

# GREEN *Line*

GL75 / Autumn 1989 / 60p



special  
International  
issue!

# GREEN Line

34 Cowley Rd,  
Oxford, OX4 1HZ  
Telephone (0865) 724315

Monthly magazine of  
Green politics and lifestyle

GREEN LINE is published ten times a year, and is produced by a collective based in Oxford. This issue appeared thanks to the efforts of Barry Maycock, Graham Hooper, Tim Andrewes, Oliver Tickell, Adrian Wright and Jerry Spring. If any other readers can offer help of any kind then we are always pleased to hear from you. Phone Jerry on 0865 724315

### SUBSCRIPTIONS

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

### ENVELOPES

Whenever GL is printed with 24 pages we won't use envelopes so as to keep in the lowest letter rate. Please let us know if your copy arrives in a mess. If you want an envelope send an extra £1 which will cover the next ten 24-page issues.

### BULK ORDERS

5-9 copies only 50p each; 10 or more only 45p each - post free. Send cash with order first time, please; after that, if you want a regular standing order, we'll give you a month to pay. For special occasions like demos or big meetings, we'll supply you sale or return. Normally, however, we do not supply sale-or-return on monthly orders. Normal trade arrangements apply to shops etc.

### DEADLINES

The next issue is due out on DECEMBER 1ST 1989. We need all news, articles, small ads etc by 20th November 1989.

### SPECIAL OFFER! BACK ISSUES

Six recent back issues for £2 post free or 20 back issues for £5. Ideal for new subscribers. Please indicate which is the earliest issue you have already.

### ADVERTISING

Display advertising is only £76 a page, smaller sizes pro rata, 10% off for cash with copy. Send camera-ready copy by the 15th of the month prior to publication, or enquire for our typesetting and layout charges. Inserts are by negotiation. Phone (0865) 724315

Printed by WILL PRINT

# Small Ads

5p/word

ACTIVE FOR ONE GREEN WORLD? Seeking to abolish present structures of power and exploitation by sensible peaceful means? Read the literature of The World Socialist Movement. Send £1 for "Socialism as a Practical Alternative" (48pp) and the "World Socialist" (48pp) to: THE SOCIALIST PARTY (OGW) Freepost, 52 Clapham High St, London SW4 7BR

GREEN WORKING HOLIDAYS: Desert reclamation charity in Spain: sun, wholefood, mountains, swimming, good company, shared purpose! Cost (£32-£40, work 24 hours weekly (tree planting, organic gardening, appropriate technology etc). For full details send £1 to Sunseed, PO Box 2000g, Cambridge CB5 8HG

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

WHOLE NEW WAYS. Imaginative vegan recipes using only ingredients that could be grown in the UK. 75p inc postage. The two booklets together £1.30 inc postage.

FOOD FOR EVERYONE. and ideas on how to reduce global warming, ozone layer depletion and other threats to the planet - booklet with diagrams, charts, pictures 50p. Also ten A4 display sheets £1.00

GROWING OUR OWN by Kathleen Jannaway. How to grow healthy food with minimum labour and no artificial or animal products 35p+15p p&p.

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

TIPIS, HANDMADE to original design. Also "Tipi Living", 40 pages, illustrated, £2 inc p&p. Patrick & Co, Dove Workshops, Batleigh, nr Glastonbury, Somerset BA6 8TL. (0458) 50682

THE BOOK THEY don't want you to read, The Naked Empress by Hans Reusch. Suppressed in the U.K., this valuable reference book exposes the intrigue behind atrocities committed in the name of science. Available from PO Box 20, Paignton. Enquiries welcome.

LIVE AND WORK near Paris. Someone (m or f), preferably a non-smoker, who shares green ideas needed early January, help look after 8½ year old boy. Single mum works, son at school, so lots of free time. Pay negotiable. Some French useful, not essential. Interested? Phone M.C. on Paris (010 331) 39 73 84 60.

