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More elections

There are four, or possibly five, state elections coming up this year. Going by the federal elections, the Greens are going to do pretty well in all of them, especially since they tend to get higher votes at the local level.

The first and most interesting will be on April 5 in Hessen, where the SPD-Greens coalition has finally broken up. In the federal election the Greens got 9.4% of the vote, well up on the last state election results of 5.8%.

One of Die Grunen's election hoardings:
"Political] asylum is a human right."



Long before Greenpeace set out to save the whales by direct action, the hunt saboteurs in this country were braving abuse and physical attack for the sake of hunted animals. The Hunt Saboteurs Association was formed in 1963 after years of protest and parliamentary lobbying by various people had left blood sports still flourishing and apparently unassailable. The reaction of the hunting fraternity to the HSA has been predictably violent, but the sabs are still going strong, still saving the lives of animals every week during the hunting season, though their activities are rarely headline news.

JOE HASHMAN (18), tactics officer of the HSA, here talks to BARRY MAYCOCK of Green Line about his experiences as a sab, his views on nonviolence, and his hopes for a campaign that will one day bring about the end of this obscenity.

◦ What are your feelings about what you do?

My whole life is geared to going out sabbing. I leave other things to other people. If people don't want to go out sabbing, it hurts me, but you can't force people. As far as I'm concerned, I don't want to do anything else - I go to work to finance sabbing. I can't see it being any different in the future because I can't see my views changing.

◦ How did you first get involved?

I'd been involved with animal rights for about a year; then I went on a Christmas demo at Bernard Matthews Poultry in Norfolk in 1982. On the coach someone talked about sabbing, and I asked him questions: I joined the HSA and went out on Boxing Day and did the Old Berkshire Fox Hunt at Wantage.

I had no idea what to expect. I took along a banner - "Foxhunters are Scum". It was the heaviest worded banner at the meet! I didn't know anything about tactics. I remember what happened: we spent the whole day driving round and getting angry, and at the end of the day they hadn't killed any foxes. So they went to a little earth where there were two foxes which they had left in the night before; they scraped the earth off and put the terriers in. I stood back because I was only 13 and quite small, and all the rest waded in to antagonise the terrier men so they would take their eyes and minds off getting the foxes out. Because of this one fox slipped off and ran along a hedge and escaped; then the other fox went

straight towards the pack and doubled back, and we ran out and sprayed and I followed everyone else. The person I was with knew a lot, so I spent the rest of the time asking questions.

◦ Is there much preparation to do before a hunt?

I find out about a hunt by looking in magazines and newspapers, and by my own detective work. Beagles don't advertise much any more: there are only 4 or 5 across the country that do advertise, the rest have gone completely underground. The fox hunts still advertise because they are backed up by all the heavies and the police - they are such big occasions, and they think they can deal with the sabs when we turn up. The hunts that can cope are the hunts that can beat sabs up, or have police that are sympathetic. Other hunts just go underground.

◦ Does preparation have any effect?

Yes. With foxhunting I use rook-scarers in each wood within a two-mile radius of a meet, though I don't do that any more because I can't afford it. I spray all round each wood. Often they won't find a fox till about 3 o'clock, so it does have an effect, definitely.

◦ I know you use the horn. Is it difficult to get control of the hounds?

It is a problem, getting control. When they're on the scent they're very excited and they're also following the scent,

so you've got to get them off that scent and take them away, run them across a field where there are no foxes. They don't mind, they're having a great time! But the horses can catch up with you really quickly, and the huntsmen will ride up and take the hounds off you. With beagles and basset-hounds you can take them off for the rest of the day, which is ace because it totally destroys the hunt. With fox hunts, when the hounds are with the master, you won't take them off him, because they know him, he's their boss.

◦ Do you need expertise, or is it just hard running?

Mainly expertise. If you know what you're doing, you don't need to be fit.

◦ I suppose, if you're not careful, you can do things that actually endanger the animal...

Yes. If a fox or hare is coming towards you and you're making a lot of noise, you can send it back. If you're all strung out in a line and chatting among yourselves, you can scare the animal. What I say to people is this; that from 12.30 when the hunt meets till about 4, I want their undivided attention and 100% effort - not for myself but for the animal. The hare runs round its territory in huge circles. When I'm on my own, all I do is wait till they put a hare up, and then stay there: sooner or later she will come back, and I've got 2 or 3 minutes to put the spray down and maybe take the hounds away. I have to be careful on my own: I hardly ever use a horn, because I know it will be nicked and I will be hit. But when other people are around I use it all the time. If I get hit, there are people around who will protect me.

◦ I expect you've been beaten up?

Yes, loads of times.

◦ Have you seen people badly hurt?

I've been badly hurt! I was set upon once by seven of them.

◦ Presumably, the more effective you are, the more violent they become.

Definitely. If they don't see you as a threat, they won't bother about you. I spent last season learning the groundwork. I knew how to sab, but on my own I was finding my feet using different tactics. I was going round on my moped putting the spray down, going away and hiding, and watching the hounds lose the scent. I mainly used the roads: when the fox crossed I sprayed deep into the fields and then got on my bike, and no one saw what I was doing. I was very quiet and well in front of the hunt. When they saw me go past they just laughed, because they couldn't understand what I was doing. As far as they were concerned I was always doing nothing.

Whereas this season, with cub hunting, I was using the horn a lot more to call the hounds. I spent a day in October when the hounds were in a wood, and I was positioned on a bridleway between the village and the wood, with the supporters on a bridleway on the other side. The huntsman kept putting his hounds in, and I kept calling them out: we spent no less than an hour in this sort of ping-pong, till he took them away. This was open, direct sabotage, and it showed him I can do my job.

