

# GREEN LINE

Libya's American problem

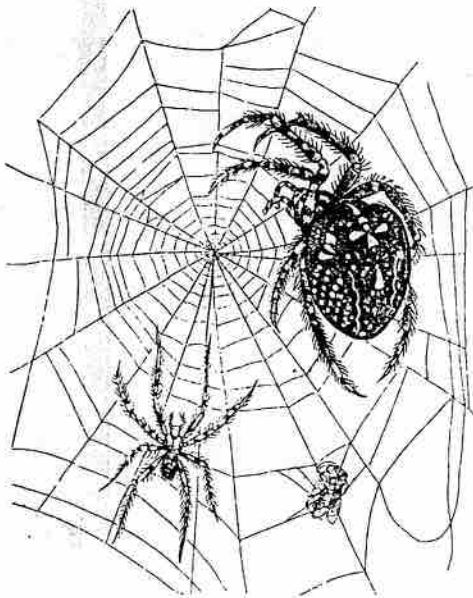
Social Defence

Anarchy for beginners

Pagan ecology

May 1986 No 42 **45p**

WHO  
ARE THE  
TERRORISTS  
NOW?



# GREEN LINE

Green Line, 34 Cowley Road, Oxford

(0865 245301)

Monthly magazine of  
Green politics and lifestyle

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## Green Line news

IN THIS ISSUE we are trying a new pattern to our layout. Instead of launching straight into heavy (?) articles on p. 3, we begin with a 'Green Comment' on a topical issue, then continue with our 'Network' reports and news. Reviews and letters come at the end (though this month reviews have had to be held over - sorry!).

We hope this will all make GL more accessible, especially to the new or casual reader.

Coming shortly: an interview with Satish Kumar as he walks round Britain; and Rudolf Bahro talks to German greens after leaving the Green Party there.

YOU GET the Green Line you deserve. Are you just another "consumer" of the printed word, or will you put something in to replace what you take out? Phone us on Oxford (0865) 726229 (evenings) to discuss how you can help with GL.

# Terrorists bomb Libya

A green view from GRAHAM BELL

"... High in front advanced  
The brandished sword of God before them blazed,  
Fierce as a comet; which with torrid heat,  
And vapour hath the Libyan air adust,  
Began to parch that temperate clime..."

Milton, Paradise Lost, Book 12, line 624.

COLONEL MU'AMMAR GADDAFI lives on and off in a Berber tent in the Bab Al Azizya barracks in Tripoli. He is head of state of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. His mission in life is to make the world a better place.

RONALD REAGAN lives on and off in the White House, Washington, D.C. He is president of the United States of America. His mission in life is to make the world a better place.

We too, as politically conscious members of the green movement, want to make the world a better place. Gaddafi is rumoured to be fond of Milton. I wonder if any of Reagan's advisers have spotted the quotation above - it's very much in keeping with his image.

You may be asking why this isn't about Libyan crises. There is no crisis there; everything that has happened to threaten our peaceful feelings is the result of American and world problems. Libya is simply Reagan's chosen ball-park.

This crisis is about people versus governments, the abuse of language, the nature of modern international confrontation, and human folly. It's also about fear, in every sense.

## "An Honourable Murderer if you will"

I visited Libya in 1965. The servants of the British forces personnel were apparently very pro-British at that time. This has always puzzled me, for the one who worked where we stayed lived in a shanty town in a wadi (dried-up river bed). These were homes made of boxes and thorn bushes. He had lost four babies through malnutrition. The woman of the house pitied him because he had thrown away the Heinz baby food she gave him: she felt it was ignorance that he would not feed his children food that was not hal-al (the Islamic equivalent of kosher).

Under Gaddafi this kind of poverty has gone. These people are no longer servants. They also now have their own homes. Gaddafi is unpopular with other Arab leaders: amongst possible reasons for this are attempts to make a popular power base which threatens patriarchal emirates. The People's Leader has also worked hard for female emancipation, opposing the sale of brides and encouraging women's involvement in all kinds of work, thus also doubling the size of his available army. It is not in doubt that the Libyans fund and train guerrilla fighters, and Gaddafi shows a ruthless violence towards opposition within Libya.

## "'Tis pride that pulls the country down"

In the last two years I have worked alongside a Libyan training as an electrician in the UK, and shared food at his table. Libyans are aghast at their treatment by the US but refuse to allow their fear to immobilise them. They are not a gang of mindless Gaddafi-followers.

It is US domestic policy that forces Reagan to look for a scapegoat. In Washington the administrators see the devil incarnate as Gaddafi. Pasted in the Lebanon by a bunch of a-rabs, blown out of the sky by some bunch of commies you've never heard of, throwing "our" people off cruise liners - where do gung-ho Americans go for "sweet revenge"? It's International Terrorism that's to blame: Gaddafi is the man responsible and we're going to nail him. To blame Reagan alone is a mistake: it's white, middle-class male America that's worried about its virility, and the US want nothing less than the demolition of the Jamahiriya in restitution.

## "But words are words"

Think hard about who gets called what here. Libya supports "terrorists". What are the contras in El Salvador - "freedom fighters", "liberators"? What are the IRA or the Afghanis who fight Kamal and the Russians? Is this really a conflict between "mad dog Gaddafi" and "Raygun"? Think very hard about what words you use: it all depends which side you're on how you see these things.

Guerrillas are (usually) men and (sometimes) women who fight either for money, national self-determination, or sometimes just because the leaders and funders who control them want to de-stabilise a country. See for instance Israeli intentions in the Lebanon or South African involvement in Mozambique.

The US and the UK both fund trained guerrillas whenever it suits them. Would Gaddafi "be left behind, a moth of peace"? He isn't going to get singed if he can help it.

## "How poor are they that have not patience"

The US say that they have not used any peaceful means to disrupt Libyan involvement in "terrorism", and the results of the bombing of civilians in Tripoli are only to be renewed violence by bombers from "terror" groups. There are plenty of these people who have nothing to do with Libya. Also, the cause of Arab unity is advanced and another awesomely powerful military bloc comes nearer.

Led by our "knee-crooking knave", in breach of Magna Carta we remain an occupied state playing second fiddle to the big bankers of international capitalism headquartered in the US but funded and supported internationally. Elsewhere in this issue of GL you will read why governments will never implement social defence, an avowed green ambition. Here is a terrible abuse of power that we must oppose with all our hearts.

I have spent many hours calming the fearful friends and neighbours around me. "You're as safe as you've always been." Nuclear warfare gear appears at Upper Heyford, the army is out in London. Philip got searched for bombs while signing on. When the local council held its regular liaison meeting at Upper Heyford, "Libya" was kept off the agenda. A man shouted from the floor: "My wife is frightened, my children are frightened, I am frightened. Aren't you frightened?" To which the chair(man) replied, "No!"

(Continued on page 19)

# ANARCHY FOR BEGINNERS

"Listen, Marxist!" innoculated at least a few thousand activists against Leninism, and radical feminism erupted on the scene proclaiming in anarchist overtones: "Power to no one, and to every one: to each the power over his/her own life, and no others." (Lilith's Manifesto, in Sisterhood is Powerful, ed. Robin Morgan, New York 1970).

Murray Bookchin was one of the most talented thinkers of this period. His essays "Ecology and Revolutionary Thought", "Towards a Liberatory Technology", and his book "Our Synthetic Environment" anticipated the ecology movement by five to ten years. His book "Post-Scarcity Anarchism" which contains the above-mentioned essays has lost none of its relevance since it was first published in 1971, and represents one of the few attempts to meet the 60s on their own terms.

On the other side of the Atlantic the New Left fared somewhat better. May '68 in Paris represented the greatest flowering of the New Left in the world to date. It was as if the precursors of modern leftism, the Surrealists and the Symbolist poets, had suddenly come to life as Paris walls were decorated with a profusion of graffiti: Power to the Imagination, Life without Dead Times, and Be Realistic - Demand the Impossible! Paris '68 showed that freedom, not scarcity, was the issue of the day in the advanced capitalist countries. Anarchists like Daniel Cohn-Bendit played a prominent role in the '68 events and later co-authored an influential book entitled *Obsolete Communism: the Left-Wing Alternative*. Another influential group was the Situationists. Though Marxists of a sort, and very authoritarian intellectually, their contributions to radical social thought are numerous and have since been assimilated into anarchist thought (the notion of "the spectacle", for instance.)

As in North America, Europe succumbed to the influence of Leninism, but its reign was brief, and by the early 70s citizens' action groups were emerging which later developed into the famous Green parties and movements. On the North American side the anti-nuke movement formed an important counter-current to Maoism, and proved that the anarchist concepts of affinity groups and consensus decision-making were alive and well. In 1976-7 the Punk movement took Britain by storm and the Sex Pistols album "Anarchy in the U K" launched a new generation of youth on the trail of the elusive circle-A. Crass and Poison Girls, two influential hardcore bands, have continued this trajectory in a more explicit vein, as have North America's Dead Kennedys and M.D.C. The early 80s has also seen a revival and strengthening of anti-authoritarian currents. Today we stand at a crossroads - the choice is clear. Either we create an authentic New Left, imbued with the best that anarchism, feminism and radical nonviolence have to offer, or we chuck it in the gutter and repeat the mistakes of the past.

Nothing is (or should be) sacred. One will no more find the answer to twentieth century problems in dusty nineteenth century anarchist tracts than in nineteenth century Marxist ones. The problem with traditional anarchism is two-fold. First, it has over-estimated our thirst for freedom, and failed to explain our penchant for conformity and the trappings of authoritarianism. Second, it has proven more successful at criticising the present than at building bridges to the future. How do we deal with specific social problems like crime, for instance,

without the aid of prisons? How, after a revolution, do we fight a revolt by the powers-that-be without recourse to a system of organised coercion? How do we organise an over-arching economic life in a system of decentralised communes? How do we convince people to move into such communes in the first place and give up their consumer lifestyles? How do we guarantee the rights of native peoples? Until



anarchists answer these questions they will be treated with scepticism and deservedly so.

If Marxism suffers from economism, anarchism suffers from a knee-jerk attitude towards politics. Since any form of political participation is viewed as compromise, the arena of politics is left to the powers that be. We can't ignore politics, we must reclaim it. We must figure out how the "elected dictatorships" of the present can be made to evolve (through the development of "dual power", for instance) into the self-managed institutions of a libertarian society. What is the relationship between building alternative economic institutions and challenging technocracy in the political sphere? How do the people seize back political power? How do they fight the erosion of civil liberties? How do we erode the legitimacy of the established parties and create support for a libertarian politics without becoming a captive of the electoral system?

These questions deserve our attention and soon.

\*\* This article was first published in the Canadian anarchist magazine *Kick It Over* in June 1985. (Annual subscription £4 to K.I.O., P O Box 5811, Station A, Toronto, Ontario, Canada M5W 1P2.)

For introductions to anarchist thinking, see: *The Anarchist Reader*, ed. George Woodcock (Fontana). *Anarchism*, George Woodcock (Pelican). *Anarchy in Action*, Colin Ward (Freedom Press).