VEGAN GUEST HOUSE - Scottish Highlands. A friendly welcome awaits you in the Grampian highlands of Scotland as do tasty home-cooked vegan meals. Enjoy the beautiful scenery and plentiful wildlife even more with FREE use of cycles / tandem. Public transport will bring you to the door. Also, we have an attached SELF-CATERING COTTAGE with two bedrooms (sleeps up to five). Vegan / vegetarian cooking only please. Details from Inverdene, 11 Bridge Square, Ballater, Aberdeenshire, AB3 5QJ. Tel (03397) 55759.

GREEN PATHS Autumn events in London, with a Green perspective. Opportunity to share thoughts, feelings, plans for action. 1st November Judaism, Christianity and Ecological Crisis; 2nd November Starting Your Own Business (Workshop); 25th November; Promoting Positive Health. Speakers include Howard Cooper, Terry Tastard, Andrew Ferguson, Peter Mansfield, James Robertson. Details from 13 Croftdown Rd, London NW5 1EL. Tel: 01 485 9981 (day), 01 485 4870 (evg).

CHRISTMAS GIFTS from Greenscene. Send 2x15p stamps for our recycled stationary mail order catalogue. Greenscene, 123 Fore St, Exeter, Devon. For wholesale details contact Exeter 215969.

TUPI HOLIDAYS, North Wales. Details (0248) 671059

STONEHENGE - "We Want Our Stones Back" - Lovely hand-made, silk screened, 4 colour poster, approximately 18" by 15". Costs £3.00 (includes postage). Send cheque/P.O./stamps to Paul Whymark, 37 Divinity Rd, Oxford.

PURE WATER ON TAP! More efficient, cost effective and convenient than jug filters. The "Everpure" system. Only £122.50. For brochure contact: Alternative Engineering (Dept GL), 8 Goldsmith St, Heavitree, Exeter. Tel: (0392) 51137

WOMEN ONLY B&B and Study Centre in Swansea close to town centre and within easy reach of scenic Gower coast line offers relaxing holiday accommodation and holiday courses: Christmas & New Year on South Wales (an 'alternative' way to spend Xmas and New Year), 23.12.89-6.1.90. For further information or course programme send SAE to THE MALVERN, 1 Malvern Terrace, Swansea SA2 0BE, tel: (0792) 653164.

LONG TERM VOLUNTEER (with benefits) wanted for the Leicester Ecology Trust / Eco House. LET are developing an exciting 'Green Living' Centre in one of the city parks.

We are looking for a volunteer to occupy a room in the house in return for keeping an eye on the Centre, especially at night, and carrying out various minor duties. Interests in renewable energy, gardening and ecology would be an advantage. Some pocket money may be available.

If interested, please write explaining area of interest and the degree of commitment you are able to offer, giving the names and addresses of two referees to: Johnathan Cattell, Leicester Eco House, Leicester Ecology Trust, Parkfield, Western Park, Hinkley Rd, Leicester LE3 6HX. tel: (0533) 856675

DIGGERS AND DREAMERS - 1990/91 Guide to Communal Living. New book includes directory of communities in Britain and abroad, practical advice on establishing communal households, in-depth articles and fascinating snippets on communal living, photos, drawings, booklist. 128 pages, recycled paper, sturdy binding. £4.95 in good bookshops; £5.75 from Diggers and Dreamers, Lifespan, Townhead, Dunford Bridge, Sheffield S30 6TG.

## Where was Green Line?

AS THE MANY of you who have already been on the phone to us already know, GL is going through a difficult time. This is not for any negative reasons such as lack of money, but simply that the process of getting a mag out through voluntary effort is becoming increasingly difficult - especially with the overwhelming amount of new ideas, media coverage etc. on the green movement that GL ought to be analysing and commenting on. It's especially frustrating just now, seeing the 'professional' media with all their resources, generally making such a pig's ear of reporting the changes that are going on.

Anyway, we hope that with this issue we'll begin to get back on track. GL76 then should be out at the beginning of December, and GL77 at the beginning of February 1990. Meanwhile, we still have to decide how to absorb the latest increase in postage. This will most likely force us to increase the cover price, and this might be a good opportunity to increase the number of pages, change the format (e.g. to newsprint) or the frequency (e.g. to 1 ½ or bi-monthly). Readers comments would be appreciated on these points.

