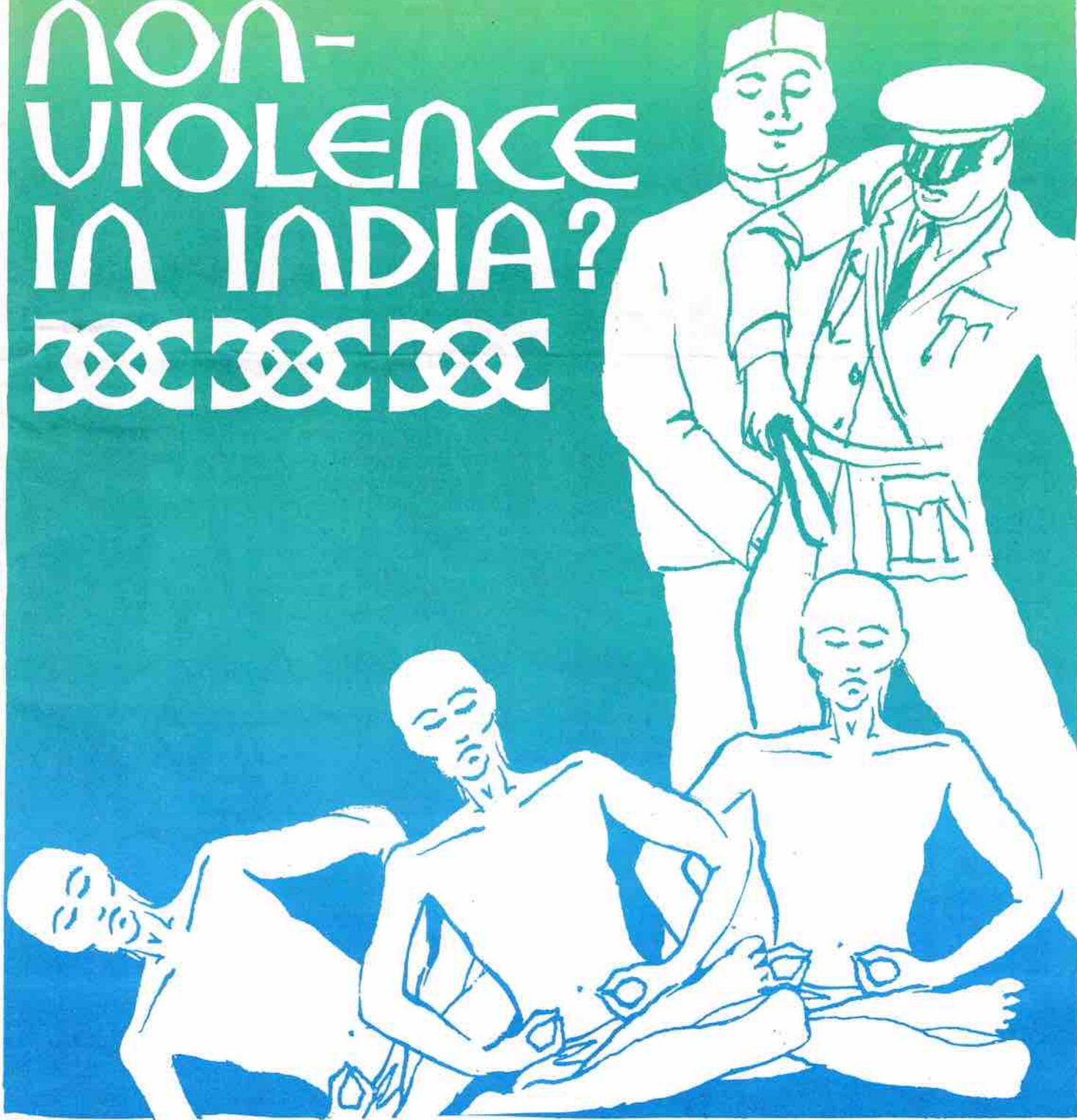


GREEN LINE

Son of woman
Gandhi betrayed
Home education
Animal Lib is green

No. 24 July 1984 30p

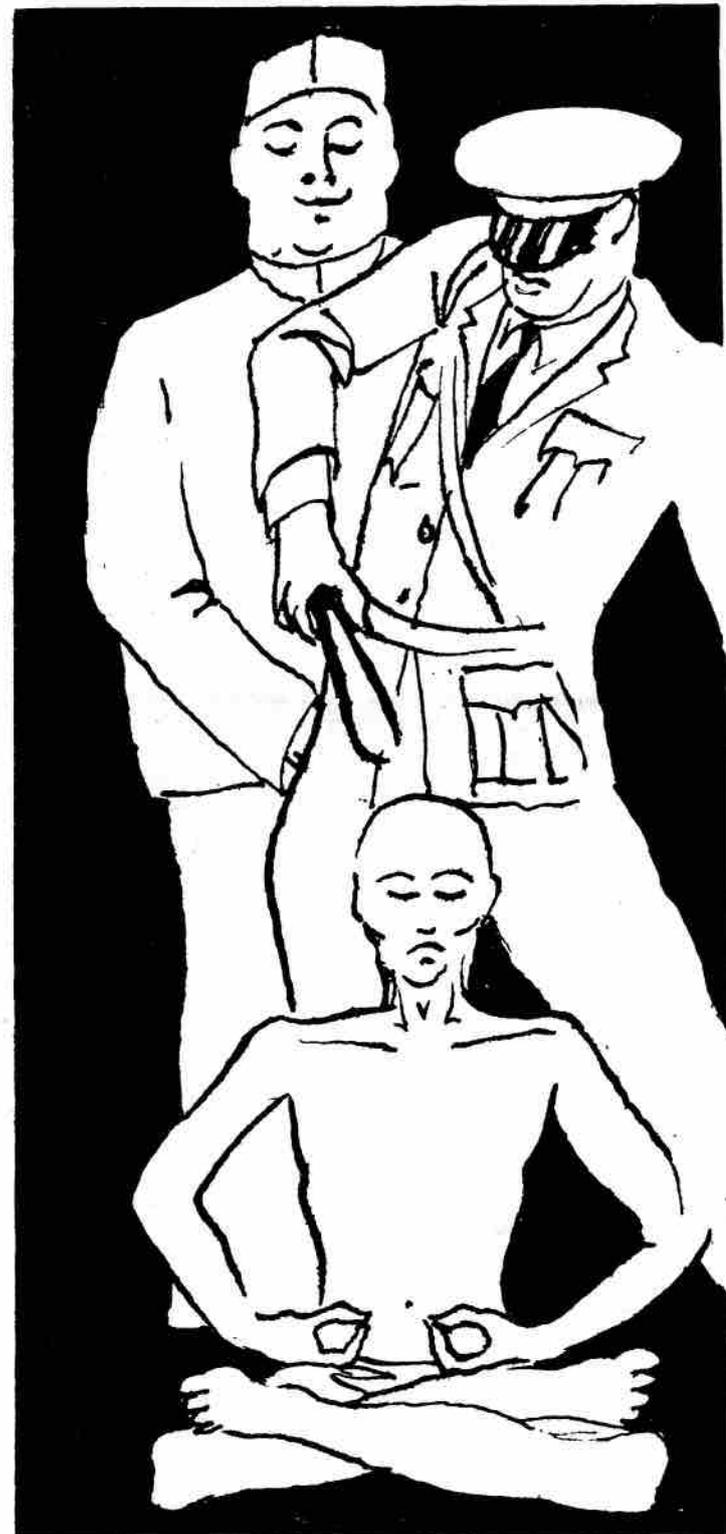
NON- VIOLENCE IN INDIA? ∞∞∞∞∞∞



NON-VIOLENCE IN INDIA?

IT IS difficult to talk of India as one country; but it is one system, and that is capitalism - our system, albeit fused with strong feudal remnants. To see India is to see the ugly skeleton of that system without the comfortable flesh that covers the rotten bones of our society: devoid of material cosmetics people are bought and sold and without the power of the purse are imprisoned and starved.

The dynamics of power are clear to see, supported as they are by religious purity, and become equally noticeable in Britain, with the clear realisation that those with power may comprehend your argument but will not act against their interests. "Class interest" was there in the faces of the threatened rich peasant, the cultivated city executive; and when they are pressed, it is there on the faces of our rulers. The flesh holding us up is growing thin as every ecologist recognises: and just as capitalist development will preclude the survival of large sections of the peasantry, so capitalism threatens our survival. Thus the same question arises here as in India: How can the power relations of this structure be broken? I saw closely two answers to this question - the Gandhian and the Marxist - and their approaches throw light on what might constitute 'development', but also the path we take in the West.

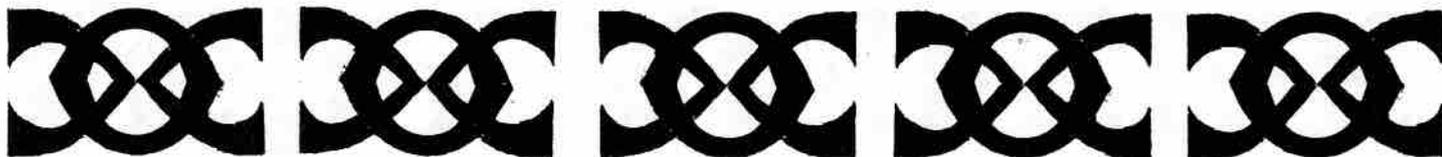


The Gandhians

Like Marx, Gandhi is a thinker of diverse interpretations, but these rest upon one concept: non-violence. Taken in its most radical form, this means the absence of all violence, both overtly physical and economic, a moral imperative to work against this, and linked to 'Satyagraha' it gives a holding fast to Truth and a means of conflict resolution. These are ideals - preconceived moral notions - but the question has to be asked: how do they act to alter the power structure? Withdraw support from it, possibly, but in a world governed by the necessity for immediate survival this would be short-lived, and does nothing to wrest the ownership of the means of power from the oppressor, whoever that might be. It simply attempts to deny their existence. Conflict with this structure becomes essential and it is upon this that the Gandhians lack willingness and strategy - as is shown by the work of the Mahatma's heirs.

Vinoba Bhave instituted a voluntary land-gift movement; he got largely infertile land. Some entered parliament and the Janata Prime Minister was a devout Gandhian; he was also a highly moral conservative. Others began ashrams giving welfare and education, but did little to break the stifling mould of Indian stratification. All these approaches shared an underlying failure to analyse the structure of the society and an unwillingness to initiate conflict with it, whether of a strictly 'violent' nature or not, and amounted to little more than a gentle plea for goodwill which fell on not surprisingly deaf ears among the wealthy.

The ideal of non-violence has led to doctrinaire adherence to minute Gandhian practice with little social relevance, and in the hands of the high-caste Hindus it becomes a badge of personal moral courage



to be worn before God and the untouchables in the gutter. It is practised, but is not practical. Furthermore, the ideal becomes an excuse for oppression. "In a perfect world there would be no Trade Unions," Moraji Desai told me. As a result, the Textile Labourers Association of Ahmedabad, founded by Gandhi and headed by Gandhians, works with the management, refuses to strike, and has secured no rise in real wages for 30 years. Of course the management and the workers are all one family, "and how can there be a difference of interests in a family?" says Moraji, turning others' cheeks to the point of starvation.

