

# GREEN *Line*

No 59 / FEBRUARY 1988 / 60p

Deep  
Ecology=  
man-made  
'Nature'  
again



Realignment

Economics and power

Facing up to green fascism

Homophobia and the green movement



Britain's Green Monthly

# GREEN Line

No. 59 / FEBRUARY 1988 / 60p

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 thanks to the efforts of Carole Guberman, Barry Maycock, Graham Hooper and Jerry Spring. Cover design by Jerry Spring. Thanks especially to all those who help fold and collate the mag, lick stamps and stuff envelopes - but who don't get a proper mention. You wouldn't get your copy without their work. If any other readers can offer help then we are always pleased to hear from you. Phone Jerry on 0865 724315

## SUBSCRIPTIONS

Normal rate £6, low/unwaged £5, voluntary hi-waged "supporter subscription" £10. The "supporter" rate helps build our publishing fund (we are all unpaid); and our thanks go out to all who have contributed as supporters. Overseas readers please add £1.50 to all rates (surface mail) or enquire about airmail rates to your area.

## BULK ORDERS

5-9 copies only 50p each; 10 or more only 45p 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. Normally, however, we do not supply sale-or-return on monthly orders. Normal trade arrangements apply to shops etc.

## ADVERTISING

Display advertising is only £75 a page, smaller sizes pro rata, 10% off for cash with copy. Send camera-ready copy by the 10th of the month prior to publication, or enquire for our typesetting and layout charges.

## HELP NEEDED

Green Line is always looking out for people in or near Oxford who would like to join the production team. Readers from further afield who have specialist interests could also help out with editorial work. You can be sure we have something to fit your talents. Ring Jerry on 724315

## DEADLINES

The next issue is due out on MARCH 1ST. We need all news, articles, small ads etc by 15th Feb. In general all articles are read and discussed at a meeting of the collective in the middle of each month.

## SPECIAL OFFER!

### BACK ISSUES

Six recent back issues for £2 post free or 20 back issues for £5. Ideal for new subscribers.

# Small Ads

5p/word

TIPIS, handmade to the traditional Sioux design. Order now for Spring delivery. Also 'Tipl Living', 40 pages, illustrated. £2 inc p&p. Full details from: Patrick and Co, Dove Workshops, Butleigh, Glastonbury, Somerset BA6 8TC 0458 50682

ACCOMODATION /WORK. 6-9 month stay in large mobile home, use of car and garden plus pocket money offered in return for interesting and varied work on organic vineyard with retail wine sales. Previous experience with Wwoofing and/or dealing with public and advantage. Would suit responsible couple or persons interested in country living, vines and wines. Please write in first instance to arrange informal interview. Sedlescombe Vineyard, Robertsbridge, E.Sussex TN37 5SA (Roy or Irma).

COMMUNITY NEAR IPSWICH established 13 years seeks new members..c. £40,000 capital required. Very large house, 70 acre organic farm, 70 people. Tel Colchester 298294

FOR SALE: 8 acres freehold parkland and mobile homes, mains electricity, telephone, spring water, plenty of peat for burning or horticulture. Suitable green ecology group. Would sell in small plots. Sheltered by trees. Phone 026 786 437

SECOND GREEN-ORIENTED interesting person wanted to share east London flat, 5 minutes M11e End tube. Own room, pleasant view £110 p.c.m. plus bills. Apply in writing to Larry O'Hara, 61 Sleaford House, Blackthorn St, London E3 3PZ

ANDALUSIAN SIERRAS: rambling, naturalist, pony-trekking summer holidays. Fascinating wildlife, wonderful scenery. 2 weeks from £285 including full board in picturesque white villages, activities, excursions. Lindsay Chapman, 6 Kipling Place, Eaton Ford, Cambs PE19 3RG Tel 0480 212540

BICYCLE BEANO. Really special cycling weeks with delicious vegetarian cuisine in magical Mid Wales. Clean air, peaceful lanes, natural jacuzzis, wild flowers, tranquillity. 'A fine, friendly week with happy, relaxed people.' Completely non-macho approach to rides. All ages. Bikes available. Easter - September. Brochure: Bicycle Beano, 59 Birch Hill Rd, Clehonger, Hereford 0981 251087

CARAVAN in peaceful, rural village setting. Magnificent views. Good walking. £35-55 p.w. 0453 886855

PEACE NEWS, Green Line, Undercurrents. Back issues for sale. Also some books (FoE, nuclear power etc). See for list. Stu Corv, 14 Jubilee Rd, St Werburghs, Bristol

SUSTAINING AND SUSTAINABLE - guide to living healthily, free of exploitation of humans and other animals. With menus and recipes. 75p inc postage.

WHOLE NEW WAYS. Imaginative vegan recipes using only ingredients that could be grown in the UK. 75p inc postage. The two booklets together £1.30 inc postage. FOOD FOR EVERYONE. Ten A4 display sheets on the importance of plant foods in solving world food problems £1.00 inc postage.

All from Movement for Compassionate Living the Vegan Way, 47 Highlands Rd, Leatherhead, Surrey

POSSIBILITY OF EMPLOYMENT, housing, comradeship etc. with expanding ecology minded project in Norfolk. Would ideally suit pragmatic, hard working country persons 18-30 years. Please contact us in writing including photo (for diagnosis!): Centre Ignoramus, Clements, Marble Hill Lodge, Metton Rd, Felbrigg, Norwich

TWENTIETH CENTURY WATCH MAGAZINE - write for your free subscription to Dept. GL, PO Box 2525, Lincoln

FACTS you should know about Christmas - Free Booklet. Write to PO Box 2525, Lincoln

CRISTIANS in the Green Movement - Could you be an 'unconverted Christian?' Write for our free booklet to PO Box 2525 Lincoln

WHAT IS the real Gospel? Read our free thought-provoking booklet. Write PO Box "2525, Lincoln

"If you're involved in education, and even half-way green, then 'GT' is a must for you!"  
[Jonathon Porritt, Director, Friends of the Earth]



6 issues per year, by subscription.

£10 cheque [to Green teacher],  
to: GREEN TEACHER, MACHYNLLETH,  
POWYS, SY20 8DN.

Printed by Dot Press, Thames Street,  
Oxford  
Tel: 0865 727207

# Radical recipes for the Leftovers

Saturday 16th January was a busy day for realignment of radical politics in Britain. In Manchester, socialists in the Green Party met to discuss a common platform. JON CARPENTER reports. Meanwhile, TONY CARTWRIGHT was at a seminal meeting of greens and liberals in London:

VIEWERS OF BBC news on the evening of Saturday, January 16th, would have seen Simon Hughes, MP for Bermondsey, and President of the Young Liberal movement declaring on a green-liberal platform that he is thinking of offering himself as the first Liberal and Green joint candidate in the next election. The occasion was a meeting in London organised by greens and Young Liberals to discuss the common interests of both parties and to begin a process that could forge closer links between them. It was set up by a network of activists called Green Voice and its first meeting happened to take place right in the middle of the extraordinary scenes of what seemed like the ill-fated Liberal-SDP merger negotiations.

If Simon Hughes is representative then radical liberals are now moving well beyond a 19th century anthropocentric, individualist political philosophy to something greener and more systemic that gives a new priority to the survival of the planet and all forms of life upon it:

"My politics must be about working with all creation, holistically, respectfully; to do all I can to ensure that every living creature has the best quality of life."

He stressed the importance of any radical left party being "environmentalist and internationalist, truly devolutionary, truly redistributive of our unjustly shared resources, mutually respectful and determined to achieve justice"

and he emphasised unilateralism and pacifism as well as a belief in an economy based on a no-growth ethic. Of course it remains to be seen what Hughes will do now that the merger has been passed by the Liberal special conference with such an apparently large majority.

Tim Cooper, Green Party Co-Chair, who shared the platform with him, argued that the Liberal hierarchy would do well to heed their own grassroots support and follow the advice of the Conservative Disraeli, who once said: "I must follow the people. Am I not their leader?" This way they would avoid the agonies and humiliations of negotiating a merger with a party that has policies fundamentally different from their own. Cooper outlined the principles that radical liberals and greens hold in common:

- a desire for a classless society
- a recognition of the critical importance of non-economic factors in welfare and, associated with this, a rejection of the values of industrialism
- a passion for decentralised political structures which will encourage individuals to participate more fully in the democratic process and stimulate 'bottom up' development
- support for a fair and just electoral process
- commitment to improve the quality of the environment - urban as well as rural - by means of land reform, reduced pollution and the phasing out of nuclear power.

There are also other potential mutual benefits. Liberalism without a green dimension threatens to

offer individuals the liberty to destroy the planet. At the same time, greens need to guard against the dangers of eco-fascism and establish a balance between the protection of individual species and the need to maintain civil liberties. Moreover, if greens can put ecology into the liberal agenda then liberals can teach greens much too, given the wealth of their campaigning experience in elections and their practical involvement both in community politics and in government.

The aim of Green Voice is initially to develop a loosely affiliated, grassroots network of radical liberals and greens, and particularly to provide liberals disaffected with mergerite politics an alternative closer to true Liberalism. Since the Blackpool vote (and assuming a similar vote from the SDP) an initiative like Green Voice will be all the more attractive to the 'Vote No' liberals who feel betrayed by the rest of the party. If Green Voice could also appeal to decentralist socialists who despair at the prospect of a Labour Party permanently in opposition and moving increasingly to the right then this might signal the beginnings of a broad realignment of the left and centre-left.

Participants in the Green Voice meeting were urged to go back to their local parties and explore the common ground between liberals and greens. In the hope of expanding the network, a major conference has been planned for 26-27 March at Leeds University. For more information write to Green Voice, 25 Dukes Ave, London W4 2AA

SOCIALISTS IN the Green Party met in Manchester on January 16 to discuss their aims and agree a common platform. It was the second meeting of the newly formed Association of Socialist Greens, set up after Green Party members who attended Tony Benn's Chesterfield conference last October felt they needed a forum of their own.

Membership of the ASG is open to party members only - a deliberate move designed to avoid criticism for being an entryist body. Its stated aims are twofold: "to further the commitment to socialist ideas and practice within the Green Party", and "to share green ideas and practice with the socialist movement at large". The association has been carefully named: it is for socialist

greens, not for green socialists!

The group is involved with many others in the organisation of a Green and Socialist Conference, which is planned to precede the second Chesterfield Conference. It's likely to take place in May. The intention is to increase dialogue and understanding between greens and socialists, and eventually to have a major impact on socialist thinking across a wide spectrum of the left movement.

A basic platform has been agreed (the statement is reprinted below) and will form the basis of discussions at fringe meetings planned for the next Green Party conference in Southport in March. At the Manchester meeting many members said they felt the Party has

become increasingly individualist in its analysis of social problems and its approach to politics since 1979, and reluctant to identify capitalism as the underlying evil which underpins both ecological and human catastrophe. One member suggested that some of the policies the Party was being asked to approve were simply Thatcherism in sheep's clothing.

Membership of the ASG is open only to paid-up members of the Green Party. Membership (£5/£2) or further details are available from Steve Rooney, 19 Bridgeway, Shawbury, Shropshire SY4 4PG [0939-251153].

• JON CARPENTER



## WHAT SOCIALIST GREENS STAND FOR

Socialist Greens seek the election of Green Party candidates at all levels of government; the extension of democracy to include more direct participation; and an emphasis on the most devolved levels of community responsibility and involvement.

We believe that the rights of the individual must be consistent with the rights and needs of communities. The kind of individual freedom promoted in our liberal democratic tradition is a cover for widespread abuse and exploitation both of other people and of the rest of the planet and its inhabitants. The 'Third World' exists throughout the world, and in our own country too. Communities, not only individuals, should have the right to survive.

Socialist Greens are egalitarian. Capitalism promotes, and depends for its success on, the unequal distribution and accumulation of wealth and power. We seek a comprehensive redistribution of wealth, achieved by the return of the land and the means of production to community ownership and stewardship. We would promote local and regional self-sufficiency, including our own, by limiting our participation in international trade in ways that will reduce the flow of wealth from the poor world to the rich.

Patterns of social behaviour and organisation developed by men during the long process of refining patriarchal society are clearly incompatible with the development of a sustainable and peaceful world. Feminine principles of social and personal relations undermine male power bases and must be the model for the future. We do not believe that an egalitarian peace-oriented politics has any meaning unless it addresses the problems of patriarchy and the dominance of men and masculine objectives at all levels of our society, and internationally.

One way of describing our objective is as 'human liberation'. But the ecological crisis cannot be blamed on individuals. Most people literally do

### GREEN PARTY CONFERENCE

Advanced notice of the Green Party Spring Conference to be held at the Floral Hall, Southport from March 11-13. The theme will be 'Food, Farming & the Future', concentrating on UK and Third World issues. Green Party strategy for the forthcoming Euro-elections will also be on the agenda. Agenda and info will be out in February. Contact Caroline Lucas 01 675 6701

not know what they are doing. The liberal objective of individual freedom once again has little meaning in practice. The media and the education system, together with how people spend their time and their social and personal expectations, are controlled and determined by an overriding political and economic system. While we will work in an educative way to increase individual awareness, we also recognise that the root evil is built into the foundation of society, and that change is necessary at this level.