Your views too on our present practice of rolling up the mag would be useful: one reader tells us he keeps his copy under the bed for a week before reading it! On the one hand we feel unapologetic in asking greens to forgo the luxury of envelopes, both to help us keep our costs down and to save paper, but on the other hand we do have to persuade you all to keep buying.

As to this issue, we hope you don't mind the lack of comment on the Green Party Conference. We'll concentrate on the longer term implications in future issues - and anyway, haven't you had enough of the conference season by now?

So now for something completely different...

**COVER PICTURE:** Celebrating green Euro-successes, by artist Jackie Morris. (0225)333350

## October...

**22-29th. One World Week.** Theme - 'Value for People'. Details: One World Week, PO Box 100, London SE1 7RT (01.620 4444).

**24-31st. Worldwide International Week of Action - "Doorknock for Peace".** Contact CND at 22-4 Underwood St, London N1 7JG.

**28th. One World March** - United for a Safer, Greener World. organised by Kingston Peace Council. assemble 11am outside Kingston poly. Details: Norman Smith (01.399 9526).

**28th. A common European Home.** London CND groups festival. 10am-4pm Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, WC1.

**28th. National Protest** against the fur trade, Trafalgar Square, with guest celebrities.

**28th. Campaign Against Leather and Fur (CALF):** protest against the use of leather in furniture and clothing. Meet 1pm Warren Street underground. CALF, Box 17, 198 Blackstock Road, London N5.

**29th. Campaign for the Abolition of Angling** meeting, Nature Cure Clinic, 15 Oldbury Place, London W1M 3AL, 1pm-4pm.

**31st. Green College lecture** by Rezzo Schlauch on **The impact of Die Grünen** at 7pm in St James Church, 197 Piccadilly, London. Tickets £3/£1.50. Phone 0865 249020 for details.

## November...

**1st. Open Day** at the CND National Office. Contact Tim Bussell or Sophie Hobby at Underwood Street.

**1st. Genesis Versus Ecology? Judaism, Christianity and the Ecological Crisis. Has our religious heritage sanctioned the domination and desecration of the natural world by mankind?** Green Paths meeting: speakers are a rabbi & a vicar. 6.30pm at St. James' Church, Piccadilly, London. Contact: 01 485 9981 (day)/01 485 4870 (eve)

**2nd. Going Solo: Starting Your Own Business or Professional Practice.** Workshop. Breakthrough Centre, Shepherd's Bush. 6.30pm. Contact: Green Paths 01 485 9981 (day)/01 485 4870 (eve)

**2-5th. Christian CND Annual Conference,** Glasgow City Chambers.

**4-5th. Green College weekend** in Malvern on **The crisis in agriculture.** Speakers on organic, biodynamic, permaculture etc. Phone 0865 249020 for details.

**4-12th.** At least 20 million people have died in wars since 1945. **White Poppy Week** will symbolise the remembrance of all victims of war, past and present, particularly civilians, refugees and all those who go hungry to pay for the arms race. Contact Peace Pledge Union at 6

Endsleigh St, London WC1H 0DX; tel: 01387 5501.

**4th. Greater Manchester and District CND AGM.** 12noon-5pm in Manchester Town Hall. Details: Linda (061.236 1588).

**4th. Animal Charities Fair,** Town Hall, Oxford. 10.30am-3.30pm. Oxford Federation of Animal welfare Societies, Oxford 57844.

**4th. Official opening** of the fox-hunting season.

**5th. Southern Region CND AGM,** Reading 2pm. Venue to be confirmed. Ian 0730 892102.

**5th. Bonfire Night.** Assemble somewhere beneath the Houses of Parliament. Contact Guy Fawkes at the above location.

**7th. Green College lecture** by Peter Martin on **Environmental Education and the Curriculum.** Details: see 31st Oct.

**11th. National Demonstration** against battery egg production, at Becketts Farm, Wythall nr. Birmingham. Meet at 1.15pm Chamberlain Square, Birmingham. Contact: CAFFA, tel. 0222 569914.

**14th. Green College lecture** by Mary Mellor: **Towards a feminist green society.** See Oct 31st.

**18th. Demonstration** against St Thomas' Hospital, London SE1, where baboons are used in alcohol research. Meet 11am at the main entrance Lambeth Palace Rd, followed at 12.30 by a march to the Home Office and a meeting in Central Hall Westminster. Contact Action for Animals (London) PO Box 254, London E5 8TB.