Thus non-violence becomes non-action. But there is a further philosophical rope-trick behind this. Gandhi's mode of conflict resolution through Satyagraha becomes a means of compromise and avoiding trouble. In Gandhi's state, Gujarat, fusing with the mercantile philosophy to create an ideology of compromise, 'Gandhism' has come to act as an opiate for subduing the untouchables and the tribals, of keeping them non-violent, just as Gandhi had done in his non-conflictual attempts to end untouchability. The oppressed have no choice but to be down-trodden members of the 'family', and Gandhi's memory is always there to bring sacred nobility to their suffering.

So Gandhism comes to encompass non-violent inaction, compromise, and a personal moral stance with a public halo. This is not inevitably so if united with struggle; but in itself non-violence is a pre-conceived moral notion which when applied lacks analysis and resulting strategy, and can be a positive block to the conflict which must necessarily arise. Talking of non-violence to a starving Indian beggar is a little like talking to a miner of a 'holistic' view of society; the beggar has to fight to survive, and the miner knows there are people riding on his back, and they are not all one.

The Marxists

Like the Gandhians, the Marxists have produced a variety of responses; two parties have chosen the parliamentary road, and a third Maoist undertook unsuccessfully to eradicate class enemies (landlords). However, one group with whom I spent time - the Young India Project - exhibited a grass-roots Marxism which attempted to tackle the power relations prohibiting upward development. The group began as a traditional community development project and came to recognise the inadequacy of the approach: uplift within a class system. From their experience they began to analyse the objective conditions of power and exploitation, and subsequently began to ask how to change them. This came to involve the mobilisation of the exploited (distinguished by land holding) towards conflict with the structure.

Having identified this group, how was this to be done? They began literacy work, discussions, and cultural activities towards bringing this group together and 'conscientising', which they define as 'to increase the capacity of individuals, that they may be able to criticise their actual situation and transform the world.' They began to fight wage and

land issues towards a widening of consciousness aimed at the fabric of the system. The recognition is thus implicit that conflict is necessary and that this must initially come in immediate terms to those involved; to gain the land or wage necessary to survive, there will be conflict.

Confrontation with the landlord

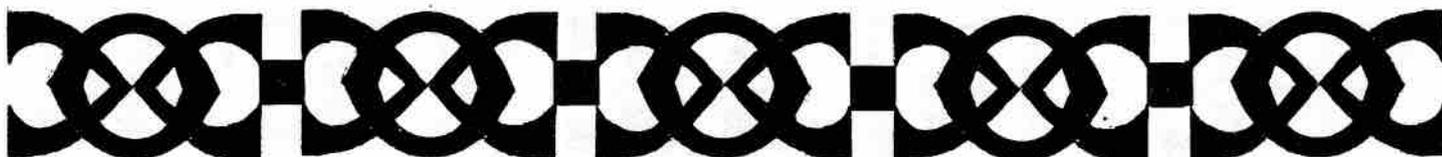
An example I witnessed of an unusually extreme confrontation illustrates these points. The village of Nursingharainapalli lies in the area controlled by landlord Chenna Reddy and his rich peasant supporters. With the help of the Project the poor peasants began to form a Society there, but the initial meeting was broken up by the rich peasants. In response the Society organised a Fair in the village bringing members from other villages in solidarity. In the event the Fair was cancelled; but hired thugs entered the village beating Society members, and the nearby Project farm was under siege conditions for weeks. The landlord illegally fined the poor peasants Rs 4000 (£260) and ordered a leader to prostrate himself at his feet. The conflict continues, but the exploitative harmony of the village is gone and the landlord's power now rests purely on brute force.

The situation developed too quickly for the Project's liking; but were the villagers right to press the conflict? Ultimately there was no alternative, other than acceptance of abject poverty. They were ready to counter the landlord's violence with violence; was this right? The theory is irrelevant. I knew I would have responded violently to a hired thug. The group employ non-violence as a tactic, but not as a moral rule; and in this light non-violence, with all its moral components, began to seem what I hate to call a 'bourgeois luxury' and an ideal which paid no heed to the realities of others' less comfortable lives. Rather than a pre-established moral imperative, this group were operating upon their analysis to achieve concrete change in the situation in the best possible way.

Comparisons between India and the West may seem untenable, but theoretical conclusions in relation to a capitalist system can be made. The failings of non-violence as a moral and an ideology can be seen, as can the need for analysis of material conditions and the formation of a strategy necessary to engender and face the conflict necessary for social change: an answer to the questions of what is the power situation, who is going to change it, and how? To reject 'class' analysis and propound ideals of a 'holistic' view of society is all very well - but the basic fact remains: there are those with power who will continue to oppress, whether in terms of economic exploitation, ecological destruction, or nuclear build-up.

Greens must face the need for conflict, and work to relate this to common aspirations. This cannot be done, as the Gandhians testify, with high-sounding ideals and a daily moral bath.

Mike Hancock



A WOMAN'S RIGHT TO CHOOSE

A RECENT conference in Leeds organised by the Leeds Reproductive Rights Campaign highlighted general areas of agreement among feminist women, and also showed up areas where much more discussion is needed. We hope this article will form part of that discussion.

It was clear at the conference that the high cost of in-vitro fertilisation and surrogate motherhood puts many feminists off giving their support to this range of treatment. Poor women, particularly in the Third World, have less access to the technology than do rich women. However, rich women have always had greater access to good medical care than poor women: this is particularly obvious in the case of abortion, where money will buy it even where it is illegal. This has not previously inspired the argument that health care is in itself a bad thing: we simply demand that it should be made available to all women equally.

There is concern among women who hear of £2,000 being spent on an individual attempt at in-vitro fertilisation where other areas of women's reproductive health are under-funded. However, it is unrealistic to assume that any money saved on the IVF programme would be spent on other aspects of women's health care. It would be much more likely to go into other high prestige areas. If we hope to have sufficient power to be able to influence how money is distributed within health care, then we can also aim at getting more for all the services women need. In any case, as feminist women we are not going to enter into bargaining over which woman gets the treatment she needs and which does not. It is one struggle, and the name of the struggle is 'A Woman's Right to Choose'.

Research into the causes of infertility and genetic damage is of vital importance to us all, even those who have decided not to have children. It would be particularly relevant to poor women, in the context of both infertility and general health. It is already known that cancer is commoner among poor people and that many of the preconditions for cancer are also preconditions for infertility, mutation and teratogenesis. These preconditions include malnutrition, inadequate housing, lack of clean water, work hazards, and environmental pollution. Obviously the solution to many of these problems is political rather than medical. However, the importance of research and monitoring cannot be overlooked, particularly when we consider that many poisonous substances first reveal their toxicity at some stage of the reproductive process, and reveal their carcinogenicity only at a much later stage. This means that infertility and genetic damage, if properly understood, could provide a pointer to better general health care for people and our environment.

This does not mean that Women for Life on Earth have no reservations about the implications of the new reproductive technology. We are as anxious as other feminists that the technology should not be used to facilitate sex predetermination or abortion of female foetuses, that genetic 'imperfection' should not be sought, and that no attempt should be made to prolong in-vitro fertilisation into in-vitro gestation.

There is ground for concern also that poor women may be exploited in experimentation, or as dumping grounds for doubtful drugs. However, with over three quarters of a million women in Britain suffering from infertility and an unknown number suffering from or carrying genetic disorders, there will be no need to search the Third World for guinea pigs for tests. The dangers of poor and Third World women being exploited as surrogate mothers are all too real, and the outlawing of surrogacy where a financial incentive is involved could harm no one and should be pursued with all speed. Again, there is a real risk of drug companies using the Third World as a dumping ground for ineffective or dangerous drugs, as they have already done with Depo-Provera and the Dalkon Shield. An international standard of drug safety is needed to prevent this: the means by which such a standard could be brought into being are beyond the scope of this article!

British feminist women are also aware that there are women in the Third World who already risk death, either as a result of constant childbearing or at their husbands' hands for not being able to 'give them' normal children. The fear is that the new technology will put even more pressure on women in this situation. However, the only way for western women to be sure that we are acting in the best interests of Third World women is to take advice from Third World women. This Women for Life on Earth working group is pursuing such advice and would welcome contact with any interested groups or individuals reading this article.

In the meantime it seems from a recent Black women's day conference in London that Black women are much more worried about the misuse of abortion, contraception and sterilisation than about any work being done on infertility. There is tremendous pressure, and in many cases enforced treatment, put on Black women both in the Third World and in 'white' countries to have fewer children.

Although there are good reasons for opposing many aspects of the new technology of human reproduction, financial considerations do not seem to be among them. Some women feel that infertility and the threat of genetic disorders in one's children are not life-threatening and therefore should not have money spent on them. However, it is equally true in the western world that unwanted pregnancy is not normally life-threatening (in Britain today it is as common, if not commoner, to hear that a woman has killed herself as a result of infertility as it is to hear that a woman has died from septic abortion); nor is abstaining from heterosexual sex, yet we support the demand for more money to be spent on contraception and abortion.

The right to choose does not apply only after a pregnancy has started, or only where pregnancy is easily achieved.

** This is the second in a series of articles on issues in medicine and genetics produced by South-East London Women for Life on Earth. Contact the group at 91 Kirkdale, London SE26 4BL (phone 01-699 6712). ●

EMBRACE THE EARTH

A REPLY TO MARK LEVENE'S REVIEW OF 'EMBRACE THE EARTH' (GL 21).

AS A member of the Ecology Party, I was a little disappointed that Mark Levene's otherwise fair review of 'Embrace the Earth' failed to stress adequately the ways in which the Green view of peace differs from that of the traditional political parties, especially as a large part of this pamphlet repeats word for word many of the policies put forward in the Ecology Party's 1983 Election Manifesto. Nevertheless the fact that Mark Levene does not find himself at variance with the Green analysis of the causes of conflict and war gives me hope that we can convince members of the wider peace movement that we are thinking along the right lines.

Just as the smoker will best cure his cough by giving up smoking and not by sucking cough sweets, so the peace movement will best 'cure' war by attacking the root causes of conflict - and not merely by abandoning nuclear weapons. This is not to suggest that we should allow ourselves to be deflected from our aims as anti-nuclear protestors into wider arguments which might blur these issues, but rather that a deeper insight into the causes of conflict can help us further these aims. And this, as Mark Levene indicates, is the main part of 'Embrace the Earth'.

But it goes further than that. For we live in a world already at war, man against man and mankind against the planet. What we need to challenge is the way of life in our industrial consumer society, which leads inevitably to conflict, since it is only possible because of our exploitation of each other, the Third World in particular, and the planet itself. The Ecology Party is the only political party with policies which really accept this challenge and which answer the question as to how we achieve peace; for if we could only reach the 'Green goal', peace would be within our reach.

There is in Mark Levene's review a suggestion that Greens should look to the traditional political parties and work within them, if Green politics are to reach a wider audience. But one only needs to look at the West German Green Party and the attempts of some of its members to ally themselves with parties of the left, to see the disastrous consequences of such a course of action. Green politics can never be successful if they compromise or deviate from the Green viewpoint. The Ecology Party is unique in British politics in that it challenges the basic assumption of all other political parties - namely that economic and industrial growth is the only way forward. For growth, in the traditional, old-fashioned sense, relies on producing and consuming more and more, using up precious resources as it does so, creating conflict between men and nations as we fight for more than our fair share of these resources,

encouraging greed and competitiveness and thereby destroying serenity and peacefulness.