For more information on anarchist books available, send a s.a.e. to Green Line with a request for a free copy of the *Anarchist Review*.

# Shades of Winstanley

Anne Waterhouse writes:

IN 1649 Gerrard Winstanley and the Diggers occupied the common land at St George's Hill (at Weybridge in Surrey) and reclaimed it for "the poor people everywhere", planting and sowing crops.

The parallels between the expropriation of common land in the 20th century for use as military bases and the consequent links with poverty and deprivation in the Third World as a result of the arms race made St George's Hill an irresistible starting point for this year's Molesworth Ploughshares Easter Campaign. Last year wheat was collected and sent to Eritrea; this year appropriate tools chosen by members of the Eritrean Relief Association had been collected over the winter and were carried and refurbished en route on a 12-day walk to Molesworth.

Throughout the walk there was a strong quaker/pacifist/anarchist/green influence. An average of 50 souls of mixed ages and backgrounds (including two babies, 18 month old twins, a 5-year-old and two dogs) walked supported by the Medical Campaign bus, which carried the surplus baggage. Plus a battered transit carrying food, drink and bodies in need of rest; and Hooley's truck which carried the exhibition, tools, and the refurbishing bench.

The culmination of the walk was to be the digging up of MOD land at Molesworth and planting. However, our first symbolic act was to remove a sod of earth and heather from St George's Hill (now a golf course and exclusive housing estate) to replant on the base. Our journey took us through Kingston and Brixton and on to Central London, where we were feted by the dying GLC at County Hall before marching to the MOD building in Whitehall - banners flying - to try to hand in our declaration of intent. It was refused; so we posted it to George Younger.

Music, one of the most memorable ingredients of this walk, carried us along. On to St Albans, Dunstable, Leighton Buzzard, Milton Keynes (and the Peace Pagoda), Northampton, Wellingborough, and Raunds. Dunstable, Wellingborough and Northampton in particular have historic links with the original Diggers. On Easter Saturday we met the Eritreans again at Corby for a cultural evening and briefly linked up with the Corby walk, going via Cundle. Once out of London, the setting up of regular town-centre refurbishing sessions became easier. Being linked to the exhibition and leafletting, they felt very positive and the public responded well to seeing us actually working and

mending tools. I felt they were more likely to be receptive to the connections we were making. Not just another bunch of weirdos wanting to ban something.

On the day, another positive action was the help given by Robert Ward, one of the local farmers and land-owners, who loaned us his barn to organise our digging party from. We split into affinity groups (formed en route) and went to dig non-violently. No wire was cut: we went through or under the wire, spades carried in a non-threatening manner below shoulder height. Over 300 people took part, and 55 were arrested - mostly charged with trespass under the byelaws. All spades, marked "The property of the Eritrean people", were returned.

++ For more information about Eritrea, contact the Eritrean Information Service / Eritrean Relief Association, 391 City Road, London EC1V 1NE (01-837 9236/7).

Read: "Never Kneel Down: Drought, Development and Liberation in Eritrea". Firebrace and Holland, Spokesman Books, £4.95.

## Leeds Greenfair

takes place on the University Campus on Saturday May 3 (1 - 6, entrance free). Bands, speakers, workshops, children's area, wimmins centre, peace corner, etc. Be there! (For stalls: ring Leeds 457617.)



## GREEN INTERNATIONAL

### Libya: Die Grünen protest

DIE GRÜNEN organised demonstrations all over West Germany on Tuesday April 14, the day the Americans bombed Libya. They were attended by 40,000 people, by no means all of them greens. 10,000 attended the protest in Bonn, 6,000 in Hamburg, and 3,000 each in Bremen and Tübingen, with thousands more in cities across the country.

In Bonn a masked protester climbed the statue of Beethoven in Beethoven Square, placed a US flag in the statue's hand, and set it on fire - applauded by a crowd of about a thousand. Despite an unusually heavy police presence, no action was

taken, although both wearing a mask at a demonstration and the burning of flags are illegal.

Four delegates from Die Grünen were on a visit to Moscow at the time of the bombing. They held their own spontaneous demonstration outside the US embassy there.

On Saturday April 19 Die Grünen organised a demonstration outside the US embassy in Bonn. The parliamentary group sent letters of protest to the US embassy and to Chancellor Kohl. In a letter to the Libyan People's Bureau in Bonn they expressed their outrage at the American aggression, and promised both parliamentary and street action against the US attack: they also called upon the Libyan people and government not to escalate the situation.

A Die Grünen motion in the Bundestag condemning the US action did not get a majority; Herr Kohl equivocated, refusing to condemn the action while saying it was not what he would have done.

In Berlin hundreds of police have been on the streets stopping anyone who looks as though they might be of Libyan extraction. As 400,000 foreigners, mainly Turkish and Arabs, live in West Berlin, the situation is appalling. The Alternative List in Berlin has been organising protests against this.

\*\* In a joint statement, the coordination of the European Green Parties condemned the US action. In London, the three co-chairs of the Green Party issued a statement condemning US aggression towards Libya, and calling for the withdrawal of American bases from the UK.

GREEN INTERNATIONAL is edited by Leigh Shaw-Taylor. Write to him direct with news of the global green movement, at 24 Cardigan Street, Oxford OX2 6BP (phone 0865 55618).



# Local election candidates Green Party's record total

AS NOMINATIONS closed for the local elections on May 8, it became clear that the Green Party will be fielding its highest ever number of candidates - 480. This is about 10% of the total number of seats falling vacant this year. As well as promoting local issues, candidates will be stressing the party's six-point plan for Local Government:

- 1) Local control: genuine financial autonomy for local government through e.g. a local income tax in place of domestic rates, and decentralisation of services.
- 2) Jobs for a Change: promoting the creation of sustainable employment by providing worthwhile jobs to meet the real needs of the community.
- 3) Fair Votes: proportional representation for local government elections.
- 4) Planning for People: changes to the planning system to enable people to work from home, and to prevent redundant building; protection of the green belt and greater involvement of the community in the planning process.
- 5) Green Houses: rehabilitate existing stock, bring empty

properties into use, promote energy conservation and encourage community ownership - e.g. housing co-ops.

6) Wasting Away: introduction of separate collections for re-usable waste, e.g. glass and paper, and mandatory use of recycled paper for all council bumpf.

## Green fact, Green fiction

THE GREEN Party has just published a pamphlet by Paul Ekins which takes a highly critical look at the green pretensions of other parties. It is carefully documented and provides a great deal of material of use to party campaigners and in arguments with politicians. It concludes with a 14-point "Minimum Green Position" (beginning with Peace and ending with Third World, though women do not get a section of their own).

"Green Politics: Fact or Fiction" is available price £1.40 post free from Green Party, 36/38 Clapham Road, London SW9 0JQ.

## Green library

THE FREE FLOW Fellowships are an extended family who are into crystals, organic growing, vegan catering and making tofu. Many GL readers will have tasted their excellent food at festivals and other gatherings up and down the country.

This year they are putting together another kind of travelling service, a green library. They have bought two ex-county council articulated mobile libraries which they will fit out with literature on conservation, alternative technology, organic husbandry, nutrition, etc. and an extensive video library, supplied by Greenpeace, FoE and Earthlife, with projection equipment. With their purpose-built catering vehicle (which originally fed the site crew of the film Gandhi) the library will tour round the universities offering both alternative food and an alternative view of life, the universe and everything to that pumped out by the establishment education machine.

They will concentrate mainly on the north, where unemployment is worst, as one of their aims is to put unemployed people in touch with landowners with a view to creating organic farms and smallholdings.

They are asking for more people to

join them. Skills especially useful are HGV Class 1, cooking, and mechanics. Whacky punk vegans welcome. Please contact Michael O'Connell, Old Holloway Chapel, Aller, Langport, Somerset. Phone 0458 35320.

## Non-disposable alternatives

ORGANISERS OF the Green Field at Glastonbury want ideas and advice on alternatives to disposable food and drink containers and which are practical for stallholders to use. For example, where can you buy dried leaf plates? Contact Anne Waterhouse, 55 Stuart Close, Emmer Green, Reading (0734 478297).

## Student group conference

FoE ARE running a one-day conference for student FoE, Green and environmental groups at Lambeth Town Hall on Sat May 3 (10 - 5: cost £3 to include lunch and drinks). There will be workshops on environmental issues and campaigning skills. More information from Student Conference, FoE, 377 City Road, London EC1V 1NA (phone 01-837 0731).

# Green Network Gathering

A GREEN NETWORK Gathering was held in Glastonbury over the Easter weekend. Four of the people who attended sent reports to GL (they were all from men), and we present extracts here:

THE NET IS working. The web is being woven. That was the clear message of the Green Network Gathering. With upwards of 100 people attending, the green light shone everywhere. We even stuck to Green(wich) Mean Time after most people forgot to put their watches on.

The main feature of the gathering was the series of workshops; four sessions each of 3 or 4 workshops running concurrently made choice difficult. Some were very popular, which inhibited individual participation to some extent. A particularly memorable one was Spirituality and Politics, facilitated by Peter Taylor, which provoked an exciting discussion on "Is anger spiritual?". Eco-paganism took us on an outdoor meditation at the Chalice Well, and the Red-Green Dialogue concluded that Marx was greener than everyone realised. Vast quantities of tofu were produced at the soya bean demonstration, providing a free feast for attenders and others alike.

On the specifically green side, workshops on Green Groups, Green Centres, Green Fairs and Green Network Mailings all came up with useful new ideas and a real sense of the crystallisation of the movement. Some dialogue between the groups discussing these subjects would have been beneficial, and it was precisely the lack of communication between organisations involved in closely related areas of interest, or even in the same areas in different localities, that was the subject of the Networking Workshop, facilitated by members of the Sussex Mediating Network. This focussed on personal spiritual awareness as a prerequisite for effective sharing of information and spreading the green word and was a powerful experience for me.

We did not stay in Britain either. Roy Gillett facilitated a workshop on the Maoris and their influence in "greening" the New Zealand government: a discussion ensued on whether the same could happen here. A deeply moving experience was a first-hand account of the situation in Eritrea by Juliet Yelverton who accompanied the Molesworth wheat shipment there. The spiritual strength of the Eritrean people who are bringing themselves out of the darkness of centuries while combatting both famine and war must inspire us all.

Michael Bloom

TO OFFER some light relief from the heady and often large workshops, entertainment was arranged for the evenings. Greens were greeted on Friday evening by a vegetarian and vegan supper expertly prepared by the Assembly Rooms caterers, followed by assorted cabaret acts and a reggae disco all washed down by candlelight with red or white wine.