Since then I can't go near a meet without getting threatened. So there's nothing I can do at the moment: I'll have to let the situation calm down. Unfortunately they've killed a lot of foxes.

◦ Has there been an escalation in policing?

Not really. There has been for other groups. I don't get hassled a lot. I personally don't mind as long as they don't arrest me, because when they are there I know I won't get beaten up. But other groups have had problems.

◦ Do you see the people in the hunt as personal enemies? Or do you see yourself as simply saving a life?

I do see it as saving a life. I don't have any personal animosity against them except perhaps one or two who have used violence against me. I don't see why I should respect them: they are ignorant people.

◦ Do supporters just go along to deal with the sabs, to pick a fight?

On fox hunts they do. But people within the hunt do it - and we get accused of hiring sabs out at £5 a time from the university!. But on the other hand hunts bring some hefty young farmhands who fancy a bit of bother - hunts the length and breadth of the country do that. On Boxing Day the West London group sabbed the Christ Church beagles, and one woman was sexually assaulted, not by any of the huntsmen but by a heavy brought in from outside after the hunt had finished. It didn't get reported in the press, or rather it got reported as a fight between sabs and huntsmen, though it was actually people from outside, and villagers, beating up sabs and assaulting a woman.

◦ Is nonviolence an absolute commitment for you?

For me personally it is, but I can't speak for other people.

◦ What about self-defence, hitting back?

I wouldn't do it. If I did, it would be a statement on my part that violence is acceptable. I also believe that it's not the way of going about things. Though some form of nonviolent martial arts training - that would be an effective means of self-protection.

◦ What about other forms of campaigning, such as public information campaigning?

I regard it as important, second only to direct action. I got involved myself by getting a leaflet from Animal Aid. You've got to tell people what's going on - people know about fox hunting, but not about beagling - they don't know that hares get hunted.

◦ Do you think leafletting is neglected?

Perhaps by the HSA. There is a video made by the League Against Cruel Sports which I take round and show to schools, Christians, alternative groups. It's important to talk to people: nobody has argued with me about blood sports after they've seen the video.

◦ But sabbing alone won't ban the hunts?

No, to be realistic. Ideally you want so many people out sabbing that no hunts can operate. But that's a bit of an impossibility.

◦ What's the relationship between the HSA and LACS?

I don't know why there should be animosity between the two, but there is, because the HSA came out strongly against fishing, and the League was concerned about the vote, the Labour Party vote, if they came out against fishing as well.

But I'm a supporter of the LACS, because we all want the same thing. People don't understand that in this struggle we've all got to be united, otherwise we've got no chance. If you go about something in a different way, it doesn't make it wrong - if people want to leaflet or lobby parliament, rather than sab. Everything must come together in the end - realistically, hunting will never be finished just because of sabbing, and it will never be finished because of parliamentary lobbying either. It will be finished by a combination of many things - greater public awareness, pressure from sabs, and in the end, parliament.



Women sabs distracting the hounds.

◦ Do you think this is an issue for the peace movement?

Some people in the peace movement scoff at animal rights, and scoff at hunt sabbing – and then go into McDonalds and eat meat. I find that a problem. All these issues are related: it's all part of the 'green movement'. It's the same thing in the end.

◦ What about some more violent forms of direct action?

It's desperation. People don't know where to go next. And also, with terrorism, people are excited by it. I think that as soon as anyone gets killed – a vivisectionist, or anyone – that's the day when any legal activity gets clamped down on even more, the day when we lose public support completely, and it could be the end of the animal rights movement. People could well get killed, because people are doing stupid things. They're not thinking about the animals, they're thinking about themselves.

◦ How can people best help? By joining the HSA?

Yes!! I believe that with the formation of the HSA back in 1963 we saw the beginning of people taking the situation into their own hands instead of letting other people do it for them, and this was true of a whole range of issues involving direct action.

But don't just join and get the newsletter four times a year – either sab, or offer some form of practical support like leafletting, or raising money. Without money we can't function. We are up against organisations that have so much money it's no problem for them, they are so powerful. And our vehicles get smashed up all the time. If we had a proper vehicle in our group, all our troubles would be over!

◦ Are there other problems, like organisation?

I find it very tiring. And the same few people seem to do everything. The main problem is getting new people involved. I feel under immense pressure when someone's sabbing for the first time; rightly or wrongly, I want it to be a good day, or they might not come out again. It seems the opposite of what I really want, but I almost wish that a hare would come out in front of us so they can see what sabs can do.

The trouble is that when I go out on my own I see so many amazing things, and save animals' lives: I wish people could share those moments with me. I always leave

my vehicle a couple of miles from the hunt, but as I walk back in the dark I can relive those moments. I wish people who don't go sabbing could go out every day because it's so amazing. I get sad because they're not there to share moments like that.

◦ What are the best moments for you?

Every time we go home and they haven't killed. But every sab is different. On New Year's Day I spent the whole day with the pack. There were two sabs making sure they didn't go on the road, and I had the pack all day, miles from where the hunt was: they didn't know where they were!

But there are so many other things. For example, so many times the animal runs straight past us in the field, because I think sometimes foxes and hares know who the good people are. I know quite a bit about hunting and the animals being hunted, and I know where to put myself in the hunt, but there's also some sort of knowing on their part as to where they should run, because it's uncanny how often it happens. Yesterday we were driving down the road and the hare ran with us for about 30 seconds, just running on the road.

◦ I remember being impressed by the early Greenpeace actions, putting their bodies between the harpoons and the whales...

It's the most obvious direct statement you can make about anything. What Greenpeace did is exactly what we do, on a different scale. At the end of the hunt I can go home and know that there's two foxes alive because of me, or two hares still living, and I don't hide the fact that it makes me feel proud.