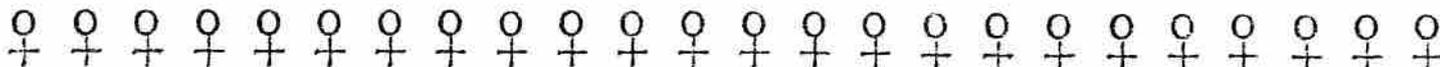
If one takes the argument further, one must realise that nuclear weapons are the logical outcome of our aggressive, exploitative way of life - a symptom of the disease, not the cause of it - a disease which starts with the housewife stockpiling sugar, salt or toilet rolls (instead of doing without them) when she is told these may be scarce, just to make sure that no one else will have more than her family, even though these stocks far exceed her family's real needs; and ends with countries stockpiling nuclear weapons for weapons which are not all that different. And all this in the face of, and often at the cost of, the millions of our brothers and sisters who live and die in unimaginable hunger, poverty and despair.

To return to the question as to how we can convince people and work for the 'Green goal', I too am a realist (as I suspect all Ecology Party members are forced to be) and must sadly agree that we are not going to 'stop the bomb and create ecotopia in the world of Spring 1984', but neither does it seem likely that the combined forces of the peace movement will do this, nor does it make the struggle any less worthwhile. Whilst it goes without saying that the bonds which unite the whole peace movement are far greater than any political views that may seem to divide it, and whilst it remains vitally important that this should continue to be the case, I do believe we should emphasise the differences between the true Green viewpoint and that of conventional politics and not seek to compromise in order to win seats in parliament. For it is all too clear that conventional politics have failed - in spite of all claims to the contrary - to bring peace and security of any kind and will continue to fail for as long as they pursue their old traditional policies.

We must therefore neither be afraid to look elsewhere for a solution, nor cease to believe that there is one. To Mark Levene I would say, "If you really agree that Green politics have got it right, why not join us? For if these people who believe in the rightness of our aims do not help us in our struggle to achieve them, no one else will."

The growth of the peace movement and the courageous determination of the women of Greenham Common prove that it is possible to be a valid force outside of parliament, but we must be patient and not expect immediate results, whilst hoping that our efforts will be successful before it is too late. In the words of E F Schumacher, "We must continue to do what we conceive to be right and not bother our heads or burden our souls with whether we're going to be successful. Because if we don't do the right thing, we'll be doing the wrong thing, and we'll just be part of the disease and not a part of the cure."

Jenny Dean



feminine/Masculine?

No thanks!

THE SECOND OF THREE ARTICLES BY KEITH MOTHERSON.

LIKE HUMANISM, what I call 'Feminine-ism' as prevalent among greens and also blocks progress to eventual radical unity, which I believe we will find in women-led coalitions.

Several variants of Feminine/Masculine ideology exist according to social circle and sources; e.g. Upper Class New Age-ism; freak scene; therapy culture; 'soft centre' liberalism... drawing on e.g. classical myth, Romanticism, yin-yang, Jungian psychotherapy.

Whereas Humanism is secular and emphasises socialisation, Feminine-ism is usually more 'spiritual' and often downplays history and socialisation. Thus it often ignores how different societies, classes and epochs have very different sex-roles, gender-identities and standards of normality. It looks past the strong peasant-woman in the field to take the delicate upper-class 'lady' as its type of 'femininity'.

If Humanism oppresses women by ignoring sex-differences, Feminism does so by fetishising 'the differences between the sexes'. It takes existing behavioral differences in our society (Gender) and conflates them with the undeniable fact of biological differences (Sex). The result is then raised to the status of an eternal cosmic law, involving a primal polarity between two equivalent but complementary natural-spiritual 'principles'.

Our civilisation is then seen as 'imbalanced' in so far as 'male' values or 'the masculine principle' have dominated, hence society needs to rediscover and value 'the feminine principle'. Men need to re-own their 'inner feminine' (or Anima), women to integrate their 'male self' (Animus).



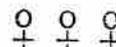
I know many good folk use these terms, but increasingly I find them inadequate. Perhaps, like revolving doors, they can be useful for a short time; but if we stay with them for too long they can easily trap us back subconsciously into the Moviehouse of Gender Stereotypes we set out to escape. At worst they can be conjured to serve as trendily camouflaged vehicles of reactionary anti-feminism - e.g. 'The sexes were unbalanced but now we men have been getting into the Feminine, yet the extremist women's libbers are so male, so now we need men's lib to Stop the Pendulum Swinging Too Far The Other Way...!'

At best such terminology seems to me nebulous and confusing. In the rarefied atmosphere of endless talk of 'The Feminine Principle', one easily loses track of the woman on the Clapham omnibus ... tired nightcleaner, housewife on Valium with a black eye, old woman cackling with the conductor. Detached from real lives these ahistorical abstractions weave a fascinating dance until suddenly one awakens with a jolt. One woman recalls reading in a gynaecology textbook how - since giving birth was creative, expulsive, dynamic - it was 'a supremely masculine act'!! It's also 'un-feminine' to menstruate!

How tedious of these 'extreme feminists' to keep spoiling the most interesting philosophical discussions with crude facts about porn, rape, child abuse, clitorrectomy, dowry murders...! They will keep on about women doing two-thirds of the world's work, getting a tenth of the money, and owning 1% of the land (UN statistics); or quoting Dale Spender about men doing 98% of the interruptions in mixed company.

Of course 'our' culture is dominated by the 'values' (and violences) of male-only / male-majoritarian institutions. But to better name these oppressions the women's movement has developed a more specific language: patriarchy, male supremacy, masculist, phallocratic, (hetero)sexist... and also re-perceived racism/imperialism and classism/capitalism.

Likewise in naming the solution the women's movement talks of women identifying and bonding as women, womanpower, matriarchy, or even return of/to the Goddess. (N.B. the Greek 'arche' meant origins - as in archeology - and then primacy, before denoting 'ruler'.)



Let me quote one of the 'mothers' of the womens liberation movement, Monica Sjoo, writing back in 1970 on 'Male and Female Life-Principles?':

There are tons of books written by men about 'Woman'... Woman is to herself no mystery: we live, breathe, fuck, give birth, think, create, are tender, are violent...

What in our culture is called 'feminine' and what is called 'masculine' is the difference between the oppressive-exploited and the oppressor-exploiter, and not any natural differences between the sexes. There might be differences but it will take us long ages before we will be able to define ourselves freely and know who we are. The opposites, female-negative-passive-material and male-positive-

active-spirit, is a fabrication of patriarchal philosophy and religion and is the language of oppression.

She speaks from years of oppression for not fitting into patriarchal 'femininity'. Such feminists see 'feminine' women as unconscious 'daddy's girls' who still live to please men. Disconnected from the intense power of their menstrual, bisexual, maternal and hag selves, such sisters don't need to get into any mysterious 'male side', but rather to reclaim the fulness of their own woman-being and dignity. And when with new energy and support they come to insist on change, the last thing they need is subtle double-binding about becoming 'masculine'!

Now - masculine: what does that mean?! Courage, strength, intelligence, etc.? But these are personal qualities! Boys growing to biological adulthood? But then how could pink socks detract from 'masculinity'? Rather it is about betraying the matrisphere and conforming to the membership requirements of the Real Men's Club: to trade the soft-strength of power-within/-with for brittle-hard readiness to project anger and violence at 'softies' (power over/under); to become chronic 'Male Impersonators' conned, threatened, bribed into at all costs establishing one's separateness and difference from women, even to feel it in the marrow of our bones!

Increasingly men now talk of getting into children and domesticity, developing our gentle, caring, intuitive etc. selves. But let us say these things - and DO them! Talk of 'getting into our femininity' merely confuses the issue. It can also rationalise the rather privileged passivity of many 'anti-sexist' men reacting against 'male ways' (as they describe them).

Actually men's anti-sexism seems to involve also readiness to come off the fence in (a) explicit commitment to shed/share privileges, including 'free time'; (b) passionate struggle with our brothers' sexism; and (c) organised opposition/alternatives to institutional sexism. And this not out of paternal altruism, nor out of useless guilt about being 'male', but out of our own rage for wholeness of life and gender justice.

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'Explicit commitment', 'passionate struggle', 'organised opposition' - how spiritually uncool, how embarrassingly 'male', how contrary to the 'Feminine Spirit'! Aye - but then the Goddess isn't 'feminine' any more than she's 'masculine'!

Basically, feminism/womanism is refusing these very terms, including well-meaning attempts to reform them (e.g. 'Both sexes have both sets (sic) of characteristics in us.') To freely growing children in anti-sexist communities such terms shouldn't make any sense. If we want our children to perceive natural energies which come in pairs, there is no necessity whatever to link yin/containing and yang/expansive to either female and male or passive and creative. Nor should this preclude us/them from being able to see, think, feel, love in threes, fours, etc.

Truly this mania for lining everything up in either 'male' or 'female' columns is absurd! Only a few genes control the sex of the foetus. Yet this tiny fraction of human genetic potential is then raised to a bio-cosmological principle projected onto all

nature... oaks as 'masculine', willows 'feminine'; Mother Earth (OK), but then 'Father Sky'??! In Nature there are so many possibilities and reproductive adaptations. Although we humans mostly (not all) come in one of two relatively distinct sexes - with asymmetrical functions - this does not mean that we have to organise social life, genders, cosmologies in twos - symmetrically 'balanced' or not.

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Look close at the biology. Aristotle and Aquinas said Male seed into passive earth. Hence bun into oven and men trying to override women's moral choice to child, to bud, or not. The discovery of ovaries in the last century contradicted the entire system of phallogocratic rationalisation. Nevertheless old ideologies die hard: looking at medical textbooks and films we are still encouraged to identify with the 'heroic quest' of the 'penetrating and creative' sperm.

Yet the egg has been travelling down the fallopian tube for days! Barring rape, the woman can be seen as initiating sex, taking penis, magnetising sperm; and the egg can be seen as selectively swallowing one of the proportionately miniscule sperms (2000:1).

And what is so 'male' about even a sperm cell anyway?! Most of its genetic code is to do with being mammalian, human. Only one small chromosome is liable to mean 'after ten weeks in/as the entity you then are start to create a penis'. But then it might equally well say: 'after ten weeks keep yourself going as female.' The sperm has come from cock/balls that are part of a body that is itself flesh-of-woman-flesh, womb-woven, body-fed. And half of its genetic 'information' came from a woman, plus a quarter from one grandmother, plus an eighth from two great-grandmothers, plus... glug, glug, glug!

We've already had 'Real Manhood' vanishing like the Cheshire Cat, leaving only a (gay) grin behind. Now when we look closely at the Emperor's new clothes we get a similar vanishing conundrum concerning paternity. For what 'Our Fathers' did to us as our bio-dads they never did! For what they did, they did before we were we!

Even if the seed/soil analogy did hold, seed is not equal to or other than soil. It is soil (last year's), Earth in one of Her manifestations. So men as 'fathers' are ways in which the mother plays hide and seek with herself down the generations; sons are ways Grandmother Goddess drops a stitch so as to fix herself some grandchildren in the next row.

