

GREEN LINE

E.P. Thompson disarmed?

Ethnic schools in Wales

Dreaming Mother Earth

Pacific women

Stonehenge: what happened?

No.34/40p/July 1985



GREEN LINE

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Green Line

The June issue sold so fast that we had to bring forward the printing of this issue - in order to have copies of GL available for the CND Festival and other late June events. We are sorry if you have been inconvenienced by the sudden change of deadlines.

Next issue appears early August, dated AUGUST/SEPTEMBER. The OCTOBER issue will be published according to normal schedule, at the end of September. GL appears monthly except for issue dated August/September and December/January.

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Pacific peoples struggle for independence

"WHY HAVEN'T YOU KNOWN?"

TWO INDIGENOUS PACIFIC WOMEN came to Britain in March to talk about their lives under the oppression of nuclear colonialism. Their tour was organised and financed by a group of Greenham women. One of the women, TITTEWHAI HARAWIRA, is a Maori woman from Aotearoa (New Zealand), a grandmother in her 50s and actively involved in the Pacific movement from the start. Here we print an article by her, together with extracts from her talk in Bristol.

THERE IS A deliberate policy of keeping British people ignorant of what their government is doing in the Pacific. For example, British maps do not show the whole of the Pacific region nor is there much information available on Pacific peoples, only that which is written by the oppressors. Consequently the British people are led to believe that the Pacific is a vast empty space. Thus the British government can continue nuclear testing and their colonialist policies there, keeping their copybook clean without too many people finding out just what has really been happening. The tour has gone a long way towards breaking through that wall of ignorance and silence.

"The whole of the South Island was confiscated in one big confiscation by the British. Other areas were confiscated. Our people were killed, they raped our women. In the areas in and around New Plymouth and Taranaki where our people were made to believe by the early missionaries that if you needed to fight, then don't fight on a Sunday. And four tribes were in that area having a service on Sunday morning, and they were going to continue to talk about the land confiscations. The British arrived on horseback with their guns and slaughtered them, killed all the children and raped all the women. And the women today don't talk about the mixed blood because of the way in which that blood became mixed. They are ashamed of it. We carry the marks today of the early colonisers, the British, and the early missionaries."

We made the emphasis for this tour "PEACE and JUSTICE", while peace groups here have restricted their vision to peace. Why peace and JUSTICE?

"Before the early missionaries came, men and women worked together in everything. Decisions were made by men and women, women were recognised leaders, land owners, chieftainesses. But with the coming of the early missionaries came the beginning of the division of men and women, because the whole language, the whole image, is white male. The language is male, and they began to promote our men away from women."

"As the British moved in with all their power structures, my parents were strapped for speaking Maori. A law was introduced banning it in the school grounds. So that you almost have a generation of Maoris, my age, who don't speak Maori, because our parents said it was no use learning the language if



Waitangi Day, Feb 6 1984, at the end of a historic 10-day hiko (walk) to the Treaty grounds, uniting all sections of the Maori community, and involving 4000 Maori and Pakeha.

you were going to be strapped for speaking it. So the language died, and the people died with it, and the culture."

The whole nuclear cycle needs land, water and people to test the results of nuclear weaponry. It is we, the first nation peoples, who are constantly being used as guinea pigs. It is our land, water and lives that are being taken from us. It is first nation peoples throughout the world who are suffering as a result of the whole nuclear cycle.

"We have a strength that has been built on our awareness of our past. Our past is our present, and our present is our future. The whole white teaching says, look at yourself, look at today, look at tomorrow, don't look back. But for us as Maoris, we look back. And we look back in anger, because we know what the British have done to my people."

The recent Commission of Inquiry held in London into nuclear testing on Aboriginal people in their homeland (Australia) was initiated because some of the British servicemen who dropped the bomb on the Aboriginal people were affected. This Inquiry revealed the 'fact' that the first proposal was to drop the bomb in Scotland, but the scientists were afraid their instruments would get wet? Now, I ask you, are people so stupid as to really believe that rubbish? The real reason was that they were afraid of the white backlash and it was really OK to drop it on Aboriginal people as black people don't matter. Do you know that you will never be able to talk to some of those Aboriginal people because one whole tribe was blown off the face of Mother Earth?

"We should have been 9 million people as first nation people in the Pacific today. But as a result of colonialism, racism and sexism, we are less than half that number. White nations were doing fine killing us off without coming back as a nuclear power with a nuclear war that we're being forced to live in for forty years."

British nuclear involvement took up where the initial British colonial invasion left off: on Aboriginal land! Uranium mining began in Australia in 1944 to serve British desires for uranium for their military programme. The British government began mining by raping sacred dreaming sites of Aboriginal peoples at Rum Jungle (Northern Territory), now a massive area of radioactive death; Mary Kathleen (Queensland), recently closed and deserted; and Radium Hill in South Australia on Kokatha land.

This uranium was taken to Windscale and Aldermaston, turned into nuclear bombs, and returned to test again upon Aboriginal lands and people. Recently there has been the Inquiry into testing at Maralinga, just one of the three testing sites in Australia which is ironically in the same area as the Radium Hill mine and the current mine at Roxby Downs. This is Kokatha land, just one of the three tribes upon which the bombs were intentionally dropped. (Only one British serviceman was allotted to "clean up" the Aboriginal people in the 200 square miles of desert country he could not hope to understand!) Many Aboriginals died instantly and the death toll is still rising as people suffer from the testing and the long-lasting contamination of land, waterways and life systems by fallout and the uranium mining process.

"There is no other way we are going to get rid of those nuclear issues and those colonial powers, but to move for a Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific. Which in fact means the British to get out of Aotearoa, out of Australia, the French to move out.

Vanuatu has already moved for their independence and kicked the French out. New Caledonia: the Kanak people are struggling for their independence, today, and they are being killed by the French, today. After New Caledonia, Tahiti will move for their independence. The French are testing there, twice a week now, and the Tahitian people who are being affected by the bombs - the women with their disfigured babies - are being sent to Aotearoa, to the hospitals, or to France. They cannot get an independent inquiry into these areas. It's all controlled by the military."

To continue the infliction, the British government is back in the form of the multinational mining company British Petroleum, again on Kokatha land at Roxby Downs uranium mine.

Roxby Downs, with 50% of the Western world's supply of uranium, is potentially the largest uranium mine in the world. It is destroying Aboriginal dreaming sites, adding contamination to that already in the area, and threatening to contaminate half of Australia's stable water supply.

The story of the British oppression upon the Kokatha illustrates the direct link between uranium mining, weapons development and testing. That this same destruction continues today in the guise of Roxby Downs and in research into storing nuclear waste on Aboriginal lands clearly shows that British oppression of Aboriginal peoples is far from over.

All this has taken place on the lands of first nation peoples the world over. The British government has tested on Christmas Island and continues to test in Nevada, USA, all regardless of a massive growth of protest by the first nation peoples of the Pacific. The British government is also playing a leading role in intentions to dump nuclear waste in the oceans of the world, with its desires to continue dumping in the Atlantic. It is supporting the Japanese government's intentions to dump into the Northern Marianas Trench, Micronesia, from where water currents will distribute the radioactive substance throughout the Pacific - signalling still further annihilation for Pacific first nation peoples.

"There was a period in Aotearoa when they had bounty hunting, and the British soldiers were given extra stripes if they were able to kill my chiefs with tatoos on their faces. And in Britain here today, in museums and private collections, there are a lot of my people's heads, tattooed, that belong to my chiefs. We want them back, they don't belong to whites. The soldiers were given extra stripes to cut off my chiefs' heads, which were then brought over here and used as curio pieces."

The British government clearly gave incalculable support to the USA nuclear programme during World War 2 when they handed their nuclear "knowledge" reaped off the backs of Aboriginal peoples to the US to build a bomb as a threat to the Nazis. It is significant that those first bombs were dropped in Japan, in the Pacific region, and that to this day no nuclear test has been conducted in Europe. British support continues today in all aspects of the nuclear cycle.

Furthermore, the British government supports whatever the USA is doing - which includes the US military takeover and its nuclear testing in Micronesia, creating nuclear nomads. The British have gone overboard with vigour and complete madness in an all-out effort to protect the USA's right to establish military bases in Britain. The government has gone as far as to introduce a new law making it a criminal



offence for peace protesters to enter the bases. What can the British look forward to in another five years? You will be another state of the USA.

"There is not one act or one contact with first nation people that has been beneficial to us, not one. White people, white nations are hell bent on destroying the land, the trees, the people, the oceans, the food in the oceans. Destroy yourselves by all means, but don't take us with you."

In 1840 the British signed the Treaty of Waitangi, a treaty with first nation people of Aotearoa (New Zealand), the Maori nation. The Treaty of Waitangi guaranteed Maori people the right to their land, forestry, fisheries and language. It did in fact recognise the sovereignty of Maori people. That treaty has not been honoured: you as British people are in fact partners to a fraud. Maori people have 1½ million acres left out of 66 million acres we once shared and cared for. You have a responsibility to expose that treaty as you are the beneficiaries of it and we are the victims. Write to Elizabeth - write to our government and demand that the Treaty of Waitangi be honoured!!!

"Call your people back from Aotearoa, that's the most positive way you can help. When the British did what they did to the Irish, the Scots, the Welsh, when they fled from Britain to Aotearoa and Australia, they quickly became our oppressors, taking up our land, our jobs. There is no place in Aotearoa for white nations today."

The time for complacency is over. Being polite will get you further into USA control and keep us under British rule.

Elizabeth's next representative or Governor General of Aotearoa is to be a Maori. Another divide-and-rule tactic by the British. Every year on February 6th the government sponsors celebrations for the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. If the Governor General does not take on board the whole of the Treaty of Waitangi issue, then the protests challenging the government about the government-sponsored celebrations will continue, because we believe we

From left to right: Whina Cooper, led Great Land March of 1975; Eva Rickard, land rights campaigner; and Titewhai Harawira, of Waitangi Action Committee, Pacific Peoples Anti-Nuclear Action Committee, and Maori Liberation Movement. Photographed during Maori hui (gathering) at Waitangi marae, Feb 5 1985, to discuss the fraudulence of the Waitangi Treaty.

cannot negotiate the terms of the treaty as long as successive Governors are celebrating our loss.