◦ The hunting of foxes and hares are of course completely separate activities. Fox hunting usually takes place on horseback, using foxhounds; if the fox goes to ground, and the hunt decides to dig it out, the terrier men are called in. The hare hunting referred to here is done on foot, involving beagles and basset-hounds. A good book on this topic is Philip Windeatt's "The Hunt and the Anti-Hunt", available from the HSA at the address below.

◦ For more information, contact:
The Hunt Saboteurs Association, P O Box 87, Exeter EX4 3TX.
The League Against Cruel Sports, 83-87 Union Street, London SE1 1SG [01-407 0979].

Where do the greens fit on the political spectrum? Does the strong anti-socialist feeling among many greens betray a refusal to think politically, to see themselves as part of a political tradition? Does the preoccupation with policy betray an authoritarian streak at odds with so much green rhetoric? JON CARPENTER anticipates debate at this month's Green party election conference by raising questions some greens are reluctant to discuss.

Wot? No ideology?

"WE ARE talking about equalising wealth between continents and generations, which rather leaves Marx standing at the starting blocks." Thus Sarah Parkin, co-author of the first draft of the Green Party's manifesto, interviewed in the Guardian on January 10.

Leaving Marx standing anywhere is pretty impressive rhetoric. After all, look what his followers and ideological descendants have done for us. They've revolutionised our notions of social justice, linked them indissolubly to an understanding of economic forces and social relations, motivated some remarkable feats of personal and social liberation, mimicked capitalism till state capitalism outshines the real thing, created societies in which freedom has been redefined beyond recognition and the individual exists only in servile relation to the state, and failed in almost every case to achieve their objects. But the Greens, it seems, will get it all right.

It's fashionable in green circles to argue that green is neither left or right. There's rampant paranoia among greens about political theory. There is no agreed green ideology or political theory; only a collection of "bright ideas" which (from a white, middle class and tolerably affluent perspective, and given the interests of that same class) will plausibly make the world a better to place to live in and increase the chances of global survival. When Green Line asked 150 subscribers for their views on the content of the magazine, one response that cropped up repeatedly was, "No more of this red-green nonsense!" Most respondents were members of the Green Party.

• Building on a common tradition

The slogan that greens are neither right nor left but "ahead" came from the West German greens. It deflects hecklers and makes a point, but ducks the key issue. There are essential respects in which the greens and the socialist tradition make common cause, and their analysis of how society works is fundamentally similar, and is opposed to the perspective of the right. There is no such thing as the "centre": the centre is a dividing line, and as all good scientists know lines have no width. The centre is not a fence on which you can sit. It is the point to the right of which you believe that individuals can freely determine their own lifestyles, their own politics, their own relationships and actions. To the left of the central divide you believe that most individuals are restricted and constrained by social and economic forces beyond their control, and that there is little personal freedom within those constraints. Most conservative governments before Thatcher's in fact accepted this socialist argument of structural disadvantage: in general post-war Tories were about as socialist as the Labour Party, if a touch less generous.

There is no doubt at all, given the proposals that the Green Party would implement if it had the chance, given the analysis of social problems in its manifestos and in Jonathon Porritt's "Seeing Green", and given the social attitudes of countless greens who implicitly see people as trapped within a system from which they need liberating, that greens are essentially left as opposed to right. Indeed they are demonstrably very far to the left. It is equally clear that attempts to denounce socialists tend to date rapidly, as avowed socialists increasingly take on board the points made by greens and the perspectives gradually converge. Porritt notes "our shared commitment to achieving social justice and our analysis of the contradictions inherent in capitalism" while criticising

Labour for (among other things) an obsession with centralised planning. Ironically, however, it is the Labour Party who are in the forefront of decentralised planning; green socialists are developing the theory and practice of local planning and increased local autonomy, while other greens barrack from the sidelines and oppose them at elections. In these cases, many ask, who are the "real greens"?

• Where red angels fear to tread

In any case, if the Green Party is to leave Marx at the starting blocks, it is going to have to succeed where not only the Russians and the Chinese have failed, but where governments all over Europe have failed consistently since the second (and first) world war. In recent history no government in a country like ours has successfully resisted the forces of international finance - the banking system, the multinational companies, the tiny fraction of the population who own and control almost all our wealth and without whose support no government has survived more than a few days. Yet the Green Party is going to put these institutions in their place! It's aim is nothing less than to succeed with the overthrow of capitalism, where socialists have failed.

The powers which the state would have to adopt in order to achieve such a policy would leave the word "draconian" looking weakly meaningless. Mao tried to achieve his ends of social justice by shooting those who would make it impossible: on his own count he shot 1 in 800 of the population, but of course he forgot that more implacable opponents were being born every minute. Another widely used technique has been the concentration camp, and we know of course that the British government would intern dissenters if the US were planning to attack the Russians (or, less probably, vice versa.) We have yet to be told what the green alternative would be - unless of course this is the point at which the whole theoretical position collapses, and greens believe that it's really down to going out and talking nicely to people and making them see the error of their ways...

It's little wonder that accusations of "eco-fascism" are heard when discussions of basic philosophy take place. The inherent contradictions are not hard to find. While Porritt takes Labour to task for its centralised approach, he crossly dismisses those greens who are reluctant to accept "power". "There are many people in positions of power who hang on to that power only through the ruthless exploitation of both people and planet. They have no intention of relinquishing it - and from such people this power must be taken." Given the strength of this "power", greater than any power exercised by any western state since the war, then we must know just how this green objective would be achieved. In fact, Porritt goes on to describe green activity in terms of "getting one's message across": it's not the reassurance we're looking for.