For most people, liberation cannot yet be as much a personal and inward experience as economic, political and social. Few people can enjoy the experience of liberation while they, their family and friends are in hock to the exploitative, materialist and insatiably consumerist spiral of capitalism. We have to challenge the capitalist system and those who perpetuate it and benefit from it, and work for collective human liberation in a non-patriarchal society based on principles of co-operation and the rigorous non-exploitation of the planet, its occupants and finite resources. This will be achieved through collective activity of all kinds, including trade unions and community groups. It is only under changed economic and social circumstances that the enjoyment of the spiritual and intuitive dimension of life that the Green philosophy promises us can become other than the privilege of a few.

### Green and Red Conference

OXFORD GREENS have organised a conference in Oxford Town Hall for Saturday March 26 on the green and red theme. Described as "a day of workshops on the convergent interests of greens and socialists", the conference will consist of four sessions, each introduced by a speaker and then breaking immediately into small groups. Speakers include Peter Tatchell, Andy Porter, Penny Newsome and David Pepper. Spaces are limited so that the maximum number of participants in any workshop will be 12; advance booking is essential. The event lasts from 10 to 5, and the fee of £4/£3 includes a ploughperson's lunch and tea/coffee for those who book in advance.

Anyone within reach of Oxford is welcome to attend; to book, or for further information, write to Jon Carpenter, 33 Newton Road, Oxford OX1 4PT [0865-726229].

## NETWORK

### THE TRUTH ABOUT OZ

Sat 13th Feb at the Commonwealth Institute in London there will be a conference with the theme 'White Australia's Black History' exploring the traditions and cultures of Australia's first inhabitants. There will be speakers and films on the aborigines and the history and politics of the European settlement of the continent. Tickets £7(£4) from the Institute in Kensington High St, London W8 6NQ. Tel:01 602 0702 Perhaps that smug, patronising git Terry Colman could be persuaded to educate himself by going. In The Guardian 23.1.88, he dismissed the genocide carried out against the aborigines as "a natural tragedy. In 1788, Stone Age man met the late 18th century and there was only going to be one result."

### UNIVERSITIES OF DEATH

Over 50% of Government research and development is spent by the Ministry of Defence. A lot of "defence" research carried out in this country is done in universities and polytechnics and the MOD has over 750 research contracts with universities and colleges. The Campaign Against Military Research on Campus (CAMROC) was formed in 1986 to publicise details of military contracts and organize opposition at the colleges themselves. This year CAMROC is turning its attention to chemical and biological warfare research. This area of weapons research has recently expanded, coinciding with President Reagan securing funding from Congress for production of binary nerve gases; this while the superpowers are supposedly negotiating a reduction in nuclear weapons. The MOD's establishment at Porton Down is currently funding 78 research projects in 36 universities and colleges.

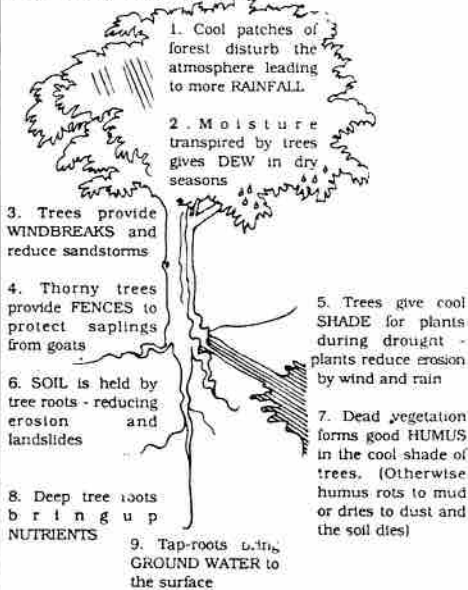


Since the banning of chemical weapons by the Geneva Protocol of 1925, chemical weapons are known to have been used by the USA in the Vietnam War (Agent Orange and other defoliants), and more recently by Iraq in the Gulf War, not forgetting the gassing of civilians in the Nazi death camps and the use of riot gasses by police worldwide. For more information on CAMROC, contact Rob Evans, 190b Burdett Road, Bow, London E3. Another campaigning group has also formed around chemical and biological weapons: this is the Chemical Weapons Action Group, c/o Colin Mills, 711 Chestnut Lane, Amersham, Bucks. HP6 6E

**i DESIERTOS VERDES!**

The "green" aid agency Green Deserts is starting a tree sponsorship scheme in the Sudan. Although the project is small and mainly educational, it will involve planting trees in a number of Sudanese villages. Green Deserts aim to help plant one tree for shade, one for food and one for firewood, in every household. Sponsoring a tree will cost £2.50. The villagers need shelterbelts of trees to halt drifting sand and the cost of planting and maintaining a belt is in the region of £50 000. To raise this money, Green Deserts are looking for pledges of sponsorship, and can only go ahead if they receive sufficient pledges to cover funding. For more details, contact: Green Deserts, Rougham, Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk IP30 9LY.

**WHY TREES ARE VITAL**



Green Deserts highly successful project near in Andalucia, southern Spain, has been given its own organisation called Green Desert Technology (suggestions for a more wacky/ distinctive name welcomed!). The aim is to try and improve and speed up funding to vital projects on water purification and storage, fertiliser, fuel and fodder production and producing crops with the minimum of water inputs. Over 200 people have spent time in Los Molinos getting the centre off the ground - and it is to be recommended as a thoroughly worthwhile and educative experience if you can get out there (a visitor from GL went last June). So if you can offer expertise, equipment, voluntary help, or just money then please contact Nance Pepin for more details at Roadway House, 22 Godestone Rd, Cambridge CB5 8HR, tel: 0223 13041. Green Deserts' work is far too important for us to allow it to be held up for lack of funds.

**NEW CYCLING MAG**

New Cyclist is a new radical campaigning quarterly magazine for cyclists that will be starting up with its first issue published on March 31st. With no big money behind it it has been put together by a group of cycling journalists, designers, photographers etc. who feel that cyclists need something better than what's currently available. FOE are giving their support. Issue No. 1 will include articles by such famous names as Richard Ballantine (author of Richard's Bicycle Book), Andy Clarke of FoE and Daily Cyclist contributor Nancy Woodhead. The magazine intends to build up a subscribing readership, complemented by sales through bike shops. It also intends to act as a forum for new campaigning ideas and campaign news generally. Subscription is £7 for a year (Europe £8) and Issue One only will cost £1.85 (UK) or £2.10 (Europe). New Cyclist's address is 14 St. Clement's Grove, York, YO2 1JZ.

A bicycle travels 1,600 miles on the energy equivalent of just one gallon of petrol.

**WINDMILLS AGAINST NUKES**

The magazine Creative Mind have organized Operation Windmill. This is a plan to plant symbolic windmills at nuclear power installations around the country, to commemorate the thousands of people worldwide who have died, are dying or have been contaminated by nuclear radiation from nuclear power stations and fallout from nuclear bomb tests. The six-month campaign will culminate in National Wind Week (March 14-21) with various displays. For details of Operation Windmill, including windmill plans, contact: Creative Mind, Lark Lane, Liverpool L17.

**CAMPAIGN FOR A REAL SKY**

At the Autumn Conference of the Green Party UK it was agreed to set up a Campaign for a Real Sky with the aim of stopping the atmospheric release of chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs) as soon as possible. At a pilot meeting, a strategy for the campaign was agreed. There is to be maximum co-operation with other green groups, including FoE. The campaign is to be directed at consumers, with persistent leafleting of supermarkets and shopping precincts to persuade the public to stop buying unsafe spray cans. Shop keepers and managers are also to be approached first, and handed copies of "The Aerosol Connection" (obtainable from FoE), so that they can stock up with non CFC aerosols. The campaign also calls for people to write to the British Aerosol Manufacturers Association, to pressure them to ensure that spray cans that



**WATER POLLUTION AND ANGLING**

The involvement of anglers in FoE's Charter for the Water Environment has caused concern in environmental and animal rights circles. Could this herald FoE support of bloodsports like fox hunting? FoE Countryside/Pesticides Campaigner Andrew Lees's comment on this is "Over my dead body!" Writing in the Nov. 1987 FoE Newsletter (No. 158), he points out that, whilst there is concern that catching fish for fun is unjustifiable exploitation, water pollution - with over 20 000 serious incidents per year - kills millions of freshwater fish, mostly from toxic trauma or suffocation. Chronic water pollution, such as nitrate and pesticide run-off from farmland, leads to eutrophication, which causes fish to suffer day-to-day physiological stress, reduces the survival rate of fish fry and induces a gradual deterioration of aquatic ecosystems that is very difficult to reverse. In view of this, he suggests that campaigning for clean rivers should be placed at the top of any charter for fish welfare.

damage the ozone layer are marked with a red slash, and that those that don't are marked with a green slash. The Campaign will also concentrate on refrigerators, aiming to prevent release of CFCs during maintenance and/or destruction. This will involve approaching District and County Refuse Departments requesting safer disposal, and refrigeration engineers asking for CFCs to be drawn off and stored rather than vented. Manufacturers and Engineers must also be persuaded to make repairs more cheap, replacing the old make-use-dispose mentality; this part of the campaign may well imply Parliamentary Legislation. The Campaign's structure will be loose, it being up to individual groups to do what they can. Further details can be obtained from: Melanie Tait, 67 Duesbury St., Princes Ave., Hull HV5 3QE.





## CLEAR LEAD

A recent Edinburgh study has produced yet more evidence on the effect of lead on the IQ of children. These results cannot be put down to background social factors and what is particularly worrying is that the levels of lead exposure were below the current DHSS action levels in 98% of cases studied. Other recent research in USA has shown the great risk of lead poisoning to the foetus.

On a happier note, average environmental lead levels are actually falling in the UK, although this statistic disguises problems in particularly polluted areas (e.g. with lead piping or high traffic densities). CLEAR are now proposing more special measures on top of the petrol tax concessions that the government will have to take to promote unleaded fuel. Presently, only 1% of UK sales are unleaded, compared to 40% in Denmark and about 25% in West Germany and Switzerland. Fabled market forces won't be enough to change British habits. Do you have a car? Does it use unleaded petrol yet?

## UNIDYLLIC COUNTRYSIDE

FoE have published their second Pesticide Incidents Report - called Chemical Trespass: Whose Turn Next? - which contains details of 149 reported cases of pesticide misuse, the majority of which resulted in human suffering. The cases include schoolchildren waving at an aircraft and then getting sprayed with pesticide by it, farmworkers becoming impotent after exposure to pesticides and a woman spending 2 years in hospital and still suffering ill health after being sprayed with a pesticide.

In a FoE press release, Andrew Lees, Countryside/Pesticides Campaigner, commented "These cases prove that the routine use of pesticides has tragic effects. And it's not just the short-term effects that worry us - MAFF civil servants admit that the safety test data for many of the pesticides involved in these incidents is out of date and probably defective". Only a third of the recorded incidents seem to have been investigated by the Agricultural Inspectorate (part of the Health and Safety Executive) and the number of agricultural inspectors has been falling since 1979.

FoE will continue to compile incident reports and will supply victims with Pesticide Incident Report Forms on request. For additional information, contact Andrew Lees at FoE, 26-28 Underwood Street, London N1 7JQ, tel. 01 490 1555 or 490 0237



## LIVING GREEN

GRAHAM HOOPER writes:

### RICHES FROM RUBBISH

The following snippet was found amongst GL's pile of papers etc. sent in -

Most councils spend a lot of our rates on refuse collection, and some of this could be saved if we all put less in our dustbins. Every house, however small the garden, should have a compost heap. On this should be put everything which decays quickly, tea leaves, food fragments (the birds will help get rid of these), vegetable waste etc.. Waste paper should be folded flat, tied in tidy bundles, and given to whichever local charity (or recycling scheme, Ed.) collects waste paper. If there is not a local charity, start one. A lot of councils now have bottle-banks on town centre car parks and clean washed glass containers of all sizes and shapes should be dumped there in the correct colour section. If your council does not have one, it is a popular issue to campaign. Clean washed tins with the paper sleeves removed should be squashed or hammered flat and taken to the can banks now springing up in progressive councils' areas. There are

two sorts of cans, aluminium and tinned steel. Since aluminium is not magnetic, that is the easiest way of sorting. So tin banks are labelled and usually have a test magnet by the slots. If your council is not yet running a Save-a-Can scheme, write to: Sylvia Robinson, Save-a-Can Manager, Queens House, Forbury Road, Reading, Berks. RG1 3JH, Tel. (0734) 581177.

Clothes (if not used as dusters), bric-a-brac, and all unwanted consumer goods should be collected together and handed to your pet charity when they have a jumble sale (or charity shop, Ed.). Yoghurt, mousse, and other plastic pots can be used in the greenhouse with a couple of holes burnt through the base. Some children's playschools are grateful for plastic containers, toilet roll cores etc. for use as artistic raw materials.

If you have anything left, give it to the dustman.