And anything loving, warm, strong, protective, nurturant (etc., etc.) that our social-dads ever did for us can be better acknowledged under the sign of Co-Mothering. After all, the very idea of Fatherhood is relatively recent and has always been synonymous with patriarchal control of mother and child. Unless taught otherwise many small children tend to call any warm, loving presence in their lives 'mama'...

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I've argued that we need to pay attention to both historical socialisation (unlike Feminine-ism) and to biological asymmetry (unlike Humanism). Of course we need a truly equitable framework between women and 'men'/sons! But this doesn't mean abstract sameness or artificial balance between phoney 'opposites'. In

my opinion only a matriarchal society/movement can create such an equitable framework.

I further believe that the Women's Liberation Movement could potentially gather and unite the new coalitions we urgently need... green-lavender-red-black-orange-grey, etc. If/when that time comes I hope that the green movement (and the others) will be prepared to follow the lead of the women's movement, and meet its just anti-sexist conditions for entry NOT into the women's movement but into the wider-we feminist space/movement it would then be inaugurating.

My hope is that, following the insights of feminism, more and more green and other 'men' will come to see through the separatist spells cast in the Men's Huts and cease to hallucinate ourselves as Men... for Real Men aren't! As we re-identify as SONS, the flesh-of-earthling-flesh loyal mummy's boys that we

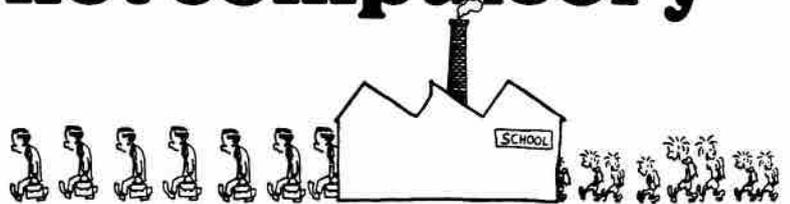
once were, then we will no longer imagine that we 'need' to hold onto our privileges-as-Men. Nor will we hold out against the Mothersphere for fear of losing our 'male identities' or our 'individual autonomy' 'as men'.

As we remember the maternal roots of our identity, may we also be re-member-ed as accountable and co-responsible members of the long-suppressed matri-tribe which is now resurfacing.

P.S. My love and thanks to Monica Sjöö for inspiration. Her book, "The Ancient Religion of the Great Cosmic Mother of All", is an invaluable source with plates of her amazing paintings thrown in! Available from Scottish and Northern Distribution, or from Monica at 3 Jordanston Cottages, near Fishguard, Dyfed, Cymru (price £4.25).



is not compulsory



MOST PEOPLE think that they are obliged to send their children to school at the age of five. This is in fact not the case. The legalities of home education may seem like a lot of cold porridge to digest, but home education is a great freedom and it is well worth the trouble of understanding the law, getting the formalities right, and then living your life as you wish.

What is the legal position about schooling?

Section 36 of the 1944 Education Act states:

"It shall be the duty of the parent of every child of compulsory school age to cause him to receive efficient full-time education suitable to his age, ability and aptitude, and any special educational needs he may have, either by regular attendance at school or otherwise."

The phrase 'or otherwise' makes it quite clear that while education is compulsory, schooling is not, so that parents or guardians are quite free to educate their children at home if they wish.

Does the local education authority (LEA) have a role in home education?

Section 37 (i) of the Education Act states:

"If it appears to a LEA that the parent of any child of compulsory school age in their area is failing to perform the duty imposed on him, it shall be the duty of the authority to serve upon the parent a notice requiring him ... to satisfy the authority that the child is receiving efficient full-time education suitable to his age, ability and aptitude either by regular attendance at school or otherwise."

This means that the LEA has a duty to satisfy itself that the child is in fact being educated. LEAs vary

greatly in the zeal with which they do this: some don't bother, some are helpful and some are obstructive. This section does not mean, however, that the LEA can lay down educational criteria to which a family must conform. Families are quite free to educate their children in whatever way they wish. This is a great freedom which millions of families do not realise that they have.

Registration and de-registration

When a five-year-old starts school their name is put on a register. If a parent later wishes to withdraw the child from school in order to educate him or her at home, then the child must be de-registered. If a child is registered at a school and a parent fails to send her or him, then the parent is automatically committing an offence.

Section 39 (i):

"If any child of compulsory school age who is a registered pupil at a school fails to attend regularly thereat, the parent of the child shall be guilty of an offence against this section."

It is under this section that most successful prosecutions of home educating families take place. It is therefore vital that intending home educating parents request the school's head teacher to de-register their child. Such parents are also strongly urged to seek advice from Education Otherwise, an association of families and individuals who support home education, before withdrawing their child from school to make sure that all legalities are correct.

If a child has never been to school, then it isn't registered and there is no problem. Nor are you under any legal obligation to inform your LEA of your intention to teach your children at home. It is up to them to seek you out, if they so wish.

What is home education like?

The trouble with society in general is that it doesn't trust people to live reasonable, decent lives; the trouble with parents is that they don't trust their children to grow up in a reasonable, decent fashion. This leads to all kinds of interference by society in the lives of its members and by the same token interference by parents in the lives of their children. This doesn't mean that the community at large has no claim upon us, nor that parents have no claim upon their children. 'No man is an island,' said John Donne, and indeed it seems to me that freedom is made up from a web of relationships at a personal level and then at community level, and that both affect each other. I do not myself claim to be free, or to know what a free life might consist of, but home education has been a step towards understanding this. It helps one to know on a very concrete, ordinary level who one is and where one belongs.

We are a family of wife, husband and two sons aged now 9 and 15. We came to home education when our eldest son Mark was 8 years old and very unhappy at school. Eventually he refused to go and Richard, my husband, and I didn't make him: immediate panic all round, and pressure put upon us by family and school authorities to force him to go back. This we refused to do and eventually, with advice and support from Education Otherwise, we formally withdrew him from school in order to educate him at home. We have never regretted this and only wish he'd never been to school in the first place. His brother Robin has never been to school.

The activities we pursue arise naturally either from what needs to be done (e.g. household chores, shopping, etc.) or from our interests. Necessity and interest are not of course necessarily opposed. We have been home educating for nearly eight years and interests have waxed and waned, but we have addressed the following at various times: basic maths and English; natural history - geology, microscopy, bats, carnivorous plants; history - industrial archaeology, modern history, old buildings; cooking and nutrition; hand-built pottery including firing in a sawdust kiln in the garden; making polyhedra; German; drawing; model making; walking; swimming; ice-skating; snooker; chess; computing; and reading. We do a great deal of practical work: for example we belong to the local natural history society and go on field trips; history is approached through visits to museums, old buildings, canals etc. There is an emphasis on first-hand experience and on understanding what is around you.

The marvellous thing about home educating is its continuity - one has both the time to enjoy and the time in which to perceive and correct mistakes in our relationships. This is infinitely sustaining psychologically. We also have our laughs. I drop into philosophising at the drop of a hat, but my children aren't like this at all - so don't be put off by my solemnity.

For further information about Education Otherwise, please contact:

Enquiries Secretary, Education Otherwise, 25 Common Lane, Hemingford Abbots, Cambridgeshire;

or: Joan Hoare, 25 Moor Oaks Road, Sheffield S10 1BX.

Joan Hoare

ANIMAL

FOR ME the green movement means ecological consciousness, it means an awareness of the dire peril in which the human species presently finds itself and a revolutionary reappraisal of all the bad habits and prejudices which are the norms of our so-called civilisation. I think that this is just the beginning and that in the years to come we can build a movement so empowering and so politically sound that eventually we can succeed in transforming the institutions and direction of our society. What makes our arguments so convincing is that it is becoming increasingly probable that the species is not going to survive at all without some sort of fundamental transformation.

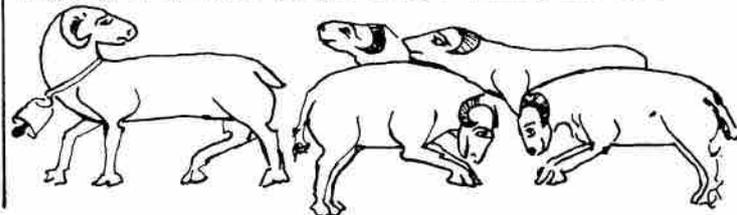
Animals have rights

The green revolution has become a biological necessity and we may legitimately see ourselves as an evolutionary response to a species survival threat.

But what sort of revolution are we talking about?? Whilst it is of crucial importance that this revolution challenges and removes the oppressive superstructure of class privilege, race privilege, gender privilege, age privilege, and body/mind behaviour stereotypes, this is no longer enough, not on its own, not by a long chalk. If the revolution focuses only on human beings and is concerned only for human welfare and survival, it will fail - dreadfully. The whole basis of the green revolution and why it is the voice of the future is that it places humans firmly where they belong, as part of nature rather than separate from nature. Neither divine favour nor massive brainpower enables humanity to break free from the web of life into which all living species are inextricably bound. The green revolution, therefore, affirms that to be a successful species (which presently we are not) we will have to learn how to live in harmony with the other species of the planet, to know our place in its eco-systems, to love, respect and honour the earth, and to live accordingly.

Industrial society has been an ecological catastrophe for this planet, and this catastrophe is still deepening rapidly. As we have become aware of that catastrophe there have been many responses to it, many valid, but few entirely adequate. Sometimes ecologists have remained rather theoretical and academic in their approach and their undoubtedly worthy ideas have had very little popular appeal. This certainly cannot be said of the animal liberation movement.

Animal liberation really began to take off from 1975 onwards, with Peter Singer's book 'Animal Liberation'



LIBERATION IS

GREEN

being particularly influential. In it Singer reiterates and develops the ideas advanced by Henry Salt in his 1890s' essay 'Animals' Rights'. Animal liberation lacks a complex analysis or a profound ecological perspective. It is built around a few logical, powerful ideas - ideas that have had a profound impact on thousands of people who are very often completely uninterested in 'conventional politics'. Animal rights activists are characteristically not academics, nor are they very patient with people who are. They consider action rather than words to be the most affective way of achieving political change. Such activists are far and away the most dedicated freedom fighters I have ever met, normally giving up all their spare energy to the cause, spending every weekend for months on end engaged in direct action activities that appear to have massive public support despite the large-scale damage to Private Property that routinely occurs. People outside the movement don't seem to realise it, but animal lib is probably the fastest growing 'alternative' movement at present, and nowhere in the world is it stronger than in Britain. Despite the rigorous demands it makes on its supporters, young people are flocking to such organisations as ALF (Animal Liberation Front) and HSA (the Hunt Saboteurs Association). In 1983, for the first time in history, all the major political parties felt it necessary to include statements on animal welfare in their election manifestos.