After supper on Saturday, it was video time. We watched "The Global Brain", narrated by Peter Russell, an interesting study of the future progress of humankind. The 1983 Green Gathering video was shown, made by Paul Trevor and recording events at the 6-day event at the Lamberts Hill Farm site (available for sale - £7.50 + p&p - or hire - £2.50 + £5 deposit + p&p from myself at Crystal Studios, 43 Poole Road, Westbourne, Bournemouth, Dorset BH4 9DN). Lastly we watched a video called "Trashed" which recorded events surrounding Stonehenge 1985. The videos could have gone on as various tapes kept being offered, but upstairs the Grand Ceilidh hosted by the Velvet Bottom Band was twirling into action. A great time was had by all!

Roger Eede



WHILE WE may have been exploring grass-roots and non-hierarchical (catch phrase) structures, and avoiding much of the inhuman-ness of big party gatherings, the old entrenched attitudes still emerged, and there was little space for dealing with emotions that came up.

My discomfort began after the group circle had met (facilitated by one man, which was odd, but I let it go), when we broke into workshops which were essentially male focalised and led.

One workshop, led by women who had a lot to offer, was very pleasant - but the energy dissipated, as not only did many of the men resist the experiential content, but the women underused their power: a result, I believe, of men disempowering women by consistently (and mostly subconsciously) undervaluing them and their abilities.

It struck me that we automatically allowed men to assume a role they have always played, as experts and self-assured leaders, but not women. And so we perpetuated the old power pyramid.

Peter Taylor had been invited to give a workshop on Politics and Spirituality. He did it very well. Total control. Peter got away with being not only an "expert" (which he is) but a leader and facilitator as well. The workshop/group did not

form and then empower him, he took the power, using his own magic rituals. Fine, you may say, if you have agreed/paid for that - but at a Green Network Gathering...?

Many listened, however, including myself, to his story of homeopathy, and plutonium within our bodies. My anger at our treatment of the planet welled up in me as he described the bomb tests, the spillages and dumping of radioactive waste.

Then, in conclusion, his message touched on a vital issue, to the effect of "we cannot fight with anger, we must be calm, at peace with ourselves." And in that moment I saw a link between male power and the suppression of feeling. Fine, if he had said:

"Own and discharge your anger. Use it to empower yourself..." But what I saw was the old, male, rational disapproval of emotion, calculated to make that side of ourselves - and of women in particular - feel in some way inept or powerless for feeling what I or they do.

The secret of living in duality is balance, not transcendence. My anger will fuel my being to act. Maybe what we need is a mass expression of our feelings - crying on the streets if need be, weeping for our planet. Not anger suppressed and finally erupting in violence and war and their necessary complement, male guru figures and saints. Soldiers and followers of transcendental religions are drilled in exactly the same suppression of feeling.

Now Peter did what he did because that is what men have always done. When I suggested a move towards positive empowerment of women (after men had talked and talked and not a single feeling shared in the final circle), I was told by a woman that I could not empower or be disempowered by anyone (!); and afterwards I was converged upon by several men anxious to tell me how wrong I was: "stuck in duality," "creating the separation," I was told, "be a man!"

What to do? It is true I cannot give power to women; they take their own power; but do the old attitudes need to be positively discriminated against after all? For a while? Because there is an imbalance, and we did little to restore it.

So, while the men organised and talked, and swapped extremely useful lists of information, women made the tofu, were in charge of the cafe, the creche, and led the dancing. And my grassroots experience of pain, anger and frustration at what essentially male-power forms are doing to the planet was suppressed by the Green, political party, line... Peace, man?

Grrrr....

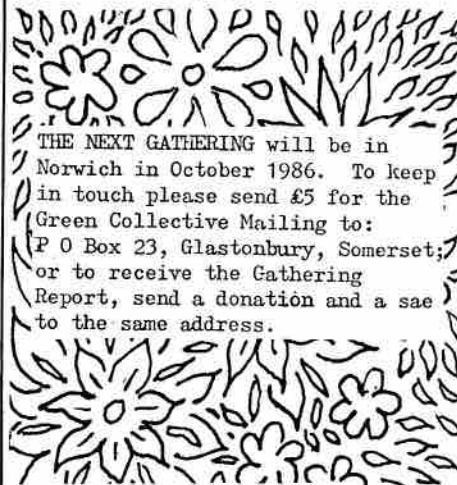
Nick Mann

## Network sources

\*\* THE GLOUCESTERSHIRE DIRECTORY ... is a remarkable example of an alternative listing/guidebook to a whole county. Its 64 pages are packed with listings of local and national contacts under a variety of headings - among them Green Movement, Peace and Justice, Men and Women's Support, and Artists and Venues. The new 1986 edition is just out, and is a model of what should be available for every county! All credit to John King for getting it done. The national info is useful wherever you live: so send £2.50 (includes postage) to "Gloucestershire Directory", c/o 15 St Anne's Terrace, Cheltenham.

\*\* THE DIRECTORY OF ORGANISATIONS and Training in the UK Organic Movement - and other Relevant Bodies: that's the rather lengthy title of another useful reference guide just published by WWOOF (Working Weekends on Organic Farms). Edited by Sue Coppard, it lists over 200 bodies and centres related to the organic movement. Another very practical service to the green movement as a whole. Send £1 (which includes postage) to WWOOF-Mail Order, c/o S Blethyn, 10 Penn Lea Road, Bath BA1 3RA.

\*\* THE MEDIATOR is the quarterly magazine of The Mediating Network, "a UK-based Network which exists primarily to encourage linking, co-operation and understanding between groups, individuals and networks working in their different ways for the same goal: a unified humanity living in dynamic harmony with the Earth." Part of the New Age 'Network of Light', the magazine's current issue makes connections with what the New Economics is trying to do: send 50p plus s&e to Errol and Imogen Masters, 10 Bramber Court, Eaton Gardens, Hove, Sussex BN3 3TS (phone 0273 723362).



THE NEXT GATHERING will be in Norwich in October 1986. To keep in touch please send £5 for the Green Collective Mailing to: P O Box 23, Glastonbury, Somerset; or to receive the Gathering Report, send a donation and a s&e to the same address.

OUR 'NETWORK' pages are as wise as you are! Send us news of what's been happening - or going to happen - so we can share information and experiences more widely.

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# Social

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# Defence

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Social defence is often put forward as an alternative to conventional military defence. Here HAJO KARBACH argues that peace campaigners often overlook the truly revolutionary potential of social defence, and suggests that social defence is a strategy to be used against the existing governments and state institutions. He argues that we will never be able to persuade them to adopt social defence as a national strategy.

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THE DEMAND FOR disarmament is constantly opposed with the argument that we would remain unprotected. Such a position is often also the starting point of those peace researchers and military strategists who have developed alternative defence concepts. This article questions the realism of such a starting point, and indicates other tasks of social defence within a strategy of nonviolent transformation.

The concept of social defence is repeatedly raised in discussion and at disarmament meetings, particularly when the threat of Soviet military power and people's widespread fears are brought up.

Many peace researchers who develop concepts of alternative defence are in the same position. They try to take account of the fact that the vast majority of people are afraid of being attacked and require

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The reasons for arms build-up are the economic and political interests of the ruling elites.

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protection, for without this protection such people would not support a strategy for disarmament or military change. Hence social defence - or similar concepts - are seen as a sedative against the popular fear of attack, and are not understood as a necessary part of a demilitarisation strategy. This failing is indicative of a particular view of the road ahead and the obstacles to be met - namely, the idea that the decisive reason why domestic disarmament is not immediately practical can be traced back to the existence of an opponent military power and its possible threat.

The real reasons for the development of military potential still remain disregarded. Such development

has almost never taken place as a result of the people's fear of attack. The crucial reasons for arms build-up and militarisation are independent of any opponent military power. They arise from the economic and political interests of the national and multi-national elites of each of the respective power blocs. These ruling groups like to manipulate the "security needs" of their respective peoples.

This motive is clearly visible in US military policy since the forties or earlier. Their objects had been imperialistic: access to markets, raw materials, trade routes, and strategic positions to safeguard them. These aims were to be achieved and secured by military means - particularly within the "Third World".

Soviet military power is greater than can be explained solely by the protective function "enforced by the West". Here too the military has an important stabilising role which it has been playing with regard to home affairs since its foundation.

But it is not only the two superpowers who pursue economic and political aims by military means. Smaller European countries have also waged - and still wage - colonial and subjugatory wars - for example Belgium in the Congo, Portugal and France in Africa, and Britain in Northern Ireland. Here the military additionally plays the role of a last resort against social movements, an aspect which, since it is unconnected to the spectacular new (nuclear) weapons systems, remains almost totally unnoticed by the peace movement.

Ultimately a state cannot continue to exist devoid of an army or a comparable armed power. If it gave up the option of armed conflict, it could no longer be recognised as a state by definition - that is, having the capacity to enforce the "public will" upon its citizens.

In the context of a discussion of the origins of the military, I would argue that an army is still a threat to the population of the opponent bloc. Thus those who seek the abolition of every army and are starting by trying to give radical effect to this in their own country, should take seriously their own people's fear of attack. I wonder, however, why alternative defence concepts are not taken up gratefully by politicians and military men: after all, they provide so many political (purely defensive, democratic), financial, and defence/political (in case of war it does not destroy what it should defend) advantages. Furthermore, such concepts would offer reliable protection for the population against foreign threats.

There is an obvious answer. The domestic reasons for armament are considerably more important than the foreign ones (i.e. the armaments of another country). This point is often neglected by peace researchers and theorists.

Politicians, economic elites and particularly military men share but a very limited interest in any kind of social defence of society. These groups cannot be expected to engage in developing a capacity for social defence. Different social groupings are needed here, and grassroots initiatives may play an important role. We should ask ourselves whether the government and the military will tolerate social groups developing a defence capacity, especially since such a development will be connected with criticism of, and resistance against, armed institutions of state power. I am convinced those ruling parties (of every country) will use every power at their disposal to safeguard their interests. They will be most concerned to prevent their last



means of power, the army, from becoming disarmed. In a functioning state with an intact army, the attempt to introduce social defence will meet fierce resistance from the government, particularly if the military status quo is to be changed. In the final analysis the intervention of the home army or that of an ally must be feared.

Hence the introduction of a nonviolent defence strategy combined with disarming the military and depriving it of its power is a revolutionary act which transgresses boundaries of state tolerance and governmental acceptance - a state of affairs the peace movement has to take on board.

The main point to realise here is that social defence can be used both against foreign aggressors and against takeover of power at home: the demand for a programme of social defence to be undertaken probably already implies its application against the



home army and "allied" militaries respectively. In addition, the assumption of most theorists does not hold in this situation - namely that the established "legitimate" government, representing the people's will, is supposed to be at the head of social defence.

#### Defending the revolution

With such a problem other political forces are confronted from a different point of view: groups such as those struggling for social and economic self-government, for an ecological, liberal-socialist society. Their perspective is bound up with a social revolution, i.e. a fundamental change of social conditions. This would imply the removal from power and control of those who wield governmental and

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Social defence will be used by a people against its own army

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military power at present, i.e. the capitalist and bureaucratic elites. Power and wealth has to be returned to those who are powerless at present - the exploited and oppressed.