### CARING COOKING

The Vegan Society have published a basic vegan cookbook by Janet Hunt. The Carling Cook makes a good starter for new but daunted vegans. Well laid out with useful info as well as recipes for all meals. £1.99+35p p&p from The Vegan Soc. 33-35 George St, Oxford OX1 2AY

## BUTTER BEAN CASSEROLE WITH HERB DUMPLINGS

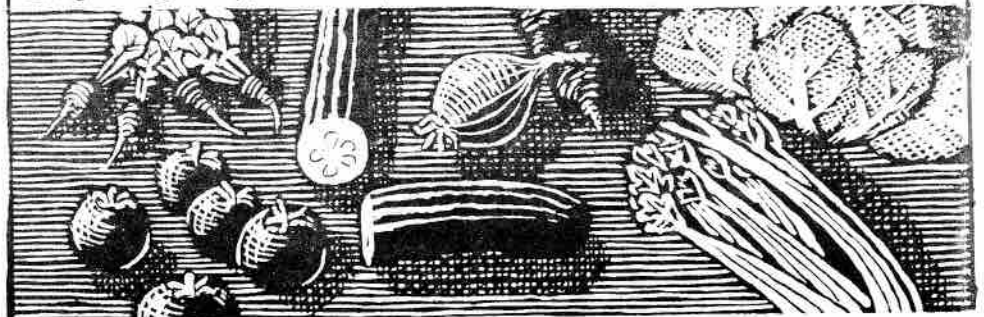
4oz butter beans, soaked overnight and precooked  
1 large carrot, 1 leek, 2 onions, all sliced  
3 med. potatoes, cut into chunks  
3oz mushrooms, sliced  
1 clove garlic, crushed  
1 tsp yeast extract, 2 bay leaves  
2 Tbs rape seed oil  
1 Tbs cornflour mixed to a paste with water

For the dumplings:  
6oz wholewheat flour  
2 tsp baking powder  
1 tsp dried mixed herbs  
2.5oz rape seed oil  
Water to mix

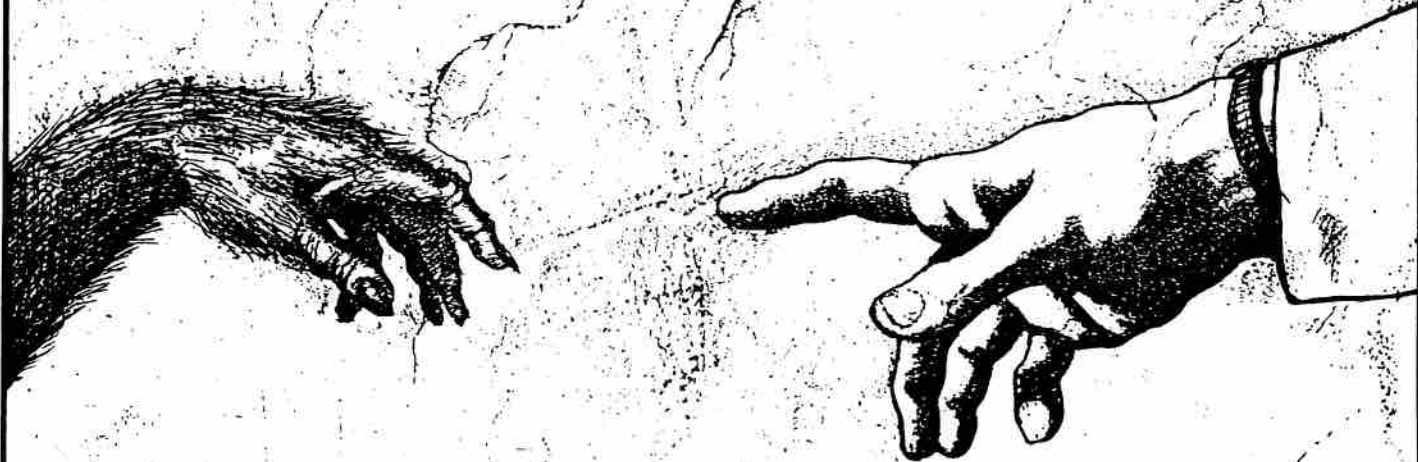
Simmer carrot and potato for 10 mins. Fry onion, leek, mushroom and garlic in the oil for 5 mins. Make up veg. water to 1.25 pints and add all ingredients and stir well. Put into a large oven proof dish and cover. Cook for 1 hour at Gas Mark 4/350F/177C

For the dumplings, mix flour, baking powder and herbs. Mix in the oil with a fork until the mixture resembles bread crumbs. Mix in enough water to make a soft dough. Shape into 8 dumplings and place in the casserole. Continue to cook for a further 35-40 mins. Remove bay leaves and serve.

Thanks to New Leaves 10, magazine for the Movement for Compassionate Living the Vegan Way, for the recipe.



# AIDS



in the beginning...

AIDS is only the tip of the iceberg. Every day ignorance puts all our lives at risk from many different diseases.

The Biohazard Report examines the ways new killer diseases are created. It explains how diseases are allowed to escape from laboratories. It exposes the almost universal ignorance of the simple safeguard that should warn us of danger.



Written in language everyone can understand, and illustrated throughout, it is a book that anyone who cares about life must read. Don't die of ignorance. Find out the facts. The leading experts have admitted that they do not know where AIDS came from. This book tells them, and you. Take a look into a secret world that you were never meant to see. The Report contains no distressing pictures, and is available from the National Anti-Vivisection Society.

To: NAVS, 51 Harley Street, London W1N 1DD.

Please send me Biohazard Report, enclosed £3.00

Please send me information sheet, sae enclosed

Name.....

Address.....

.....  
.....

GLEI



## GOING DOWN TO ALDERMASTON

1988 WILL be a year of anniversaries, various celebrations that will be as difficult to avoid as the Charles and Di wedding, or the royal jubilee a few years earlier, which I only managed to avoid by walking miles into the mountains. The commemoration list includes the Great Armada of 1588, when a load of Herdwick sheep escaped from a wrecked galleon and occupied Cumbria; the thoroughly inglorious revolution of 1688; and Australia's year-long jamboree celebrating the two centuries of white genocidal rule over its indigenous peoples. There is 1968 to remember, an echo of 1848, year of revolutions; and last but not least the 30th anniversary of the formation of CND, which is organising a march from London to Aldermaston at Easter, protesting against the British bomb in the manner of the original march of 1958.

This is certainly a good wheeze on someone's part, an attractive piece of pageantry and 50s nostalgia, recalling that golden era of social conservatism; everyone loves a march like this, orderly and organised, policed by the stewards more effectively than the police themselves ever could. These large set-piece events are crucial to the existence of CND, keeping the movement under its control and direction, however much they suck energy and initiative, even the very life, from local groups - which then have to be prodded awake in order to get them to participate! Will this event have any wider impact? Let's hope that any media interest will help to focus attention on these bomb factories; this year Aldermaston will begin making plutonium for Trident warheads; and a new weapons complex is being built, part of which will be used to design, develop and manufacture future generations of nuclear weapons, and referred to as A90 - for the 1990s and beyond. A chilling thought.

At the same time Menwith Hill, a US

intelligence and communications centre in the beautiful Yorkshire Moors, is being massively expanded; new binary nerve gas 'Bigeye' bombs are soon to be stockpiled at Welford and Upper Heyford; sea-launched Cruise missiles are being newly fitted with murderous cluster bombs which scatter and explode over a wide area. Can anything stop the arms race, the complete militarisation of this country? Political parties are being broken apart on this issue - the apparent impossibility of reversing, even changing, defense policy. The new Alliance (whatever the name) is floundering over this, reaffirming support for both Trident and nuclear power in its recent ill-fated policy document; its worthy commitment to decentralisation, accountability, and freedom of information is undermined by support for a nuclear state which cannot function without tight central control and secrecy. This attempt to shuffle close to a Tory policy is due to a Great Fear - that any party seen to be tainted with ideas of non-nuclear defense and non-alignment will be destroyed from within and without and be unelectable. So a virtual all-party consensus on defense might be an unfortunate consequence of the INF treaty, as happened after the Test Ban Treaty of 1963, which also had the effect of sending the anti-nuclear movement into a prolonged snooze. Actions that might disturb this slumber include the proposed NVDA in the Autumn at the US bases, and the planned summer action at Sizewell and possible mass civil disobedience. The only reservation about the latter is the resentment and hostility such events can inspire among local people: I remember marching through Barrow and realising that Trident was seen to be bringing work and hope, and life itself, to a jobless community. Once again issues of peace and social justice are indivisible.

- There will be no Glastonbury Festival this year, but it will be back in 1989. If anyone has any suggestions or thoughts with regard to the Festival, please contact the Glastonbury Working Group, c/o West Region Office, 109 Ashley Rd, Bristol BS6 6SN.
- Since 1983 the government has spent millions on a scheme to make a continuous dual carriageway from Greenham to the Plain, for the use of Cruise convoys. It is due to be completed in 1989 - by which time Cruise will have been scrapped.
- Criticism and pressure on the Nationwide Building Society (now merged with Anglia) has an effect - in future it will no longer be the major sponsor of the Fairford International Tattoo.

## PEACE DIARY

**FEBRUARY:** CND's birthday! London Region CND is arranging an exhibition as part of CND's 30th anniversary celebrations, consisting of material charting the history of the movement since 1958, including photos, letters, posters and pamphlets. Material from supporters is needed. Contact: Exhibition, London Region CND, 6 Endsleigh Street, London WC1H 0DS (01.388 1628).

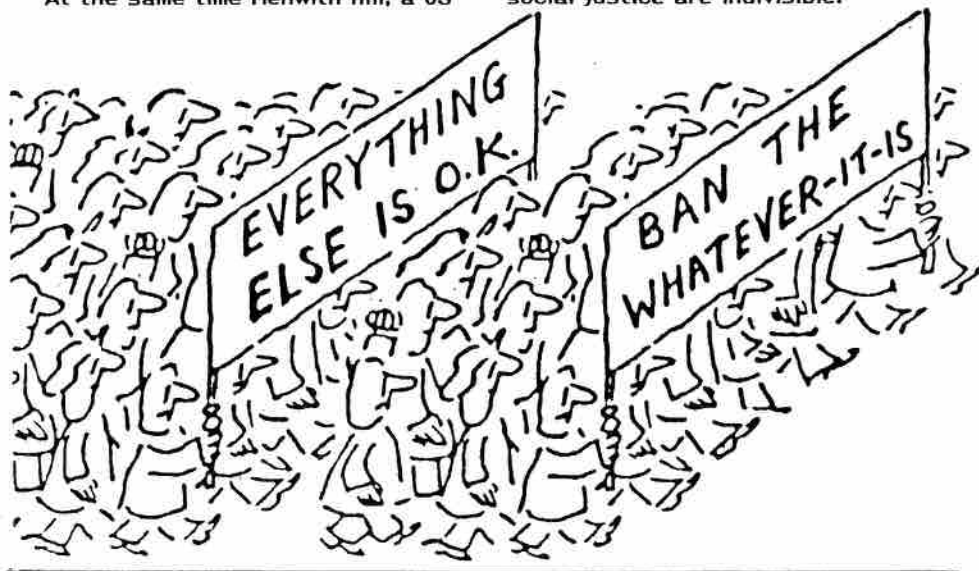
**FEBRUARY 6-7:** Conference 'Out of NATO, into the world', Manchester Town Hall, 11am-7.30 pm Saturday; 9.30am-5pm Sunday. Speakers include Tony Benn, Rebecca Johnson. Contact: Campaign for Non-Alignment, Red Rose Centre, 129A Seven Sisters Road, London N7 7QG.

**FEBRUARY 17:** Ash Wednesday actions by Christians for peace: at the MOD in Whitehall, at the Albemarle Barracks in Newcastle, and at the MOD in Glasgow. Details from Christian CND (01.250 4010).

**FEBRUARY 18-28:** Edinburgh Peace Festival, Assembly Rooms, George Street, Edinburgh. Speakers at the opening 2-day conference include Scilla Mclean (Oxford Research Group), Duncan Campbell, Bruce Kent. There will be meetings, videos, exhibitions, Peter Watkins' film 'The Journey', and all kinds of entertainment during the ten-day festival. Organisations and groups are welcome to participate: apply to Ray Newton, Lothian Peace Forum, City of Edinburgh District Council, City Chambers, Edinburgh EH1 1YJ.

**FEBRUARY 27:** Merhyr Tydfil Festival with Bruce Kent, etc.

**FEBRUARY 27:** Conference on the Transportation of Nuclear Materials, 10.30am-4pm, Sheffield City Hall. Contact John Brierley, 0422.845 456.





# LESBIANS, GAYS AND THE GREEN MOVEMENT

A FEW weeks ago gay rights campaigners, marching through London, were the victims of yet another police riot, suffering indiscriminate acts of violence as well as many arrests - homophobic madness on the rampage. Friends of mine, tearful and angry, told me their stories: it seems hard in such circumstances to think about the ozone layer, or contemplate 'deep' utopias, when our friends are being hurt in front of our eyes; as we slide, without a pause, with barely a dissenting murmur, into a new Dark Age. Indeed it seems to demand a certain detachment, a degree of privilege, even to focus on environmental concerns and to 'think globally' at such a dangerous moment in our own history. These marchers, 12,000 strong, were protesting against Clause 27 (now Clause 28) which has been smuggled into the new Local Government Bill, and which bans councils from 'promoting' homosexuality - while leaving untouched the ubiquitous 'promotion' of compulsory heterosexuality.