The new draft manifesto doesn't answer the question either, though it certainly raises it. It is packed full of practical policies for implementation by the state, many of which would be implacably blocked by gargantuan interests. It is firmly on the "left" side of the individualist / structuralist divide (otherwise you can't have an acceptable policy on race, education or crime, for example). Yet it tacitly assumes that politics is all about persuading people that right is right and wrong is wrong,

and that once they see the difference they'll be good little boys and girls (and share all the land round to everyone so we each have our own little acre again.)

• The authoritarian question

Slagging off socialists in general, or the Labour Party in particular, for under-achieving is hopelessly naive. A look at the Green Party's own approach to politics suggests that some greens at least have a long way to go before they understand the nitty gritty of how society and the economy work. The only way that greens would get even half way through a programme of the kind the party proposes would be via a series of authoritarian, centralised and irrevocable measures that could probably only be achieved under a one-party system and which would be universally regarded as fascist.

Part of the problem is that greens seem hell-bent on creating a utopia on earth tomorrow - or the day after. In other words, and this is another part of the problem, they think they know best what other people need and want. It's conventional politics, the kind of politics that's fun because it gives you power over other people's lives.

What the greens must create is a new understanding of what politics is, and what it's about. Politics understood as policies which are meant to be good for people - that's the "old" politics we need to discard. Too many greens have been quick to identify the "old" politics as the politics of left and right - convenient rhetoric, perhaps, but very unfortunate because it has helped set up the pervasive intellectual paranoia characteristic of greens which leads them to misunderstand the alternative interpretations and analyses of how society works, and to fail to create a new understanding of their own.

Having failed to listen to the socialists, and being ignorant on that count, these greens are now also guilty of failing to listen to their anarchist antecedents - and those who grandly preach that green is something entirely new, without precedent and original, may have to answer for the steady drift of radical politics in the late 80s towards dead ends and despair. It's ironic too that the greens' refusal to listen to other people who are often on their side has led them to a confrontational style of politics sadly at odds with the ethic of cooperation which they preach for others. Greens are showing a greater enthusiasm for perpetuating their own institutional identities than for advancing the causes they are supposed to espouse.

If the greens were more aware of anarchist insights (which have been evolving for a couple of centuries, so there just might be some truth in them!) they would realise that the policy fetish is part and parcel of the power obsession which characterises politics. Anarchists know that one person's power disempowers another. It's a fatal flaw of socialism not to have understood this, and to place all its hopes in social and economic understanding and cure. It's the fatal flaw of the green position that it fails to have inherited either insight, yet is confident of saving the world.



• Towards a green politics

It is easier to state a problem than to find an answer. Sadly, the problems have been articulated for years, but few people have been prepared to look for answers. It's a frankly risky undertaking, and greens seem vulnerable. Any attempt to find an answer would point up the old contradictions - a party formulating 'national' policy for a decentralised state, the party's own centralised structure in contrast to the way it says other people should organise themselves, the idea of a party at all being in conflict with the emphasis on personal responsibility

which pervades all green thinking. The ideological content of the green political position remains embarrassingly thin. If greens are to look for solutions, they probably lie in the following directions. First, an emphasis on the social and economic context in which people live. Politics must be seen less as an opportunity for making up detailed specifications for other people's lifestyles (which is easy and can seem fun), and more as a way of opposing the pressures and forces which at present press people into certain moulds. Politics as enablement, not disablement. Greens are in this sense following the tradition of those who would free humankind from the oppressive forces developed over millennia, and refined into the system known as capitalism.

Second, a cautious approach to authority and "leadership". A green party cannot parody a conventional party, for it cannot make the same claims for itself. It only provides a context within which people take power for themselves, and seeks to provide similar contexts within society at large. Its political programme will be the demand for these contexts - these areas of space where people can be themselves.

Third, a consistent approach to politics which does not hop from individualist arguments to structuralist ones. The problem isn't people, it's society and the economic structure which underpins it. The green objective is the objective of every politics of liberation, namely to overthrow that structure. It's no good criticising people for having too many children, or for drinking too much, or for driving fast cars. It's no good trying to stop the "Third World" from developing, while we retain the fruits of development for ourselves. Greens are for ever moralising about other people. Let's stop telling other people what to do! politics of leaving them alone.

Lastly, greens will remember that the personal is political, and the political very personal. There is a current trend, within what is known as the "New Age" movement, which separates our personal lives off from our social and political context. It's adopting the word "green", but is extremely individualist and with strong right-wing connotations. An individual's problems are located firmly within him/herself. You use your spirit/mind to get yourself out of a "problem", regardless of what others might see as "objective" factors such as sexual oppression, racism, poor housing, etc. Such factors are perceived as irrelevant. But because the New Age is also nature-loving, because it casts women in the earth-goddess role (itself easily used as an instrument of oppressive male imagery and role-play), and because it lays great emphasis on certain kinds of freedom, it is easily confused with the green understanding.

• Cause for hope

Greens can be optimistic if they are not arrogant. We stand at a mid-point in a long tradition of people and movements seeking a closer understanding of the claims of nature and new patterns of social justice. We can hardly take great pride at an insight which has been forced upon us so rudely and belatedly, the insight that in a finite world an unsustainable pattern of living brings the threat of a comprehensive close-down. Nor can we reasonably suppose that we have all the answers, or the whole insight. We may hope that our children will feel that we made progress in our way, but just because we are here today and the past is behind us, it ill behoves us to assume that in a world where "progress" is largely illusory, our own brand of progress is necessarily any more deserving on a cosmic scale. We have much to learn from the past, and much to lose if we forget that we are part of a long and still evolving tradition of human enquiry, where the goal is yet to be reached and may never be attained.