These groups overlap with those who aim to achieve nonviolent defence including disarmament of the army. Additionally there are the war resisters who

"are determined to support in no way any kind of war and to work for the abolition of all causes of war" (declaration of the WRI) and believe major causes of war cannot be abolished without a social revolution. If such revolutionary groups are successful - i.e. if their aims and their struggle are based on massive support within society and the government is forced to hand over substantial concessions or even become totally powerless - then the old order breaks down and power is acquired by new groups and institutions. In such a situation, the problem is how to defend revolutionary achievements. The slowly developing new society of the revolutionaries must be defended against advocates of the old order who will use their last resort: military suppression. A recent example is the military destabilisation and oppression of independent Nicaragua. Nor should we forget the continuing military suppression of a hopeful example of workers' self-government in the Polish "workers' paradise".

#### Social defence during social change

The defence of revolutionary achievements should not jeopardise the achievements themselves. In such a situation liberal socialists are not able to rely on military means for defence, because these means would endanger their aims through the inevitable militarisation of the revolutionaries. It may be that the resources of such a society will be exceeded as it tries to achieve the constructive work of creating a liberal alternative and is simultaneously forced to bear the exertion and victims of a conventional "defence war" (Spanish anarchists were forced into this situation in 1936-8).

If revolutionaries want to make a start now on preparations to defend the revolution, they must develop methods of nonviolent combat and resistance - i.e. social defence put into practice during the process of social change. Their situation is similar to that of anti-militarists who must make use of

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What is needed is a powerful "social attack" on the military to bring it down.

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social defence if they finally wish to carry it through. If both these trends want to succeed they need to work together. Their common problem will be to get rid of the military (first of all their own) and create a nonviolent defence of society from its roots.

After all, society won't be changed from a military base to one of social defence simply by means of a popular majority. What is needed is a powerful "social attack" on the military in order to bring it down. The combat methods of this "social attack", i.e. the whole range of the nonviolent application of power starting from non-collaboration until the point of civil usurpation, will at the same time form the foundation for the social defence of the new society. The attack on the military itself is the best "manoeuvre" for social defence. Hence the aim must be to get as many people involved as possible.

#### Prospects and tasks

Observing the present situation in Western Europe and the prospect of a radical, nonviolent, antimilitarist movement, one point must be ascertained: we are not in a revolutionary or pre-revolutionary situation. Governments are able to rely on a more or less benevolent toleration by their respective peoples.

Although minorities do make substantial criticisms in central areas of policy (energy, traffic, arms, economic, social), only a tiny minority feels the conditions to be so pressing that they strive for a social revolution. There are the following prospects:

1 For many people the most difficult aspect of practising nonviolent combat methods, particularly if these are illegal, will be that they are unusual and cross the boundaries of everyday thought. As a result it is important that as many people as possible are able to experience nonviolent direct action and civil disobedience. They should share such experiences, and the fact of opposing police and justice, before social conflicts taper off and the risk of resistance increases. Direct actions with

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### International solidarity must underpin social defence.

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massive participation can contribute to a situation in which offering resistance becomes a normal and everyday matter - even if the concrete aims of the action cannot possibly be realised. The deterrent effect of the repression system, however, loses its importance for many people. Thus what needs to be "exercised" for social defence are not only tactics but also attitudes and whole patterns of behaviour. It is a new "normality" of thought which needs to be experienced and learned.

2 Peace researchers who hitherto outlined concepts of social defence generally thought of situations in which an established order was forced to defend itself against an attack and in which the legitimate government is at the head of the resistance. There is a vast lack of theories concerning the problem of how participants in a social defence scenario can react in an appropriate way if the "legitimate" institutions do not side with the resistance of their people but support the aggressor. Such considerations should examine how it might be possible to prevent a resistance movement from collapsing when its leadership gives in.

Theorists should not, for example, simply assert that in 1968 the Czech leadership brought the resistance against the occupation by the Warsaw Pact to an end, and this against the will of the people. They should instead be looking for answers to how, and under what conditions, that society might have been able to continue its resistance even without the government.

3 An important aspect of social defence is the international support offered to resistance. The combat against the aggressor is carried on to the territory of its trade partners and allies, and even into the aggressor's own country. There are situations imaginable in which social defence is practised against a numerically and economically far superior aggressor. Only strong international solidarity with the defenders offers any prospect of success. The same applies to other liberation and social struggles, e.g. the miners' strike.

This international solidarity should become a "normal" attitude too. It would be against the new norms to fail to take sides when oppression and exploitation are being supported - often clandestinely - in foreign countries.

Nowadays we are above all challenged to support struggles at the margin of industrial societies; for example the fight of the peoples of El Salvador or South Africa against economic exploitation and

military oppression, the struggle against land deprivation and the threatened genocide of Indians because of mineral resources in their soil; or to organise against the expulsion of a million people in the Indian Normada Valley caused by a gigantic dam project which is questionable from every point of view and in which European industries and politicians are directly or indirectly involved. Here as everywhere our task will be to organise resistance, to mobilise public opinion, and above all to carry out economic and political boycotts in our own country. It will be important to develop our strongest weapon, our economic power as consumers as well as producers, and to gain a feeling for this weapon. Similarly it is important to strengthen our allies in the world in order to build up an international co-operation of people against the international co-operation of industries, governments and armies. We should aim to create a basis of international support of which we will be in urgent need if conflicts take place in our own country.

4 Regarding the scope of social defence, emphasis has hitherto been laid on its function as an alternative to military systems. However, such a starting point excludes all discussion of questions about existing society, its structures and its probable change. The idea and framework of social defence, however, needs to be broadened. It should not be seen as an institutional counter-strategy to existing military concepts and which would be introduced from the level of government. It should

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### How can a resistance movement be helped to survive when its leadership capitulates?

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instead be regarded as a kind of objective or "utopia" which needs to be developed from the grass-roots level. As an "employed utopia" it would anticipate forms of social defence of another, more liberal society in which social defence will be used as a working strategy.

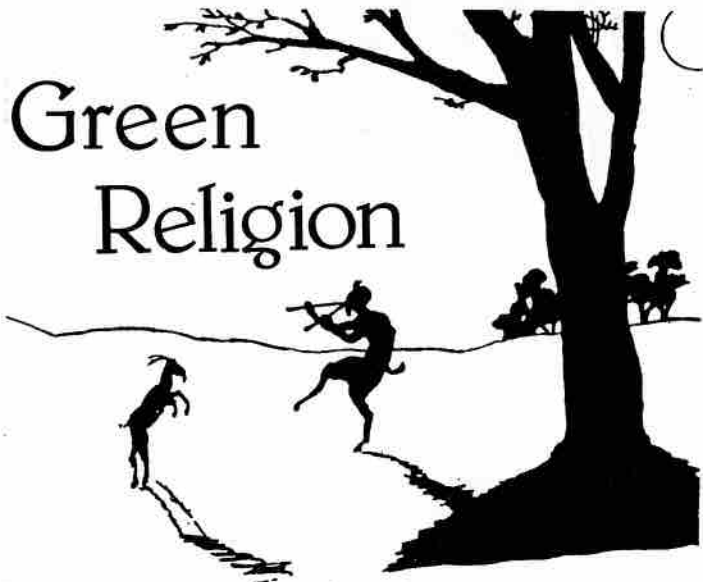
In order to achieve this aim, social defence should be understood as a means of social and structural change within a society. To bring a change about, social change itself, its methods and practice, needs to be employed actively: forms of social defence must be applied nowadays in order to be able to establish it fully in the future. For it to come into existence social defence requires a transformation of society, because it inherently produces the essence of a different, nonviolent society. The dynamic and transformational character of such a concept inevitably involves a radical criticism of our existing society and its conditions. As a strategy opposed to state and military, there are few reasons why it should be supported by the latter. More probably, state institutions will reject and resist any such kind of process of democratisation and self-defence, for the sake of their own survival: increasing support for social defence would weaken acceptance of the state's "holy" monopoly of force and power.

Finally, getting involved in social defence leads us to the possibility of living nowadays life as it probably could be in a future, nonviolent and liberal society.

\*\* Based on a paper first published in Graswurzel-revolution (no. 80, 1980 and no. 98/99, Nov. 1985) with translation and alterations by Martin Baumann.

# The role of Paganism in the ecology movement

## Green Religion



A return to more Pagan values, says TINA PYE, would eradicate the need for ecology.

TO MANY PEOPLE involved in the green movement the concept of "Gaia", the Earth Mother, is a central concept, a rediscovery of our age. To some of us however, particularly those in the re-emerging Pagan movement, She never went away!

You may not be aware that the Pagan religion is alive and flourishing; or you may be confused by the term Pagan itself (it comes from 'paganus' - a country dweller) which in today's language is often used to denote someone who is anti-religious. Nothing could be further from the truth. Paganism was the first religion, it is a religion of Nature and has no dogmas or set beliefs but is as organic and flexible as the Earth on which it grows. A basic concept of Paganism is respect and reverence for the Earth Mother (known by a myriad of names) and Her Consort for all Her creatures, mineral, plant, animal or

"Gaia will be once again restored to her heritage."

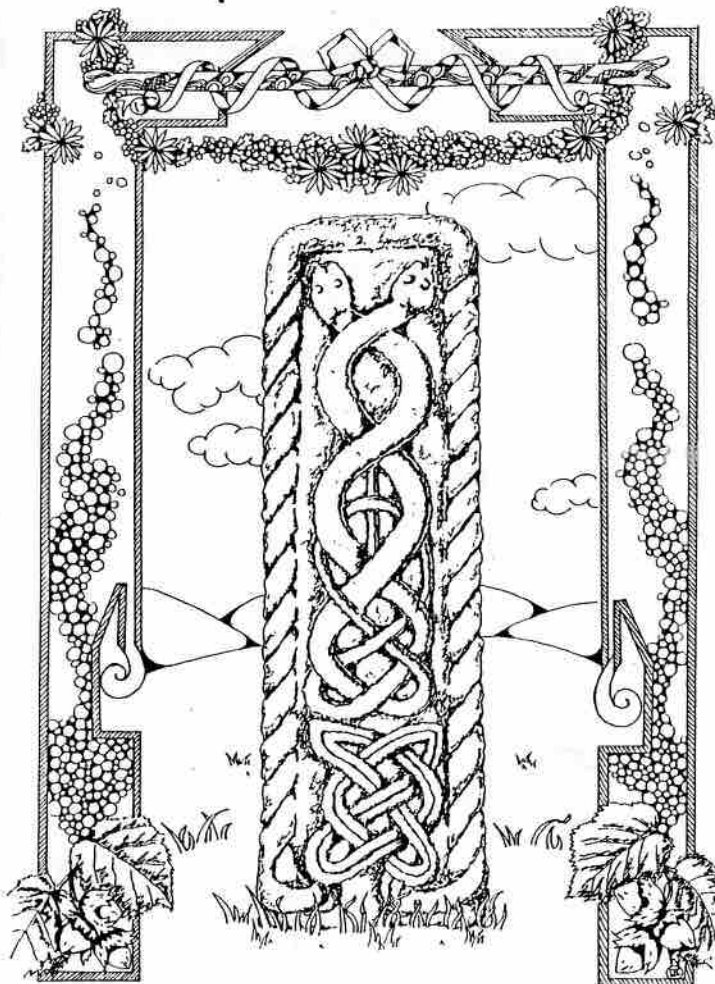
human. Genuine Pagans strive actively for a harmonious existence with Nature and a recognition of the sacredness of all life. As a result you will find Pagans active in most ecological/animal rights groups and also working on a non-physical level such as in my own group, Pagan Animal Rights, where we use ritual and meditative techniques to assist the animals. Groups such as Pagans Against Nukes work to re-green the earth and eradicate nuclear power/weapons.