This bill, and similar measures in the future, will help prepare the way for yet another attempt to recriminalise homosexuality (including lesbianism, for the first time in our history) with the spotlight falling on gays as yet another variant of the 'enemy within'. The scapegoating of gays for the ills of our society has been a constant theme in Thatcherite Britain, like the scapegoating of Jews in Nazi Germany; and the tragedy of AIDS has been used in a despicable way to further this end. The Tory press has waged a campaign, not against a disease, but against those who suffer from it, as though the HIV virus was selecting its victims according to their sexuality. People with AIDS need to be loved and cherished, valued and supported; instead of which we have a stream of media misinformation and deliberate lies, a spurious moralism over 'promiscuity', when a properly funded health information campaign and safe sex education is what is desperately needed. The government has made a gesture towards the latter, while taking measures to close down sex education in schools. More people will die as a direct result of all this ignorance and bigotry.

There is prejudice and fear, but there is deliberate calculation too: the possibility of political gain, of votes to be had. So the Tories have come out as a virulently anti-gay party, forcing the left once more onto the defensive. Last year it was claimed (by Neil Kinnock's press secretary) that gays had 'lost Labour the pensioners' vote' and thus the crucial Greenwich by-election; and soon the decline in Labour support, the election defeat, the decade of Tory rule, were all being blamed on 'loony left' councils and their supposed 'promotion' of gay rights. Confusion in the Anglican church over the same issue has created



## FROM A STATEMENT BY THE LESBIAN AND GAY GREEN GROUP

THE DEBATE on Clause 28 is to take place in the first few weeks of February. Let us inundate parliament and the Lords with protests: draft letters are available from the Lesbian and Gay Green Group (01 809 2468). Don't delay: this is an important human rights issue. If Clause 28 goes into law then it will have dire consequences for all lesbians and gay men: meeting places could be closed down, children taken from lesbian and gay parents, counselling facilities wound down, books removed from libraries that include affection between those of the same sex, and much more - even now, gay men and lesbians seen kissing in public have been arrested in increasing numbers. Generally gay men and lesbians are under an awful lot of pressure, individually and as a community. A copy of Clause 27 (now 28) is available from National Green Party Office to be read, and will also be in your local library. Read it, familiarise yourself with it, and help us fight its implementation. More information can be had from the Lesbian and Gay Green Group, 35 Ferndale Rd, London N15 6UF

agonising problems for gay priests, and led to a fierce debate over the 'sinfulness' of homosexuality - this 'abomination in the eyes of the Lord' according to the Biblical book of Leviticus, which recommends the death penalty. No-one has yet suggested that gays be taken outside the city walls and stoned to death; not even that bizarre lunatic James Anderton, as he continues to froth away in a mental cesspit of his own making. Such born-again homophobes see AIDS as God's punishment for gays, though as Rabbi Juliet Neuberger has remarked, "It is a strange God who chooses to punish male homosexuals and not female, and who is angry with drug-takers who inject intravenously, but not with those who sniff."

Biology and 'nature' are frequently invoked to justify these attitudes, although those who talk of the 'unnaturalness' of gay sex tend to be great believers in Culture and Law (usually coupled with our old friend Order), the very antithesis of nature. The nonsense of this is self-evident - being gay represents both a descent to the pigsty, and the failure to behave 'naturally', like a proper pig!

The green movement, necessarily concerned with 'nature', must not fall into this trap and thereby side with this life-hating, death-dealing government, nor use nature as some sort of screen on which all kinds of deep-rooted prejudices can be projected. Nor should a concern for social justice and our dwindling civil liberties take a back seat to the demands of 'ecology': nature or people, ecology or social justice - these are the false dichotomies by which we are divided and ruled. The issues are indissolubly linked; indivisible. The devastation of nature hasn't taken place in a historical vacuum, as a sort of green version of Original Sin - nature has been exploited the more ruthlessly to exploit human beings in the interests of industry and capital. And it is the current weakness of power, not its strength, that it has brought us this narrow social conservatism; this policing of desire, keeping us all in line, crushing social and sexual dissent, denying the rich diversity of human nature, and human sexuality in all its aspects and all its possibilities for joy and pleasure. We must not be divided and ruled on this issue: at the next march, at the next rally, let us stand shoulder to shoulder, greens and the Left, gay and straight, sisters and brothers in the same struggle together.

Thanks to Jon Ward for his essay in Heterosexuality (Heretic Books), which pulverizes the arguments of those who see gays as 'unnatural'; and also to Simon Watney's Policing Desires: Pornography, AIDS and the Media, a brilliant and angry book.

• BARRY MAYCOCK

**T**HE SCENE at the Music and Dance camp on Sunday 16th August was a rainbow of colours and sounds and 350 beautiful people dancing, swaying, chanting, singing "dance your dream awake". And also walking, talking, eating, being ordinary. One woman, resting from the festivities in her tent and chatting to a friend suddenly found herself surrounded by eight people threatening to "smash her face", "kick her teeth in" and so on, warning her that "we are a very powerful group of people, you'd better realise that". Any verbal response she dared to make was followed by accusations of aggression(!) and by further threats. It was not physically possible to walk away. Eventually help arrived and the group were persuaded, still muttering their promises, to disperse. During the ensuing three weeks, the Music and Dance camp ended and the Creativity camp began; chanting and singing gave way to weaving, tipi-making and pottery. The woman began to recover from her fright and received much reassurance from her friends that no physical attack could possibly occur in such a "safe, protected space, full of love and harmony and wisdom", for so the Oak Dragon was advertised and so it was perceived. Indeed so it was experienced, on the whole, even by the woman herself.

But, strange things began to be noticed, especially at the much-vaunted pow-wows, circles where everyone can speak and be heard. An atmosphere developed which I can only describe by asking you to imagine how it would feel if Peace and Love became compulsory, a "Party line". All enthusiastic, joyous input was acceptable - "I feel so good here!" "I'm learning so much!" - but all discomfort and misgivings were tacitly taboo. Contributions like "I'm actually rather dazed and lost and lonely", "where's the centre of this thing?" or "I don't really feel seen or heard here" all received responses like "Go tell it to a tree before you spread it around" or "Take all your negativity and bury it in the ground". Worrying rumours appeared, of closed meetings held behind closed doors, of people silently leaving, of crises and power battles among the organisers of the Oak dragon Project - who turn out to be, in fact, managing directors of a company called Genius Oak Ltd. It's all very confusing.

And the woman who had been threatened by the Atlantis group finds her voice and it becomes one of several saying 'something is wrong here'. "If all flaws are denied and all problems are suppressed" she was heard to say, "then this project will fail in the way revolutions have failed and spiritual movements become corrupt. The Peace and Love become forced and phony and there will be an explosion somewhere." Meanwhile, the threats and intimidation from Atlantis begin again, and she expresses her fears to the leaders of the project - for it is obvious now that there are leaders, and that the 'pow-wow democracy' is a farce - and she says "I have been threatened with physical attack. I feel unsafe." Again and again she is told by these people "it's your own stuff", "have you tried the Bach Flower remedy for fear?" (she had), "it couldn't happen here". It is noticed that, although the Atlantis group do not sing and dance and drum, do not join in the weaving or the pottery or the speaking circles, they do attend the small meetings of the Oak Dragon Project leaders, where not everyone is welcome.

Three days before the end of the camp, another member of the Atlantis commune arrived at the camp and was let in, which was odd because other people had been turned away. Indeed a couple with two children, whose truck had broken down and who had spent several days parked on a garage forecourt in Aberystwyth waiting for spare parts, had to argue for many hours before they were even allowed in to visit the many friends they had at the camp. They were told it was their own karma and their own creation that their truck had broken down.

"Fucking Jew!" the new Atlantis member screams at the woman that evening, "Fucking Jew! Look at the history of your race. It makes me sick!"

And silence falls in her soul and she knows that

In August last year, around the time known as the intimidated, racially abused and beaten up in a field in gathering - one devoted, supposedly to peace and each other. Disturbing? More disturbing still is the made to the incident; a response which at first gl Goodman makes clear, on closer analysis it raises qu movement ignore at our peril. The attack was carr Inishfree island, Donegal, and the gathering at which Project.

## How we let it



there is nothing new about this story. The next morning she is beaten up by two women from Atlantis while the 'children of Albion' watch - those of them, that is, who happened to be in the cafe marquee where it occurred. Almost everyone was absent. Many people, including all the Oak Dragon organisers, had gone out for the day. I believe the people who sat and watched were not callous but absolutely stunned. I have to believe that. When a murmur of protest did begin it was authoritatively silenced by Snowy James, the leader of Atlantis: "It's perfectly alright for women to beat up women" he said.

### • Blame it on the victim

The reason for this article is not primarily to draw attention to yet another example of Atlantis' violence. It is to draw attention to what followed, which is in fact more shocking, and then to ask ourselves how such a thing could have occurred in a gathering of apparently politically and spiritually aware people, a gathering dedicated to healing ourselves and the planet, which called itself "a living university, on the green earth" and considered itself to be at the heart of the alternative culture. Why was it not prevented, and how can such things be prevented in the future?

What followed the attack was this. Ros Foskett and Palden Jenkins, the central figures in the Oak Dragon Project, returned with their financial advisors for their day out. They heard what had happened and approached the woman who had been attacked as she was sitting under a tree being comforted by friends. "We all create our own reality" they told her; "you have created this yourself. It's obviously part of your karma, but we really wish you hadn't manifested it on our field". Then followed a patient lecture on "victim consciousness" and an invitation to leave the camp. Finally, the woman was told that if she chose to stay for the remaining two days then she must promise not to speak to anyone else about what had happened. If she felt upset for any reason(!) she was to choose a friend and go to the far end of the field and have, effectively, a therapy session about it - on the clear understanding that since it was her own pain it was her own business. But she wasn't to talk about it for fear of "stirring up trouble."

Refusing to be gagged, or to accept the 'Blame the Victim' line, she asked "and what about this gang of thugs? Are they being asked to leave?" "Please do not call Atlantis a gang of thugs. They are our friends" was the immediate response. The mist began to clear then. The light began to dawn. It was like the moment at the end of Orwell's Animal Farm when the animals in bewilderment "looked from pig to man, and from man to pig, and from pig to man again; but it was already impossible to say which was which."



the Harmonic Convergence, a woman was threatened, in Wales, in the middle of a very green alternative and understanding and love of the Earth and of the response that the organisers of the gathering of silence is incomprehensible. However, as JENNY asks questions that we in all strands of the alternative carried out by members of the Atlantis commune of which it occurred was a camp organised by the Oak Dragon

• Green Fascism must be faced up to

The events at the Oak Dragon camp, culminating in the condoning of violence, collusion with the aggressors, and attempted silencing of the woman attacked, raise vital issues about power for all of us who work together in groups towards sustaining and improving life on earth. It is significant that almost the only people at the camp who mentioned the word 'power' were Atlantis. It is significant that among the ordinary participants, many cared for and most supported the woman, yet they seemed powerless to do anything in the face of the hardness at the centre. They were helpless in the face of a situation which they had allowed, unknowingly, to develop all around them. Much work has been done in recent years about the dynamics of large groups working for change, about why practice so often comes to contradict initial high ideals. None of this work, it seems, had entered the consciousness of the Oak Dragon Project - perhaps that's why it was so vulnerable to the distorted 'therapy jargon' spoken by Atlantis.

# Fascism grow



Then, because Snowy James had threatened to "slash her face" when she had unwittingly walked through a part of the field Snowy James called her 'territory', the woman asked: "And do you believe that people here exclusively own the part of the field they are camping on?"

"I think it would be better if you respected Snowy's space."

"And is there no policy of non-racism here?"

"No, we don't have rules like that."

And one of the financial advisors who had witnessed the racist abuse of the evening before and had not batted an eyelid observed: "Well me darling, I've seen a lot of people beaten up in my time and you don't look badly beaten up to me."

Indeed there were no broken limbs or lacerations, only bruises and a punched head and the remains of a deliberately broken pair of glasses. How bad does it have to get?

Later the woman asked another of the leading lights of the Oak Dragon: "This 'victim consciousness' thing. Do you think then that the native American Indians were responsible for the genocide they suffered? [The camp drew much of its inspiration and ritual from native American culture.] And that the people of Hiroshima and Nagasaki created their own deaths and mutilation by their own bad karma?" She refrained from using the obvious analogy that was closer to home for her; of the burning times not so long ago in Europe when silence also lived in the mouths of the children of Albion - the straight British then, not the New Age, Aquarian British.

The answer was: "Well, yes. Ultimately yes. The victims were responsible."

Pause.