The fastest growing
alternative movement
in Britain

The idea central to the animal liberation movement is simply that ANIMALS HAVE RIGHTS. This is essentially a moral and political view: animal rights activists believe that the exploitation of animals is quite simply wrong. Singer calls the mindless mistreatment and exploitation of animals 'speciesism' and he very effectively shows that it is analogous to racism and sexism in the way that it operates. 'Speciesism' may seem like an ungainly term for those not used to it and tired of 'isms', but it is the best word we

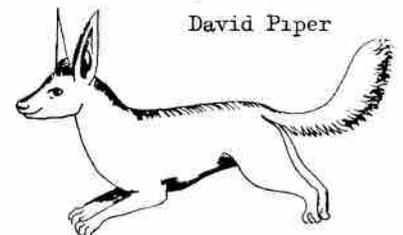
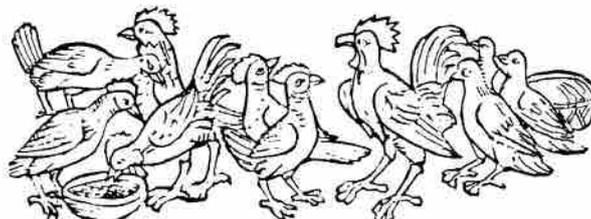
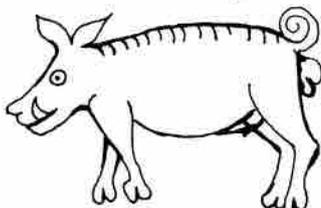
presently have to describe the oppressive and violent attitude towards non-human life with which we are indoctrinated as children. Speciesism operates in exactly the same way as racism, sexism and other oppressions, by depriving the victim of all rights, by objectification so that the oppressor may pretend that nobody is being hurt, by the use of systematic violence and by the use of insulting and incorrect stereotypes. Speciesism is taught to children in schools and through the media by using a whole array of techniques which are, in essence, lies designed to brainwash and deaden the mind. Thus, as adults we perpetuate a whole range of irrational prejudices without even realising it.

It is up to those
who do eat dead
animals to explain
why they do so

In the case of animals these attitudes are particularly apparent in the unaware and unnecessary consumption of animal products by the vast majority of people who hardly give the ethics or politics of their consumption habits a second thought. Animal liberationists cannot be accused of failing to practise what they preach. They are usually militant vegetarians who make no apologies for refusing to eat meat, who often refuse to use animal products of any kind, and who feel that the onus is on those who eat dead animals to explain why they do so.

It is time that those seriously involved in the green movement took a long careful look at animal liberation and realised that the revolution they want cannot be complete without it. The animal liberation movement is a natural and, indeed, an integral part of the green revolution, containing some of its most dedicated, experienced and successful activists. In unity is strength. In Tasmania last year the blockade at the Franklin River Dam was not only carried out by the David Bellamys of this world: there was a large contingent of animal libbers there and I'll bet that their characteristic raw energy and enthusiasm had a lot to do with the historic success of that action. In unity is strength. Let all greens remember that and resist the temptation to criticise animal liberation for its many shortcomings. These will be dealt with in time as the movement comes of age. In the meantime know who your friends are and give the animal liberation movement the full and unequivocal support that it deserves.

David Piper



A drop of moonshine

APOCALYPSO SUNSHINE. Cassette by Planet Waves.
£3 from Dean Holden, 37 Parkers Way, Totnes, Devon.

Now's the time for action
Action speaks louder than words
Now's the time for action
If we want to save our world.

JUST ONE of the infectious choruses contained on this Planet Waves cassette, music of an irresistible nature and a green orientation. Anyone who heard Planet Waves at the Green Gathering a couple of years ago where they provided late-night entertainment by the bonfire will know the power the group possess. In keeping with a green outlook, however, the power has little to do with electricity for the group are all acoustic. The fullness of sound they manage to project makes many a rock group sound thin by comparison, and this is achieved by judicious use of a range of instruments that include percussion such as congas, tomtom and wooden block, wind instruments like the flute and alto sax, as well as such string instruments as the banjo and fretless bass.

The band regard themselves as 'good enough for country and a bit too loud for folk', though basically they have created an original sound that moves in and out of different genres at ease. At times the violin strains are reminiscent of country music, though there are moments when the sax recalls passages from Pink Floyd and pop idioms creep in while the flute passages soar off into jazz. The overall effect is somewhat Dylanish, unsurprisingly considering the group's name, particularly in the inflection of the lead vocalist Den Ray, and the counterpoint violin that Dylan used to such effect on 'Desire'.

The vocals are delivered in a pleasing, unpretentious manner conveying the message that the words matter. The text concerns itself with both personal and political liberation. As well as overt calls to head off impending disaster - as in the chorus quoted above - there are also songs that question personal motives and lifestyle:

But does it ring true to you
The way you live and do the things you do?

and a rejection of playing safe:

There's not much at stake:
Just this crazy way of life we cling to.

But running through the whole cassette is an infectious sense of optimism that overcomes the gloom and doom of such songs as 'It's Curtains for Certain' and leaves one foot-tapping and humming along to refrains such as the last one:

Spread a little sunshine as you go,
Spread a little sunshine and a drop of moonshine.

Another singer with songs relevant to the green movement, Leon Rosselson, has stated that songs and music are never going to change anything or anybody by themselves but that they can act as sources of

solidarity and rallying calls to the committed. This cassette by Planet Waves will surely send you out feeling more positive. I cannot recommend it too highly, not only as excellent music in itself but as a true representative of the 'Green music' many of us have been seeking for so long.

* * * *

The cassette can be ordered at a cost of £3 plus 30p postage from Dean Holden, 37 Parkers Way, Totnes, Devon. The recording quality is not all it might be but certainly good enough for all but the most discerning ear. Moves are afoot, however, for a major record company to produce it - in which case it is going to cost a whole lot more, so you might be well advised to send off for your copy now. Meanwhile Planet Waves can be seen at various festivals this summer, including the CND Glastonbury Festival. They can be booked for a reasonable sum from the above address - or telephone Totnes 864568. Personally, I can't wait to see them again.

John Dougill

REVIEWS/REVIEWS/REVIEWS/REVIEWS/REVIEWS

Israel - America's Cuba?

THE FATEFUL TRIANGLE: The United States, Israel and the Palestinians. Noam Chomsky. Pluto Press, £6.95.

IT WAS one of those bizarre coincidences which brought to our screens not so long ago two pictures of a people from completely opposite and indeed schizophrenic angles. The first, BBC rendering, 'The Promised Land', looked at the evolution of a dispossessed and persecuted European Jewry into one of the most highly successful and certainly high profile communities in the United States. By contrast ITV's 'First Tuesday' an hour later showed how Israel's relentless and ruthless West Bank policy of Jewish settlement is dispossessing the remaining Palestinian population en masse.

The irony will not escape you. It certainly has not with the distinguished US Jewish academic and radical Noam Chomsky, who sets out in his latest book primarily to chart the increasingly incestuous relationship of the Israeli dispossessors with their US (and of course US Jewish) patrons.

Chomsky of course needs little introduction. As an outspoken critic of US defence and foreign policy and a libertarian lefty to boot, he occupies a position not dissimilar to that of E P Thompson over here. 'The Fateful Triangle' is a giant 471-page mix of well researched documentation and biting vitriolic polemic from which neither successive Israeli governments, Likud or Labour, their media champions in the States, nor their political allies in the Pentagon emerge unscathed.

Chomsky's focus on the process of West Bank dis-possession and more particularly the euphemistically termed 'Peace for Galilee' operation (read 'invasion') in the Lebanon makes harrowing reading. The descrip-

tion of the way in which the Lebanese and Palestinian population of Sidon and the surrounding refugee camps were turfed out of what remained of their homes after Israeli bombing and shelling and either spirited away to 'concentration' camps deep within Israel or forced onto the town's beaches where for nearly a week in blazing temperatures they were consciously deprived of water, I found especially memorable. It was of course one of only countless atrocities culminating in the bombing of Beirut and the Israeli-sponsored, Phalange-committed Shatilla and Sabra massacres which the 'liberal' US media managed to condone or otherwise ignore in its determination to prove a mythical Israel 'purity of arms'.

The rationale of the Lebanon invasion - to finally crush the PLO as a military and political force and thereby deprive the West Bankers of any hope of an Israeli-free, independent future - comes across strongly. So too does the increasing Israeli willingness to do America's 'Dirty work' whenever it gets too politically inconvenient or embarrassing for the CIA or marines to do it themselves. This 'proxy' role in Guatemala, El Salvador, Zaire, Taiwan and elsewhere is reminiscent of Cuba's 'special relationship' with the USSR. The Israeli commitment to the US abroad seems however to go much deeper and is perversely, fittingly appropriate for a supposedly vibrantly democratic state which in its domestic policy and in the occupied territories is fast heading down the slope towards a radical-cum-religious apartheid.

Much more disturbingly, however, is the way Israel seems to be leading the US bull by the horns in order to do their bidding. The development of an independent Israeli defence and foreign policy which involves not only close cooperation with states like South Africa and South Korea, but also the undercover selling of arms to Khomeini's Iran, is neither necessarily in US interests nor that of world peace. But the ability of Israel to provoke war in the Middle East and ultimately to blackmail the West by threatening to use its nuclear weapons (it is reputed that its tactical and strategic arsenal may be up to 200 operational warheads) is enough to keep the White House in tow and the economic and military aid pouring in to the tune of millions of dollars.

No serious peacenik can ignore the thrust of what Chomsky is saying here. It seems mealy-mouthed and grudging therefore to complain that the book has faults. It is nevertheless exceedingly repetitive and therefore often tedious. I lost count of the number of times Irving Howe's same passage in defence of the 'beautiful' Israel and attacking 'reactionary' lefties who criticise her was derided. Surely once would have been enough?

Readers will be disappointed too to find very little of real substance on the Palestinians. They are there, of course, but the prevailing impression is one of passive victims - which is in fact very far from the whole story. They have been protagonists in their own fate and some background information on their national movement and the problems associated with Arafat's tightrope efforts to avoid PLO emasculation by Arab states in their own interests would have been very helpful. So too would something on the role of the states themselves. Reading this

book one is sometimes inclined to feel that Syria, Iraq, Egypt and Jordan have disappeared from the map! In this sense, the 'Fateful Triangle' would have been more aptly named the 'Dubious Alliance: the United States and Israel'.

Most disappointingly of all, perhaps, Chomsky cannot seem to find it in himself to say anything which might offset the prospects for doom and gloom which dominate the book. Why for instance is he so dismissive of the Israeli 'Peace Now' movement? It is - in equivalent numerical terms - at least as significant as CND here, and indeed because of the large preponderance of reserve officers within its ranks, considerably more influential. Certainly Israel is becoming an increasingly polarised and fragmented society in which the 'doves' are finding it more and more difficult to make their voice heard. But they may represent, alongside their Arab counterparts, the last genuine attempt to find a future for this part of the Middle East. Without peace there, the future for the rest of us will remain bleak.

'The Fateful Triangle' then is a crucial and often brilliant work. But it is sometimes flawed by a narrowness of focus which ends up suggesting that all the ills of the world can be laid at one door and one door only. It should be read as the blurb on its back says 'by everyone interested in the Middle East... and the disarmament movement' - but in the knowledge that it is not the only or final word on the subject.

Mark Levene

/REVIEWS/REVIEWS/REVIEWS/REVIEWS/REVIEWS

Authoritarian groups

ENVIRONMENTAL GROUPS IN POLITICS. Philip Lowe and Jane Goyder. Allen and Unwin, £6.95 pbk.

THIS BOOK claims to be the first to deal explicitly and comprehensively with the environmental pressure groups active in Britain. According to the cover blurb 'it shows how the environmental movement has grown and developed, analyses the internal organisation and resources of the groups, and examines their involvement in politics and environmental planning.'