Although many people in the green movement are spiritual, they often feel at a loss as to where to direct their spirituality. The established church, though providing a base for some, is far too dogmatic and entrenched in materialist society for others: as a consequence many people turn to the East for inspiration. Our own traditions are often much maligned or ignored due to misunderstanding and to

misrepresentation by the media. For many, Paganism can fill the gap. It does not demand from its followers any more than they are prepared to give, it provides a strong framework from which to work, and in addition it provides methods of working for change that are not usually available. Techniques of ritual magic and meditation can be used on behalf of animals or ecology. On any large demonstration vast amounts of energy are raised - often by chanting, a long-established occult practice - but it is often dissipated or turned to frustrated anger. By channeling it magically, both the cause and the humans concerned could benefit.

The ancient concept of Paganism was very much linked with sacrifice; but much as we may condemn them today, none of these sacrifices came anywhere near to the sacrifice asked of us now. Then few animals or humans were killed: the humans usually went willingly for the good of the tribe (the Pagan community tends to believe now, as then, in reincarnation, so earthly life was not paramount), and the animals were taken with respect, having previously lived in freedom. Today millions of animals are sacrificed to the false gods of greed and profit in factory farms and vivisection laboratories, after miserable lives. And many humans are similarly sacrificed - though not publicly. How many lives does the nuclear industry and medical science claim? Think about it.

Today's Pagan still sacrifices but in a very different



way. The sincere Pagan (not the play actor or the confused occultist) offers herself/himself in the service of the God and Goddess within and without:

they offer their energy, their money and their time.

In celebrating the eight festivals of the year, the four equinoxes and solstices, and the four fire festivals of Imbolc (February), Beltane (May), Lughnasadh (August) and Samhain (November), the modern Pagan, even if a city dweller, learns to live in harmony with the Earth's natural rhythms. The fire festivals tend to be more movable and Nature tells us when to celebrate them; the first snowdrops for Imbolc, the may blossom (hawthorn) for Beltane, first fruits for Lughnasadh and the approach of winter for Samhain, the Celtic new year.

Pagans learn to live in balance. The dark of the womb is as important as the light of the sun, the Lord of the Forest as necessary as the Lady of the Spring. The Pagan also takes responsibility for his or her own actions; there is no dogma to fall back upon. "Eight words the Wiccan rede fulfil, an it harm none do what thou wilt" is quite a difficult code to live by, as many of our actions harm other

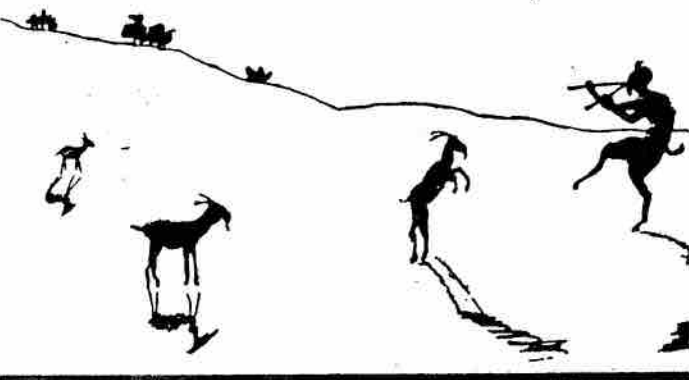
"Different paths suit different people, but they all meet on the same mountain top."

beings. It is quite close to Ahimsa, the Eastern doctrine of harmlessness. The Pagan doctrine is also one of joy and love.

No, very few of us do dance around "skyclad" (it's too cold!) or have orgies; but we do have a lot of dance, music and song and we do believe that life is to be enjoyed as well as respected. It's a gift from the Gods, not a penance. Paganism does not seek converts, nor does it believe itself to be the only way - different paths suit different people, but they all meet on the same mountain top. It is not a question of people becoming Pagan, merely of them recognising it in themselves and being led to the appropriate group if that is what they seek. A return to more Pagan values would eradicate the need for ecology: no one needed to teach the megalith builders or the American Indians to live in harmony with their environment! When the Maypoles become common once again at Beltane and the people use dance instead of chemicals in the fields, then we will have won the battle for a better, healthier world and Gaia will be once again restored to her heritage.

\*\* In a short article such as this there is much that can't be covered, but I would be happy to discuss any of the points raised or provide further information to anyone who drops me a line (s.a.e. appreciated): Tina Pye, Pagan Animal Rights, 23 Highfield South, Rock Ferry, Wirral L42 4NA.

Illustrations © Jeanette Easby.



# Power of the wind

Wind power offers a technology that is truly 'alternative' - not just scientifically different, but socially and politically different as well. PATRICK WHITEFIELD talked to STEVE WADE about the implications as Steve was fitting a windmill to his caravan.

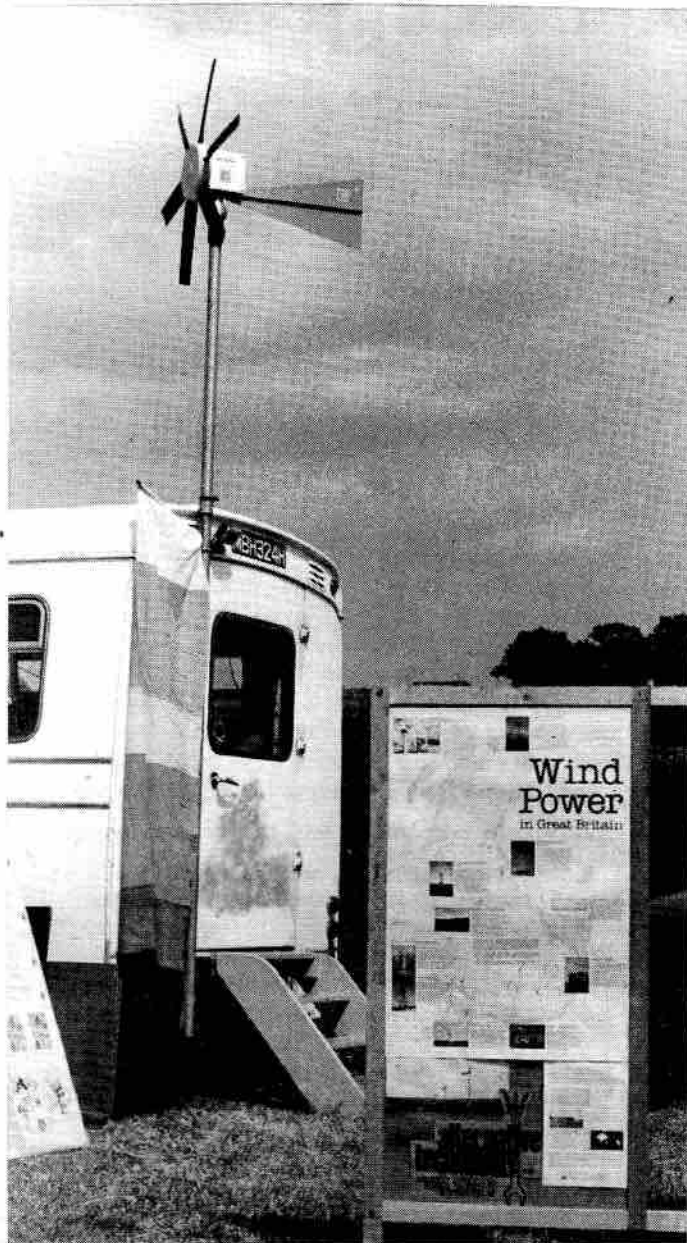
IF YOU GO to festivals and green gatherings you may well have seen a colourful exhibition and information stall on renewable energy, spreading out from a green caravan with a windmill on top. This is the work of Steve Wade, otherwise known as Windmill Steve. He also runs a small business installing safe energy equipment, and recently he came round to install a windmill - more accurately a wind generator - for my caravan. While he was here I asked him about the windpower scene in the UK at the moment.

The most popular small generator is the 50 watt "Rutland" made by Marlec Engineering, a small family firm, and supplied by Steve and others like him. Like all of its kind it works by charging a normal car or truck battery which provides electricity at a constant 12 volts, storing power when the wind is blowing and electricity isn't being used, and tiding over periods of calm. It has been sold to village communities in India and to nomads in their yurts on the plains of Mongolia, while in this country it's mainly used for caravans, boats, remote farm buildings and electric stock fences. The basic price is currently around £230 retail, though it can cost you more than that by the time it's installed all complete. 50 watts sounds small, but Steve reckons that used in pairs or with a petrol backup in case of prolonged calm weather, this model could be adequate for domestic use. Though this would depend how windy it is where you live.

"The place for electricity," he says, "is not for cooking and space heating - solid fuel is better for this - but for lighting, sound systems, computers, and so on. Then a 50 watt generator becomes sufficient for a household. Since you're not running heaters you can have a lower voltage, and this allows you to run lots of bulbs plus a TV, stereo etc. on an output which would only run a single bulb at mains voltage.

"For occasional use of power tools, such as an electric drill, you can get an inverter, which enables you to bump up the voltage to 240v for a short time. One of these costs around £300 - £400. But you couldn't introduce a wind generator to a typical semi-detached with all its present gadgets. It just wouldn't work."

Marlec should have a 250 watt model on the market soon and are working on a 1 kw machine, both of which, says Steve, should provide excellent small-scale systems



at a very reasonable price.

A useful service is provided by the Northumbrian Energy Workshop, a co-operative specialising in both wind and water power. They don't actually manufacture the equipment themselves, but do virtually everything else in the field from evaluating a particular site for water or wind generating potential, through testing different products and advising on systems design, to actually supplying the equipment. It was they, for example, who supplied the Rutland generators to Mongolia.

At the other end of the market wind generators are more commonly known as wind turbines, and outputs are measured in megawatts. This scene has been pioneered by several firms in Denmark and Holland. Their generators are working in many parts of the world, notably the USA, where "wind farms" have been constructed to supply cities. This has developed since the Americans discovered that nukes are uneconomic and stopped building them. One firm has every wind generator it has ever supplied world-wide linked to a monitoring computer at home in Denmark. If one is going wrong they can ring up the owners and tell them.