We are not dealing here with the members of an obscure religious sect. We are talking about people in the peace movement; the ecology movement; we are talking about women who have lived at Greenham Common. And we are dealing with something far more dangerous than lies when we examine - as we must - this disconcerting and increasingly prevalent strand of New Age theology. We are dealing with a distortion, with an abuse. It is not necessary to reject the concepts of karma and interconnectedness to reject the whole vile abuse of these ideas, but you can nevertheless develop an 'alternative fascism' from them easily enough. Nazi propaganda appealed to many of the same suppressed longings that we now consciously work with in the green and women's movements; a love of earth, nature, our roots in the Mother. That does not mean these longings are wrong or these forces are unreal; it means any truth can be distorted and then abused - and the more profound the truth then the more devastating the effects of distorting it.

The crucial point is that among all the talk about different kinds of 'energies' did anyone recognise - and will anyone recognise next time - the particular quality of energy that is fascism? Will we recognise it when fascists are dressed like hippies? As it happens, three people did indeed recognise the Atlantean energy for what it was, right from the start, but their warnings were dissenting voices and went unheeded. In effect, they too were silenced. Significantly, these three people were all from socialist/ anarchist backgrounds. It seems that for all the talk of love and harmony ushering in the Age of Aquarius, no-one knew how to recognise and expose and deal with the plague that erupted in our midst at that camp. Spiritual consciousness without real political awareness or experience is at the core of the problem. The word most often used at the Oak Dragon camp was 'Vision'. The Vision. I believe that the organisers were into creating a Utopia, and that's fine, but they could do well to read Ursula le Guin's short story, The Ones who Walk Away from Omelas, about one such Utopia - and its costs.

"At such a camp you can be yourself, unpressurised... The Oak Dragon... it's a new way of relating, of bringing about results, changing the world, transforming ourselves, channelling something very new into being... We wish you well on your flight with the Oak Dragon... Undo your safety belts!"

I am quoting from an assortment of leaflets publicising the camps. And in a recent 10 page newsletter, the Oak Dragon Times, full of cosmic this and universal that, two bald, brief statements from the editor read: "I have been told of an incident which happened at the last camp where somebody was physically attacked. I can see no point in condemnation after the event, or discussion of the rights and wrongs of the particular case, but feel there is an issue to be looked at about what we are as a group allowing to happen, within our space, and would like to sort this out at the equinox gathering" [Emphasis added]. The woman who was attacked received this newsletter a month after the Equinox gathering. Apparently, the discussion had not taken place.

I believe this woman was attacked for a reason. Even fascists have a motive. She is one of the many people who have spent some days (years ago in her case) at Atlantis' 'commune'. However, she is one of the very few who have dared to speak and write and act on the dreadful inhumanity she saw there. There is still a silence - a perfectly understandable silence - about Atlantis. But those of them who have not fled to South America are busy in Britain - in Albion - making approaches which are in fact takeover bids to all sorts of groups and projects within the alternative culture. An alternative theatre group in Dorset, Word and Action, is one of the latest targets.

Let's keep our eyes open from now on.

JANET BIEHL considers some of the implications for women of deep ecology and criticises its attempts at an asocial, unhistorical analysis of the ecological crisis. Janet Biehl is an eco-feminist living in Vermont. She is active with the Burlington greens. This article first appeared in the magazine KICK IT OVER.

# Deep ignorance

RECENTLY, a number of male deep ecologists have been claiming that there are theoretical affinities between deep ecology and ecofeminism. One deep ecologist, Jim Cheney, calls deep ecology "that form of environmentalism which comes closest to embodying a feminist sensibility." Kirkpatrick Sale, too, maintains: "I don't see anything in the formulation of deep ecology... that in any way contavenes the values of feminism or puts forward the values of patriarchy". Bill Devall and George Sessions, co-authors of *Deep Ecology: Living as if Nature Mattered*, the authoritative text of the new ideology, even see affinities between the way women view the world and deep ecology: "some feminists claim that deep ecology is an intellectual articulation of insights that females have known for centuries". Indeed, as Ynestra King has pointed out, an unusually large number of male ecologists are writing articles as avowed adherents of ecofeminism these days. Many of them are advocating an alliance between the ecofeminist and deep ecology movements.

Advocates of deep ecology repeatedly assure us that deep ecology's distinction is to ask searching questions. Arne Naess writes: "The essence of deep ecology is to ask deeper questions. The adjective 'deep' stresses that we ask why and how, where others do not." In this spirit, ecofeminists have a number of deep, searching questions to ask of male deep ecologists about the alleged affinities between the two. These questions are central to any discussion of the prospects for a union between the two movements.

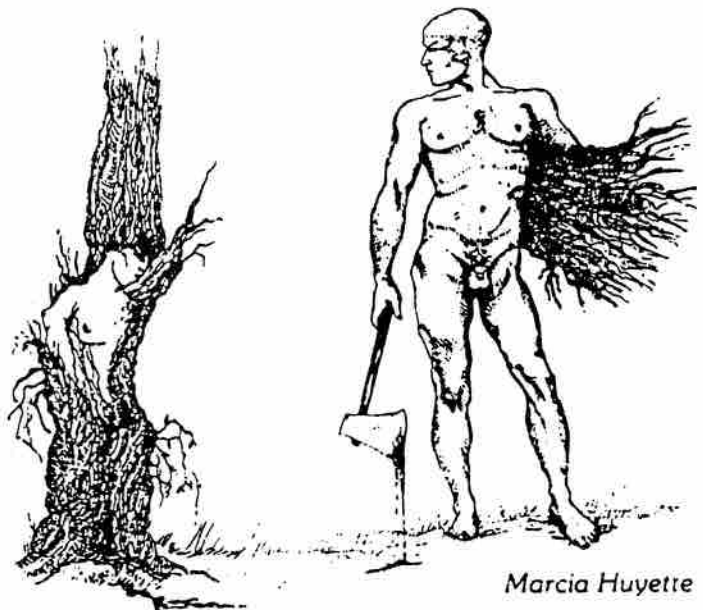
## • Women as natural; women as material

Deep ecologists are critical of what they see as Western society's 'anthropocentrism', which is defined by one deep ecologist, John Seed, as "human chauvinism... the idea that humans are the crown of creation, the source of all value, the measure of all things." In anthropocentrism, we are told, humans see themselves as separate from nature and objectify it in order to exploit it. In Michael Zimmerman's characterisation, the anthropocentric worldview "portrays humanity itself as the source of all value and... depicts nature solely as raw material for human purposes". Anthropocentrism is thus "deeply implicated in the global environmental crisis," say Devall and Sessions. Anthropocentric humans lose all track of the "oneness" of all nature, we are told. They/we need to purge themselves/ ourselves of deadly anthropocentrism to regain consciousness of the oneness of nature and thereby stop exploiting it.

For ecofeminists however, the concept of anthropocentrism is profoundly (even 'deeply') problematical. It assumes that humanity is an undifferentiated whole, and it does not take into account the historical and political differences between male and female, black and white, rich and poor.

Ecofeminists among others, have shown that historically, not all of "humanity" has been privileged to be depicted as "the source of all value". It is mainly economically privileged white males who have been seen this way. Other humans - women, blacks, the poor - have, like nature itself, been depicted as "raw material for human (read male) purposes." In Western culture, men have

traditionally justified their domination of women by conceptualising them as "closer to nature" than themselves. Women have been ideologically dehumanised and derationalised by men; called more chaotic, more mysterious in motivation, more emotional, more moist, even more polluted. Far from being seen as a "source of value", women have been seen, like nature, as a source of "raw material for human purposes." Women's bodies have traditionally been ploughed and mined like the earth for their reproductive capacity - the raw material in question.



Marcia Huyette

Ecofeminists have tried repeatedly to show that women are no closer to nature innately than men are, and further that the fulfillment of women's human capacities has been denied them under patriarchy; that both men and women are capable of reason and emotion and sensuality; and that the human mind that evolves out of first or primal nature is both a female mind and a male mind. Moreover, ecofeminists need to attain their individual and social fulfillment in a way that does not accept the capitalist, industrial, patriarchal, managerial society that Western men have developed. Rather they seek to create alternative, non hierarchical contexts in which both male and female potentialities can be truly fulfilled. Deep ecologists, by single mindedly defining the problem as anthropocentrism, ignore millennia of patricentric history and implicitly include women in their indictment. By not excluding women from anthropocentrism, deep ecologists implicitly condemn women for being as anthropocentric as they condemn men for being - that is, for presuming to be above nature, for trying to master it.

But the problem is not simply that deep ecologists have failed to except women from anthropocentrism. It would not improve matters simply to 'subtract' women from the ranks of anthropocentrists, this gender blindness is symptomatic of deep ecologists' stubborn, willful ignorance of the social causes of problems. They assert that all our problems are primarily caused by our attitude toward nature and how we treat nature. They do not sufficiently



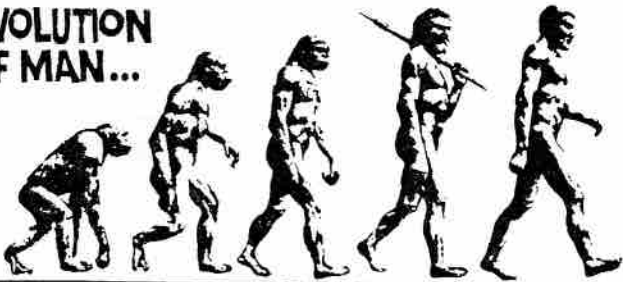
emphasise that the way we view nature has itself got a social origin, let alone explore what its origins are in history. They have no inkling that societies have existed that, as Murray Bookchin has pointed out, could reverence nature (such as ancient Egypt) and yet this 'reverence' did not inhibit the development of full-blown patricentric hierarchy.

Thus women are caught in a circular trap in deep ecology. On the one hand they have been defined as closer to nature by patricentric culture (and, as we shall see below, continue to be so defined by deep ecology); on the other hand they are held accountable for 'anthropocentrism' and are blamed for being as removed from nature as men are. Women are left going round in circles. Clearly deep ecology was not formulated with women in mind.

• I think therefore I ain't?

Not only does deep ecology ignore differences among groups of humans, such as men and women, but it also ignores differences between human and nonhuman nature. "The central insight of deep ecology," as expressed by Warwick Fox, is "the idea that we can make no firm ontological divide... between the human and nonhuman realms... To the extent that we perceive boundaries, we fall short of deep ecological consciousness." Devall stresses as a principle of deep ecology "the identity (I/thou) of humans with nonhuman nature ... There are no boundaries and everything is inter-related." According to Sessions and Devall, we must "cease to understand or see ourselves as isolated and narrow competing egos and begin to identify with other humans from our family and friends to, eventually, our species... to include the nonhuman world." One wonders just what happens to the significance of species in nature when we can make "no ontological divide" between or among them. If all is the same in nature, are all differences among species illusions? Is humanity's self-awareness as a species a delusion? Is anthropocentrism itself based upon a delusion of our separateness as a species? Thus, just as deep ecologists ignore social history - especially that of patriarchy - they also ignore natural history. One wonders how deep ecologists explain any of the leaps, or discontinuities, in the paleontological record or the evolution of mind.

## EVOLUTION OF MAN...



## and woman.



It is clear that deep ecologists' ignorance of social history is a major issue for ecofeminism. But why should their ignorance of natural history be of concern too? The answer is that deep ecologists make use of what they see as female consciousness to buttress their ahistorical view of nature. In at least a decade of feminist theory it has been seen as both a nightmare and a blessing that women experience a "sense of relatedness", an attenuation of boundaries between self and other, that men do not experience. Feminist psycho-analytic work has shown that women develop "soft ego boundaries". This has been both good and bad for women: good in the sense that connectedness is real and women are more aware of it; bad in the sense that the lack of clearly defined ego boundaries creates difficulties in women's individuation

and development of autonomy - attributes that are necessary to become rational beings and to fulfill their potentiality. Thus, boundaries, or the lack of them, have been a subject of profoundly ambivalent discussion by theorists like Nancy Chodorow (The reproduction of Mothering) and Evelyn Fox Keller (Reflections on Gender and Science) among others.

Deep ecologists steam-roller over this dialectic between self and other, between the individual and the collective. A vague 'connectedness', they seem to feel, is all-important. Their solution is to forget all of the agonizing individuation so necessary for the development of women's personalities and sense of control over their destinies. Never mind becoming rational; never mind the self; look where it got men, after all; women were better-off than men all along without that tiresome individuality; and women should give up their attempts to attain it. "We have to cultivate ecological consciousness" according to Devall and Sessions. All of us need "a more receptive, 'feminine' approach."