It is an academic book, and the authors have presumably tried to disregard their own political beliefs and prejudices, though they do not always succeed. Much of the content is based on questionnaires completed by 77 national organisations concerned with the environment. These are as disparate as the British Association for Shooting and Conservation, Greenpeace, the Cyclists Touring Club, and the Ancient Monuments Society, and it is not easy to come to interesting and meaningful conclusions. What the authors do spot, however, is the lack of internal democracy which appears to be a characteristic of virtually all the groups. It is also obvious, reading the book, that the vast majority of the groups are utterly dominated by men, though this is not acknowledged in the text. Another

Others must form federation

Though disappointed by Jonathon Porritt's response (GL 23) to Richard Oldfield's article "Dead Wood in a Green Forest", I was not surprised. Both the title and your front-cover question "Is the Ecology Party played out?" (GL 22) seemed calculated to raise the hackles of any Eco activist. Thus, in the tone of his reply, Jonathon Porritt echoed evidence of a rift which, at the same time, he was trying to deny.

The idea that the Ecology Party is a drag on the green movement needs a more considered response, not least because it has a converse amongst many Ecology Party members. I myself have argued that non-Eco green campaigns can be counter-productive. The moral here seems to be that each part of our green movement must be aware of its weaknesses as well as its strengths, and look to others for counter-balance.

Richard Oldfield reasons that the Ecology Party is locked into a self-perpetuating cycle of electioneering as each election brings new members who, equally hooked on elections, help to commit the party to yet more electioneering. I almost wish this

were so. In my experience elections bring to the party people who are disenchanted with old-style politics and have little or no experience of working in election campaigns. When confronted with the practicalities of electioneering they begin to wonder, like Richard Oldfield, if they are being returned with a vengeance to precisely that from which they have sought refuge.

I suspect most Ecology Party members do not give high priority to elections. For many the Ecology Party is just one more affiliation amongst a list of others (such as Amnesty, CND, FoE, BUAV, Greenpeace, etc., etc.). Some even retain membership of other parties - providing themselves with a safeguard against selection as Ecology Party candidates! I believe many members would be much happier belonging to a non-party green federation. And, like Jonathon Porritt, I am sure a host of Ecology Party branches would clamour to affiliate, to add their strengths to the federation. However, I do not think the Ecology Party itself, whose activists have a well-proven party-political commitment, is either best

suited or best placed to initiate the creation of such a non-party federation. For this, I suggest, we must look to others.

Laurence Thompson
(Secretary, Merton Ecology Party)
48 Abbey Road, London SW19 2NA

A place for us all

Delighted as I was to see my article on Green Groups in print (GL22), I feel that I must restore the balance a little. The cover implied that there was a 'Green split' and that the Ecology Party was 'played out'. I disagree strongly with both of these implications. I do not wish to cause a split or to replace the Ecology Party with Green Groups. I do believe in diversification and in autonomous local broadly based groups, but I believe that there is a place for both Green Groups and Ecology Party branches within the Green Movement. (...)

Claire Phillips
140 Hanover Street, Swansea.

** The 'split' design on the cover related only to the article on Europe, and to Die Grünen's refusal to sign the European Manifesto (and the reasons behind that refusal). - Ed.

REVIEWS/BOOKS/REVIEWS/MUSIC/REVIEWS/BOOKS/REVIEWS/MUSIC/REVIEWS/BOOKS

The authors of the National Trust piece have come out of it well. They claim that the organisation is 'a closed oligarchy: its leadership is authoritative rather than representational, and its organisational structure is difficult for ordinary members to penetrate.' Thus the reasons why the Trust was prepared to lease land and Bradenham, in Bucks, for construction of a NATO command bunker and the subsequent protest from a section of its membership are clarified by the analysis presented here.

The guest author of the piece on FoE, Richard Bate, fares less well. Whilst he acknowledges the sources of tension between local groups and the national office, and hints that FoE might be at a crucial point in its development, there is no reference to the possibility of conflict between the board and staff. Yet very shortly after the research was completed the board was putting its own members into the office to police the staff, who responded by forming a union branch. Over the next 18 months the staff and local groups combined forces to successfully demand that half the board be elected by local groups. (Previously, like the leadership of the National Trust, it was a self-perpetuating oligarchy). Twice the staff went on strike to protest at the board's insistence in breaking salary parity.

area which escapes critical examination is that of the employer/employee relationships within the organisations. These weaknesses become crucially important in the detailed case-studies of five environmental groups, amongst them the National Trust and Friends of the Earth, both of particular

interest because of the magnitude of the internal disruption which they have experienced since this research was completed.

Eventually the conflict quietened after over half the staff resigned, had their contracts terminated or accepted redundancy within a few weeks, and the newly elected board members took their places.

This section should not have been written by someone who had worked for FoE as an (unpaid) consultant. Nor should the views of two former board members, who are thanked in the preface for reading drafts and making helpful comments, have been uncritically accepted. At one point the author makes a thinly veiled attack on the competence of the staff, without attempting to justify it, but makes no reference to the competence of the board. And isn't sexism a legitimate area of concern for academics? Of 11 people on the board only one was a woman, and she resigned early on in the conflict. From my vantage point as one of the shop stewards in the FoE section of ACTSS it seemed that the board let themselves be manipulated into acting in a blindly authoritarian way by an ex-executive director with a grudge. The chances of such tribal behaviour occurring would have been considerably reduced had there been more women members.

Despite the book's faults there is still enough interesting information for it to be worth a read. But I wonder if you will come to the same conclusion as me: that the most significant environmental groups are not those dealt with here, but those campaigning to get rid of nuclear weapons?

Jim Read

Eco: not so dead!

I read Richard Oldfield's article in GL 22 with some sorrow. It seemed such a long way from the words inside your front cover about a 'converging green movement' and how 'writers and readers share together the discovery of what it means to be green.'

Why shouldn't there be room in the 'wider green movement' for an Ecology Party as well as all the other groups and individuals? I find nothing wrong with our diversity and I can't help wondering why Richard finds the Ecology Party's existence so threatening.

I am quite happy for others in the green movement to do what they feel they ought to. For me, talking to uncommitted people is the vital aspect of fighting elections. In canvassing one meets plenty of people for whom 'greens' is merely a synonym for cabbage! I believe I can do more for the green movement by talking to them rather than talking to other greens with whom I'm already in accord.

If the Ecology Party is, as Richard asserts, the 'dead wood', why has the Branch to which I belong trebled its membership in the last 18 months and twice achieved nearly 5% in the last two local elections? If we are really so moribund, why take up three pages of an otherwise interesting GL writing our obituary? Could it be that the case isn't quite so conclusively proven?

Finally, when I read the article my main impression was that if it was the first GL I had read and I had just begun to be interested in green ideas, I would think I was back in the tortuous maze of left-wing politics - full of splits and internal arguments. Let's not create a green version of the Marxism vs Maoism etc. etc. debate. Let's get out into the real world and spread our ideas among people who have never heard anything about green ideas.

Heather Swailes
22 Bond Court, Hillside Road
Harpenden, Herts AL5 4DJ

What is 'autonomy'?

Jonathon Porritt says (GL23) that Eco 'operates in practice as a collection of autonomous branches'. I must disagree.

If autonomy was a question of organisational independence (branches 'decide for themselves whether they wish to put up candidates') then it follows that the Conservative branches are as autonomous as Eco branches, since while autonomous at the level of my borough, the Conservative Party is autonomous at the level of my ward. Conservative ward committees combine across my borough in a federal 'Association' only for the purpose of sharing the cost of an agent and for 'joint-selection' of candidates standing for more than one ward. Shall we say that the Conservative Party is a non-hierarchical federation of autonomous branches? Is that it?!

But if we look at their policies, they give us the picture from a national, centralised viewpoint. Hence when the branches draw on their party for policies, they describe to the local community how things look nationally. The local party is representing the national, merged-together view: it is not representing the way things look from the local view. Appalling thought!

As long as policies are made at a centralised point by merging, our branches will continue to represent the Party to the local community, not vice versa. There will be hierarchy.

The call for a federation of autonomous green groups is not a call for autonomy of administration of one central view: it is a call for autonomy of perceiving and of policy formation. In this way we can respond to what locally is, instead of - in Susan Griffin's language - putting 'ideas in front of material reality'.

Let's invent Direct Democracy.

Mark Kinzley
7 Gaysham Avenue, Gants Hill
Ilford, Essex IG2 6TH.

Don't whine

I have read again, with concern, the whinings in GL against the Ecology Party, the claims by 'green' socialists that there way is best and the almost total introverted concern with the curious 'hangups' of the human species. With growing despair for the green movement I continued to read 'Acid Rain' produced by Environmental Resources Ltd. I came across the following passage which kicked me out of despair and redoubled my resolve to bring ecological issues to the parties' European Election campaign:

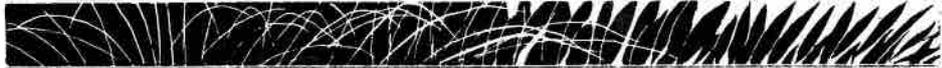
However, society does not perceive possible environmental damage from acid rain only in terms of that which is economically measurable. Other impacts, which some would argue are of at least equal importance, include adverse changes in the ecology of areas... In theory, assessments of the value society places on these can be made: in practice such evaluations are notoriously difficult and the appropriate political response to wide concern is probably a better way for society to deal with such questions.

It is therefore essential to generate that wide concern among people so that action shall be demanded and a willingness to pay the price for such action shall be expressed. (...)

We face a massive environmental crisis. Solutions will challenge the dogma of the existing (including socialist) parties. After all, they helped to see in the crisis. There is a need for green political parties that are capable of putting the interests of the whole environment movement ahead of specific class, national or human species interests.

Stop knocking Eco! We must all work together strong in our diversity of approach yet with unity of purpose - the saving of Planet Earth for all life forms.

Michael Shipley
Noon Sun Cottage, Sycamore Road
Birch Vale, Stockport SK12 5HG.



'Take a pay cut'

How much I agree with Tom Comber (Gradualists All, letters GL 23). And his last point is so often overlooked. It was stated very clearly in that TV play about alternative energy sources, 'The Brack Report': "In the business of attempting to bring about change, the suffering you have to endure is directly proportionate to the

effectiveness of your action."

I cannot help feeling that if we are sincere in our longings for a better world, those words should be the subject of our daily meditation. That this is so is shown by this constant preoccupation with the redistribution of wealth. What is needed now is the direct opposite, i.e. a Franciscan willingness on the

part of the 'haves' to share some of the poverty. If everyone from the cabinet downwards voluntarily accepted a cut in their wages, it would show an encouraging change of heart!

Peggy Bunt
31 St Peter's Road, East Blatchington
Seaford, Sussex BN25 2HP

Anarchy right or left?

Richard Hunt is a worse guide to Anarchism than he is to Economics. The glory of classical anarchism is its faith in the human spirit - which makes 'Mutual Aid' a real potential for a new human society. This optimism - well founded - could never accept Richard Hunt's condemnation of the National Income Scheme. "If you pay a subsistence wage to those who do all the shit jobs, they'll take it and go fishing." If he believes that, he himself should go off and join the right-wing of the Tory party. That is their philosophy, not that of Bakunin and his confreres.