No one is free
Till everyone is free.

Kia Ora.

"Colonialism isn't nice, racism isn't nice, the nuclear issue isn't nice. We've got to forget about being nice people, and that's one of the good things that is happening in the Maori world today: we're no longer nice. We don't apologise, we're up front there, and if anybody thinks they're going to cross us, they'd better try it. Because that's the urgency we're talking about. Not a nuclear war tomorrow, but one we've had for forty years. Not oppression tomorrow, but one that we've lived through, in my case, for 150 years. It only took Britain yesterday to make my people a dying people, only yesterday, 150 years. White nations have taken a short span, a short space of time to reduce first nation people to guinea pigs, to guinea pigs. Save the trees, save the whales; how about saving first nation peoples?"

And the challenge is: why haven't you known for forty years what's been happening?"

** More information from:

NFIP (Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific) Support,
82 Colston Street, Bristol 1.
Pacific Peoples' Anti-Nuclear Action Committee,
P O Box 61086, Otara, Auckland, Aotearoa/New Zealand.
Waitangi Action Committee, P O Box 61140, Otara,
Auckland, Aotearoa/New Zealand.

* Our thanks to Sigrid Shayer for supplying Titewhai's article and the transcript of her talk in Bristol.

The Isle is full of noises But will they hurt?

IF, LIKE ME, you can't resist a bargain, especially in books, then you ought to hurry out and buy a copy (while it is being remaindered at 50p) of 'Electromagnetism, Man and the Environment' by Joseph H Battocletti. It is a highly technical book, not for light reading, but if you skip the more difficult bits you will come to some highly disturbing conclusions. Here is one of them:

"Yes, non-thermal pollution exists. More and more knowledgeable people are beginning to hold this view. Non-thermal electrical pollution is most severe when waves modulated by frequencies which coincide with biological frequencies are used. Fortunately there are many more cases of electromagnetic radiation which do not fall into this category. Much more research is required to verify this conclusion, and to delineate those types of non-thermal pollution which are to be avoided."

Let us put this a little less blandly. The author is saying that scientists are not agreed on whether many forms (perhaps the majority) of electromagnetic radiation (EMR) are a hazard to human beings and other forms of life. More research is needed (that's what they are saying about acid rain.) This will come as no surprise to those of us who have jettisoned the belief that science (or at least that part of it which has social consequences) is neutral. The divergence of views can best be seen in the safety standards which govern exposure to EMR in certain industrial, laboratory and domestic applications. In the USA, the UK and Europe generally it is 10 milliwatts. In the USSR it is a thousand times lower. In the absence of general agreement about the safety of EMR in many of its manifestations, the planet is being used as a vast laboratory with ourselves as experimental animals. As one of the dissident scientists, Becker, wrote in 1978: "The chronic exposure of humans to electrical fields should be viewed as human experimentation." Guinea pigs of the world, unite!

We don't need to go far to see examples of this.

Microwave ovens were in wide use until it was discovered that certain types caused cataracts (I still wouldn't have one myself). It was vehemently denied that television aerials were dangerous to technicians working on them while they were transmitting - until someone died of cancer. The CEBG are still denying that there are any dangers from their transmission lines to people who live under them; but they have set up a research group to look into it. Incidentally, just as architects don't live in tower blocks, so CEBG officials don't seem to live under the lines.

Now comes the news that the government is proposing a 30-mile radio aerial strung out on pylons across the Scottish Highlands, and doubtless across the most beautiful part (Guardian, March 12). This is for the purpose of communicating with submerged nuclear submarines. It is no new thing. In the 70s the US navy wanted to build a similar project over 25,000 square

miles of Wisconsin. Called Project Sanguine (what a name!) it was abandoned partly as a result of environmentalist pressure for a similar scheme, Seafarer, in the southern US.

Apart from the sheer ugliness of 30 miles of pylons there is strong evidence that the low frequencies (ELF, extra-low frequency) that it will employ will have deleterious effects. This is partly because ELF has strong magnetic effects as distinct from electrical and it is thought to be the deep penetrating qualities of magnetic fields that cause trouble. There is some evidence that low frequencies are particularly responsible for triggering off changes in the micro-electric fields in the cells of the body. They are suspected of causing carcinogenic and even genetic effects. They may also modify patterns in the brain, particularly in its powers of orientation. Again, it is thought that only certain frequencies are harmful, others being relatively innocuous, and that sometimes only low levels of radiation, not high, may be responsible for damage. The whole subject is riddled with doubt and confusion.

It may also be that transmissions of the magnitude proposed will cause standing waves over the hemisphere and consequent modifications to weather patterns. Such phenomena noticed in 1976 and 1977 were thought to be the result of Soviet experiments in high potential radar. But it is not known for certain what caused them.

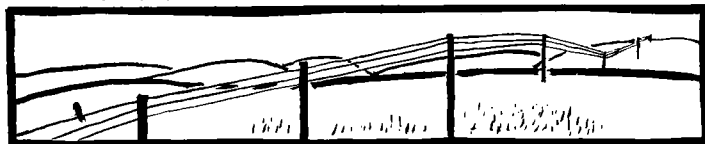
These are the most spectacular manifestations of our use of EMR. As the computer revolution gathers pace so will the general level of pollution increase. Hardly a country in the world will want to miss out on its share of the electrification of the planet. The completely automated farm where the farmer has no need to go out into the cold and wet but will be able to feed his stock, cut his hedges (if there are any), plough his fields and sow his seed simply by sitting at his computer terminal is just around the corner. Electric toothbrushes, monitoring and sensor systems, self-replicating factories, automatic transport systems - there is hardly a corner of life, trivial or important, that will be free from dependence on EMR. We are heading for the final technological slum.

Much of the radiation will doubtless be harmless - but at present we cannot be sure. Even the technological optimists like Battocletti who are in favour a priori of developing electromagnetism (after all, it's his job) cannot conceal their anxieties, cannot avoid monitory conclusions: "We must avoid these hazardous fields just as we must avoid harmful water, air, noise and thermal pollution. Otherwise we may find that life expectancy will cease to increase and, in fact, may begin to decrease due to the unseen pollution - electrical pollution."

I have only touched on a huge subject, a mega-can of worms. More information can be found in the following:

The Zapping of America - Paul Brodeur (use with care).
Cover-Up - Nicholas Hildyard.
Undercurrents - issues 26 and 38.
Biological Effects of Electric and Magnetic Fields of Extremely Low Frequency - Sheppard and Eisenbud.
And in the very citadel of orthodoxy, 'The Journal of Microwave Power'.

Geoffrey Syer



Do you speak English?

Ethnic oppression in Wales

THREATENED ETHNIC CULTURES don't only exist at the ends of the earth - though there's a tendency for mainstream greens in Great Britain to write as if they do. This is, of course, not true; there are at least three native cultures struggling for existence against the combined forces of capitalist regimentation and admass standardisation on the island of Great Britain. They are the Highland Gaelic in Scotland, the Cornish in the south-west, and - the one I know best - the Welsh.

If we take the town where I live - Maesteg - as a paradigm of the Welsh experience, this may give a clearer picture of the pattern of ethnic destruction.

Currently, Maesteg has a population of about 23,000. It is named after one of the farms on the bank of the river (brook would be a better description!) Llynfi. It started as an iron town, progressed to being a major coal producer, and is about to lose its one remaining mine. At the turn of the century well over 90% of the population of the valley spoke Welsh, and I can remember monoglot Welsh speakers among the older people. Today the social life of the town is virtually monoglot English. How can such a transformation occur in such a short time? We have been regaled with accounts of people "opting" for English, but that is not strictly true.

If we take my own experience it may throw a little light on a very complex situation. I started school shortly after a large council housing estate was built in my native village. The effect of this was to juxtapose Welsh-speaking and English-speaking neighbours willy-nilly. Generally, it only required about two English-speaking families in a twenty-house street to make English the language of social intercourse for the whole street.

When I left the local primary school at the age of 11, a great many of the parents of my contemporaries were still speaking Welsh to them, while they answered in English. The reason for this was that about half the children who started school with me were monoglot Welsh speakers. Only two families spoke both languages: I, an only child, belonged to one. In the whole village, starting from that year, only those two families survive as Welsh speakers today. The traumatic experience of suddenly being thrust into a strange environment where they were assumed to know a language which they did not but which the favoured group did, was too much. Once they had acquired enough English, the children refused to speak anything else.

They lived to regret this. Their parents fought back in the only way they knew; they continued to speak to them in Welsh, and this often persisted until the children achieved adulthood.

These "children" became the generation who availed themselves of the 1944 Education Act to demand education through the medium of Welsh. Maesteg established the second "Welsh" school in Wales after a struggle with the establishment and its bureaucracy.

The bureaucracy responded by laying down a rule that at least one parent must be Welsh-speaking before a child could be accepted at the school. The English-speaking parents refused to be treated like second-class citizens and, while harassing the establishment on the one hand, they sought the assistance of their Welsh-speaking neighbours on the other - to establish a nursery school where the children could be taught some Welsh before they started school. Thus began the "Welsh Nursery Schools". The official nursery schools started in the area are all English-medium: no choice in the matter is given to parents. The Welsh-medium schools are all voluntary and are financed by the parents and by well-wishers.

About 15 years ago a pub in the town closed down. The parents raised enough money to be able to buy the building; it was converted into the Welsh Nursery School and renamed "Y Diwlith". This kind of pattern was followed in various parts of anglicised industrial South Wales, and eventually a national movement was established, "Mudiad Ysgolion Meithrin" (Nursery Schools Movement) usually known by its initials M.Y.M. (pronounced 'mum'). This organisation has succeeded in negotiating an annual grant from the Welsh Office which helps a little, but represents only a tiny proportion of the cost of running the schools.