Deep ecologists are fond of presenting Eastern metaphysics as the example we should model ourselves on. "Taoism tells us there is a way of unfolding which is inherent in all things... People have fewer desires and simple pleasures..." To study the Way is to study the self. To study the self is to be enlightened by all things. To be enlightened by all things is to remove the barriers between one's self and others." Women and men alike are thus asked to efface themselves before nature, to ignore their identity as a species in a surrender to boundaryless, cosmic 'oneness'. In reality, the fact is women know from long experience that when they are asked to become 'one' with a man, as in marriage, that 'one' is usually the man. Ecofeminists should be equally suspicious of this 'ecological' oneness. Moreover, deep ecologists tend to promote a disregard of reason, even of subjectivity. However, reason and subjectivity are what distinguish humans in nature. Yet, for deep ecologists to acknowledge this would be to uphold a boundary - and boundaries, as they have told us, do not exist in nature. Worse, in deep ecological terms, to give boundaries their due would be to be guilty of anthropocentrism. According to Bill Devall we must "begin our thinking on utopia... by trying to 'think like a mountain.'" So it seems that, for deep ecologists, just as there is no boundary between human and nonhuman nature, there is also no boundary between the consciousness of a mountain and a human being.

And here we are obliged to return again to social history. For it was precisely men who created the cultural boundary between men and women in constructing a gender barrier. Marginalised for millennia, "connected" to the point of self-effacement for millennia, women are now intensely striving for subjectivity, precisely for selfhood and for a full recognition of their subjectivity and selfhood in a new society. This aspiration is the revolutionary heart of the feminist and ecofeminist movements. Many of our lives now involve new and radical insight into our own condition of chronic oppression under patriarchy. We have affirmed our own rationality after millennia of being defined as irrational by patriarchy. We are becoming active where we

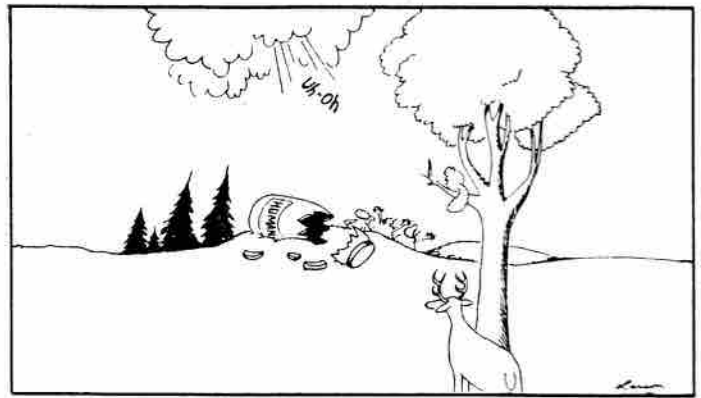
had long been taught to be reactive. We are becoming creative rather than passively receptive. And we are externalising ourselves into fully embodied and well-defined beings. To ask women, with their new subjectivity, to "think like a mountain" is a blatant slap in the face. It asks women to return to the arena of their oppression - to their nonbeing and nothingness - indeed, even to embrace it. Just when women and other oppressed groups have come into subjectivity, subjectivity is itself suddenly condemned. Now we are asked to return to oblivion and become 'receptive' in the interests of a male-defined nature. It should be the privileged people at the centre - white men - who are obliged to be receptive and listen, and not those of us who have been marginalised and receptive by coercion in the past.

To drop our recent, painfully achieved recognition of the socially and historically created gender boundary would be to return to the oblivion of unconsciousness. Behind the smoke and mirrors of 'goddess' worship is a terrifying renunciation of self, a retreat into oppression. Deep ecology requires, in effect, that women remain egoless, unformed and supine - presumably in the name of a Taoist denial of the self. Deep ecology denies the reality of difference, let alone the reality of gender oppression, at the same time as it appropriates an aspect of feminist psychology for its own quasi-religious purposes. When it talks of dissolving the self along with the boundary lines of the self-determining ego, deep ecology trivialises the emancipation of women, a centuries-long revolutionary process of coming into self-awareness and individual freedom. Indeed, deep ecology asks women to give up the very selfhood that can itself resist the rationalisations that lie behind the industrial crisis.

• A cultural wilderness

Deep ecologists' ignorance of the social becomes strikingly apparent in their discussion of wilderness - "sacred place, sanctum sanctorum" of nature. Devall and Sessions tell us that humans need the experience of wilderness, among other reasons, to "cultivate the virtues of modesty and humility." Again, it is precisely humility, with its passive and receptive obedience to men, that women are trying to escape today. Historically, especially in North America, men have responded to nature by defining it as wilderness - usually as a pretext for trying to master the natural world. Countless stories exist in American literature of men in the wilderness - of Daniel Boone, Davy Crockett and the like. Their descendants in our day are John Wayne and the Marlboro Man. Just as 19th century American literature expressed a cultural male desire to depart into the wilderness to escape from the overly domesticated Victorian women's sphere - one in which women were denied personhood and therefore became tedious to men - so deep ecologists seek to escape into the wilderness to avoid an overly rationalised and mechanised society that denies nature's complexity and thus becomes tedious as well. In both cases men are trying to escape an oppression that they have created themselves, to escape in both cases from a social problem: first the domestication of women, and second the rationalisation of society. The point should be to reclaim women and society as free, not to leap into an allegedly chaotic, nonsocial realm called 'wilderness'.

Although deep ecologists claim affinities with Native Americans, it is notable that Indians have no word for 'wilderness'. Luther Standing Bear, an Oglala Sioux, remarks, "We do not think of the great open plains, the beautiful, rolling hills and winding streams with tangled growth as 'wild'. Only to the white man was nature a 'wilderness' and only to him was the land 'infested' with 'wild' animals and 'savag' people. To us it was tame. Earth was bountiful and we were surrounded with the blessing of the Great Mystery." The concept of 'wilderness' and the egocentric male soloist - who sees it as a challenge, an object of conquest, or as a realm of personal freedom - is connected to the Western male social mentality. Indeed, Luther Standing Bear reveals that the concept of



'wilderness' has a social origin: "Not until the hairy man from the east came and with brutal frenzy heaped injustices on us and the families we loved was it 'wild' for us. When the very animals of the forests began fleeing from his approach, then it was that for us the 'wild west' began." (See T. McLuhan ed. *Touch the Earth*.) To define nature as 'wilderness' is to presuppose a separation between men (literally) and nature. Indeed, 'wilderness' is precisely the nonsocial. Deep ecologists perpetuate this conceptual separation even as they ask people to respond to it with "humility", rather than "mastery". In deep ecology, men are just as cut off from external nature, let alone internal nature, as they ever were. Far from dissolving the boundary between humans and nature, deep ecology basically validates it.

Just as white, patricentric males define rational women as irrational as a pretext for their domination, so they define nature as a 'wilderness' as a pretext for its domination. The description of "sacred" nature as wilderness - presumably "irrational" nature - is analogous to the conventional Western description of women as irrational humans. But only when men are separated from nature is nature perceived as irrational; and only when men are culturally divided from women are women perceived as irrational. The point is, that women are not chaotic, but rational; and nature too is not chaotic but rather follows a logic of development towards increasing complexity and subjectivity, replete with differences, individual variations and the slow formation of selfhood. If ecofeminists are serious about combating the domination of nature that they see as analogous to their own domination then they must fight this conceptualisation of nature as irrational and selfhood as an impediment to natural evolution, just as they have fought their own conceptualisation as irrational, egoless and 'natural'.

• Janet Biehl's article will be concluded in next month's issue of Green Line, when she will consider the implications for women of deep ecology's attitude toward population control.

Even The Alternative Thinker Needs A  
**CREATIVE MIND**

*the quality quarterly magazine for Green Ideas,  
Human values, Practical alternatives, Lifestyles,  
Arts and Media.*

Plus - ALTERNATIVE DIRECTORY OF BRITAIN.

£3.80 for six issues, or 60p per single copy.  
£5.00 supporting subscription.

*Creative Mind: Lark Lane Community Centre,  
80, Lark Lane, Liverpool L17.*

*tel: 051-727-8293/3337.*



# What's in a name?

DAVID SIMMONS offers some thoughts on the assumptions he feels lie behind Penny Newsome's articles on TOES in GL 51,53 & 57

YOU CAN always tell a person by the company they keep. And by the way they talk about their friends and enemies. Penny Newsome, for example, has an awful lot to say about socialists.

In GL57 she says (twice) that all greens are socialists. She says that E.F.Schumacher was a socialist. And even that the values of peace, justice and compassion are socialist values. Well, gosh! I didn't know that. I thought that they were just general humanist values. What Penny Newsome seems to be saying is: "we all share the same values so why don't you greens call yourselves socialists like me?" This is what is called 'incorporation'. You and I have the same goals, so why don't you join my club? Alright, I'll join your club Penny, but why don't you want to join mine?

The essence of incorporation is first, to claim universal values as one's own. In the past we have had religious or political groups saying that only they have true morality /compassion /integrity and that the other groups have inferior substitutes. That is - if it's the real thing, it's their property. So, if you truly believe in these things then really you're a member of their group. Thus, in the second stage, they say that because you hold 'their' values you must join their group. And that is wonderful for expanding their organisation but not so good for yours. It disappears.

## • Confusing facts and labels

Perhaps I'm being unfair to Penny Newsome and that what she seeks is simply the best way forward. Perhaps the problem is that once we have defined our beliefs and ourselves in terms of labels it is very easy for these labels to become confused with the facts. It is particularly easy when some of these labels have such strong emotional connotations.

When we talk of 'capitalism' or 'socialism' to an opponent of such ideas their first reaction is antipathy. Years of conditioned reflexes bring forth the instant response: "That's bad!" I once tried to explain to a member of an activist group that small businesses were better for society, more egalitarian.

"It's capitalism" he said, "it's bad!" I admitted it was capitalism but that it was a different form; more humane, more compassionate.

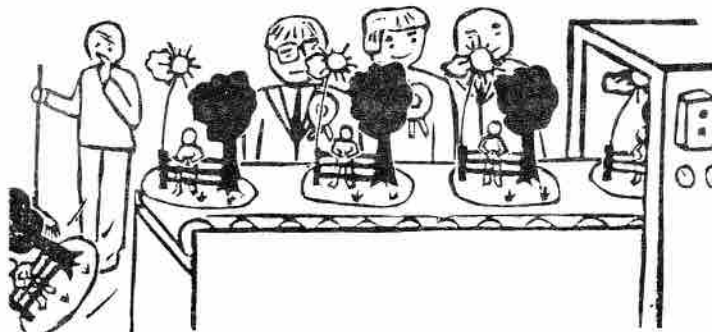
"I'm not interested" he replied, "it's capitalism." And that was the end of the conversation. He just was not interested in anything that could be said about or for capitalism because he already knew it was bad.

Penny Newsome points out that there is more than one variant of socialism and that this is often overlooked. What is equally easy to forget is that there are many different forms of capitalism. It is not enough to say "private ownership of the means of production..." as this covers everything from multinational corporations to the Mondragon co-ops in Spain. The Labour Party has Clause Four, which refers to common ownership, and for years has been interpreted as meaning nationalisation. There are strong movements to extend the definition to include co-ops, yet how does one define these things? Common ownership does include co-ops but it could refer to Mondragon or the Yugoslavian communally owned (and

sometimes corrupt) firms. So where do we draw the line?

Private ownership could also refer to co-ops, and I think it could include Mondragon firms as well. But, given such an enormous area, how precisely can we define capitalism anyway? Can we define it purely in terms of who owns the means of production and ignore who controls the government, who controls the companies, how big the companies are, how much force they are willing to use to impose their goals, what sort of society this is all situated in...? Can we say that Britain is an example of capitalism when most of the shares in big business are owned by pension firms, unit trusts, insurance companies and so on? Is that private ownership? And can we compare the big business capitalism of ITT and General Motors with the small business system that exists in Scandinavia?

It is worth noting that to a certain degree we are not comparing one existing system with another. It is very easy to point out the faults of the British or American economies, but when we suggest an alternative we cannot necessarily point to a real-life example. We might have to talk about capitalism in the abstract. Equally, what we see in the real world is not necessarily the final and absolute apotheosis of capitalism; it is just possible that the faults we see are not automatic features of capitalism.



## • Challenging power

Many of those faults can be described as problems of power. The people who run the companies have absolute power over their domains regardless of the country they operate in. They choose their products, set their prices, determine their own safety standards, mine their raw materials where and how they please and in the Third World they can even dictate to governments. The companies we see around us deal in millions, even in billions, of pounds or dollars. There is no way we can compare them politically or economically to the shop round the corner, Clive Sinclair's company, the Morgan car firm or the Meriden Motorcycle co-op.

A series of surveys carried out by C. Wright Mills, an American sociologist, found that small business towns and cities were actually different from those with big businesses, and not just in economic terms. The small firm towns had more parks, better libraries, were better laid out and had better standards of living. To compare the quality of life, one researcher devised a 37 point index - and found that in nearly every case the small firm town was more attractive. Perhaps the reason for this difference comes back to power. Mitsubishi has power. General Motors has power. But how much power did the Meriden co-op have?

Small firms would be politically and economically at the same level as the people around them and would not have the same power to exploit. They would not be able to rip up the Brazilian jungle, or the rain forests of Sarawak because their only power would derive from the local people - the very ones who are now vainly trying to oppose the giant corporations.

Perhaps we should ignore the labels and pay more attention to what our enemies are doing. They are the ones we should be fighting.