That, depending on how you look at it, is either grounds for hope, or grounds for despair. It gives me great hope.



War and Peace

The Greater Glory. Jean Bacon. Prism Press. £5.95.
Articles of Peace, celebrating fifty years of Peace News.
Edited by Gail Chester and Andrew Rigby. Prism Press.
£4.95.

ACCORDING TO Gibbon (and he should know) history is little more than a record of the crimes, follies, and misfortunes of mankind. Certainly this is how history is usually taught and described – as an endless succession of wars. "If you take 3,000 years of civilization and average them out, you get 13 years of war for every one of peace," Jean Bacon tells us in "The Greater Glory." He too reaches the conclusion that we are a pretty nasty lot. His research into war has been thorough enough: in the bibliography he cites nearly 400 books, including works by such experts as Marshall Foch, de Gaulle, Adolf Hitler, Mao: no wonder he has thrown up his hands in despair at human folly and produced, not a scholarly treatise, but a short, sardonic diatribe about war. His anger is filtered through an unrelieved sarcasm, and black humour. Bacon makes no attempt to deal with the causes of war, apart from the occasional flippant remark about cavemen, male bullying, or "animal instinct," but has nothing but scorn for the people who try to justify war, or invest it with a spurious glamour. His mockery of nationalism and patriotism should be compulsory reading for Sandhurst cadets! Unfortunately, such a pessimistic view in the end reinforces warlike attitudes – if human beings are that bad we might as well arm ourselves to the teeth, and stave off invasion or destruction for a while.

You have to be an optimist to believe that "peace is possible." "Articles of Peace, celebrating 50 years of Peace News" is a book about such optimism, and the quiet, sane voice of pacifism. The book consists of a collection of articles that deal less with past history than with "issues relevant to the peace movement that Peace News serves today." Consequently the book becomes a discussion of pacifist ideas, following the twists and turns of pacifist thought as it has interacted with contemporary political events over the past half century. Originally Peace News was the official voice of the Peace Pledge Union, and people in the peace movement shared little other than repugnance at the horrors of war. Indeed, Middleton Murry, one of PN's editors in the 40s, argued for a kind of peace imposed from above by world government, supported by nuclear weapons! Bertrand Russell even suggested that the U.S. should threaten Russia with nuclear bombs, and force it to disarm.

Since then, definitions of peace and violence have widened to include a greater understanding of structural violence, the violence of the system. The original pacifist position has been criticised as being too narrow. "All (Western pacifists) seek is some way of doing away with war without changing in the slightest their mode of life." (Humarappa, a follower of Gandhi). The aim of Peace News now is "nonviolent revolution", its position that of anarcho-pacifism, transforming society from below, and moving from mere protest to the idea of nonviolent resistance. Gandhi's influence has been crucial here:

"nonviolent revolution is not a programme for the seizure of power but a programme for the transformation of relationships." The division is still a deep one, however, between the old liberal/democratic tradition (seeking to run the machinery of state peacefully), and that of anarchism (which seeks to dismantle the state altogether). And the idea of a slow change through personal transformation carries its own dangers: people become involved in personal growth, therapy, community living, at the expense of political action. They would argue that they are involved in the struggle at a much deeper level, and perhaps they would be right: but the question remains as to whether we can afford such luxuries in the age of the neutron bomb and laser weapons. Perhaps we need to rediscover some of the passion and urgency of the pacifists of an earlier age, and resume their historic task – persuading, informing, educating.

• BARRY MAYCOCK

Dying in Reagan's backyard

Turning the Tide: US Intervention in Central America & the Struggle for Peace. Noam Chomsky. Pluto Press. 1985.

"Until now Central America has always understood that governments which we recognise and support stay in government while those which we do not recognise and support fall. Nicaragua has been a test case. It is difficult to see how we can afford to be defeated."

So who did you guess said that? President Ronald Reagan, CIA director William Casey, fallen hero Oliver North? Answer: none. In fact these illuminating lines come from a confidential State Department memorandum written in 1927 as the US marines once again waded in. The dates change, the policies of state, it appears, do not.

Noam Chomsky's latest book is part dossier and part



rabid denunciation of an historically evolving system of US political and economic involvement in the region, backed up by its own military might or more commonly and conveniently by the military or quasi-military dictatorships upon whom it has conferred its blessing, or bestowed bountiful largesse in the form of hardware for internal "peacekeeping". Inevitably the results make for harrowing reading, especially in relation to Guatemala and El Salvador where the contemporary decimation of the peasant populations seems to have passed practically unnoticed in the American media, or our own.

The history of the rationale behind all this, which Chomsky refers to as America's "fifth freedom", i.e. the "freedom to rob and exploit" is, as he amply demonstrates, one of the most vile chicanery, double-standards and sheer obscenity imaginable. One is treated to a chamber of horrors - Chomsky's "vignettes" - so awful that I personally emerged quite numb. The discussions on the entanglement of European Nazis in Latin America in these goings-on, largely at the behest of the CIA, are equally memorable. Chomsky, however, reserves his deepest vilification and contempt for the American "liberal" media and academic establishment who have either supported or striven to rationalise this system. Corroborating lies, as I learned from the Philip Marlowe character in Dennis Potter's recent TV drama "The Singing Detective", is something we all do. Chomsky shows how this can be done on the grand scale. Brutal regimes like Somoza's in Nicaragua, or the Guatemalan generals, in these terms become "democratic forces of moderation", the Sandinistas meanwhile have been responsible for "massive murder" and an "undemocratic and manipulated election" necessitating "humanitarian" aid to the contra "freedom fighters" and a programme of "destabilisation" in order - paradoxically - to return Central America to a state of stability.