Some damaging assertions are sometimes made about these schools. It is claimed that they are the product of middle-class elitists, that they create apartheid, etc. How true are these assertions? To take the last first; if parents who cannot speak Welsh send their children to a school to be taught Welsh, it makes sense that they should have a "total immersion" course and - to that extent - they are kept apart. But after school most of them play with their English-speaking neighbours quite normally. That is not how apartheid works in South Africa!

With regard to the first point, the schools in the industrial areas are most certainly not middle-class elitist. The children are for the most part from the families of coal miners, steel workers, factory workers, etc. They tend to do better in the educational field; but then, only the children of parents who are concerned ever go to Welsh schools, and educational research has demonstrated the importance of parental concern in our educational system!! If that is elitist, so be it.

This whole movement is going from strength to strength and, in one of the most anglicised parts of Mid-Glamorgan (the strip between Caerffili and Pencoed) currently, 20% of children are receiving their education through the medium of Welsh - almost all of them from monoglot English homes. This would be impossible without the nursery schools which prepare the children so that they do not encounter their parents' trauma in reverse.

The movement in Wales has also had repercussions elsewhere - for example in the Scottish Highlands, in Ireland, and in the Breton "Diwan" movement. Greens everywhere should rejoice that there is a counter-attack against the overwhelming tide of uniformity, and that through self-help - indeed, a parents' co-operative in the case of Maesteg - the uniqueness of the individual spirit is being successfully asserted.

Tony Williams



Dreaming Mother Earth

Extracts from Monica Sjöo's account of a dream-journey across Salisbury Plain from Avebury to Stonehenge.

DURING THE WHOLE OF THE WALK Zohl - an Australian woman who has lived two years at Greenham and who lives to bring the message from the indigenous dark peoples of Australia and the Pacific of the destruction of their lands at the hands of the British and mainly US nuclear and military interests - carried with her a black Aboriginal "talking-stick" which she held high in the centre of our spiral dances to send healing and strength to those peoples in their struggle for survival. We felt during the walk reclaiming this land that we were connecting with the Aboriginal peoples who still follow the Rainbow serpent as She journeys through the sacred lands.

We were Dreaming our lands as they do theirs.

ON THE 29th of April Jill and I and her baby Taliesin hitched from Pembrokeshire in South Wales/Cymru where I live to meet up with other women at Avebury in Wiltshire. We had felt that we wanted to spend some time at Avebury before the gathering of women there so as to ground ourselves. Avebury, with Silbury mound and West Kennet long barrow, is perhaps the most anciently powerful centre of the Goddess in Northern Europe and has had great influence on our lives, both mine and Jill's. We are both artists deeply moved by the Goddess within us and in the sacred landscape.

That night four of us slept under the sky on Silbury, the pregnant womb of the Earth. Unthinkable to put up tents here... one doesn't put pegs in one's mother's belly. As a result a cold and windy night... but at one point both I and Jill felt a Fairy presence watching over us. In the early morning we went to say hello to Swallowhead, the vaginal opening in the white chalk bank which is the source of the sacred river Kennet, whose name originally meant "cunt". There we meditated... and then we went up the fields to the Mother of Death and Winter within the Earth of the West Kennet Long Barrow burial ground.

The night to the 1st of May is Beltane and we were here to celebrate our mother. This is one of the ancient Lunar and Fire Quarter Day Festivals of Matriarchal Mysteries and a time of initiations and Shamanistic journeys, a night when the psychic pathways are open into other realms and realities.

Silbury is really a Lammas mound and the Mother of the Harvest where the ancient Neolithic people gathered the night to the 1st of August to watch the womb/mound give birth to the Harvest-child and to offer her their first fruits and grains.

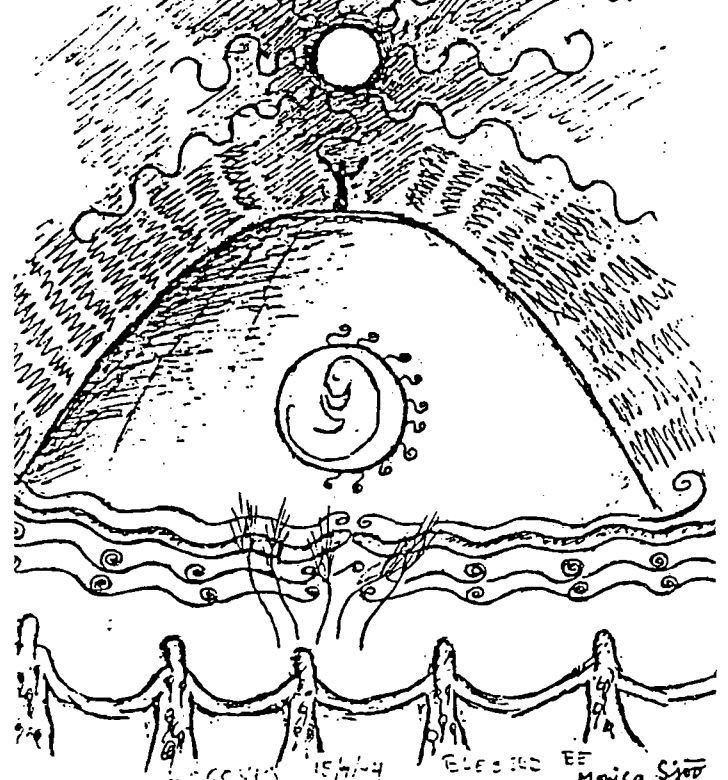
We made a Beltane fire on Silbury and then gathered for our ritual and to discuss what we wanted to do. By now Starhawk, author of "The Spiral Dance" and "Dreaming the Dark", had arrived. She is an American wicce - feminist "witch" - and she suggested that we cast a circle, ground ourselves and do a Spiral Dance at some point in the night. I had waited now for eight years for such a gathering of women on Silbury to give Her our love and grief and to receive Her nurturing and sorrow at the rape of Her body that has been going on throughout the whole of the Patriarchal

era. It was in September 1978 on Silbury mound that I had experienced the most terrible pain and sense of loss when I had felt Her anguish at the devastation of the living Earth, and in my own body and womb had felt at one with Her suffering and torment. I had cried and I had raged.

For me as for Starhawk and innumerable other women, our love of the Mother and our spirituality is in no way to be seen apart from political and grass roots actions and struggle against patriarchal oppression, whether in the form of repressive abortion laws, institutionalised poverty for women, male violence, pornography... or uranium mining on Aboriginal lands, clitorrectomy in Africa, starvation, dowry murders in India, nuclear testing in the Pacific, and missiles in Europe.

In the morning of the 2nd of May we gathered around a fire to discuss what to do next, as the red flags - signifying firing in progress inside the ranges - were up. We did a grounding and singing meditation to centre and calm ourselves and then the decision was taken to simply walk through fences, and barricades of police. Because this is what we had come here to do, to reclaim the sacred Salisbury Plain from the military, and nothing was going to stop us.

you can't kill the Spirit
she is like a mountain
Old and strong,
she goes on and on and
on...



I feel that there is no coincidence that the Greenham Common Cruise Missile Base and innumerable other military bases as well as these firing ranges are

situated in the vicinity of our Mother at Silbury and not far from Stonehenge. It feels to me as if the phallic missiles are there to yet again threaten Her womb. I feel that it is the Goddess at Silbury and Avebury that magically empowers the women at Greenham, that She is rising within us in this Her hour of greatest need... that She is calling us to action.

No way was it possible to stray off the ugly track-road (formed by military vehicles and tanks raping the Earth) as there were live shells, missiles and mines embedded in the land all around. Also there was no shade from trees, no living animals in sight, no bird song; and the sun was very hot and unrelenting that day. It was eerie walking here and hard.

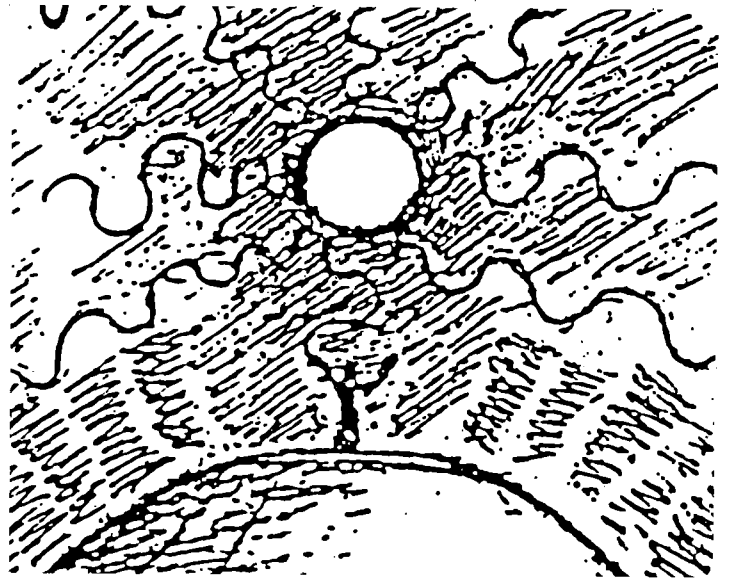
Again and again we were faced with lines of police and vehicles across the track... police trying to break us apart as we walked many abreast arms linked. They tried to drag off individual women towards the vans... each time to be stopped by women circling round, and finally by last-minute orders to let us through. We heard policemen cussing and swearing and saw them throwing their helmets on the ground in a rage when called off like this.

I had felt uneasy, and had said so, about heading for Stonehenge. I for one feel this is a place of heavy and negative male energies. We had many discussions concerning the energies here and the significance of the different structures and periods of the Stones. The outer, larger sarsen stone circle forming the trilithons were put up relatively late and by the already hierarchical and warlike Bronze Age Beaker People, who were probably introducing an elitist male Solar God cult to these islands. The earlier Sun Goddess had been Grainne. Not unlikely did they use slave labour in "erecting" these stones, and possibly even made human sacrifice at their foundation. The slaves would have been precisely the darker and smaller neolithic Goddess people who had so lovingly created Silbury and Avebury... It seems to me also no coincidence that Stonehenge has been so cherished by all the Patriarchs, and is so even now by the Druids and male freaks of the "sex, drugs and rock and roll" squad.