**17-19th. Lifestyle & Reconciliation.** Weekend workshop at The New Era Centre, The Abbey, Sutton Courtenay, Oxon.. Facilitated by Horace Dammers, founder of the Lifestyle Movement. £45. Details & bookings (£5 deposit): the Co-Ordinator, The New Era Centre, 0235 847401.

**18-19th. New Economics: critical perspectives.** Weekend course at the Green College, Malvern. Phone 0865 249020 for details. Will include speakers on economic indicators, ecological taxes, sustainable development etc.

**21st. David Puttnam on The case for a planned environment.** Green College lecture.

**25th. Promoting Positive Health.** Speakers: Dr. Peter Mansfield & James Robertson. 2pm at the Central Club (YWCA), Gt. Russell St., London. Details: 01 485 9981 (day)/01 485 4870 (eve)

**26th. Progressive Education.** Practical projects that use creative skills and knowledge. Venue & details: Z to A Project, 24 South Road, Hockley, Brum, 021 5511679.

**28th. Green College lecture** on **Women and sustainable development** by Kate Young.

-->> early December dates over-page

## ACID RAIN KILLS!

THE EFFECTS OF acid rain are usually thought of as contaminated soil, damaged crops, dying trees and dead fish. However, there is also thought to be a devastating human toll; that acid rain may well be a significant threat to human health. In 1986, the Brookhaven National Laboratory of New York estimated that acid rain annually kills 50,000 Americans and 5,000 to 11,000 Canadians (about 2% of all deaths). The Office of Technology (an advisory body to the US Congress) put its estimate at 50,000 to 200,000 deaths a year.

Unfortunately because these are guesstimates they provide sceptical governments with an excuse for doing nothing. However, other studies provide more evidence. Onesch has shown an increased cancer rate (e.g. lung cancer up by 28% between 1982 and 1986 in Vermont) throughout the acid rain belt, which cuts across the northeast US and eastern Canada. The mechanism may well be the toxic metals such as aluminium, mercury and cadmium, that are both released from the sky and leached

from rocks and soil by acid rain. In addition acid raindrops often hold chemicals like DDT and PCBs.

It suggests that in the US during the Reagan era, acid rain killed more people than any other single cause apart from smoking. Worldwide, the World Health Organisation warned in 1987 that acid rain now threatens the well-being of half a billion people. But when you stop and think, it's hardly unexpected: when cities like London suffered regular suffocating smogs, something was done - namely, dispersing the same chemical cocktail further away from higher power station chimneys... it didn't solve the problem, it just shoved it down someone else's throat.

Meanwhile, FoE have produced a report on air pollution suggesting that one in five people are at risk in the U.K. from pollution levels that regularly breach WHO guidelines. In contrast to the US and other European countries our government doesn't provide smog warning alerts, and refuses to introduce air quality standards. Air Pollution and Health is available from FoE at 26-8 Underwood St, London N1 7JQ.

therefore asks GL readers to let him know of any new organisations, projects and businesses of a suitable hue for inclusion in the new Green Pages. In addition, advice and comments on the last would be appreciated. While it could never be the same as having your name mentioned by John Elkington and Julia Hales, you are promised a mensh in Green Pages for your help. Write to 10 Union St, Kirkcudbright, Scotland DG6 4JF by December 15th.

## GREENING BUSINESSES

NEWS HAS come our way of some more greenish movements in the world of business. The Business Network, founded in 1982, acts as "a forum for the increasing number of people who are questioning old business values in the light of the changing social and ecological climate. It aims to develop a more holistic approach to business practice and informs and encourages those seeking to humanise and to green their business lives".

The Business Network holds regular meetings at the Institute for Complementary Medicine, 21 Portland Place London WC1: a speaker meeting is followed by a vegetarian dinner. Membership is £35 per year and the BN have a special introductory offer, £45 for membership up to 31st August 1990. For further details, contact: Marilyn Rose, The Business Network, 18 Well Walk, London NW3 1LD, 01 435 5000.