On this almost linguistic level Chomsky is quite outstanding; probing and uncovering the euphemisms and Orwellian newspeak provided to legitimise US-backed

terror. "Turning the Tide" is therefore a curiously inapt title. There is little, at least till the last few pages, on how the struggle for peace in this area, or more generally, can be waged now or in the future. True, Chomsky does widen the scope of the argument by bringing in issues of nuclear politics, Star Wars, and the failure of the US Freeze movement. But the overall effect is a disjointed one which fails to bear out convincingly the book-jacket's contention that US policy in Central America is crucial to its role as world policeman. A sense of the role and aspirations of Central Americans themselves in all this is clearly lacking, as indeed is any overall perspective. The region's economic and political evolution over the last 25 years, the rise of a middle class and intelligentsia and the articulation of protest against a backdrop of ever-widening social crisis and injustice culminating in 1979 in revolution and turmoil in Nicaragua and El Salvador, though crucial factors, are not ones to which Chomsky properly addresses himself. "Turning the Tide" certainly provides plenty of anti-American ammunition but alas not much in the way of answers to the problems.

It did make this reader ponder on one thing, however. If 1987 (and I stress the if!) is to be a year of a Labour victory with a pledge to dismantle our own and also US nuclear bases, to what extent can - and will - this lead to a more general disengagement from our subservience to global US foreign policy interests? A positive British foreign policy on Central America must in principle align us more closely and coherently with not only the government of Nicaragua but other forces of change and liberation in the region. This will entail political ties, economic ties, even the possibility of military assistance. No wonder the mandarins in Whitehall see the Labour pledge as a Pandora's box which will turn the world upside down. But has pre-election Labour considered these consequences and thought out its response?

• MARK LEVENE

Pacific Women Speak

Why haven't you known?

WOMEN WORKING FOR A NUCLEAR FREE AND INDEPENDENT PACIFIC

"WHY HAVEN'T YOU KNOWN?" This question was posed by Titewhai Harawira, one of nine indigenous Pacific women who visited Europe in 1984-6. They were speaking in support of the campaign for a Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific, revealing truths that have been ignored or suppressed for a century or more in this country, and by Europeans and white people worldwide.

Their words had a tremendous impact, and those who were fortunate enough to hear the women speak have been filled with new energy. Their strength and charisma comes across powerfully in the printed word too, and this pamphlet is the first publication of the speeches and talks they gave. Additional background information and notes up-date the current situation in the Pacific to early 1987.

"PACIFIC WOMEN SPEAK" is edited by Women Working for an Independent and Nuclear Free Pacific, and published by Green Line. Single copies cost £1.95 (£2.15 incl postage) from Green Line, 34 Cowley Road, Oxford OX4 1HZ. Bookstall rates available. Trade orders to Turnaround Distribution.



There is no alternative

Why give such prominent coverage to Tim Brennan's hackneyed and superficial views about Labour's green potential? (GL49). I sometimes feel that GL is not progressing as a journal - being mainly a vehicle for the iteration and reiteration of the same old vacuous idealism which characterises so much green thinking nowadays. As the Alliance has shown, it is so easy so slag off the fundamental political questions of wealth and power distribution in our society and to pretend that there is a "new" politics which "transcends" them. Unfortunately, there isn't any alternative - as any analysis of green critiques of our society (e.g. by Porritt or Ekins) and their prescriptions for changing it shows.

Meanwhile, while some greens pretend that we can solve these fundamental problems and their attendant environmental symptoms solely by individual value reforms, the mass of people are untouched and Rome continues to burn (5m people read The Sun and the Tories keep racing ahead in the opinion polls). Other greens, however, have got inside the Labour Party and are responsible for the policy changes which

we have so far attained. And they are considerable. If Brennan would read the detailed policy documents, he would discover this.

What does he propose in the way of positive action? Nothing, except to wish for PR. It is highly debatable whether PR would in fact produce the radicalism he desires. It is certain that it will not come in the near future.

Meanwhile, there is an election to fight. Will greens stand by in superior fashion and slag off Labour - instead opting for no political action - or will they support the Green Party, which is the equivalent of no meaningful political action? Or will they help to (a) get Labour in, (b) having succeeded, work within the Party to (c) get present policy carried out, and (d) further change policy?

It is a simple but stark question - the most important environmental issue for greens in 1987. They should get off their high horses and join the very large number of people in the Labour movement who are committed to and working hard towards socialism and its modern outgrowths, green thinking and feminism. They should support Greens for a Labour Victory.

David Pepper
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Educating eater: Greens and school lunches

Michael Kemshall is greatly exaggerating when he says in his letter (GL48) that Education Authorities are so starved of cash that they are now unable to provide any kind of meals whatsoever for pupils, except in exceptional circumstances. Some authorities like Hereford and Worcester have contracted out to private management of school meals but school meals provided by Education Authorities are widely available in many parts of the country and there is a move towards cooperation between Education Authorities and Health Authorities to provide vegetarian dishes because they are cheaper and healthier. Compare, for instance, a vegetable hotpot with a meat pie and two veg, or a soya based meal and a meat based meal for both cost and cholesterol content!

So, far from the Green Party being out of touch with what is happening, the converse is true: the motion passed by the Green Party at its Autumn Conference calling for provision of a choice of vegetarian and vegan school meals shows how aware the Green Party is of the needs of young people and how it can respond in a very practical way to these needs.

Mary Moreland
'Gorphwysfa', High Street,
Penmacho, Nr. Betws-y-Coed
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Michael Kemshall's letter (GL48) needs a reply because it was so pessimistic and misleading on the present situation. It is indeed good news that already more and more young people, parents, teachers and Education and District Health Authorities are pressing for the

provision of choice to include vegetarian and even vegan meals in many schools throughout the U.K.