On the other hand the inner horseshoe, or Cauldron, shaped blue stone circle is lunar - the more ancient strata of Stonehenge brought from the sacred Preselau mountains near where I live in Wales. The so-called "Aubrey holes" are the most ancient of all here, together with the Heal stone, and their function was to measure and predict lunar eclipses. Saturday 4th of May was the Full Moon total Lunar Eclipse, and therefore this perhaps was the place after all for raising powerful female energies. Since just so many stone circles and standing stones predict Lunar Eclipses, it would seem that this was perhaps THE time of the highest Goddess and psychic/sexual female energies. We simply no longer know.

At 6 p.m. we cut holes in the razor wire fences and snaked our way into the Stones across the field, all the while singing "Return to the Goddess" while tourists and police looked sheepishly on. We were now about 150 women since many had come for the weekend from cities like Bristol and London. In there we gave much loving energies to the smaller and delicately tinted Blue Stones and we danced amongst them and chanted, meditated, lit candles and dreamed ecstatically for hours. The sky had been clouded over most of the time, but around 9 p.m. the sky cleared, a hush went around, and we could clearly see the eclipsed Moon. We stood then entranced in the grass

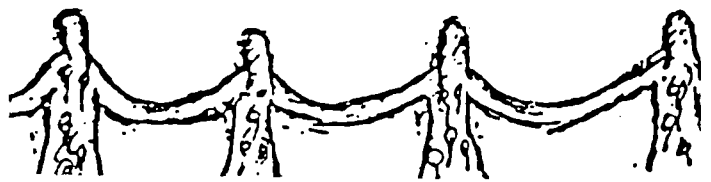
outside the stones and hummed and sang while a delicate sliver of the lunar crescent first showed Herself, and then until She was again fully round in Her glorious silver radiance. This was true magic indeed.



The sacred sites - in Britain the stone circles and standing stones - are the acupuncture points of Earth's body where powerful underground water currents spiral and electromagnetic energies emerge through cracks in the Earth's crust to interact with the large amount of quartz in the stones and with energies radiating from the Moon, the Sun, the stars and from cosmos. They can in fact be described as being the sensitive centres of Earth's central nervous system. The Ancients knew this and they cherished Her and tuned into Her telepathically... but with emerging Patriarchy the ruling male hierarchies have also known of these vital energy centres and have attempted to control and manipulate them.

In mediaeval times churches and monasteries were built on these places; in Germany the Nazis dabbled in the occult, studied the Ley lines and performed Solar rituals in the temple on the summit of the sacred Externsteine rocks. Nowadays the military take over Salisbury Plain for military exercises, nuclear missile bases like Greenham Common are placed in the vicinity of Silbury and Stonehenge, uranium is mined by the British precisely from under Aboriginal ancestral Dream lands in Australia (and by the Americans in the Black Hills in the USA), ancient sacred islands in the Pacific are utterly pulverised by nuclear testing... and so it goes on.

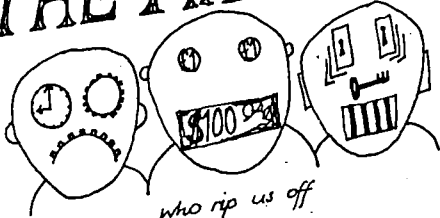
The ancient women and men loved the Earth, the indigenous peoples today still speak of their love of Earth our Mother, and they heightened her beauty and fertility and their own psychic awareness through work with Her within the stones. Many stone circles in Cornwall - like the Nine Maidens, the Merry Maidens, etc. - are legendarily associated with women singing and dancing in circles within them, thereby presumably activating the stones and also themselves into heightened powers. Patriarchal men, on the other hand, want to control these places for the sake of death, power over, and destruction.



born inside a nightmare

i used to think it was all the fault of

THE MAD FEW

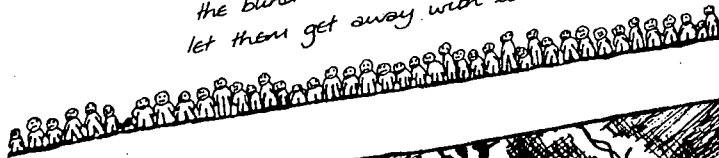


who rip us off
put us down
steal the product of our labour
make laws to protect themselves
strip us and leave us
struggling to get by
scared not to tow the line in case
we get punished

easy, that
to blame a few who
i couldn't see, reach, touch
-something to moan about
nothing to be done

i was wrong~

it is also the fault of
the blind mass of us who
let them get away with it



the police want us here
because they earn more money
the bailiffs want us here
because we keep them in a
the british government wants us
as a token of "freedom of
... and because they are afraid
that people would really stand up
if they realized what

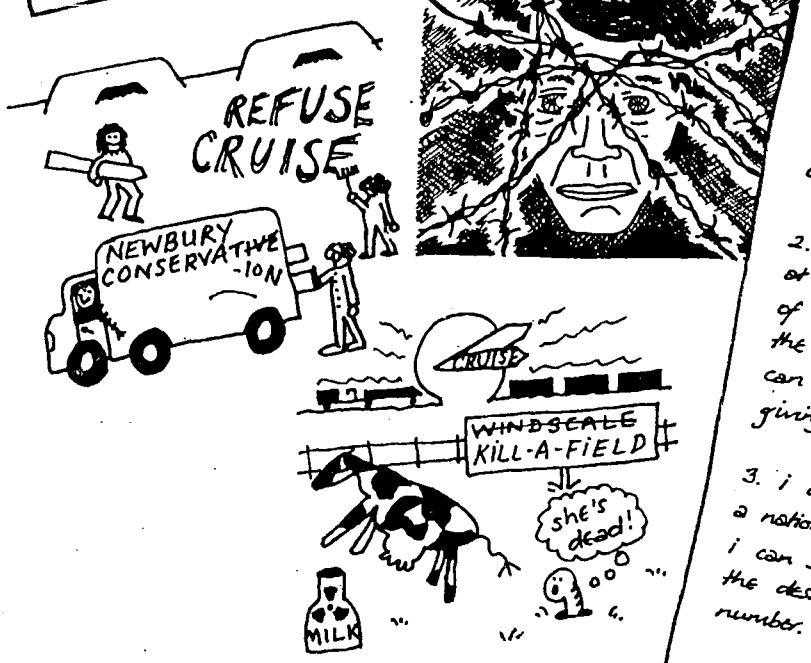


DOLE DREAMS

1. i am standing at the desk in newbury dole office
there is a bit of paper on the desk and a pen for me
sign it with. i look at the paper. i read: i have not
worked. i stare at the words. they grow bigger:
I HAVE NOT WORKE
(i have been building, nursing, cooking, writing, driving,
digging, teaching, weaving, printing...)
the pen is heavier and heavier in my hand - so heavy
i can't hold it anymore and i drop it and run out
of the office.

2. i am standing at the desk in newbury dole office.
at least the top half of my body is. the bottom half
of my body is on a blockade of the blue gate. as
the arm reaches over the desk to hand me a giro i
can see that it is attached to the leg which is
giving me a hard kick in the back of the knee.

3. i am standing at the desk in newbury dole office.
a national insurance number is branded on my face.
i can still feel it burning. there is a mirror behind
the desk. my face is not reflected in it. only the
number.



working for a dream

...y...
 job...
 is here
 speech"...
 entered
 art to ACT
 is happening...

why are we here?

the american government
 us here because
 cruise missiles are somewhere else...

he stands behind crossed wires
 the defence of capitalism
 barbed wire scribbling out his identity
 nobody sees him
 they see only his uniform
 or so he thought

he is a volcano of confusion inside
 he channels his anger and frustration
 onto whoever he is paid to hate
 you're paid to hate me too, i say
 yes, he says, looking over my shoulder
 at women building, cooking, hugging

i can't see the uniform anymore
 only the face of a very young man
 being honest for the first time in months
 he had kept it all wrapped up
 pretending things as they were
 were all that they could be
 he hadn't expected this: thirty days
 staring through the fence at an alternative
 and now he is crying

WE'RE here to protest against
 militarism, sexism, racism,
 capitalism...

... and to create
 a new way of
 living!



i believe in winter solstice
 when i can see
 the shortest light
 the longest dark
 when i notice
 the days getting shorter before it
 the days getting longer after it

i eat when i'm hungry
 i sleep when i'm tired
 and in winter i sleep longer
 and in the longer darkness
 hibernate in dreams

i will meet you on the spring equinox
 when i am rested and ready to grow
 when the balance will be exact



i loved watching her that day
 when she took that big old jumper
 with its funny shape
 and holes from moths and elbows
 and unravelled it
 she wound
 all the colours into balls
 took out her needles
 and started knitting.



and i was watching amazed
 as she made a whole new pattern
 inventing as she went along
 abstract shapes and cuts
 on a brand new beautiful jumper

These poems and drawings are from **KNITTING AND PICKETING** by Annie, published by Mushroom, Nottingham. Available from alternative bookshops or direct from Greenline: price £1.25 plus 13p stamp.





E.P. Thompson: Another prophet disarmed?

A MOVEMENT DECLINES or falls for a complex of reasons - historical, circumstantial and personal. In the first wave of the nuclear disarmament movement (1958-1963) two men bore massive responsibility for leadership. They were Bertrand Russell and Canon Collins. Their misreading of the situation, accepted by thousands and effectively excluding alternatives, had a great deal to do with the 16-year decline that followed 1963.

In the second wave of the movement, from December 1979 to the present day, another two - Bruce Kent of CND and E P Thompson of END - have been almost comparably important. For our own sake, for the sake of the cause, their thinking needs to be scrutinised in a way that their predecessors' never was. The whole future is at stake.

We are still very much in the hands of Leaders despite all protestations to the contrary. One of the unspoken truths of our time is that monarchy, i.e. government by one person, remains with us. The fact that it is elective rather than hereditary does not alter its essential character. And we shall retain monarchies until we devise and implement effective group leaderships. Some of us like to think we have made a good start in that direction. We shall see.