I should like chapter and verse for the words attributed to Moses also.

The grandest dung-dip of all, however, is the assertion that all growth does is to redistribute wealth to the rich. In fact everyone can acquire more wealth through growth if the distribution remains constant - and there is evidence that it has not varied over-much in the last century or so of growth. The unions have not affected distribution of income in the UK except between categories of workers.

His recipe for getting back to small communities must gladden Mrs Thatcher's heart. She too wants to cut taxation and abolish the welfare state.

I am very sympathetic to the anarchist position which, as Steve Smith points out, has much in common with Christianity. It postulates a free association of free men and women for the greater good of all. It is for this reason that I resent ill-considered and uninformed claptrap on the subject. Anarchism eliminates the dialectical materialistic gobbledygook designed by Marx to provide a niche for his middle class cronies in the 'dictatorship of the proletariat' - and there are too many of his middle-class cronies still pontificating today.

I have done one of the 'shit jobs'. I started my career as a coal miner with a mandrel and shovel - and believe me, a 'subsistence wage' would not induce the working people I know to abandon the quest for a better life.

The National Income Scheme is one of the main planks that attracted me into the Eco Party (and let's keep that logo and wear it proudly, people are beginning to recognise it and identify with it). The NIS provides an ingenious solution to the economic problems posed by several alternative scenarios.

Life too complicated for anarchy

Richard Hunt's piece on 'anarchy or socialism' (GL23) contains so much over-simplification that it is difficult to know where to start.

Well, here goes. The word 'socialism' was first used in 1827 by the first wave co-operators to describe their ideal of a 'social' society based on co-operative principles and social equality. Since then the word has all too often come to mean 'politicalism' (as Keith Motherson would say). That is, the pursuit of state power in order to achieve an egalitarian society has become an end in itself.

On top of that, Karl Marx came onto the historical stage with all his heavy ideological baggage, such as the dialectic and the dictatorship of the proletariat, etc. It is perfectly possible to be a socialist according to the original definition, as I am, while being totally opposed to the entire Marxist package deal.

Richard goes on to say that socialism and 'greenery' are incompatible. Yet the socialists of SERA for example are explicitly against the expansionist centralising state and for a local ecological version of socialism.

The libertarian strand of socialism clearly owes much to the anarchist tradition, from the guild socialists to the workers' control movement, the new wave co-operators and the Lucal Aerospace workers' plan. A socialist society without a healthy dose of anarchism would be intolerable - just like the Soviet Union, in fact.

In the end, let us forget the 19th century 'isms' of right, left and elsewhere and concentrate on creating a new society. 'Ownership' of the means of production is about as relevant in the second half of the 20th century as a dodo egg. What matters is CONTROL of the means of production. We are in a new ball game, but the orthodox politicians are still playing by the rules of the old. Let us not join them.

D N M Davies
13c Alfred Street, Maesteg
Morgannwg CF34 9YW

Both sides are the wrong side

With reference to the article by Richard Hunt, I'm sure I speak for many readers in saying that every side of the barricades is the wrong side.

Roger Hallam
89 Pennine Road, Woodley, Stockport.

Where Richard and myself have an honest difference of opinion is that I do not think that it would be possible for the 56m inhabitants of these densely populated islands to co-exist entirely on the basis of anarchist principles, however desirable this might be in theory. Life has become just too complicated. Nor would anarchism (in my view) give adequate protection against the anti-social, the criminal or downright evil individuals who would seek to impose their will by force.

When Richard talks of 'communism' as a happy state of statelessness, I cannot help thinking of its delinquent Marxist cousin, Communism with a capital 'C'. It was Lenin, not Marx, who coined the phrase 'the withering away of the state' in 1917 - just when he was planning to sieze power, eliminate all other political tendencies (including Richard's fellow anarchists) and establish the most all-powerful state machine on this planet.

John Bradbrook
23 Offord Road, London N1



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Too much politics

Green Line is subtitled, Magazine of the Green Movement. As the issues go by this is becoming increasingly inaccurate; it would be truer to call it the Magazine of the Political Aspect of the Green Movement.

In the June issue, for example, there were approximately twice as many pages devoted to political matters as to all other aspects of the green movement put together. This is hardly representative of green activity on the ground. For another example, last year's Green Gathering wasn't even reported on! In the magazine of the Green Movement? Strange.

Too much politics is not good for one's green consciousness. This was really brought home by Jonathon Porritt's article in GL23. On the whole I agree with what he had to say, but the way he said it left me feeling very sad. His style consists mainly in heaping a string of insults on those he disagrees with. This competitive, aggressive emotion is the very opposite to the co-operative, nurturing emotion we desperately need if we are to save this planet from destruction. It's part of the problem, not the cure.

So how do we get more of a balance into the content of GL? I believe the solution lies both with the readers and the editors.

Those of us who are active in other aspects of the Green Movement than the political could come out of our holes and write. There must be many of us, readers of this magazine, who are making news in everything from wholefood co-ops to publishing, from insulation to meditation, which GL readers would love to know about. It's up to us to let our sisters and brothers know about what we're doing. Highly literate articles are not necessary. Short notes of the kind that appear on the 'Network' pages are 100% better than silence.

The editors could play their part by letting us all know what material is wanted. Who could have dreamed that so obvious and important an event as the Green Gathering was going unreported? I for one would certainly have sent something in if I'd realised. A request in the pages of the magazine for information on specific topics would be a start, and what about the odd phone call to likely sources?

Largely it's a matter of balance: too much politics and not enough of everything else. But the arts don't even get a look-in. I know there are

Europe: Need for wider links

Can't we at least stop playing on the Communist scare and look at policies, not at what have become near-meaningless labels. At least Richard Hunt attempts to get to grips with the realities, but Jonathon Porritt and Steve Dawe (GL 23) seem to be content to 'jargonate'.

If the progressive left are to be criticised, please expound on what "profound but quite positive disagreements" (JP) and "retaining policies which seem incompatible with ecological objectives" (SD) mean. At least I talked in my article in GL 22 about the key red-green stumbling-block of employment and growth.

Steve Dawe mistakenly believes that there is "no real political knowledge" about the progressive left. It is available to those who care to make the effort. Yet in the 3½ years that I consistently attended all but three meetings of the Greens' Coordination group, suggestions for any form of meeting, "open debate", or joint seminar with any or all of the progressive left were blocked, mainly by the Belgian greens. Despite this, two PSP members managed to attend the first European Greens' seminar in 1982 and Huup Dassen, their General Secretary, spoke at the Ecology Party's AGM in 1982.

However, I have made a point of trying to understand the progressive left in real policy terms. Since 1981 I have studied the Dutch situation in depth, and at the European level I have kept abreast of developments in the progressive left's policy ideas through Agenor. This transnational socialist group has organised seminars

such things as green music, drama and literature going on, but you wouldn't think so to go by the pages of the Magazine of the Green Movement.

Too often I find a potential GL reader flicks through an issue and says, 'No thanks, not this month. It's all politics.' But it's not just the circulation of the magazine I'm thinking of. I want to know what's going on in the green movement as a whole. No one else is telling me, so perhaps GL will.

Patrick Whitesfield (formerly Vickers), The White Field, c/o Dove Workshops Butleigh, Glastonbury, Somerset.

** All points taken: readers please note and write in. By the way, for lack of space as much as anything we do tend to avoid pure 'news', though we welcome shared (and learning) experiences. Patrick: do your bit too! - Ed.

with the progressive left since 1967 and published reports on them: some of the Ecology Party's Euro-briefing sheets were derived in part from these!

For at least 8 years, PPR and PSP have tended to lead in progressive left policy developments, be they on employment and growth, development, the environment, or disarmament. Their absorption of a 'greener' perspective dates to the early 70s in most cases, and earlier in others (such as nuclear issues).

In 1972, well before Die Grünen was formed - making 'green' worth bandwagoning - the Dutch debate on growth was under way, and by 1977 PPR was clearly an anti-growth party with PSP not far behind. The rest of the progressive left have followed in their own time, so that by 1983 even PDUP were taking an unequivocal stand against growth.

Finally, Jonathon Porritt says that we can't "promote the green perspective ... as members or allies of an official Communist Party." (Except when the EEC's reimbursement money is at stake?). What concerns me is that we can't implement measures to make the green perspective effective in solving the present crises unless we liaise with those other political groups who have viable, compatible and immediate answers. I fear the European Green Parties' superior attitude is not the best basis for co-operation with a group of parties who are concerned about the harsh realities of 15m unemployed and growing global injustice and instability.

If Jonathon Porritt's unstated "certain minimum green criteria" include saying "I'm pure Green" but allow a number of Dutch De Europese Groenen members and some Green Euro-election candidates to fudge on redistribution of wealth and resources, who's manipulating people "at the level of 'shallow ecology'"?

I stand by my belief that GPA is genuine in their adoption of key green political and economic perspectives. If anything, I believe that in many respects the progressive left (and PSP especially) act and live what the Greens often only pontificate about - e.g. lifestyle. From now on I'd rather be a Pacifist Socialist blocking a Cruise convoy in the streets before going to the bar, than a respectable Green keeping my hands clean with the concerned establishment in the cocktail lounge.

Roland Clarke
42 Grange Road, Lewes, E Sussex

Sizewell Inquiry 'spellbound'

Brig Oubridge writes:

On Wednesday afternoon, June 13, the Sizewell B Public Inquiry sat spellbound while John Graham, a Southern Tachone Indian from Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, told them of the problems which Canadian Indians face from uranium mining. You could have heard a pin drop as Inspector Sir Frank Layfield took it all in and the CEBG men's chins sank deeper and deeper into their chests.

John was one of ten witnesses giving evidence during a week in which the Inquiry devoted its attention to the topic of uranium mining in response to objections submitted by the Ecology Party and individual objector Rob Rosenthal.

Casting aside his written 'proof of evidence' and saying "I can't relate to all these pieces of paper," John began a devastating 45-minute testimony which had the CEBG representatives (including Michael Townsend, Britain's chief uranium buyer) shrinking down behind their desks in shame. "Uranium mining," they were told, "is just one more way that they are wiping out our people, our culture, our language, and the methods have been numerous over the years."

"We understood then and we understand today that their motivations are the same. It comes right down to it, that they are motivated and they are blinded by their greed... How many deformed, blood-diseased children would we have to present to this Inquiry before you realise you have to stop this kind of insane development? Is that the kind of evidence you might want to see?"

It was clear that the CEBG at least didn't want to hear at all: after squirming in his seat for 45 minutes, CEBG lawyer M Fitzgerald QC meekly muttered, "No questions, sir," but the Inspector had clearly heard it all and taken note.

Next day, Angie Aldridge became the first woman to give evidence for either the objectors or the CEBG (after 17½ months of hearings), and told of her personal experiences of uranium prospecting near her home in Donegal. She was followed by an Australian Aboriginal woman, Barbara Flick, representing the National Federation of Land Councils, who, standing up in respect for her people, delivered another Inquiry-stopping speech on behalf of the indigenous people of Australia.

Joan Wingfield, of the Kokatha people of S Australia, then told how the new Roxby Downs uranium/copper mine being built by a consortium including BP (49%) threatens Kokatha sacred sites.