A large numbers of children are receiving free school meals because of low parental income and genuine efforts are being made to offer cheap, attractive and nutritious food - as the main meal of the day, and to demonstrate healthy eating habits. There is also a good case for vegetarian meals on the grounds of low costs in terms of ingredients, labour and fuel. For those parents who wish to provide their children with a vegetarian lunch box, consider the comparative price in the shops of a jar of peanut butter with a quarter pound of ham or beef. In the school kitchens, parents, pupils and the local community can all participate in the preparation of school meals: all that is required is a little initiative and will to cooperate to offer alternatives like baked jacket potatoes with a variety of fillings, a good vegetable soup, a bean casserole or a vegetable curry. These choices cater for ethnic minorities and those children who would otherwise consume halal or kosher meat.

Good luck to the Green Party in facing up to the needs of a significant minority of school children and senior pupils. I should add that this motion on schools referred to by Mr Kemshall was part of a composite package of policy issues put up by the Animal Rights Working Group at last Autumn's Newcastle Conference. This motion included school meals and choice, vegetarian options in Home Economics curricula and exam practicals, and the right to refuse to dissect animal tissue in classrooms and exams.

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Price of civilisation

With reference to the learned letter by Wilfrid Price, firstly may I suggest that his anti gay stance may well arise from his own insecurity. What does he have to fear?

However, my prime reason for writing is this evolutionary business through which he wrongly thinks he can show that homosexuality is unnatural. In *Homo Sapiens*' period of existence - a quarter of a million years - and particularly during the so called period of civilisation, the human environment has changed. Yes, so called primitive peoples have existed in eco-conscious communities, being non-violent and peaceful with heterosex certainly prevalent among 98% of this population.

However, using this as some form of constant against which to measure Euro-Americans (of any origin) today is a dangerous ploy. Euro-Americans and many others have built large cities with overcrowding, oppression and infighting as control mechanisms whereby the status quo is maintained. Scientists studying rat behaviour have observed the effects of overcrowding on male sexual behaviour, with several different forms of response such as 'fighting', 'homosexuality', 'rape', 'trance state' and neurosis. Female rats also stopped ovulation. Indeed, my next door neighbours' tomcat in a crowded concrete inner city, having proved its territorial superiority by aggression, holds the 'loser' down and engages in homosexual activity. Is this natural or unnatural or a natural response in an unnatural environment?

Surely, as Wilfrid states, the link between warfare and homosexual activity is that in a patriarchal system they are both engaged in by males and their position as opposites is quite apparent: each containing 'seeds' of its opposite, i.e. military 'buddy-buddy' systems and homosexual macho.

Surely, Wilfrid must be able to see also that lesbian 'macho' and 'camp' gay are partly responses to intolerance, sour expectations and the bigotry of the heterosexual majority.

Maybe then, given our current irradiated, polluted and distorted living circumstances (Wilfrid is luckier than some in his living circumstances: Hebden Bridge is no inner city), what can be termed natural? Indeed, the Nazis sponsored the cause of naturism, which is where 'all the boys being sporty together equals homosexual link' comes in. They rose with their clean living, nature loving imagery. They also used the same so called evolutionary arguments to oppress blacks, Jews, gays, gypsies, women and lesbians. It is the secret and deceptive fascist inside that we must all resist. The eco-fascist is not a new concept!

Where is evolution taking us?

Chris Chadwell
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London SW1.

Minority views

I feel I must write to you in order to express my disgust and distress that reading the 'Gay Party' letter from Wilfrid Price gave me.

As far as I am concerned, 'green' includes an increased awareness of the rights and needs of minority groups, of the aggressiveness (both mental and physical) that most men possess, and of attempts on a personal level to understand attitudes, beliefs and actions that we ourselves do not necessarily subscribe to.

Mr Price does not seem to have realised this yet, and I hope that he recognises the distress that his letter will have caused to many lesbians and gay men (I myself am not gay but his letter deeply upset me) and will try to modify his views accordingly.

Andrew Smith
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Removing the blocs

Petra Kelly calls for "a decentralised Europe of the regions, a real authentic peace factor, a community which is not militarised" as the necessary alternative to Strauss's "unified nuclear superpower". Right!

What I hope she means (although she does not say so) is a Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals, which is *not* the Europe that Strauss and his friends are on about. They refer to Western Europe only.

This is the critical question. There is no way that half of Europe can be demilitarised - it has to be all or nothing. This means grasping two unfamiliar nettles, both hardly less than revolutionary albeit - one hopes - nonviolently so. The first involves a complete turnaround in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe: the end of the one-party system and its militarism. The second is a rejection by the whole of Europe, East and West, of the superpower system of Moscow and Washington and the creation of a regionalised confederate Europe.

There is as yet no organised body of opinion in this country that is even beginning to think along these lines - a few individuals, that's all. The Green Party has a lot of it on paper and there it stays! The Labour Party has a defence policy without a foreign policy and is in deep trouble in consequence. CND, at its last Annual Conference, set up a commission to work on foreign policy, so that is something. But in the very act of doing so, it wiped its feet on END, the very body it needs to help work out such a policy! The END Convention next July, in Coventry, could be important if the preparatory work is put in now.

In her last paragraph, Petra Kelly calls for a "Green International". None too soon.