E P Thompson puts himself in the firing line in great blazes of light from his books and articles. He is as good on the platform as he is in print. If he is ever misunderstood, the fault cannot be his. He admits his doubts and even his despair. As a poet he is master of his tongue, as a historian he is attuned to the past-present-future process, as an ex-Communist (since 1956) he knows his marxism and is wise to Moscow, as someone who has taught and written in the US over the years he knows the other super-power at first hand.

He has limitations too. He was not involved in the leadership of the movement in the first wave, being then preoccupied with his own brain-child, the New Left born of 1956; he has never been involved in the theory and practice of NVDA although he has approached it obliquely by his own route; and (how can one put this!) as an Oxbridge aristocrat he has problems of communication with ordinary mortals to whose cause (as with Russell) he is at the same time wholly committed.

He is deeply political, suspended somewhere between the acceptance of the system and its rejection. In default of having found any alternative he is committed to a reforming gradualism within the canons of orthodoxy. He has looked over the green fence, decided against it (unlike his friend Rudolf Bahro) and turned back to the party-political corral. At the same time he remains a seeker: no option is finally closed.

Positively

He has just produced a fat book, "The Heavy Dancers", and a thin one, "Double Exposure", the second written as an introduction to the first. He explains the first title:

The heavy dancers are the image conscious public persons who crowd the media of the world 'summoning up the ancient spirits of the tribe as they prepare

for ultimate war'... They command the present and I send this book to press in a despondent mood.

It is a collection of twenty-three papers and poems, half of which have previously appeared as ephemera. It is good to have some of his classic statements permanently on record:

The Western peace movement derives its strength precisely from its political independence, its 'unacceptable' demands on both blocs. If we should sleepwalk into dependency within a Soviet game-plan, its support could fall away as rapidly as it arose... The Soviet peace offensive is strictly for export. (The Guardian, 21.2.83).

"Double Exposure" is a single essay of a very personal order outlining his response to the last five years. In neither book is he setting out to write the history of the movement - what he has produced is primary source material. History is for later. This second title refers to his common condemnation by both Moscow and Washington, each describing him as an agent of the other. How could he be better cleared of both!

In "Mr Attlee and the Gadarene Swine" he takes the lid off the 1945/51 Labour governments. The stench from the pigsty is pretty ghastly! Attlee and Bevin, at the behest of the Treasury and the Foreign Office, sold this country to the US dollar and its politico-militarists, turned their backs on Europe, destroyed the hopes of yet another post-war generation and then dissolved into nothingness. The subsequent thirteen years of the Conservatives were all we deserved; they too held to that Treasury/FO formula - the same one that survives to the present day under Mrs Thatcher. It is extraordinary, today, to look back upon such a catalogue of incredible mistakes knowing that we were all to blame. Significant opposition did not begin until 1956/58 with the New Left, the Direct Action Committee and CND. We were indeed "dead from the brain down". We still have to prove the contrary.

His two exercises in periodisation are surely right. "Looking back it is possible to see October/November 1981 as the high tide (until now) of the West European peace movement" and then "euphoria ended on December 13 (1981) with the hammer blow of martial law in Poland. A few months later Britain disappeared into the black hole of the Falklands War." So 1980/81 were the up-wave, and the down-wave has been ever since - the Falklands, Mrs Thatcher's landslide, the deployment of Cruise and SS 20 missiles, Star Wars and the rest.

His second definition of periods concerns the World Peace Council (led by the Russians) and the Soviet Peace Committee. Things changed with deployment in 1983:

Once deployment had taken place, the non-aligned elements (with their suspect independent contacts in the east) became - in orthodox Communist perception - expendable... But the growing apparatus of Warsaw bloc official peace institutions still had to be found employment. As it seems to me, they

were given a new brief. This was to "unite" the Western and Eastern peace and "peace" movements behind a common anti-war programme, and, insofar as possible, bring Western movements under the hegemony of the Helsinki-based World Peace Council."

That figures. No one can say that we have not been warned! He proceeds to identify the independent third way:

It now seems to be beyond the mental capacity of some Americans and some Russians to allow entry to the notion that there might be some other ball-game than their own. This mental prohibition affects the hawks and doves of both Establishments alike.

British "independent" nuclear weapons (which are not independent) are a nostalgic and expensive imperial status symbol, while American weapons on our territory subvert our independence and reduce us to cliency.

He therefore calls for "new forces and new spaces entering between the adversaries, pressing them gently apart and enabling them to unlock from their death-wishing struggle." But how? It is at this point that we enter the area of unresolved dispute upon which the future of the movement depends.

Critically

His first love was for the Rapacki Plan for the demilitarisation of Eastern Europe and the two Germanies. It came to nothing, but the END Appeal of 1980 (drafted by EPT) harked back to it - a nuclear-free zone from Poland to Portugal, etc. Nothing came of that either, but he will not let go. "There will be phases, as new spaces, corridors or zones open up between the blocs; as individual nations, East or West, loosen their bloc bondage and attain more autonomy."

But what evidence is there for that? The Russians have hardened their position as we have seen over Afghanistan and Poland. The Americans have done likewise over MX, Star Wars, and the deployment of cruise missiles more as a political act (to ensure European conformity) than as a military exercise (because their big cruise force of some 4000 missiles is air and sea launched and independent of Europe anyway). The peace movement, East and West, has taken a hammering. Politically, there is more bondage and less autonomy.

He then adds: "It will be an excessively difficult process. It is quite possible that Europe will blow up before we can succeed." Two things about that. What does that most interesting expression "blow up" mean? He does not say. Does Europe include Britain in this context? He does not say. But most important of all why should the US and the USSR always be assured of freedom from "blow up" whatever that means? He does not say. With that kind of vagueness and directionlessness is it surprising that he concludes: "It is possible that Europe is already within the valley of the shadow of death" (March 1984). Pathos is not peace politics: it will not do.

Thompson is certainly not a Little Englander but he gives signs of being a Little European. Yet, as he himself shows, the Cold War is global. That means that we cannot effectively enter the lists against it without taking the US and the USSR on board. The rest of the world is either a stage for their strutting or a catalyst for their dissolution. Any decisive action in Europe cannot happen in simple autonomy; it will undermine the Cold War and so dissolve the very substance of the superpowers insofar as they are based on "confrontation for mutual advantage" (Chomsky). Why should we in Britain and Western Europe (the home of a

dozen lately departed empires of great vintage) assume that there is any permanence or value in the last of the great empires, the Russians and the American? They are of the same clay and of the same ultimate fragility. More, they are the prime source of war. If we want peace, they have to go. Why is Thompson, like so many others, frightened to death by the word "destabilisation"? The British Empire was destabilised to death and a very good thing too - we shall wage no more colonial-imperial wars. That is the happiest fate we can commend to the peoples and subjects of the US and the USSR.

The interesting thing is that Thompson takes this case vicariously through his friend Thomas McGrath, a remarkable American poet who is the subject of the longest piece in "The Heavy Dancers". He quotes McGrath: "Everyone in the States senses that the whole system is finished though it may endure for a time. Meanwhile there is a great emptiness that can never be paved. I remain unconvinced of everything except that (under what auspices now I cannot imagine) the revolution has got to come."

To which EPT can only respond; "The world may now be too old and lost for such miracles." Why so? He is a good history man. He is aware that in the last 200 years the US has featured one successful and one failed revolution; and the USSR two failed and one successful revolution. What is to prevent them both having another? It does not have to be violent. They can shrug off their militarists, their power-brokers and their secret police. To pretend that the world can change and the Cold War depart without fundamental change in the Soviet and American empires is cloud-cuckoo-land stuff.

But the immediate trouble is closer to home. He wants results in the fairly short term, he does not envisage any constitutional change in our political system, he accepts "the parliamentary road" and puts his faith in the Labour Party. His conclusion then is: Vote for Kinnock at the next General Election. But this is so appallingly humdrum that he cannot actually bring himself to say it! His "The Defence of Britain" (in HD) is vastly entertaining in this respect. He wrote it for the 1983 election, at speed, and too late to have any effect. He clearly wanted to say at the top of his voice - VOTE LABOUR AND DEFEAT THATCHER - but writing as a publicist of peaceniks he could hardly be that explicit; so he went painfully over all the other options and eliminated them one by one - leaving the reader to infer the obvious: "I have advised you what to vote against. As to what to vote for (apart from our defence) I can claim no clarity at all... I do not expect Mr Foot to be a 'strong' Prime Minister" etc. (!!).

Hilarious! But if the most powerful voice we have got could only mount a squeak of that order, no wonder Mr Foot (whoever he was) never made it! He reprints it now because his advice has not changed, even if his Leader has. It is this that puts him, at the end of the day, in an impossible position. For all his advocacy of the third way and autonomy he cannot say straight out: "Leave NATO and send all US troops home," because the Labour Party is committed to reforming NATO from within and despatching only nuclear US troops. He has to make a choice between the movement and the Party and, sadly, he has chosen the Party. He is mistaken and he misleads us. Maybe he will change, but it is late in the day. However, he is a poet and a prophet, and with that licence he may surprise us yet.

Peter Cadogan



The Nehrus and the Gandhis

THE NEHRUS AND THE GANDHIS: an Indian Dynasty - TARIQ ALI (Picador, 1985, £2.50)

A COMPREHENSIVE INTRODUCTION to twentieth century India, even through the experiences of India's ruling family, is welcome. 'The Nehrus and the Gandhis' does in some places seem a little too instant a response to Mrs Gandhi's assassination, but many issues of note are touched on in 300 readable pages. In particular, we are given humorous and sympathetic - though not uncritical - pictures of Nehru and his daughter Indira. Indira gained the Gandhi name by marriage rather than deliberate ploy.

The full context of the dynastic succession is given. As has been said elsewhere, Nehru emerges as showing hostility to any notion of Indira inheriting his mantle as of right. Through means that are not easily identified, Nehru's daughter provided a candidate for Prime Minister who could unite enough of the enormous, factionalised Congress Party to rule it. Indira is identified as the prime mover in establishing the idea of succession in the minds of the world's largest electorate. Anyone who has seen Indian newspapers and magazines will note the similarities between the treatment of Mrs Gandhi and her family and the treatment of the Royal Family in Britain; critical pieces do co-exist with glossy pictures. Is this process something to do with the impact made by the rule of a British monarchy up to 1947? Tariq Ali does also note Mrs Gandhi's shameless use of Hindu symbolism.