In Scotland, production-line wind turbines are made by

Howdens of Glasgow. These are mainly exported, mostly to the USA, though they have supplied a commercially operating one on Orkney and are soon to start work on one in Kent for the CEEB. The Wind Energy Group, a joint venture by three major companies, is designing, testing and marketing large wind turbines in various parts of the UK. "Why,"

"Wind power is a good way of making electricity, but not of making money - or nuclear weapons."

wonders Steve, "don't they build the proven Danish ones under licence?" There is also a government-run National Wind Turbine Centre at East Kilbride in Strathclyde, where large-scale turbines are tested.

Steve sounds a little sceptical about government involvement in all this. On the small side, Marlec are getting some help from the Board of Trade, and there is a Ministry of Agriculture grant of a very modest 15% for wind generators over 5 kw - but only on models tested to British Standards, and testing hasn't started yet. The CEEB has various sites around the country for testing British prototypes of large machines. "In fact there are already perfect models produced (in Denmark), but if the British one doesn't work they have the excuse not to use it. This happened with wave power, which really is feasible. The fact is, wind power is a good way of making electricity, but not of making money - or nuclear weapons."

"What is alternative technology?" asks Steve. Some people who have worked on nuclear power and now work on big wind generators say that the technology is actually higher. I don't think we should be thinking in terms of building high-technology wind power stations and then selling electricity to people, but rather in terms of people getting together and producing their own small-scale electricity. Governments use nuclear energy as a way of maintaining centralised power. Using wind energy in the same way is hardly alternative technology."

To which I can only add that my little system is working beautifully, and the most beautiful thing about it is that I'm not using any fossil fuel at all for my lighting. Except for the energy used in manufacturing the equipment, I use nothing but the wind. It's a small step, but a real one, on the road to a lifestyle that does no violence to the Earth. It's a great feeling.

\*\* Steve's exhibition is available for display at green fairs. All enquiries to: Steve Wade, Laneside house, King's Head Lane, Islip, Oxford. Phone: 08675 6349.

## Wind & Sun Safe Energy Supplies



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# ANARCHY FOR BEGINNERS

Many Greens look to anarchists for their ideological antecedents, and many stand firmly with the anarchist tradition. RON HAYLEY surveys the history of anarchist politics, and concludes with some priorities which, he suggests, need urgent attention.

## POLITICS RECLAIMED

THE WORD "ANARCHY" is Greek in origin, and means "without a ruler". The word "anarchist" was used as an epithet by people like Oliver Cromwell who called his opponents "switzerizing anarchists" (after the cantonal system of Switzerland) for opposing strong central government during the English Revolution. It wasn't until Pierre Joseph Proudhon that the word was adopted with pride, although the idea of anarchism had existed a long time before.

Anarchism is the belief that government is no substitute for voluntary human relationships, and that the one tends to develop at the expense of the other. Anarchism exists in two forms: as instinctive rebellion against government, tyranny and the destruction of organic and more egalitarian forms of community, and as a conscious political doctrine created by Western intellectuals over the last two centuries.

Anarchist sentiments go back a long way to philosophers of antiquity like the Green Sophists and Lao Tse, Chinese founder of Taoism, and continue through the Middle Ages in heretical Christian sects like the Anabaptists and the Diggers (a revolutionary communist group who were close cousins to the Quakers). Gerard Winstanley, leader of the Diggers (who tried squatting some vacant land for purposes of setting up a commune during the English Revolution) believed in the abolition of both government and private property. In his pamphlet "The New Law of Righteousness" he wrote that "everyone that gets an authority into his hands tyrannises over the others."

Of course, many so-called "primitive" societies were also organised anarchically in that they possessed no government or binding authority. Here is a glimpse of one such society - the Mbuti pygmies of the Congo:

They have no differential 'political' power, nor even chiefs or shamans. The only individual authority is that of a father over his children. "No one individual is a leader; issues are settled by common discussion" either within the semi-autonomous age groups or within the band as a whole. "All major decisions are made by common

consent... Men and women have an equal say." There is a special mid-camp site from which anyone may harangue all present on matters of concern to the band. Even children may take part in the band discussions. Youth are "required to be able to voice their opinions and cite precedents." The criterion for a correct communal decision is that it be 'pleasing to the Forest' but "only when unanimity is beyond question is an opinion or an action considered pleasing to the Forest. Every Mbuti is nothing if not a powerful individualist who expresses his opinions with force and clarity." 'Individualism' is not considered incompatible with the high valuation placed on equality, co-operation, harmony, the common good. (Excerpt from Gad Horowitz' "Repression".)

As a political doctrine, anarchism (still without a name) first makes its appearance in the French Revolution. It was in response to the tyranny of the new revolutionary government that radicals like the Enrages wrote in 1792:

Senatorial despotism is as terrible as the sceptres of kings because it chains the people without their knowing it and brutalises them by laws they themselves are supposed to have made.

Jean Varlet, his companion, was to declare later:

What a social monstrosity, what a masterpiece of Machiavellianism, this revolutionary government is in fact. For any reasoning being, Government and Revolution are incompatible, at least unless the people wishes to constitute the organs of power in permanent insurrection against themselves, which is too absurd to believe.

The first systematic anarchist was William Godwin, an English pamphleteer and critic of the French Revolution, whose "Enquiry Concerning Political Justice" influenced a whole generation of English radicals. His spouse was the famous feminist

Anarchy is the belief that government is no substitute for voluntary human relationships, and that the one tends to develop at the expense of the other.

Mary Wollstonecraft, and the poets Coleridge and Shelley were among those who felt his influence. According to Godwin, government suffocates social spontaneity, deprives people of initiative, and promotes slavishness and timidity. Only when people take responsibility for running their own lives in a network of decentralised "parishes" (as the potential units of English political life were called) would government wither away and human virtue be restored.

Godwin's contemporary Tom Paine (and Tom Paine's spiritual nephew Henry David Thoreau) were also quasi-anarchists in that they believed that the government which best governs governs least. Actually Thoreau took it one step further, claiming that the best government is that which governs not at all. While all anarchists are united in their belief that government is a cancerous social growth, not all anarchists share a commitment to social

# ANARCHY FOR BEGINNERS

justice. Right-wing anarchists, for instance, oppose anything which circumscribes the freedom of the individual, and hence oppose any restrictions on private property. Max Stirner, a contemporary of Marx and the father of individualist anarchism, believed that any ordering of social life at all (including presumably voluntary co-operation) would prove oppressive to the individual. In their original doctrine, individual anarchists held that equality was a necessary precondition for individual liberty, and that no one should live off the labour of others. These two provisos have been dropped by modern-day individualists - represented for instance by the Libertarian Party of Canada and the US.

Pierre Joseph Proudhon, a printer by trade and a self-educated man, stands midway between the individualists and the later anarcho-collectivists and anarcho-communists. Proudhon achieved notoriety in 1840 with his book "What is Property?" His answer? "Property is theft." Despite this denunciation Proudhon actually believed in the right of the individual to the fruits of his or her own labour; and to address the problem of economic injustice he evolved the philosophy of "mutualism" in which it was advocated that people should have access to credit without interest and should exchange with each other on the basis of mutually binding contracts. His People's Bank, set up along this principles, attracted 27,000 members before Proudhon was thrown into jail for criticising the future Emperor of France. Proudhon, like many others, fought in the 1848 French Revolution, and played a leading role in setting up the International Workingmen's Association (The First International) - even more than Marx. Unlike the latter, he was passionately opposed to philosophical dogma and went to great pains to avoid leaving behind a theoretical system. In fairness it should also be pointed out that Proudhon was harshly anti-feminist, and an anti-Semite to boot.

The next great anarchist philosopher was Mikhail Bakunin who, while giving Proudhon his due, believed that only collective ownership of the means of production could solve the problem of economic inequality. He called his system "collectivism", and believed that everyone should be paid according to the amount of work they performed. Bakunin was a phenomenally perceptive man. In 1872, the year he was kicked out of the First International by Karl Marx and his supporters, he wrote that:

Marx is an authoritarian and centralising communist. He wants what we want, the complete triumph of economic and social equality, but he wants it in the State and through State power, through the dictatorship of a very strong and, so to say, despotic provisional government, that is, by the negation of liberty. His economic ideal is the State as sole owner of the land and of all kinds of capital, cultivating the land under the management of State engineers, and controlling all industrial and commercial associations with State capital. We want the same triumph of social and economic equality through the abolition of the State and of all that passes by the name of law (which, in our view, is the permanent negation of human rights). We want the reconstruction of society and the unification of mankind to be achieved, not from above downwards by any sort of authority, nor by socialist officials, engineers and other accredited men of learning - but from

below upwards, by the free federation of all kinds of workers' associations liberated from the yoke of the State.

Bakunin believed that a 'new class' would try to convert its knowledge into power over economic and



social life, and in so doing would create "the reign of scientific intelligence, the most aristocratic, despotic, arrogant and elitist of all regimes... The world will be divided into a minority ruling in the name of knowledge, and an immense ignorant majority."

Following Bakunin, Kropotkin and Malatesta developed the theory of anarcho-communism. Like Bakunin, they believed the means of production should be owned in common, but that people should receive payment according to their needs, not according to their "work". Kropotkin and Malatesta were both extremely talented. Kropotkin was a geographer and a zoologist whose book, "Mutual Aid",

We can't ignore politics;  
we must reclaim it.

anticipated recent biological breakthroughs by arguing that traditional evolutionary theory placed too much emphasis on competition and failed to appreciate sufficiently how mutual aid permits species and human communities to survive and develop. Kropotkin was among those who supported the policy of terrorism ("propaganda of the deed"), but he later summed it up as a "grave error".

Malatesta, like his contemporary Lenin, was extremely critical of trade unionism as a revolutionary strategy. He wrote:

Trade unionism is not, and never will be, anything but a legalistic and conservative movement unable to aim beyond - if that far! - the improvement of working conditions.

# ANARCHY FOR BEGINNERS

Unlike the nihilists with whom they are often associated, anarchists like Kropotkin and Malatesta were men of the highest moral quality whose commitment to humanity was beyond reproach. They countenanced violence as a necessary evil because they believed that tyranny would never voluntarily retire from the stage of history. For the oppressed to be non-violent would be to accord a greater humanity to their oppressors than to themselves. Unlike these two men, Leo Tolstoy believed that violence never establishes its opposite, a consensual society. It only intensifies and institutionalises the use of violence. Tolstoy was a Christian and his teachings (including their anarchist component) had a significant influence on Gandhi. Tolstoy came out of the tradition of Russian populism which identified with the peasants and alternately sought to educate them and incite them through acts of terror. Lenin's brother was a member of this group - called the Narodniki - and was executed for his part in the murder of the Czar.