How can the Green Party hope to play a full role in the realignment of the left if it stubbornly refuses to regard itself as part of it? When Jon Carpenter argued in GL50 that "greens are essentially... very far to the left" he was anticipating a political futures debate which failed to develop at the Aston conference. Thus the party dogmatically maintains a position of naive neutrality that strengthens the hand of the right. Links with the rest of the left are now being forged by unofficial initiatives which have exposed fundamental political differences. In GL57 Penny Newsome made the case for a green socialism, while Tim Cooper condemned labourism and favoured links with radical Liberals. I am now concerned that this could lead to a Die Grunen style factionalism.

As an anti-capitalist I joined the socialist inclined camp but it may have an uphill struggle attracting support. The term 'socialist' (even when prefixed by 'eco') may prove detrimental to building New Left unity. Enough so called socialists have succeeded in discrediting socialism without the help of New Right propaganda. Moreover, claims to a Marxist basis, as in Derek Wall's letter (GL57), may cause further alienation.

Greens can utilise socialist experience. Indeed liberation of the planet cannot seriously be contemplated without first embracing basic socialist hopes of liberating people. But my 'socialism' is non-Marxist - although acknowledging Marx's invaluable contribution to understanding capitalism. Socialism should be about unity and peace, not class war, and based upon a desire for morality and liberty, not material gain. It marks the growth of society and community consciousness and belongs to a rich and indigenous tradition that will increasingly become appropriate as a source of inspiration in post-industrial Britain. It is the tradition of the Diggers, Levellers, Chartists, Owen, Morris and Orwell. And, as Jeremy Seabrook has rightly pointed out (GL56), the greens are the new heirs.

A truly green society should make socialism and Liberalism redundant in the absence of class and party politics. But achieving this requires a united Green Party as custodians of the embryonic green politics until the left discover that the 'big idea' they have been searching for has already been found.

Keith Lloyd  
27 London Rd  
Aston Clinton  
Bucks



#### RADICALISM CAN'T WAIT

Jon Carpenter's article on the Socialist Conference reminds me of a similar event I attended, the Beyond the Fragments Conference which followed from the successful book of the same name. The earlier conference was also a "bring and buy" of radical policies: Trotskyists and Liberals, autonomists and libertarian socialists. The conference did have some useful spin-offs but did not produce a realignment around the libertarian, feminised socialism sought by Sheila Rowbotham, Lynne Segal and Hilary Wainwright.

### INHERITING THE LEFT

A large proportion of those present expressed their political position in terms of their relationship to the Labour Party, e.g. active open membership, membership mediated by a prior commitment to a marxist group or opposition to labour policies but critical voting support at elections. Those present therefore shared the 'Labourism' of those at the Socialist Conference. Mostly, they accepted incorporation into the generally hierarchical and conservative labour movement. In consequence, they help produce the current labour party - not so much a broad church as an almost unwilling assembly of conflicting faiths.

The Liberal Party is not notably different. Members of both parties generally acquiesce to the presidential style of their leaders.

Greens should identify this as the overt authoritarianism that it is. 'Consensus' in these parties seems to have acquired a meaning not unlike Marcuse's notion of 'repressive tolerance': yes, every view may be expressed but some are more equal than others. Remember the media campaigns against Cyril Smith or Ken Livingstone when they've been dissenting.

I believe radical, ecological change requires that real democracy be alive and well within the Liberal and Labour Parties. Its slightest manifestation should not be met with repressive leadership attitudes or media sanction. If change is not possible

after many years of reform seeking by radicals within these parties then greens among them should consider joining the Green Party and contributing to its progress - not only as an ecological party but as the only genuinely radical party in Britain. Within a year it should be clear how negotiations over the Alliance and the Labour Policy Review have affected those parties. If green policies, and particularly green economics, are not firmly embedded in the opposition parties during 1988 then it may be many years before such fundamental self-assessment occurs again. The planet cannot wait for the better radical government that never seems to come.

Steve Dawe  
12 Clyde St  
Canterbury  
Kent

I would like to reply to both Ann Wolfe and Andy Kaye who responded to my article 'Greens, Class and Acquiescence' (GL57). My criticism of Andy Kaye's article was intended to highlight some of the deficiencies of the green movement from a class-conscious materialist viewpoint and to argue that, although he made some valid points about green 'alternatives', there are positive elements that can emerge from the seemingly insignificant forms of resistance that people engage in.

Ann Wolfe's confusion (GL58) about class is central to the points being made in my original article. The first part of my case must be stated in the negative: economic analysis of class has nothing whatsoever to do with deriding stereotypical 'middle-classness' or holding up stereotyped forms of working class culture as an ideal way of living.

Marxist, materialist analysis shows quite clearly that we live in (and under) a capitalist system of production. (To understand what capitalism does and why you need to understand surplus value and concentration of capital. A good book to start with is 'Marxism for Beginners'.) Now, although 'production' may at first sight seem restricted to what is manufactured, it can just as easily be applied to service industries or the public



## WE COULD BE BRIDGE BUILDING

Not content with getting her teeth into TOES a couple of issues ago, Penny Newsome (GL58) now sets about savaging Resurgence. This really will not do. The easiest thing in the world is to find differences between people and then to label the differences in some way that allows the 'other' to be dismissed. I will not embark on the 'not properly green unless...' road but I do feel that if green means anything then it has something to do with the transition from seeing things as opposites to seeing things as connected systems.

GL should be careful. Besides 'TOES is not green' and 'Resurgence is not green', we read in GL 58 that 'Labour is not green' from Jon Carpenter and 'CND is not green' from Barry Maycock. Of course many of the points made in these articles are valid and useful. But wouldn't it be better for GL to quit the old paradigm habit of painting things black and white (and then rubbishing those who do to agree to the letter) and start drawing connections, seeing links and building bridges?

I see the green movement as a system. At its core are a few

quiet and gentle people whose lifestyles 'tread softly on the earth'. Around this core are other 'deep greens' (including Penny Newsome, Maurice Ash and Jonathan Porritt) whose ideas are good, whose work is useful, but whose lifestyles are necessarily tinged with ego or anger or the occasional hamburger on the way home from a meeting. Further out, but still connected, are a whole lot of people who haven't made so many connections or changed as much as others, while further out still I can even find links with Gorbachev and his INF deal. If you're looking for differences, they'll be easy to find - so don't count yourself too clever if you find some.

It seems to me that the green movement will only grow if we continue to make connections and draw more and more people towards the deep green core. If we continue to break the core up - into 'real greens', 'red greens' and 'not properly greens' the result is clear to see. Keep Building!

Mike Bell  
69 Cambridge Rd  
Oakington  
Cambridge CB4 5B6

I'm somewhat doubtful as to whether GL should be knocking Resurgence (GL58), which I feel has done a marvellous job in keeping going all these years. As for comments like "I'll be impressed if the Schumacher Society can stop the Contras", isn't this rather a futile confounding of short and long-term goals?

The editor of Resurgence has recently completed a pilgrimage walking all round Britain taking no lifts, carrying no money with him and eating no food containing meat. Such pilgrimages are an Indian tradition on one's 50th year. Surely this is a most powerful challenge to our consumer society values - and is Penny Newsome likely to achieve anything of comparable significance in her life?

As your article tended to give readers the impression that Resurgence was about armchair philosophising, it could be mentioned that the Resurgence editorial staff have started a local school in Hartland Devon where their Schumacher type values are being put into practice.

Nick Kollerstrom  
5 Shaws Cottages  
Pitch Place, Worplesdon  
Surrey

## YES, CLASS AGAIN!

sector. Having recognised the nature of wage slavery (i.e. only having labour power to sell) we can see that the greatest division in our society is between those who have only their labour to sell and



those who own and control the means of production (the ruling class). This can be called the contradiction between labour and capital and it occurs at the point of production. Therefore it is here that we are best able to rectify the inequalities in our society. Clearly this cannot be achieved by individual effort alone. It requires mass class action.

Ann Wolfe has made the common mistake of confusing strictly defined economic terminology with ordinary English usage and consequently fallen victim of the hegemonic processes of divide and

rule. So, in reply to her question about class and whether it matters, the answer is 'yes!' if we are talking about someone's economic standing in society and therefore their objective class interests and 'no!' if we are talking about which particular substrata you come from. If however, your interests lie in maintaining capitalism so that if (and when) an equal society is established you would actually lose out (maybe you wouldn't be able to keep both cars, only go on holiday once a year and perhaps lose a few rooms of your house to a homeless couple) then you are obviously part of the problem.

Environmentalism, animal liberation, the Green Party, vegetarianism etc. will all continue to be 'middle class', 'liberal' indulgences so long as they fail to address issues that are central to capitalism. There is a great danger that the whole 'aware generation' will become just another profitable consumer market. The challenge that the green movement must face is whether it can break out from its wishy-washy issue politics language and preconceptions and contribute a coherent dialogue relevant to the struggle for real and progressive social change. As things stand the answer is probably not.

Chris Hall  
Oxford Anarchist Group

## DESTRUCTIVISM

Andy Kaye (GL56) seems to have attended too many lousy green gatherings! Surely, if a circle of conformity, of "compulsory positiveness", is being built then the task of all of us is to speak out and break that circle - not stay silent and sulk about it afterwards, especially by overdosing on semiotexts. What are they all up to, Baudrillard and other gurus of post structuralism? Or is it post deconstruction? I've lost track of all the latest Parisian intellectual fads.

All this negativity that Andy praises so much is simply an old discredited nihilism in a new wrapping - this scepticism about meaning and everything else is at root only a disappointed absolutism; if these armchair prophets of the apocalypse can't have the world then they'd rather pull it down around their ears. Not for them the hardship of sustained argument or the difficulties of historical analysis. What we get instead is free wheeling theory and free-floating abstractions. This sort of nihilistic theorising could be accurately described as 'the cultural crisis of which it deems itself to be a diagnosis'.

Andy's article is a convincing parody of a typical semiotext. He makes some easy swipes at soft

targets like the CND symbol but does not subject his own key concepts like 'the system' or 'power' to the same kind of incisive scrutiny. Once these concepts become as wide ranging as he uses them then they lose all depth and specificity. The more 'power' is seen to be everywhere, the less we can speak about it with any real insight. Or if the 'system' is defined as 'everything' then obviously nothing can be outside it! These concepts have been used fallaciously, as if they contained their own explanation.

But then this kind of pretentious discourse doesn't have to have a theory of history or historical process. It can simply proclaim 'the death of history'. Nor does it have to place anything

in its social context. It can simply proclaim 'the death of the social'. One thing it can never do however is to announce 'the death of theory' for that would put all these theorists out of a job! No doubt they would still be proclaiming the 'death of history' with the all-too-historical jackboot kicking at the door. As Andy says, all that this theory amounts to is the idea that every assumption can be turned on its head. The one Big Idea is that everything always means the opposite of what it's supposed to.

However, there is more to Baudrillard than this. He defies us to take him too seriously. He is a joker, a trickster, self-consciously and wittily so. He gains his influence from the ignorance of his readers, who

tend not to be such rigorous thinkers. As J C Merquior says in 'Prague to Paris'; "given such diffuse, unskilled audiences, the senders of theoretical messages are not likely to be penalised for indulging in opacity or intellectual permissiveness. On the contrary, their receivers are quite prepared to countenance their obscurity and arbitrariness, interpreting them as further evidence of their inferiority in relation to their chosen gurus."

So how can we waste our time bothering with such stuff? There is so much work, so much of it bitter and difficult, that has to be done.

Henry Goddard  
Guinness Court  
Draycot Ave  
London SW1

## BASIC INCOME

### ANSWERS

The purpose of my article in GL57 about the Green Party's Basic Income Scheme was to show that it could not work within the present economic system where the motive to produce is profit and where a minority of people get their income from property ownership and the rest of us from selling our ability to work for a wage or salary. Brian Leslie replies (GL58) that this might well be true if the idea was to introduce the scheme "overnight" but that this objection falls since there is in fact no intention to introduce the scheme so suddenly. I would reply that unless the scheme were introduced overnight and "given widespread support and understanding of green ideas at the time" then it would have even less chance of succeeding.

This is because the gradualist approach Brian favours must necessarily set out from the present system in its existing form, basing itself on the assumption that it is possible to gradually transform it into something quite different. This I would deny because, as I tried to argue before, the present economic system is governed by inexorable economic laws which cannot be controlled by governments. Rather, governments, however sincere or revolutionary, are sooner or later forced to accept and apply them.

Brian says that the aim "is progressively to tax away unearned incomes", presumably, incomes derived from the ownership of property, the main form of which is profits. I don't suppose I need to paint too detailed a picture of what would happen in a profit-motivated economy if an attempt were made to tax profits away! It would obviously tend to grind to a halt, which is why the Labour Party, which set out with the declared

intention of suppressing unearned income ("squeezing the rich till the pips squeak"), has never gone very far down this road when in power. Economic reality has taught them that the capitalist economic system within which they were elected to govern can only be run in one way: as a profit making system - inevitably in the interests of those who live off profits and other kinds of unearned income.