Unfortunately, this book does contain features which will irritate many greens. Mr Ali really dislikes Mahatma Gandhi's religious beliefs, non-violence and critical approach to industrialization. In fact he seems to suggest Gandhi was utterly hostile to industrialization, which is incorrect. Gandhi was very sceptical about capital-intensive industrialization but did say that he envisaged some industries remaining in the hands of the state. Tariq Ali cannot see religion as anything other than a sign of personal deficiency or a source of communal friction. Religion is less a surrender than a challenge to live according to a morality. Mr Ali betrays the moral deletion of his own preferred 'religion'. He is right to say that Gandhi was an authoritarian, and this may have made a mark on the development of the Congress Party, but he was an advocate of the religious tolerance India still desperately needs. The Congress Party poses as the party of secularism but has openly exploited ethnic, caste, class and religious divisions for electoral purposes, especially in the selection of candidates. This is the chief source, it can be argued, of communal conflict and strained relations between the 'Centre' and the State Governments. The appeal of the dynasty reduces to an appeal to Hindu chauvinism, very often.

To those who have not succumbed to the image of Rajiv Gandhi as a naive let loose in politics, a few pertinent examples of power politics are given. In partic-

ular, he does not emerge unstained from the attempt to remove the Telugu Desam Government of Andhra Pradesh, now the largest single party of the Opposition in the Lok Sabha (Parliament) with 28 seats. (Two fortuitous by-elections are very likely to increase this representation to 30 in the immediate future).

What does become very clear in the book is the depressing continuity from Emergency to Janata to Mrs Gandhi's return to the recent 'succession'. The Janata did not break the structures of corruption nor challenge the distribution of power and wealth in society. They did not arrest the decline of civil liberties, ecology and employment. Rajiv now presides over police universally regarded as corrupt, a judiciary noted for many things other than impartiality or independence, and a political party devoid of ideological direction. Self-interest masked by nauseous and hypocritical social democratic trimmings may seem like an ideology to some!

Mr Ali does look at the alternatives to the Congress (I), which he compares to the Italian Christian Democratic Party's network of crime and corruption. In dismissing the uninspiring democratic parties, he leaves the peoples of India the 'alternative' of Stalinism: the Communist Party of India (Marxist) and the Communist Party of India and their allies. Like the Italian Communist Party, the Left Front Government of West Bengal has a reputation for clean, enlightened administration. However, it is utterly illogical to praise democratic resistance to authoritarian trends and then commend Stalinism.

Nehru gets off very lightly for his role in constructing a centralised, unresponsive planning system nurtured on the mythology of capital-insensitive growth. Something nearer to Gandhi's concern for the village level, where 80% of India's inhabitants live, might well have been more appropriate: the land reforms and other rural improvement programmes of the West Bengal Government have won them enduring support among the villagers of West Bengal and the opposition of an increasing number of city dwellers: a stark statement in itself of the conflicting priorities and interests over which the Nehru-Gandhi dynasty has ruled.

Steve Dawe

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Don't slag off CND

Dear GL,

I have just visited the Goodwin Street CND offices the Thursday before Easter, where the entire staff were up above their ears in work organising the Molesworth demonstration; in particular in the press office, which was becoming the focus for the biggest and most positive media coverage the peace movement has ever had.

But amongst all this what do I read in GL but "CND pulls out of Molesworth"? The article which follows has some valuable things to say; but this headline is a lie, unfit for publication in a decent Green magazine. CND's ways of working may be difficult, even reprehensible; but they have not pulled-out, and the effort being made by CND staff and their regional and local activists this Easter deserve acknowledgement.

Your article states fairly accurately a list of problems within CND, and particularly how these relate to the direct action wing of the movement. But then you suggest, or seem to, "setting up a rival organisation much closer to the grass roots." I wouldn't deny this as a long-term possibility, even necessity; but in the meantime I'm doing my best to function as Green CND's rep on National Council, and such a job can only be made more difficult by public statements like this, calculated to alarm the CND establishment.

Two important points need to be made: firstly, representatives from CND Projects Committee are liaising with the new cruise co-ordinating group, and there's no immediate reason to believe that CND will not support the coordinating group with funds and resources - at least the mechanism is there, and the onus is on CND to show that it will work. Second, I see no reason to believe that the "few friends" in the "hierarchy" who effectively control CND are not, in their own way, sincere and dedicated peace activists; and that it is the structure of CND which creates the problems rather than a few particular individuals.

CND is not unable to change; but even if it does not change fast enough to facilitate the needs of many grass-roots activists, we must still be looking for constructive ways of working with the Campaign rather than just slagging it off.

Bruce Garrard
c/o 4 Bridge House
St Ives, Huntingdon, Cambs.

** We described CND as "pulling out" of Molesworth on the basis that they almost halved the budget for the Easter demo, and have no further financial commitment whatever to Molesworth campaigning. None of what Bruce says contradicts this: saying that "there is no immediate reason to believe that CND will not support the coordinating group" means nothing whatever - yet. It may of course mean that CND will in due course pull back in to Molesworth - but the interview was trying to make the point that this might not happen if the Campaign's main role (determined by its budget) is political lobbying and keeping its nose clean with the Tories and the SDP. And there was nothing in the interview which impugned the good faith of anyone (saying someone may be wrong is not the same as doubting their sincerity) or the hard work put in by CND staff. - Ed.



Land questions

Dear GL,

"Almost entirely deprived of access to land ... most of us sell our labour to buy food, warmth and shelter. We have ... no alternative but to accept the offer." (Jon Carpenter in GL 30).

That's a bit of a startling statement! We certainly do have an alternative - and time we opened our mouths and said it... not least for the earth's sake. I will offer anyone a starter in return for an s.a.e.

And never mind about that "land tax", Richard Hunt! (GL 31). There isn't such a thing: land being beyond value and beyond price. But RENT - ah, that's something different! "A country ruled by rent" - as Byron's powerful poem on the establishment hails us.

From the wisdom of peasant cultures of the past to the true denouncers of war today, the cry is the same: "The private appropriation of the rent of land is the deadly enemy of mankind." (Bruno Heilig, Austrian journalist who survived Dachau and Buchenwald to discover the work of Henry George as the true ripper- open of that whole European scene. Full sheet also available for an s.a.e.)

Shirley-Anne Hardy
The Rocks, Pitlochry, Perthshire.

Population - a question of sharing

Dear GL,

Alice Page writes (Letters, GL 33) that population "control" and "stabilisation" should continue to "exercise our brains". Her wording gives her away (on behalf of the whole Western world, or "whole" Western world), in what is too often seen as a "humanely" and "sanely" raised concern.

Although I don't hold with everything in 'Sex and Destiny', Germaine Greer looks at population control from the right angle when she says, "Whether we believe that the world is over-populated or not depends to some extent on how we think people should live." I.e. if our Western brains think that our Western lifestyle (with its patriarchal-capitalist stranglehold on the Third World as well as its own minorities, its waste of resources, its misuse of environment and its inevitable race towards war) is the right one and one of the future (of any future at all), then our Western brains will do everything to continue it. If this means population "control" and "stabilisation" with its often forced sterilisation programmes, its off-loading of often dangerous contraceptives, and its financial incentives - or bribes - to have fewer children (all of these imposed in the Third World), then so be it.

I believe such a belief neatly displaces the guilt of hunger and deprivation in the Third World onto Third World shoulders - when it's we who are to blame. For centuries we have appropriated their resources, giving them a pittance or nothing for their labour. For our own economic reasons and greed we have forced them to produce stuffs, often luxuries, for export to the West; or stuffs that they could use but must still export for their own economic survival. Note this year's dried fish from Ethiopia.

Over-population is a globally physical myth as well as a Western mental one. If, for example, domestic animals were not systematically bred and slaughtered for our consumption, and the food and acreage were turned over instead to crops in a rotational system, then there'd be more than enough sustenance in the world for double its population.

As it is, there's already enough for everyone right now - it's simply not shared.

Norma Barclay
131 de Beauvoir Road, London N1 4DN

letters

Male style

Dear GL,

Daphne Francis's article confirms my impressions of many New Age groups, and must have taken great courage to write. One question though: she writes that the style of the meetings was "completely male-dominated. A feminist way of working was completely out." I can understand meetings being dominated by men - it happens all the time - but I remain unconvinced that there are male and female styles of meeting that follow automatically from the gender of those conducting the meetings. This is sexism (or biologism, if you prefer).

Which brings me to my second point. Adrian Atkinson's helpful discussion mentions people as coming to "the Movement" from three perspectives, and with three concerns: ecology, feminism and socialism. While I am sympathetic to all three, I wonder if I am the only person who comes to the Movement with another concern, which I see too little mention of in your pages - the enactment and strengthening of decentralised, democratic political decision-making. (Starting but certainly not stopping with proportional representation.)

It's not enough by itself, of course, but without it I wouldn't care to support any ecological, feminist or socialist programme (or to live under such a regime); 'fascists' of all three types are, after all, quite possible.

Which relates to my last point - there is another set of allies whom you might care to enlist, or at least not unnecessarily spurn, along with the greener (and more democratic? - that remains to be seen) elements of the Labour Party; and that is the 'left wing' of the Liberals.

Patrick Curry
1a Redan Street, London W 14.

Eco may refuse tax

Dear GL,

It was good to see Nick Kollerstrom's enthusiastic report of the Nuclear Warfare Tribunal (GL 30). However, he is wrong in one of his comments about the Ecology Party. He said: "The Ecology Party Council (EPC) is not about to distinguish itself by withholding that (income) tax on behalf of its employees..."

Now that is not the case and Nick knows it. A couple of years ago EPC did consider the idea of withholding tax on behalf of its employees. At that time the employees were not keen and neither, it has to be admitted, were many members of EPC. Since our employees were not requesting us to withhold their taxes, EPC was not in a position to do anything.