## START PLAYING FOR LIFE

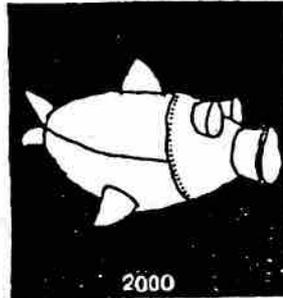
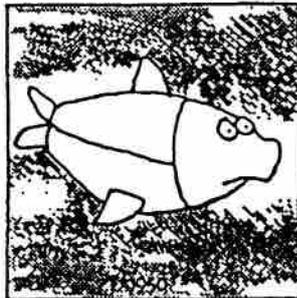
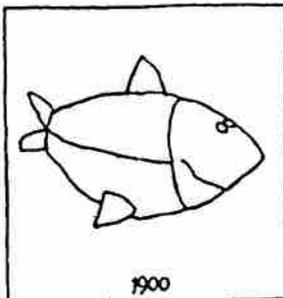
WONDERING WHAT to buy the kids for December 25th? Play For Life have brought out a free catalogue of more life-affirming toys.

Play For Life is a national voluntary organisation and charity, set up in 1983 to highlight the importance of play in children's social, cultural, emotional and spiritual development. PFL believe that good play experience is vital in forming positive perceptions and constructive attitudes to life.

For a copy of their wonderful catalogue write to *Play For Life, 31B Ipswich Road, Norwich NR2 2LN.*

## CONFERENCE BIMBO

KENNETH CLARKE must be in line for the fatuous-statements-at-party-conference prize. Answering the health 'debate' at Blackpool he parodied the BMA's advert, "What d'you call a man who won't take medical advice?" Clarke's answer: "Healthy." Ho! ho! Doubtless all those dying of smoking-induced lung cancer or junk food-induced heart disease are laughing with him.



## December...

**2-3rd.** Course at the Green College in Malvern on **Green political theory.** Speakers from feminist, anarchist, Third World viewpoints. Phone 0865 249020 for details.

**3rd.** **Smithfield Demonstration.** Your annual chance to demonstrate, march, picket, rant etc. against the Miss World show of British aggro-cultural animal eggsploitation. Organised by Vegetarian Society. Details: VSUK 01 994 6477.

**5th.** Green College lecture on **British environmental policy** by Tim O'Riordan.

*Apologies to all of you who sent diary information which was wasted due to the non-appearance of the mag.*

## BLOWING A GREEN TRUMPET

ON EASTER Monday 1990, a new choral-drama, *Cry of the Earth*, will be premiered at the Royal Festival Hall, London, by the Quaker Festival Orchestra and Chorus. Applications to participate from tenors, basses, string and brass players are still welcomed. For more info write to *QFOC Applications, Leavers Arts Base, Legard Works, Legard Rd, London N5 1DE; tel: 01226 8025.*

## BUTTON-HOLED

OPTIMA, THE publishers of John Button's Green Pages guide to products, services, resources and ideas, intend to launch a new enlarged edition in June 1990. John

## SMOKERS FIRE BACK

THE FREEDOM Organisation for the Right to Enjoy Smoking Tobacco, that passionate defender of choking one's lungs with smoke, has produced a left-leaning pamphlet by Terry Liddle, "The Right To Smoke: A Socialist View".

It talks about "smoking, socialism and freedom", working class upbringing, tobacco in the history of socialism, smoking as a class issue and more. At a few glances it looks slightly ridiculous, but then perhaps I'm biased. Anyone inquisitive enough to want to have a look at it can order a copy from FOREST, 2 Grosvenor Gardens, London SW1W 0DH.

The very word forest evokes the thought of the forest(s) that had to be cut down not only for FOREST's propaganda but for the sake of all those smokers (you've not only got to grow tobacco somewhere, but you've also got to wrap it in something and it's usually paper).

Having said all that, we greensies can sit and pass snide judgements, but don't a lot of us defend and even occasionally use that other burnable weed (present company included)? Now most of us are not against the use of marijuana or any other relatively harmless drug in small quantities on appropriate occasions, but if, say, marijuana usage got to the stage of mass consumption at 10-or-more-a-day levels then wouldn't we become seriously concerned?