Linda Hendry finished the Eco case on Friday, having dashed down from her own Euro-election campaign in Lothian. Linda covered political uncertainties and the provisions of the Euratom Treaty, which could lead to uranium mining in Orkney or Cornwall if Britain's imported supplies were cut.

Only Sir Frank Layfield himself knows whether the knowledge of the reality behind the CEBG's bland assurances of future uranium supply will make any difference to his final recommendation. If not, it will be on his conscience, because it was certainly clear that the uranium mining evidence had reached parts that other evidence hadn't reached.

** Extracts from the testimonies of John Graham and Barbara Flick will appear shortly in GL. Full transcripts are available free from the Sizewell B Inquiry Secretariat, PO Box 333, Saxmundham, Suffolk IP17 1SP. Ask for Days 231 - 234.



Greening the unions: 'Linking Up'

Janet Sly writes:

"Linking-Up" is a follow-on from a conference held in Coventry last autumn called "Socialism and the Green Movement".

One of the topics which came into discussions frequently at Coventry was the need to get trade unions to take action on green issues. This was linked to questions concerning future patterns of employment and new ways of working - such as co-ops - and also the ways in which community-based groups and consumers can take action - particularly in the area of choice of product, popular planning, education, and unemployment.

The aim of "Linking Up" is to explore these trade union and work related issues, community-based

campaigns and consumer campaigns in greater detail, AND to work out campaigning strategies on specific issues. The participants will hopefully include many of those who came to Coventry, plus many others from a wide range of backgrounds. While we hope to get a number of trade unionists, it is most likely that those who come will already have some knowledge of green issues and be seeking help to introduce them within their own unions, rather than simply coming to learn what 'green' is about. Of course there will be scope for learning about green issues, but the emphasis will be on campaigning methods and strategies.

There will be a brief plenary on the problems posed by the existing political structures (e.g. legislation and the parliamentary process), decentralisation, and regaining community control - but these issues and the question of what structures (if any) we want to see in their place will not be the subject of workshops: this is too vast an area to cover as well, and should rightly be the subject of another conference in the future.

"Linking Up" is intended to bring people together regardless of their political affiliations to find real ways of working together on green issues, be it in joint or complementary campaigns.

The conference will be held on July 21/22 at Kingsway-Princeton College, Sidmouth Street, London WC1. Cost: £7 waged, £3 unwaged. There will be a creche.

On Saturday, the workshops will look at examples of existing campaigns and types of activity by workers, communities and individual consumers, women in trade unions, and problems greens face in working in trade unions. Sunday's workshops will discuss the way forward for campaigns on specific issues - for example, acid rain, public transport, food and agriculture, public health, and nuclear waste. There will also be time for discussion within some of the workshops (particularly on Saturday) on basic concepts like 'socially useful work', and an underlying theme of the conference will also be the role of green groups.

The organisers want this to be your conference, and will welcome any proposals for additional workshops and speakers

More information and a booking form is available from SERA, 9 Poland Street, London W1 (01-439 3749, or 01-733 9324 (Janet) evenings). Help available with accommodation.

Europe: elections bring green successes

The recent European election results have caused some rejoicing among greens. Die Grünen's vote rose from 3.2% in 1979 to 8.2% on June 17, putting 7 MEPs into the Strasbourg parliament. And in Belgium Agalev (4.3%) in the Flemish area and Ecolo (3.9%) in the French-speaking area got one MEP each, raising their 1979 figure of 3.4%.

In Holland, the Green Progressive Accord (supported by Die Grünen, but mistrusted by the rest of the European green parties because of alliances with 'progressive left' parties) won 2 seats with 5.6%. The newly established Green Party (De Europese Groenen), which had

the support of the other parties, registered only 1.2% and gained no seats.

In France, Brice Lalonde went in with a list called the Radical Left: they polled 3.3%, while Les Verts polled 3.4%. The French greens had managed 4.4% in 1979.

While the greens in Luxemburg did not win a European seat, they did get two MPs elected to their national parliament.

In Britain, Ecology Party candidates did not have the advantage of PR. The exception was Northern Ireland, but the system there does not allocate seats in proportion to votes cast. Colin McGuigan polled just 0.32%. Elsewhere, the Ecology

Party fielded 15 candidates (nine of them women) with an averaged 2.68%.

Results ranged from 1.4% (Lothians) to 4.7% (Hereford and Worcester). In Northants, Audrey Bryant stood as 'A Christian for the Greens' and an Eco member: she polled 1.87% (not included in the national Eco average we quote above).

Compared with the Euro elections in 1979, the Eco vote is down (from 3.6%). But comparisons may not be very valid: only three seats were contested in '79, and there was no Alliance. The party prefers to compare the Euro election figures with those for the General Election last year, when its average vote was only 1.1%.

Action Europe

Details of the Stop Malville action were given in last month's GL: to prepare for the action there will be a peace camp in Geneva July 31-Aug 3, followed by a two-day cycle ride to Malville (50 miles from Lyon) for a gathering on Aug 4/5, to be followed by a peace camp at Malville until Aug 13. Malville is the site of the first commercial fast-breeder nuclear reactor, due to start up later this year.

Airland Battle 2000 is NATO's newest and deadliest strategy for fighting a 'limited nuclear war' in Europe. The exercises will take place in the area of Hessen known as the Fulda Gap, close to the East German frontier, between September 15 and 30. Five peace camps are being organised in the area for the duration of the manoeuvres: one of them will be made up of the ninth annual International Nonviolent March for Demilitarisation, which will be initiating mass actions as well as more localised autonomous ones.

British co-ordination is in the hands of Mark Blaxter, 128 Bethnal Green Road, London E2 6DG (phone 01-739 6824). A briefing pack on Airland Battle 2000, price £2, is available from West Region CND, 7 Quarrington Road, Bristol.

Summit '84: where next?

The organisers of the successful Lancaster House blockade on June 9 have arranged a follow-up meeting for Saturday July 8 (County Hall, London, 2 - 6). They'd like some idea of numbers in case they have to fix extra space (phone 01-794 5590).

Roots of Peace

The Peace Pledge Union is marking its 50th birthday with a 'Roots of Peace' festival, to be held alongside St Martin-in-the-Fields, Trafalgar Square, from August 13-18. Besides a display on the PPU's work over 50 years, there will be stalls, films, food, a creche, discussions and workshops - and a co-operative games session every afternoon.

Open daily 11.30 - 9 (except Friday, when closed at 5). Contact PPU on 01-387 5501.

SCRAM re-launched

The Scottish Campaign to Resist the Atomic Menace has re-launched its excellent anti-nuclear journal, 'SCRAM'. In an improved format, with 20 pages for 50p, SCRAM is bi-monthly but hopes to go monthly in 1985. SCRAM provides lots of technical information and news in a very accessible form for anti-nuclear campaigners. Subs are £7 (institutions £12); or for £1 they'll send an info pack and a sample copy. Write to SCRAM at 11 Forth Street, Edinburgh EH1 3LE (031-557 4283).

A Future for Forests?

is the title of three days of 'information-sharing by and for specialists and non-specialists' to be held in Bristol from July 6-8. Prominent speakers, discussions, workshops, exhibitions and films. Subjects include forest roles, strategies, planning, threats, political aspects, and trade relationships. Day 1: British Forests in the context of Europe (£7.50 inc. lunch). Day 2: Tropical Rain Forests (£7.50 inc. lunch). Day 3: Workshops (£5 inc. lunch).

Tickets limited: enquiries to Janet Rowe, Avon FoE, St John Street, Bristol BS3 4JF. Tel: 0272 666266.

The Future of Coal

Dave Elliott has written a paper on the future of coal for the SERA Energy Group. It has much relevant information for those supporting the miners' campaign. 60p from SERA, 9 Poland Street, London W1V 3DG.

Peace Booklist

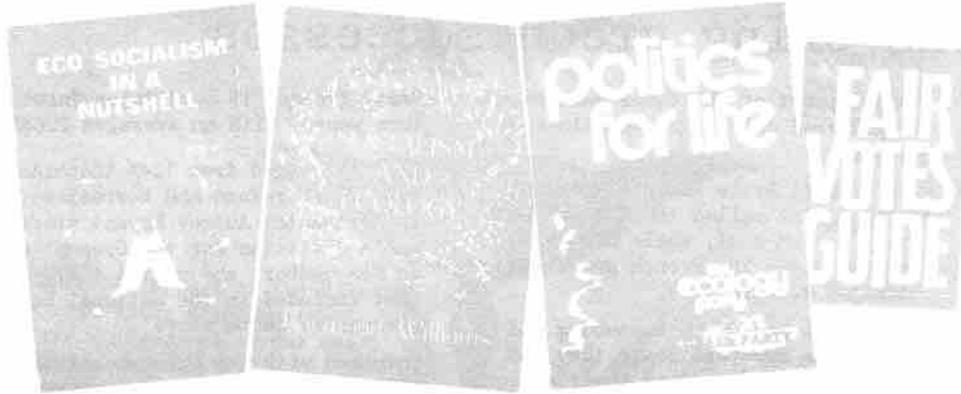
Housmans Bookshop have produced a 1984 edition of their Arms Race and Disarmament booklist. They'll send a copy in return for 3 x 16p stamps. Address: 5 Caledonian Road, London N1.

Socialist Countryside Group

The group holds its AGM in Norwich on Saturday July 7 at the University of East Anglia. There is an open session in the afternoon (starting at 2.15) with workshops on a number of countryside-related issues.

Green Groups: Up-date

Ayr: new contact is Sheila Hay, 1a St Leonard's Road, Ayr (265298).



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(Prices include p&p, except that orders under £2 should be accompanied by a 12p stamp).

POLITICS FOR LIFE (Ecology Party, 36pp, 50p). Eco's election manifesto; a concise statement of green politics. 10 for £4

ECO-SOCIALISM IN A NUTSHELL (SERA, 24pp, 50p). Extract from 'Nuclear Power for Beginners'. 5 for £2.

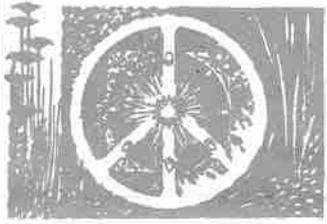
SOCIALISM AND ECOLOGY - Raymond Williams. (SERA, 20pp, 75p). 5 for £3.

PAIR VOTES GUIDE (Campaign for Fair Votes, 32pp, 95p). All the basic facts on electoral reform. 5 for £4.

EMBRACE THE EARTH (Green CND, 44pp, 90p). A green view of peace set in a broad political context. 5 for £3.50.



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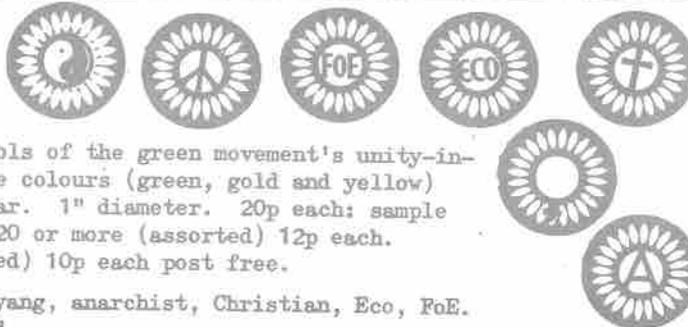
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