Before moving on to the recent past, allow me to mention a few other highlights. One form that anarchism took in Europe and America at the turn of the century and later was syndicalism - the belief that the unions (or syndicates as they were called in France) would one day take over the management of production and form an upside down pyramid with power invested in the local factories. Anarchists have always been strongly identified with the workers' movement. The Haymarket Martyrs (four men executed on phoney charges of throwing a bomb), who

Pelloutier, envisioned a broad political programme of mutual aid societies, workers' self-education, and efforts at educating the people generally about political issues. The notion of "workers' control" which emerged out of syndicalism became very popular among Russian workers, and the Bolsheviks received their support, in part, because of their demagogical

Power to no one and to everyone;  
to each the power over his/her own  
life, and no others.

use of the concept. Once in power they destroyed incipient attempts at workers' self-management, and when the Kronstadt sailors rose in 1921 demanding self-governing institutions instead of Party control, they were butchered "like partridges" at Trotsky's orders with troops brought in from Central Asia who neither understood the issues at stake nor could speak the sailors' language. All in all, 14,000 rebels died.

Syndicalism was also big in the United States where the International Workers of the World organised workers of all nationalities into their "One Big Union", regardless of trade, creating the basis for the modern trade union, and fighting for free speech and against religious mystification. Their organisation (known more popularly as the Wobblies) was decimated by police during the First World War because of their opposition to what they saw as a "bosses' conflict". Anarchist ideas - known in Spain as "comunismo libertario" - influenced generations of Spaniards and eventually created the conditions for the Spanish Civil War where an actually functioning anarchist society was set up in several parts of Spain before it was crushed - by Franco, on the one side, and their supposed allies, the Communists, on the other. Anarchism was also influential in the arts during the first three decades of the twentieth century, influencing Pissarro the painter, Aldous Huxley the novelist, George Orwell, Margaret Anderson and Oscar Wilde. Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman were also influential figures, the latter a pioneering force for women's liberation, free love, birth control and an advocate and patron of the arts.

Anarchism slumbered in the 40s, to be reborn with the "new left" in the 50s and 60s. It all started when the late 50s and early 60s saw the emergence of a rebellion against traditional leftism pioneered by Paul Goodman, C Wright Mills and Herbert Marcuse. This "New Left", as it later came to be called, with its emphasis on individual freedom, participatory democracy, and the necessity to choose means consistent with ends, had much in common with anarchism. Its precursors were the Committee for Non-Violent Revolution, founded by Dave Dellinger in 1946 along with the journal Direct Action, and succeeded by Liberation which opened its pages to anarchist ideas. Had anarchism been more influential SDS might not have evolved into the Marxist Leninist monstrosity that it did. The New Left was strangled in its grave by the ghosts of Lenin and Stalin. Today we are at a similar juncture where, for lack of an authentic new left, the women's and the peace movements run the risk of being hijacked by an out-of-date Marxism. Though the New Left didn't win the day, it planted its seeds. Murray Bookchin's essay



led the battle in Chicago for the eight-hour day, were anarchists, as were Sacco and Vanzetti, immigrant Italians framed for a murder and a robbery they didn't commit (and ironically supported by the Communist Party during their years on death row).

It is often thought that anarcho-syndicalists were exceedingly narrow in their focus on economics, but the principal theoretician of syndicalism, Ferdinand



# ANARCHY FOR BEGINNERS

"Listen, Marxist!" innoculated at least a few thousand activists against Leninism, and radical feminism erupted on the scene proclaiming in anarchist overtones: "Power to no one, and to every one: to each the power over his/her own life, and no others." (Lilith's Manifesto, in Sisterhood is Powerful, ed. Robin Morgan, New York 1970).

Murray Bookchin was one of the most talented thinkers of this period. His essays "Ecology and Revolutionary Thought", "Towards a Liberatory Technology", and his book "Our Synthetic Environment" anticipated the ecology movement by five to ten years. His book "Post-Scarcity Anarchism" which contains the above-mentioned essays has lost none of its relevance since it was first published in 1971, and represents one of the few attempts to meet the 60s on their own terms.

On the other side of the Atlantic the New Left fared somewhat better. May '68 in Paris represented the greatest flowering of the New Left in the world to date. It was as if the precursors of modern leftism, the Surrealists and the Symbolist poets, had suddenly come to life as Paris walls were decorated with a profusion of graffiti: Power to the Imagination, Life without Dead Times, and Be Realistic - Demand the Impossible! Paris '68 showed that freedom, not scarcity, was the issue of the day in the advanced capitalist countries. Anarchists like Daniel Cohn-Bendit played a prominent role in the '68 events and later co-authored an influential book entitled *Obsolete Communism: the Left-Wing Alternative*. Another influential group was the Situationists. Though Marxists of a sort, and very authoritarian intellectually, their contributions to radical social thought are numerous and have since been assimilated into anarchist thought (the notion of "the spectacle", for instance.)

As in North America, Europe succumbed to the influence of Leninism, but its reign was brief, and by the early 70s citizens' action groups were emerging which later developed into the famous Green parties and movements. On the North American side the anti-nuke movement formed an important counter-current to Maoism, and proved that the anarchist concepts of affinity groups and consensus decision-making were alive and well. In 1976-7 the Punk movement took Britain by storm and the Sex Pistols album "Anarchy in the U K" launched a new generation of youth on the trail of the elusive circle-A. Crass and Poison Girls, two influential hardcore bands, have continued this trajectory in a more explicit vein, as have North America's Dead Kennedys and M.D.C. The early 80s has also seen a revival and strengthening of anti-authoritarian currents. Today we stand at a crossroads - the choice is clear. Either we create an authentic New Left, imbued with the best that anarchism, feminism and radical nonviolence have to offer, or we chuck it in the gutter and repeat the mistakes of the past.

Nothing is (or should be) sacred. One will no more find the answer to twentieth century problems in dusty nineteenth century anarchist tracts than in nineteenth century Marxist ones. The problem with traditional anarchism is two-fold. First, it has over-estimated our thirst for freedom, and failed to explain our penchant for conformity and the trappings of authoritarianism. Second, it has proven more successful at criticising the present than at building bridges to the future. How do we deal with specific social problems like crime, for instance,

without the aid of prisons? How, after a revolution, do we fight a revolt by the powers-that-be without recourse to a system of organised coercion? How do we organise an over-arching economic life in a system of decentralised communes? How do we convince people to move into such communes in the first place and give up their consumer lifestyles? How do we guarantee the rights of native peoples? Until



anarchists answer these questions they will be treated with scepticism and deservedly so.

If Marxism suffers from economism, anarchism suffers from a knee-jerk attitude towards politics. Since any form of political participation is viewed as compromise, the arena of politics is left to the powers that be. We can't ignore politics, we must reclaim it. We must figure out how the "elected dictatorships" of the present can be made to evolve (through the development of "dual power", for instance) into the self-managed institutions of a libertarian society. What is the relationship between building alternative economic institutions and challenging technocracy in the political sphere? How do the people seize back political power? How do they fight the erosion of civil liberties? How do we erode the legitimacy of the established parties and create support for a libertarian politics without becoming a captive of the electoral system?

These questions deserve our attention and soon.

\*\* This article was first published in the Canadian anarchist magazine *Kick It Over* in June 1985. (Annual subscription £4 to K.I.O., P O Box 5811, Station A, Toronto, Ontario, Canada M5W 1P2.)

For introductions to anarchist thinking, see: *The Anarchist Reader*, ed. George Woodcock (Fontana). *Anarchism*, George Woodcock (Pelican). *Anarchy in Action*, Colin Ward (Freedom Press).

For more information on anarchist books available, send a s.a.e. to Green Line with a request for a free copy of the *Anarchist Review*.

## Dangers of nationalism Keeping order

Dear GL,

Peter Cadogan (GL 41) says that nationalism is the most important and powerful political force. In the past, yes, but ecology is the politics of the future, globalism is at the hearts of most ecologists, and we must not do anything to engender the kind of nationalism that leads to hatred and violence. I find it hard, living in Ulster, to have sympathy with any kind of nationalism, be it Scottish, British Ulster, or Irish.

In Ursula Le Guin's "The Left Hand of Darkness" Harth says, "How does one hate a country, or love one? I lack the trick of it. I know people, I know towns, farms, hills and rivers and rocks, I know how the sun at sunset in autumn falls on the side of a certain ploughland in the hills; but what is the sense of giving a boundary to all that, of giving it a name and ceasing to love where the name ceases to apply? What is

love of one's country; is it hate of one's uncountr? Then it's not a good thing. Is it simply self-love? That's a good thing, but one mustn't make a virtue of it, or a profession... Insofar as I love life I love the hills of the Domain of Estre, but that sort of love does not have a boundary line of hate. And beyond that, I am ignorant, I hope."

But he goes on to say, "A man who doesn't detest a bad government is a fool. And if there were such a thing as a good government on earth, it would be a great joy to serve it."

If Peter Cadogan and others are to play with the forces of nationalism, I would advise them to proceed with caution and word their writings and sayings with care.

Malcolm Samuel  
99 Prospect Road, Portstewart, N.I.

Dear GL,

Perhaps it isn't surprising, after his experience of the Molesworth eviction, that Brig Oubridge (GL 39) has nothing positive to say about the forthcoming increase in police power. However, if he were a resident of an inner city area or if he had ever encountered a crowd of home-going Millwall supporters on the London underground, he might not so easily dismiss the need for the new Public Order Bill. It seems unlikely that the bill was introduced in response to the miners or Stonehenge, as Brig suggests: more probably it has been in the pipeline since the inner city violence of 1981, the miners and Stonehenge merely providing opportunities for the police to practice their riot control techniques.

The reason for the lack of protest at the second reading of the bill was not that it was unnoticed but that it is supported by the majority of women, elderly people and families with children for whom the high incidence of verbal abuse, threat of violence, mugging, molesting, abduction, rape etc. has become unacceptable. There can be nothing much more disconcerting than to call for police assistance only to find that unless there is evidence of physical damage he has no power other than to intervene verbally - hardly likely to be long-term deterrent.

Brig writes from the viewpoint of the minority of rural greens for whom violence is not yet a normal part of everyday life as it is in the cities. Instead of slugging off the police, most of whom don't deserve it, perhaps Brig can suggest some alternative way of keeping order.

Genevieve Bridgeman  
25 Rathcoole Avenue, London N8 9LY

\*\* Brig replies:

I could have said that I welcome the increased powers to ban alcohol from football matches (which I do), or the tougher regulations against incitement to racial hatred (even though these may only be invoked by permission of the Attorney General). However, to do so would be to confuse the wrapping of the bill with its substance.

Having been born and brought up in inner London, I sympathise greatly with Genevieve's concern. Nevertheless there are already laws against mugging, molesting, abduction and rape, not to mention assault, GBH, ABH, actual and threatened criminal damage and the like. If verbal abuse constitutes "action likely to cause a breach of the peace" it is already covered by existing law: if it doesn't, a telling-off is surely a case of "letting the punishment fit the crime."

I doubt that there are many miners or Stonehenge-goers who would be greatly comforted by the thought that the police were "merely" practising on them. Violent assault is horrible and

## C H Douglas

Dear GL,

Perhaps the most important statement in GL 39 is where Rudolf Bahro says (in his latest book, "Building the Green Movement"):

We do not want a restoration of full employment. Those for whom the industrial system has no more work should found a new society outside the industrial system. That is quite important in distinguishing us from the old life style ... What we want, and must want, is to finance a withdrawal from the industrial system.