## ARE "GREENER" CARS OZONE FRIENDLY?

ACCORDING TO a report in New Scientist (20th May 1989), cars fitted with catalytic converters may emit higher quantities of a gas that damages the ozone layer and contributes to global warming.

All new cars in the US must be fitted with catalytic converters and this may also become compulsory in Europe. Catalytic converters reduce emissions of hydrocarbons, carbon monoxide and other pollutants. However, they emit higher quantities of nitrous oxide according to research in Sweden and France.

Recently this gas has been found to contribute significantly to the Greenhouse Effect and also has a small effect on the depletion of stratospheric ozone.

On the other hand, catalytic converters reduce emissions of other nitrogen oxides, nitrogen monoxide and nitrogen dioxide, which produce nitrous oxide when they are deposited on surfaces. So cars without converters could produce more nitrous oxide indirectly.

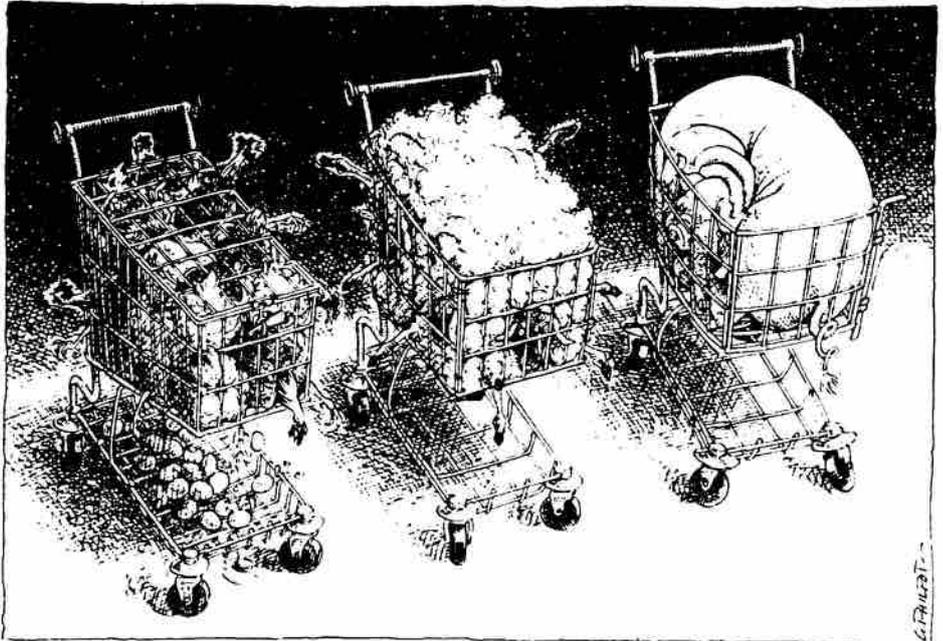
*Network was compiled by Graham Hooper and Jerry Spring*

## TWENTY PERCENT

THE ROYAL show in Hyde Park earlier this year was justly famous for the Westcountry pigs that refused to drink London tapwater. But the show also saw the launch of the campaign to turn 20% of Britain's farmland organic. The organisers, The Soil Association and the British Organic Farmers & Organic Growers Association, are now pondering how to detoxify a fifth of Britain's chemically addicted farmers.

of the ideas in the Pearce report that would penalise unecological farming methods, the government can guide agriculture towards a less chemically intensive future.

Yet this government seems determined to shoot itself in the foot: the present proposals for Nitrate Sensitive Areas rules out organic farming because, despite evidence to the contrary, it is assumed that nitrogen from clover/grass leys will automatically leach into the water supplies. In addition Set Aside policy have often had the perverse effect of encouraging increasingly intensive



Agscene No. 96 August/September '89

In the Summer issue of New Farmer & Grower they look to a combination of market demand and political support rather than environmental concern per se. Encouragingly, they may well be pushing at an half-open door as a survey by Grower magazine found that over a third of horticulturalists would consider changing over the next five years. This rises to 50% and 70% for fruit and vegetable growers respectively.