Since then a number of things have changed. Last autumn Nick wrote to me suggesting that Eco should give the idea another try. I replied to him that as we were in the process of recruiting new workers with different contracts (and better wages) there was no point in pursuing the idea immediately.

However I did assure him that when our new workers had taken up their posts, which happened on 1st February this year, I would put the idea of tax withholding to them. This I have done, and since the workers are interested the Political Committee and EPC will shortly consider the matter again. Thus EPC may well be about to distinguish itself in Nick's eyes.

It is unfortunate that our own members have to criticise us for failings of which we are not guilty. Especially when they have been personally informed of the facts. I accept that EPC is not perfect: we don't get everything right. Eco-bashing may be an enjoyable pastime for some but it would be helpful to our cause if people would restrict their criticisms to matters of fact.

Alan Francis
Convener, EPC Political Committee
6 Spencer Street
New Bradwell, Milton Keynes, Bucks

Tools of socialism

Dear GL,

In his criticism of David Pepper and myself (GL 31) Mark Valentine appears to totally miss the point: the danger of ignoring or dismissing the critique offered by socialism. Does he deny the possibility of an eco-fascist state evolving?

It is important that we arm ourselves with the necessary knowledge to gain a thorough understanding of the world around us and the threats to that world. Socialism offers us a valuable criticism of capitalist society. We cannot afford to ignore it.

Mark's peasant parties, for example, must be seen in their context. They

belong to a rural, peasant society; Britain today is an urban, industrial society. What we need is something that relates to our own situation.

By all means draw from other sources too, but don't cast socialism aside. It offers us some of the necessary tools for creating a better world: why spurn them?

Andrew Ferguson
1 Vinicombe Street (Top left)
Hillhead, Glasgow G12 8BH

'Mail order' politics

Dear GL,

On reading Peter Cadogan's article on Action Directe (GL 30), I felt I must write in defence of the "mail-order movement". He describes this as "a large passive membership who pay subs, read Sanity and/or local newsletters, and wear the badge," and calls this movement "bad".

This is not the first time I have heard people moaning about having lots of passive members in their particular group. But really I can't see what is so bad about this. A large membership is better than a small membership since it implies greater public support for your aims. If they pay their subs, so much the better, since it allows publicity and other activities to be financed. If they read Sanity or local newsletters it means they are keeping themselves informed with what is going on and getting a better picture than the one-sided rubbish they would otherwise get from the mass media. If they wear the badge it means that they are advertising their group to people in the street, thus helping to promote its name among the general public.

All this he describes as "bad"!

To expect all members of green groups to be active is simply to ignore the variations in human nature - and to say that all members ought to be active is to deny them the freedom to express their views and behave as they wish.

Real long-term change, I believe, does not come purely from the actions of dedicated activists, but from a slow and fundamental shift in the way the mass of the population perceives the world. The "mail-order movement" is just the beginning of this shift.

If these people aren't the real grass roots of the green movement, then I don't know who is.

David Beasley
38 Imperial Drive
North Harrow, Middx HA2 7LH

Green organisation

Dear GL,

Before people take Brig's advice (GL 31) and engage in a power struggle round CND's National Council, may I ask him and them to reflect on what 'green' means organisationally?

Parkinson's Second Law reads that democracy gives way to hierarchy when the number of people involved exceeds 21. We can all check this against personal experience.

It follows, then, that CND's National Council (over 100 strong and meeting four times a year) is structurally incapable of being democratic. There are other and better ways of decision making. To what other purpose have we just conducted a 2 - 3 year debate about affinity groups and networks?

Those amongst us who think that hierarchical structures can be democratised have missed the constitutional dimension of the green analysis. Back to the books! Both CND's National Council and its Annual Conference are echoes and copies of the structure of the TUC, the Labour Party and the Communist Party and quite unsuited to imaginative grassroots campaigning.

The number of people actually running CND today - i.e. taking and implementing key decisions - is probably a dozen minus. They understand Parkinson's Law and operate it between themselves, off the record. In big organisations it is always so. The people concerned are hardly to blame, they did not create the system, they inherited it and have to work within it. WE ARE UNDER NO SUCH OBLIGATION. Conspiratorial bureaucratic centralism arises out of the nature of scale. The only possible answer is to change the scale.

The Committee of 100 (that I had to wind up in 1968 as its last secretary) and the later Peace Camps were all dreamt up, established and organised on the spot by the people immediately concerned. No one depended on CND. The press, not knowing any better, usually gave the kudos to CND and in due course CND comes along, is helpful and pays some bills. That's fine!

There is one other related consideration. The inner circle of CND is sold on "the political process" - which is another name for Neil Kinnock and the next General Election. It would be quite ungreen to get mixed up with that. At the same time, however, local CND groups are thinking and acting for themselves and that is the essential clue. But to what purpose? This Easter something new, of national consequence, was started (see my article in GL

30) and it is possible to take a new look at the future. It no way depends on faction fighting in CND.

Think back to last June... The previous January CND's National Council had decided to do nothing in face of the Heads of State Summit at Lancaster House. Other people thought otherwise. Action 84 and Summit 84 were set up, and the CND either had to come in or see a big demo take place without them. CND came in and the result was an exceptional three-part demo involving over 100,000 people. The formula worked.

Peter Cadogan
Studio House, 1 Hampstead Hill Gdns
London NW3

A case for Land Tax

Dear GL,

Richard Hunt attacks the idea of Land Tax without proposing anything better. Even his specific items show muddled thinking.

Redistributive. It is not automatically wrong to redistribute wealth by means of taxation and many Greens would think it much better than physical confiscation and reallocation. Land tax of itself does not give land to the very poorest people but neither does any other tax currently proposed.

Private ownership. We all expect to own something and it is far from obvious that occupation of one's own living space is equivalent to "selfishness and materialism". Land tax allows private occupation of reasonable amounts of land in exchange for proportionate contributions to common needs. Even Richard refers to each member's "own plot" and to conditions for "keeping that plot". How then can he later claim that land ownership must be inviolable? Private ownership certainly does not make one "fire-proof" as he says. Individuals can still be arrested, property can be seized by the state or compulsory purchase can be enforced. Land tax would not make any of these things worse than they are now.

Unpaid labour. Richard says that land tax is irrelevant to an unpaid-labour economy. I say that unpaid labour if enforced amounts to slavery. In this modern world many aspects of production technology are too complex for individual producers. There must be people who will work to produce goods for sale. Such

people must be paid. Labour is in fact far more worthy of payment than is private landlordism! What the land tax proposals envisage is the community as a whole gradually taking over the role of landlord, charging a fair rent for the land occupied and using that rent for the common good.

Decentralisation. Land tax does not really depend on the degree of decentralisation or otherwise. I personally believe that taxes should as far as possible be raised locally rather than nationally and that local democratic government should have more power relative to central government. Of course very low local rates would tend to attract people as they do at present, but land tax does not replace the planning laws and these ought to apply to all land anyway.

It is nonsense to conclude that local control of land valuation necessarily precludes national policy-making. Present-day rates are assessed locally, but rating guidelines are imposed from Whitehall. Richard's point simply does not follow.

Of course there could be national guidelines for a locally-assessed land tax. Allowance could be made, for example, for the degree of public access provided by the owner. Public-interest owners such as the RSPB could be given tax exemption or special rates as thought appropriate by the local council having regard to national guidelines and comparable cases.

Simplification. Land tax, properly administered, by replacing income tax, could bring considerable simplification and improved efficiency of collection. It could abolish the undesirable excesses of private ownership without bringing the undesirable excesses of state ownership in their place.

Land tax may not of itself redistribute land to the poor but it does facilitate possibilities for other legislation such as an integrated tax and social security system to help the poor and it certainly would encourage land occupiers to open up more acres to public access or use by the less wealthy members of society.

It may not of itself decentralise power but it is certainly compatible with decentralised systems. Whether it works or not depends on whether the landed gentry manage to wreck it, but that will be a problem for any progressive laws.

So - it is not nearly such a dead loss as Richard's "unpaid labour" scheme, is it?

Owen Dumbleton
36 Partridge Close
Ayton, Washington 6, Tyne and Wear.

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Play for Life

Patrick Whitefield writes:

DO YOU EVER despair at the violent, competitive, sexist and racist nature of most children's entertainment, from toys to television? If so, here's good news.

Play for Life is a group of people whose aim is to "promote cooperation between those thinking afresh about play experience for the 5 to 12 year olds; to stimulate the design and production of life-affirming playthings; to prepare today's children for One World Tomorrow." They have researched a sizeable part of the toys and games market with the aim of discovering playthings which have life affirming qualities. The result of this work is 'A First Guide to Playthings for Life'.

In form it's rather like a catalogue giving name, description, comments and price for each toy or game. But it's not 'selling' them. The comments, which are often based on the experience of children actually playing with the items, are considered and include negative criticism where appropriate. The key phrase is life affirming, and an interesting inclusion is a selection from the Royal National Lifeboat Institution catalogue - presenting the hero as life saver rather than life taker.

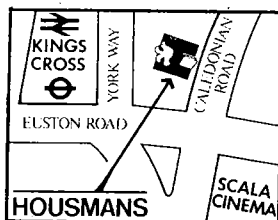
The range is wide: from traditional crafts to computer games, including musical instruments, multi-coloured dolls, puzzles and board games. The emphasis is on activity and creativity. There are only one or two suggestions each for the very young, teenagers and handicapped, as these are not included in the study at present. Overall, almost 200 products are listed, some of them widely available in the shops, others by mail order from Playthings for Life or other suppliers.

Copies of the guide from: Play for Life, 31b, Ipswich Road, Norwich NR4 6LA. Please send an A5 sae and, if possible, a donation.

Dates to Remember

- July 4 - 14 : Summer School of Peace Studies, Molesworth.
- July 14 : Nottingham CND Peace Festival, 12 - 8.
- July 21 - 27 : 'Living Peace' at Emerson College, Sussex.
- July 26 - 28 : Elephant Fayre, St Germans, Cornwall
- August 9 - 11 : Brambles Farm Peace Festival, Waterlooville, Hants.