I am not sure what he means by "found a new society outside the industrial system", but he has repeated, in the spirit in which the concept was first put forward, the words of C H Douglas in his book "Credit Power and Democracy" (an early exposition of Social Credit), published in the early 'twenties:

It used to be a very common argument that the spur of economic necessity was ennobling to the character ... The struggle to overcome difficulties is most unquestionably ennobling but we have, I think, reached a stage where our attention may with advantage be diverted from the somewhat sordid struggle of mere existence.

Douglas then goes on to say:

It (the monopoly of credit exercised by international and national banks) completely denies the recognition of the social nature of the heritage of civilisation and, by its refusal of purchasing power, except on terms, arrogated to a few persons selected by the system and not by humanity the right to disinherit the indubitable

heirs, the individuals who compose society.

Later on in his book Douglas goes on to provide a strong argument for the distribution of what he described as the National Dividend based on the monetisation, under the community's control, of the real-wealth potential of the total community. In other words, Douglas is making it perfectly clear that if a society is able to produce sufficient goods and services to maintain a good standard of living, the right to a good life should not be related to the breakdown of a production system which is increasingly incapable of providing employment.

In fact, Douglas goes further by saying that the object of the industrial system is not to create work but solely to produce goods and services as and when required by the community. This may appear elementary but it is a simple fact of which all political parties seem to be supremely unconscious or, perhaps because of their allegiance with, or dependence upon, the Financial Oligarchy, the policies of right and left continue to work within the anti-social constraints imposed by a totally out-of-date and repressive financial system.

I urge all committed to making Green policy a reality to read C H Douglas because of his clear acquisition of the manner in which orthodox finance is automatically and systematically destroying our planet and degrading, in various lethal ways, our life upon it.

Charles A Tacey  
Waylands, Hurstbourne Tarrant,  
Andover, Hants. SP11 0BD

appalling whoever commits it: it is doubly so when the perpetrators are the purported guardians of law and order.

Part 1 of the bill would make people guilty of very serious crimes simply because they happened to be present at the time, and on the uncorroborated evidence of the police alone. It is this which makes the bill unacceptable, and shows that it is specifically designed to catch those who were (and are still being) acquitted of alleged offences in the coalfields and at Stonehenge. We cannot dispose of the principle that guilt must be adequately proven, simply to "justify" bad policing.

Genevieve makes no defence of Part 2 of the bill, which would give the police absolute control of all processions and assemblies, demonstrations, marches, pickets or gatherings of three or more people in a public place. The bill would abolish what Lord Denning (quoting the Court of Common Council of London) has referred to as "the undoubted right of Englishmen to assemble together for the purposes of deliberating upon public grievances."

I am not anti-police. I have had a number of occasions in my life to be grateful to the police, and I am as ready to commend good policing as I am to condemn bad policing. How would I keep order? By attending to causes rather than to symptoms. Governments derive their just power from the consent of the governed, and it is bad and unjust government which gives rise to demonstrations, riots and disorder. We must work to heal the schisms and alienation in our society, not to repress dissent with bad laws and riot squads.

## Social advance

Dear GL,

Brian Leslie (Letters, GL 41) says that "free enterprise, the profit motive and market forces" are not the faults he refers to. He then goes on to put the responsibility for our misfortunes on the bankers and the capitalist system.

How he thinks this system will ever be changed without taking the power to change it I have no idea. Nor does he seem to have any idea that Marxist analysis can be used without assuming authoritarian control of society. He seems to know what is wrong, but is without a clue as to how it could be put right in practice - a syndrome I fear that is common to many greens at present.

In the present situation of social structure, the only possible vehicle in the direction of real social advance has to be the Labour Party, however much we may have to put right some of its present difficulties.

Fred Brown, 27 Hillcrest  
Southborough, Tunbridge Wells, Kent

CHRIS DIXON (Minafon, Barmouth Road, Llanelltyd, Dolgellau, Gwynedd) is preparing a pamphlet on remineralisation - where to get the right dust and how to use it. He'd be glad to hear from anyone with information or experience.

(Continued from page 3)

## "Murders out of tune"

If we are fearful we can be repressed: we need the big strong-arm forces to be fearless even under attack. Patriarchy offers us comfort against world problems that didn't even exist until the military-industrial propaganda machine got to work.

Yes, I am frightened too. I have seen the bomb going off in my head this week. It makes me angry and sad. Give me back the beautiful world I believed in as a child! But I shall not let them rule me with this fear. Do not believe in an international conspiracy to control us all: they're just not that efficient. Do believe they understand the power of fear to immobilise opposition.

Mu'ammarr Gaddafi is at the head of a "Green Revolution". Many of his aims would find favour in the green movement here - except perhaps that we are able to advocate nonviolence. I do not know if this is a luxury that Libya cannot afford. But if the US government seriously wants to end international terrorism, they must seek to deal with the causes: poverty, oppression and injustice. What we must do is leave our government in no doubt that we do not support the US action or the Cabinet's collusion in this crime.

It is no accident that the circumstances of the US sinking of Libyan gunboats is so similar to the Belgrano incident. Both are attempts to make the weaker party seem stronger, to gain collusion in forms of "self-defence" such as bombing Tripoli. The real message is: "Every puny whipster gets my sword!"

WHO ARE THE TERRORISTS NOW?

(The quotations are from Othello.)



# LIFEWAYS GATHERING

*Peace Initiatives in Personal, Family and Community Living*

*"There are no ways to peace,  
peace is the way"*  
GANDHI

Third International Summer Workshop for Adults and Children  
July 19th (midday) to July 25th (midday) 1986

Morning workshops will include the following themes:

Birth and death - young and old  
Food - from farm to table  
Family - rhythms and relationships  
Inner and outer work  
Styles of living  
Community initiatives  
Education for what?

*Morning crèche for small children and an activities programme for older children*

In the afternoons there will be:

Drama, painting, claywork, games, gardening,  
dancing and singing for adults and children.

*Accommodation and meals available. Facilities for camping.*

Forest Row, Sussex, England RH18 5JX. Tel: (0342 82) 2238.

Emerson College is a centre of adult education, training and research based on the work of Rudolf Steiner. The workshops will be offered by members of the College staff, together with others working for a new future.

# Stopping Trident at Faslane

FASLANE PEACE Camp's Rainbow Campaign to stop Trident goes into stage 3 from May 31 to June 2 with the 'Yellow Action'.

On June 2 they intend to blockade the Trident construction site on the Peaton Hill so as to stop work on the site all day. This site is where the MOD are building a road to link Faslane and Coulport bases, and where they plan to build silos for Trident warheads. At present giant earthmovers are destroying trees and wasting thousands of tons of valuable peat. The MOD plan to fence off 3,000 acres of the hill, effectively turning half the Rosneath peninsula into another military zone.

The blockade will be on a Monday, so that workers don't lose money if the work is disrupted. (At the Red Action, 1500 civilian workers were given a paid day off to avoid the blockade.)

You are invited to come for the weekend before, camping at either the two peace camps or possibly on land close to the site. There will be a ceilidh on the Saturday night, with workshops, nvda training and planning meetings on the Sunday. Creche, legal support and basic

vegan food will be provided, and helpers will be needed with these. Otherwise, be self-sufficient.

Anyone who can arrive earlier can help with leafletting and talking to the workers during the week before the blockade. Even an hour's visit would help.

## Local connections

On Friday May 23 local groups are asked to do actions in their home towns to highlight the amount of Trident work going on nationally, and how the money spent on it is causing cuts in housing, the health service, education and local authority services, and how the technology could be used to save lives. In particular the Peace Camp is asking for vigils and pickets at firms doing work for Trident: many have local offices or sites. They include Tarmac, Taylor Woodrow, Wimpey, Balfour Beatty, Bivater Shellabear, Briggs Amasco, Cementation, Fairclough Engineering, French Kier Construction, Laing, Lilley Construction, Alfred McAlpine, Robert McAlpine, Miller Construction, Norwest Holst, Edmund Nuttall... the list is endless. As well as protesting, Trade Unions can be contacted with a view to discussing alternative work: May 23 could be the start of a dialogue between the peace movement and those who work in the weapons industry.

\*\* For more information and/or a list of contractors, contact:

Faslane Peace Camp, Shandon, Helensburgh, Dumbartonshire; or phone 0436 820901. Faslane is on the A814 six miles north of Helensburgh. Regular trains run from Glasgow Queen Street to Helensburgh Central: the 134 bus leaves from opposite the station and stops outside the Peace Camp.

BRIG will be back next month. This month he got arrested and missed his deadline...



## Misprint (again)

For "utter euphemism" in last month's "Brig's Write", read "utterable euphemism". Sorry, Brig! (But if you used words which are in the dictionary...!)



# Stonehenge latest

THE STONEHENGE Campaign enters a new phase this month. There will be pickets outside the National Trust (42 Queen Anne's Gate, London SW1 - phone 01-222 9251) every Friday; and outside English Heritage (Fortress House, 23 Savile Row, London W1 - phone 01-734 6010) every Monday (Tuesdays in Bank Holiday weeks).

Selected MPs will receive a 'Stonehenge Briefing', and there will be a parliamentary lobby on Thur May 29. Lobby leaflets available from Stonehenge '86 Campaign, c/o 99 Torriano Avenue, London NW3.

From June 1 - 8 there will be a picket at Lord Montagu's Motor Museum (at Beaulieu in the New Forest). Between the 1st and 14th a number of carnival processions will make their way from London and other places, to the edge of the "exclusion zone". What happens on the solstice depends on the success of the picketing and lobbying; if all else fails, there will be a nonviolent mass march to the stones on the 21st.



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PEEL-OFF SUNFLOWER STICKERS 4 1/2" The Greens Are Gathering', 'Liberate the Earth', 'Animal Liberation', 'Women's Liberation', 'Green CND', 'Y. Dewis Ecology'. 30p each or 20p each for 10 or more.

POSTCARDS of Green Collective banner or Dove flying over Tor (detail from banner) 20p each or 12p for 10 or more.

GREEN COLLECTIVE LEAFLETS The Greens Are Gathering' £2.00 per 100

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## COALITION:

### NO COMPROMISE OR CONSENSUS

Should Greens in councils and parliaments go into coalitions with other parties? I don't think so, because this backs up the present structure of government. On the other hand, I believe they should try and foster debate on every issue so as to prevent their ideas, and stimulate other representatives into lateral thinking and compromise.

Techniques such as multiple choice preferential voting help to foster such an atmosphere. For leaflet "Catalysts for Consensus - Towards a Real Democracy" send sae to 99 Prospect Road, Portstewart (phone 2301), Northern Ireland. 100 for £2. Another leaflet, "Forests or Famine - Don't Desert the Rainforests" is available at the same rates. Also see stickers:

The production of this product involves the destruction of tropical rainforest and/or the use of third world land that could be growing food for local consumption.

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