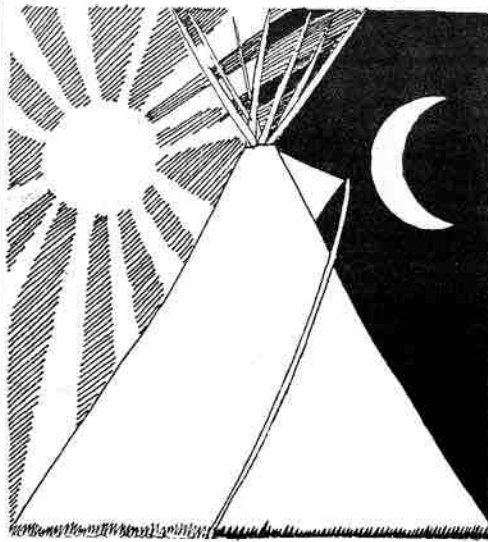
We really do need a green view of Europe. If we cannot manage that we are in no state to talk about the rest of the world. Why is it so difficult for us to recognise ourselves as part of a Europe that now has common traditions going back over some 3000 years:

Judeo-Christian, Greco-Roman, Celtic, Slav and Germanic, yielding Christendom, the Renaissance and the Reformation and scientific, political, industrial and Romantic revolutions: a vast interlinked tangle, deeply wounded by the last 500 years of the nation state and empire, but now emerging into the light of a new post imperial day: the whole thing making new sense because The Bomb makes war impossible?

Of all the barriers that inhibit the alternative movement, none is more lethal than our British insularity. It is all the more difficult to come to grips with it because people are blithely unaware of it within themselves! Working Internationalists, i.e. people who can recognise the reality of cultures other than their own, are almost loners. END has lost some 400 members to CND's 80,000 and in my experience, greens are just as insular as the rest of their co-nationals. One result is that our thinking is shallow, our message boring and our publications often unsaleable. On the continent it is different. There they are: into European autonomy, marxism is dead, pacifism never got started and libertarian thinking has a new dynamic quality - witness the pages of Bahro, Gorz, Vanefem and de Benoist.

The green movement here has got stuck in single issue campaigns that all involve the assumption that the present political system can be made to work. It cannot! The 'thing' is going to collapse on us: there is no question of our having to bring it down. The evidence is to be found daily in the financial pages. Today, governments and individuals alike are skating on the thin ice of credit covering the black waters of impossible military expenditure. Before long it will crack and we shall be in for the coldest shower for centuries.

Peter Cadogan
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BRIG OUBRIDGE WRITES:

GREEN CND CRISIS

With CND (or at least parts of it) feeling so green, it is perhaps surprising that Green CND should choose just this time to lurch into crisis. I find myself in the absurd situation that, months after announcing my resignation, I am still Green CND representative on CND Council. Green CND has still not managed to elect anyone to replace me, and might be in danger of losing its CND budget if it doesn't quickly get its act back together!

The situation has arisen through an internal communications breakdown caused by changes of personnel. In August the newsletter production moved to a group in Liverpool, who have done a fine job on it. Unfortunately, the past two issues have been late coming out, and have failed to give notice of meetings. This, combined perhaps with the fact that they have been held "off the beaten track" in Stoke and Blackpool, has meant that meetings have been virtually unattended. Consequently I am still trudging to CND Council meetings with no relief as yet in sight.

In desperation another meeting has been arranged in the hope of getting the show back on the road, so to speak. It is time for at least a few keen peaceful greens to rush forward to fill the gaps.

† Next Green CND meeting will be in London on March 14. Details from Marcus [01-278 2280].

The chance is there for anyone so inclined to get their hands on a bit of CND cash to do some peace campaigning in and through the green movement. The "establishment" within CND - the longer serving Council members and the Underwood Street staff - have stronger green leanings than ever before: now is not the time for Green CND to run out of steam.

Not that CND itself is without its own internal problems of finding people to take on the thankless tasks. At the February Council meeting (delayed from January by the snow) nobody at all volunteered to go on CND's Conference Arrangements Committee. The result is that CND Executive will now have to take reluctant charge of conference organisation.

CND'S 'GREEN' DEMO

CHERNOBYL DAY, April 25, will be a time for anti-nuclear demonstrations all over Europe. CND is promoting a "traditional" Hyde Park rally in association with Friends of the Earth, and has produced a

new green poster and leaflets to spread the message. They feature a specially drawn Steve Bell cartoon with two-headed sheep, an exploding PWR, and a crashing nuclear weapons convoy.

The demo theme and timing have aroused misgivings among some old-style Labour stalwarts within CND. Even after everything had been decided (following "difficult" negotiations with FoE), and the posters printed, there were still a few voices urging that the date should be changed to Easter and the nuclear power aspect dropped. Frank Allaun MP suggested to CND Council that Mr Kinnock might find it difficult to be associated with the theme, but Council was unmoved. I dare say Neil Kinnock might find it awkward to be on a CND platform whatever the theme whilst he is so busily promoting his conventional re-armament policy!

BLIND JUSTICE?

I have been taking a look at the Layfield Report on Sizewell B. More precisely I should say that I've been looking at the short summary version of the report, since I am still waiting for the full mighty tome to arrive from the Dept of Energy. When it comes, I shall of course be particularly interested to see what Sir Frank has to say about the evidence on uranium mining which I helped present in the long-ago summer of 1984.

In the summary it states that "Improved safety standards and stricter environmental standards are likely to lead to an increase in the price of uranium. Political uncertainties in uranium producing countries and opposition to uranium mining could restrict uranium supplies... Security and cost in the supply ... is important for uranium ... particularly as [it] must be imported. Conditions abroad cannot be ignored."

As far as I can see, the rest of the report then ignores the subject.

Centre for Alternative Technology

WEEKEND COURSES

Windpower

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Wildlife Gardening

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For details send an SAE
to Lesley Bradnam, C.A.T.,
Machynlleth, Powys.
Tel 0654 2400.

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A chance to spend a weekend at the Centre in June, gaining a general insight into all aspects of our work.