Details in previous issues of GL.



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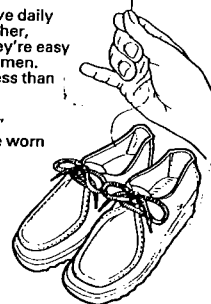
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Stop Dounreay Reprocessing

The Scottish Ecology Party has launched a campaign to thwart the proposed nuclear reprocessing plant at Dounreay on the Caithness coast. Francois Roelant, the Belgian green MEP, has agreed to speak on their behalf in the European parliament, and has conveyed the support of 15 green MEPs.

North Yorks peace walk

Preparation at Fylingdales Peace Camp August 3 - 5 (important for all who hope to do the whole walk). Leave Aug 5, then to Menwith Hill via Pickering, Kirby Moorside, Ampleforth, Easingwold (peace camp outside the civil defence college), Thirsk, Northallerton, Leeming (peace camp outside air base, being extended for new Tornados), Ripon, Harrogate, arriving Menwith Aug 26.

Anyone is welcome for any length of time. It will cost a maximum of £2 to cover costs on the walk, and for practical reasons people are asked not to bring dogs.

Contact: Debbie Walker, Woodside Cottage, Tunstall, Richmond, N Yorks (0748 818122); or Nina Hall on 0423 (Harrogate) 867210.

Eco's election results

The Ecology Party's 263 candidates in the County Council elections in May polled anything from 0.5% to 24.1% (Caroline Cook in a two-way contest in Dyfed). None was elected. In several seats in Kent and Sussex Eco candidates pushed Labour into bottom place, and happily did the same to National Front candidates in several. The party also did well in the rural areas of the West Midlands. About 30% of candidates were women.

Animal Rights get-together

Wales Animal Liberation League are organising a get-together for animal rights supporters on Sat Aug 31 and Sun Sept 1 at Tal-y-Garn, near Llantrisant, Mid-Glamorgan (leave the M4 at junction 34).

It will be an open-air event with camping facilities, vegan food, stalls, entertainment and music. Details from the League at Box 20, 108 Salisbury Road, Cardiff.

A petition has been launched calling on the Secretary of State for Scotland to set up a working group to consider how viable alternative employment might be created for the people of Caithness which will threaten neither their health nor their environment, and will ensure the long-term development of local communities. Other more spectacular actions are in the pipeline.

Scottish Eco are appealing for funds to help them with the campaign. £7.50 will buy a press release (they are currently sending out at least two a week), £20 will buy 1000 leaflets, £50 will buy 200 posters. Contact: Ian Smith, Dounreay Campaign, Scottish Ecology Party, 11 Forth Street, Edinburgh EH1 3LE (phone 031 556 5160).

Astrological error

Daphne Francis asks us to correct her astrology (GL 32, p4, col 1). The relevant passage should read: "One astrological age ... the age of Pisces - is about to end and we are moving into another, the age of Aquarius, the second of the 12 ages of the astrological Great Year. The Great Year lasts approx. 25,920 years, giving 12 ages of approx. 2160 years each."

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Green Line Mail Order

Pamphlets and Books

POLITICS FOR LIFE (Ecology Party, 36pp). 50p / 5 for £2.

SOCIALISM AND ECOLOGY, Raymond Williams (SERA 20pp). 75p.

DEMOCRACY AND PARLIAMENT, Raymond Williams (Socialist Society, 32pp) 90p.

COAL AND ECONOMIC GROWTH (Wales Ecology Party, 16pp). 20p.

FOOD ADDITIVES (Wales Ecology Party, 20pp). 30p.

FAIR VOTES GUIDE (Campaign for Fair Votes, 32pp). 95p.

EMBRACE THE EARTH, Jonathon Porritt et al. (Green CND, 44pp). 90p / 5 for £3.50.

ETHICS AND NUCLEAR WEAPONS, Jeremy Naydler (Fox and Lantern Press, 22pp). £1.

GREEN SONGS (Evergreen Press, 24pp). Words and music. 50p.

SURVIVAL OF CIVILISATION, John Hamaker. 236pp paperback, £6.95.

THE OTHER ECONOMIC SUMMIT (1984) Report and Summary. 40pp. 70p.

NITRATE POLLUTION: Prevention or Cure? Bob Allen (Green Line, 4 pp). 10p.

BRANDT REPORT: Con Trick. Richard Hunt. (Green Line, 4pp). 10p.

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THE BATTLE OF STONEHENGE

JUST AFTER 7 o'clock in the evening of Saturday June 1st, 700 riot police from six forces and the MoD, truncheons raised and visors lowered, attacked some 500 'hippies' - among them many women, children and babies - in a field near Cholderton in Wiltshire. None was allowed to escape, and all were arrested. Eye witnesses among those attacked, as well as the few press reporters and 'outsiders' present, are agreed that the police smashed vehicles, dragged occupants out by their hair, beat them with truncheons, and destroyed personal belongings, while a police helicopter circled overhead with loudspeaker blaring, "You're doing a great job. This is the way they like it."

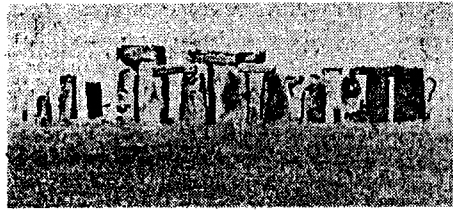
The Observer, almost alone among the national media in reporting the event seriously, quoted Lord Cardigan (who was in the field throughout the attack) as saying: "One image will probably stay with me for the rest of my life. I saw a policeman hit a woman on the head with his truncheon. Then I looked down and saw she was pregnant, and I thought: 'My God, I'm watching police who are running amok.'"

That night BBC tv gave a bowdlerised version of what happened. ITV, by contrast, showed film of the police getting the occupants out of one of the buses in the field. Riot police were randomly smashing windows as the woman inside yelled, "There are children in here." What TV viewers didn't hear were the yells of press men trying to restrain the police, or the police reply to the woman: she remembers the words, "The more of your kids we kill, the less of you there'll be." Couple that with another little gem: "We've got rid of the gypsies, and we'll get rid of you lot as well," and we can ask where racism ends and genocide begins.

Why did the confrontation take place? The police were applying an injunction forbidding the festival at Stonehenge from taking place: the injunction named 83 individuals, but they arrested others as 'agents' of the 83. They were determined that no one should leave the field without being arrested - and succeeded in that aim. Had there been no injunction the police would have had no pretext for action on this scale.

The police had expected to dismember the festival convoy on Lord Cardigan's land in Savernake Forest - but the lord would not allow them onto his land. He has since allowed the convoy to return to Savernake to recover after their ordeal. In the event, the police adopted a tactic of picking off vehicles one by one from the rear of the convoy after leaving Savernake:

What happened and why?



when the convoy found itself trapped in front and behind, it broke into the field where the confrontation took place. Buses drove round and round the field in increasing panic as police ran between them throwing missiles: evidently there were many 'near misses' on both sides. Owners of some of the buses are said to be bringing charges against the police in connection with alleged damage to their vehicles after they had been taken to the police pound.

All the signs are that the police are acting nationally in trying to stamp out all 'hippy' manifestations of the alternative society. One officer told a convoy member that the police had been told they would be armed with knives and guns - misinformation calculated to arouse the greatest fear (and over-reaction) in the police on the ground. We read in The Observer that a neo-Nazi gun-runner from Salisbury has been trying for nearly two years to sell rifles to the Stonehenge people, while also organising 'security patrols' for local farmers. Does someone want the convoy to be armed?

Confrontation had become inevitable. The convoy (not the same as the "Peace Convoy", though there is some overlap, but a collection of buses and vans which are their owners' homes and which have formed the nucleus of the Stonehenge Festival for the last 11 years) sees Stonehenge as a religious centre to which it is their right to go at midsummer. This is a time for ceremonial, including marriages and baptisms, and the scattering of the ashes of the dead.

The National Trust, alarmed by a breakdown of internal discipline on the site last year (for which the festival goes in part blame the Trust for breaking agreements on key matters such as firewood), joined forces with English Heritage (a government body which owns the henge) and Wiltshire County Council to obtain an injunction preventing the festival from taking place this year. But English Heritage took the Trust by surprise and announced that

Stonehenge would be closed for the midsummer solstice and no religious celebrations allowed: the Trust's motive had been to safeguard archaeological sites, and had not intended to ban religious activities.

When it realised that its publicity campaign was not going to stop people from trying to attend, the Trust approached Green CND for help and advice. Four days before the battle took place Green CND delivered to the Trust a set of proposals for compromise, including an alternative site for the festival on land already informally suggested by the Trust itself. Green CND predicted that if no compromise was agreed, the festival could only be prevented if the police had "recourse to measures which would be repugnant to a democratic society." Four days the prophecy came true. The Trust waited till after the weekend before discussing the proposals, and then turned them down. They seem to have been incapable of making the apparent about-turn necessary after taking out the original injunction.

English Heritage refused to take part in any discussions to find an alternative site. So did the police. The National Trust at least sought advice: sadly, they didn't take it.

The police are cracking down generally on festivals and similar gatherings. The previous victim was the "Fair Against Famine" to have been held near Stratford by Green Deserts - to raise money for re-forestation in Sudan. The police frightened the landowner off with stories of violent people who would come: he cancelled it at the last minute. But when bus people did arrive, the police directed them onto his land anyway...

This is surely another sign that the tide has turned against "alternatives" of all kinds (after all, it is government policy that "there are no alternatives"). As the miners' strike showed, the police state is closing in. Carefully planned police violence on a massive and military scale no longer raises even an eyebrow in most of the establishment media. After all, they know whose side they're on. The Guardian editors sent their message to the Stonehenge festival convoy in just two words: "Clear off!"

Jon Carpenter (June 9)

*** Many people are totally homeless after this. Some children are in care because their families have lost their homes. An appeal has been launched: we are awaiting details, but contributions can be sent c/o of Green Line and we will forward them. More details next issue.