Brian adds that the intention is also "to make an economy of resources financially attractive by progressively higher resource taxes". This too would squeeze profits because the progressively higher resource taxes would fall on existing profit-seeking private and state enterprises and so add to their costs. Industrial costs in Britain would thus rise above world levels, making British goods uncompetitive on world markets. A balance of payments crisis would develop, unemployment would go up and pro-capitalist opposition parties would exploit the situation to win elections. We've been here before - and, every time, Labour governments who had wanted to increase taxes to pay for social reforms have retreated. Not because they were weak-willed or traitors, but because it is the economic laws of capitalism that in the end bend governments to their will, not vice versa.

The plain fact is that these laws cannot be gradually overcome within the system. They can only be abolished by breaking decisively with it, more or less "overnight" as Brian puts it. This, however, presupposes widespread support and understanding for the abolition of capitalism - i.e. it can only be done democratically. And whilst I know public discussions lend themselves to extravagance of language, I rather resent Brian's use of "totalitarian" in relation to what I was advocating.

The 'Free Access Scheme' I introduced in my article could of course not be introduced in isolation - or gradually either - but only on the basis of the common ownership and democratic control of the means of life. This is the only viable alternative to capitalism whether private or state. Common ownership is not the same as state ownership. It means rather no ownership; that natural and industrial resources are there simply to be used in accordance with democratically decided rules and procedures. This is the only basis on which a sustainable society can be attained since it alone would allow production to be oriented away from making profits and accumulating capital towards exclusively meeting needs in an ecologically acceptable way.

Adam Bulck  
34 Bulstrode Rd  
Hounslow TW3 3AP



Sunflower T-shirts £4.50; Green Collective post cards 20p each; booklets £1; envelope re-sealers £2.50 per 100; 'The Greens Are Gathering' badges 25p each; Sunflower stickers ('The Greens Are Gathering', 'Liberate the Earth', 'Animal Liberation', 'Women's Liberation', 'Green GD') 30p each.

Discounts available for bulk orders. Sale or return for green groups, market stalls etc. Send for price list and full details:

'Sunflowers', c/o Ann Gann, 8 Wordsworth Road, Baintree, Essex CM7 5SX; (0373) 21184.





## THE FEDERATION AND THE NATIONAL SOCIETIES

SO THE state has turned its might against the animal liberation groups, with few problems and little compunction, in the manner of crushing a beetle underfoot. At the moment there is, on the one hand, a smattering of Direct Action; on the other the national societies, growing richer by dancing a cosy two-step with the animal abuse industries, which drop them a few crumbs now and again on the understanding that they remain 'moderate' and keep out any radicals that threaten this arrangement. Their only strategy remains: write to your MP! And the gulf between the struggling local groups and the rich national societies is as wide as ever.

Meanwhile the Federation of Animal Rights Groups has been established in order to challenge this; at the first national meeting in September it was agreed to set up and maintain a network of local groups, while leaving open the question of taking over the national societies and sharing out their resources (see GL54). Another group, Co-ordinating Animal Welfare (CAW) has less controversial aims but similarly hopes to co-ordinate the activities of local groups without adopting an antagonistic, confrontational attitude to the national societies. Shall we witness political rivalry between CAW and the Federation? Or a long struggle between the Federation and the nationals for the heart of the Animal Rights Movement? This is all perhaps a substitute for campaigning, and Direct Action which at the moment has its appalling risks - no-one wants to spend many years in prison on a trumped-up charge.

All these federations, networks, co-ordinating groups, seem to be doing everything in reverse order: the aim surely is to set up strong local campaigning groups, building permanent support in the local communities, with a committed membership prepared to plod on in a less than glamorous way week after week. Once these groups are sufficiently strong, and independent of the national societies, the existence of a co-ordinating body, a federation, will grow automatically, from the needs of a revitalised movement.

## THE STATE'S PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE

The prison authorities will go to any lengths to avoid acknowledging that the animal rights prisoners are prisoners of conscience. A particularly obnoxious example is over diet. At the end of February, remand prisoners will no longer be able to receive food parcels - the Home Office claims that they're unnecessary since food and drink can be bought from the prison 'canteen'. But of course no provision is made for vegans, either with food or toiletries so jailed animal rights activists, such as David Barr (currently on remand), are likely to come in for a particularly hard time from now on.

He is currently on suicide observation in Edinburgh prison. This means he is locked in his cell with only a mattress for 23 hours a day. Why? He has refused to eat the food the prison has given him as he doesn't accept that it's vegan and he is demanding a raw food diet so he can be sure the food is. Consequently he has been living off crisps and the like and hasn't had a proper meal since November 20th.

Please write to the Governor of H.M.P Saughton, Edinburgh EH11 3LN and, if you can stomach it, Malcolm Rifkind, Secretary of State for Scotland, House of Commons, London SW1 0AA to demand that David gets an acceptable diet, is taken off suicide observation and gets the normal 'privileges' accorded to other remand prisoners. For more info contact Vegan Action Group, Room 16, 136 Ingram St, Glasgow G1 1EJ.

### STATEMENT FROM THE DARTMOOR BADGERS PROTECTION LEAGUE

BECAUSE OF our campaign to save badger setts, as well as the animals themselves, and our need to fund patrols who go out at all hours and in all weathers to patrol badger setts or search for MAFF killing teams, the DBPL is almost broke. Over the past few years we have stopped the gassing of badgers and cut back the MAFF slaughter programme by some 70%, as well as campaigning most vigorously to save badgers threatened in other ways. We are now trying to establish a network of active local groups and reliable Field Officers to help combat badger abuse wherever it occurs. Despite this almost full-time work we have no paid staff but a mountain of mail and inquiries and considerable expenses. So please help. Send as much or as little as you can afford to the usual address (Riverside Cottage, Poundsgate, Devon. TQ13 7NV). To save badgers from torment and death we need both active help and an awful lot of money. Please help us in any way you can.

SINCE THE jailing of Ronnie Lee, Viv Smith, and others, the police have stepped up their attacks on the ALF Supporters Group. The ALF itself, of course, consisting as it does of autonomous groups without central direction - indeed any piece of Direct Action can be an ALF action - will always elude them; faced with this will-o-the-wisp, the police instead have tried to smash the ALF SG, which publicises ALF actions, issues press releases, and raises funds. In the middle of last year, Robin Lane, who succeeded Ronnie Lee as National Press Officer, Sally Carr and Tony Collins were charged with conspiracy to incite others to commit criminal damage; they have been committed for trial at Cardiff Crown Court in early May.

At Cardiff Magistrates Court in October, the Magistrate stated that he was unable to decide what was inciting, and that it must be left for a jury to make the final decision due to the fact that incitement depends largely upon interpretation and intention. Robin is alleged to have produced and distributed all the literature which has been presented as evidence as well as acting as National Press Officer. Sally is alleged to have provided the funds (as well as making incendiary devices) and Tony is alleged to have printed the literature. The charges cover the period between August 1986 and May 1987. What is on trial is the very existence of the ALF Supporters Group - any involvement in the SG could become a matter of 'conspiracy'. ALF Direct Action cannot be eliminated - the point is for the state to make it marginal, and insignificant.

Contact Victims of Conscience, BCM 8566, London WC1N 3XX.

### EVENTS!EVENTS!EVENTS!

FEBRUARY 27TH: 3rd conference of the Federation of Local Animal Rights Groups at Keele University near Stoke. For more details contact: Life before Profit, PO Box 110, Liverpool L69 6AU.

MARCH 6TH: First meeting of the London Animal Rights Network, an organisation that will try to build a strong movement in the London area, based upon active and independent local groups. The Fallen Angel pub, 65 Graaham St, London N1. Further details from Box LARN, 83 Blackstock Rd, London N4

MARCH 7TH: Islington Animal Rights Campaign Public Meeting on 'Imprisoned Animals' with a speaker from Zoo Check, an organisation that campaigns for animals in captivity. 7.30 p.m. at the Gillespie Neighbourhood Office, 102 Blackstock Rd, London N4. For more details contact ARC, Box 17 83 Blackstock Rd, N4 Tel 01 359 6225

## PARTY CROSSTALK

### BRIG OUBRIDGE WRITES:

PARTY POLITICS is a cyclical process, its cycles being determined by the merry-go-round of elections - and general elections in particular. The present part of the cycle is particularly interesting because, with the general election behind us and the next one still far away, politicians are freer than at any other time to consider new ideas and directions.

For green politics it is a window of opportunity for talking to and influencing people across party lines. This time around, the opportunities are all the greater because so many members of the conventional opposition parties are now showing a positive interest in listening to the Greens. It is a phenomenon that I have remarked on before, but I make no apology for returning to the theme now. Over the past few months things do appear to have started moving, and it is time that GL readers had an update.

As Jon Carpenter reported in the end-of-year issue (GL58), Tony Benn's Chesterfield conference was in many ways a disappointment, and showed just how far even the supposedly radical parts of the traditional left have still to go to get to what we would recognise as greenness. Nevertheless, Chesterfield did provide an opportunity to make contacts with some of those on the left who are most conscious of the need for new thinking and most in tune with the green perspective. These contacts have led to a steering committee to promote a green/socialist conference, with the active support of the Socialist Society, SERA and the newly-formed Association of Socialist Greens. The list of individual sponsors includes Jonathan Porritt, Jeremy Corbyn MP, Peter Tatchell and Peter Hain, as well as writer Jeremy Seabrook and New Statesman editor Stuart Weir. Urgent attempts are underway to remedy the current relative lack of women sponsors to add to the names of Penny Kemp (Green Party), Debbie Taylor (New Internationalist), Hilary Wainwright (The Socialist Conference), Fiona Weir (END) and Kate Soper. I have omitted mention of a number of other male sponsors, including myself, in order to give a semblance of the gender balance which is desired!

The present plan is for this conference to take place in April, provided that a suitable venue can be found. There are many who are hoping that, among other things, it will provide the clear direction for the second Chesterfield conference

that was so lacking at the first. Any readers interested in this initiative should contact the National Green Socialist Conference, c/o The Socialist Society, 9 Poland St, London W1V 3DG.

In parallel with these developments, Tim Cooper has been following up the initiative which he began by presenting a green challenge at the Liberal Party Conference last September. On January 18th he and Simon Hughes MP hosted an afternoon of workshops between greens and radical Liberals at the LSE and it is expected that this too will lead to a full-scale conference, probably also in April. The timing of this will be particularly significant for radical and greenish Liberals, who will by then be faced with an acute personal decision in the light of the final shape of the new LSD merged party. Details of this are available from Tim Cooper, 25 Dukes Ave, London W4 2AA.

The theme of inter-party dialogue has also been finding expression at home in Wales. In December in Blaenau Ffestiniog I shared a platform at a one-day conference with Plaid Cymru president Dafydd Elis Thomas MP and representatives of the Labour and Communist Parties. In both Wales and Scotland it is vital to take the nationalist dimension into account, and in fact it is possible to find a strong green thread in both nationalist parties. This tendency has been reinforced in the past few years by the co-operation that there has been between West German and other European greens and Plaid and the SNP's regionalist allies in the Rainbow Group in the European Parliament. Dafydd Elis Thomas is another of those who has expressed interest in the proposed Green Socialist conference.

IN ONE of my earlier articles on this topic I finished by wondering whether the Green Party would actually be mature enough to cope with the challenge of opening up the various avenues of dialogue with other parties. There were certainly grounds for fearing that it might not be, for it is the problem of dealing with the realpolitik of other

parties which has come so close to causing a split between the so-called Reals and Fundis in the German greens. To the outside observer it might seem that the UK Green Party is in similar danger, but with rival factions divided upon somewhat different lines - one group leaning towards an accommodation with the Liberals and another looking to make common cause with the Labour left. In fact, as the debate at the most recent Green Party Council meeting showed, the situation is not like that at all. The discussion of these inter-party initiatives showed a very high degree of political maturity and, rather than any divisiveness, there was an appreciation all round of the need and opportunity for our green ideas to be spread in all directions.

### MATURITY WITHOUT SPLITS

It must have been a good weekend for the spirits of tolerance and understanding, because towards the end of our meeting we heard that Die Grünen had also managed to heal the Realo-Fundi rift at what had been seen as a crucial meeting in Germany. To me, it had been rather a surprise that the Realo-Fundi argument (over whether greens should have anything to do at all with other parties) had hardly surfaced in our own debate. In any case, both here and in West Germany that argument is based upon a somewhat arbitrary and unreal distinction. Each of us is a mixture of Realo and Fundi in so far as we all recognise that it is desperately important for us to make more rapid political progress than any green party is at present capable of doing on its own. But we also recognise that our whole approach and political philosophy are fundamentally at variance with the growth-oriented notions still clung to by all the other parties and that it is essential to retain the distinctive clarity of our own political independence.

In Britain we all share the realisation that at present any green progress is blocked by our archaic electoral system and the unjust dominance of Thatcherism within it, and that it will require some sort of inter-party agreement to overcome it. I was relieved that no-one on the Green Party Council suggested that moves towards dialogue with other parties represented a sell-out of the essentials of green politics. I hope the party at large will also realise that it is nobody's intention - and that even if it were, it couldn't possibly happen because both the Party and the ideas are far bigger than any group of individuals, even the Green Party Council and its Co-Chairs!