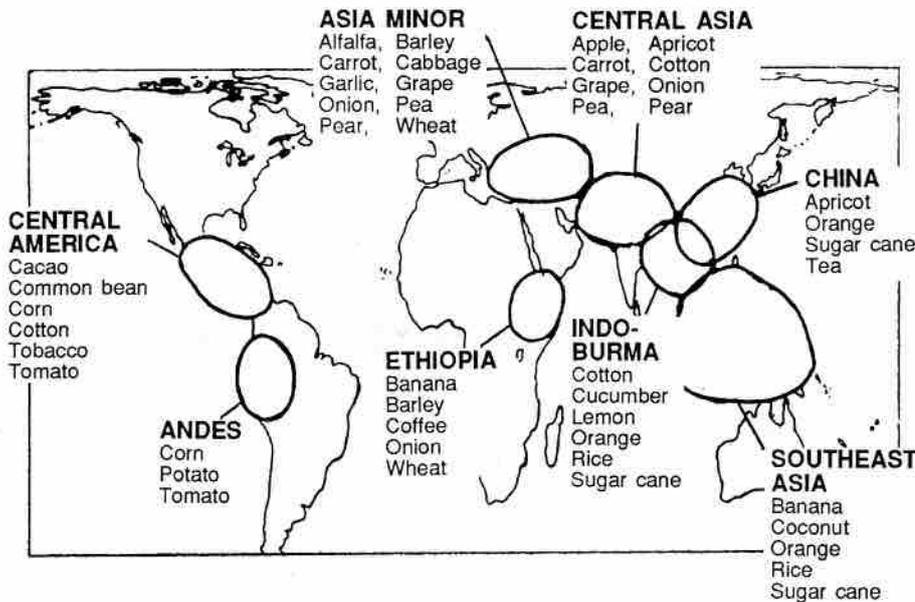
Following a good year on the land, it is expected to be a sellers market this Winter with, for example, production of organic cereals lagging well behind demand. As NF&G admits, while this may be good for producers it could be bad for consumers, for organic standards and some processors. Solving this problem requires that government recognises its critical role, through differential price support systems, in British farming practice. By recognising the benefits to health and ecology of organic farming practice and by implementing some

farming on that land not left fallow under the scheme.

While 20% is the immediate aim, BOF, OGAS and organic farmers themselves must continue to push for the take up of good individual practices on the other 80% of farms: sound rotations, better use of legumes, greater respect for beneficial insects etc - all of which will help reduce harmful inputs and pollution, even where we cannot expect to see an early conversion to organic production.

However, organic farming groups will be satisfied with mere 'extensification'. As NF&G puts it: "We'll have to fight our corner hard in the coming months when even some of our allies will find themselves drawn into advocating policies for so-called low input farming and only sops for organic farming." Clearly, organic farming can no longer be ignored. The old (pesticide sprayed?) chestnut that there is no alternative to chemical farming has been disproved.

## World centres of genetic diversity



## WACKERSDORF GOES GREEN

WACKERSDORF HAS proved a humiliating defeat for the German nuclear industry. A decade of militant direct action by local people and the anti-nuclear movement has forced them to cancel their plans for a Bavarian Sellafeld. The site will now be used to produce solar energy cells and recycle wrecked BMW cars (can you believe that?). Already 3 000 jobs have been secured - more than would have been provided by the reprocessing plant. As Hans Schurier, a local activist, bluntly put it: "Without our resistance the plant would have been built". The 500 tons of radio-active waste generated by the German nuclear industry will now be sent to Cap le Hague and Sellafeld.

## HINKLEY CON

A NUMBER of objectors at the Hinkley C Public Inquiry are considering appealing to the High Court over the behaviour of the Inspector Michael Barnes. He has stepped up the pace of the inquiry to a ludicrous extent, forcing objectors to be rushed through without full opportunity to make their points or cross-examine those supporting the proposed power station. For instance, the Irish Sea Project, who have done much work into sea pollution from Sellafeld were asked how long they would need to question the NRPB. When they asked for 8 hours, Barnes only allowed 1 1/4 hours and duly cut them off after 90 minutes when they made their appearance at the inquiry.

Objectors are becoming increasingly convinced that there is a secret timetable to get the inquiry finished by May 1990 regardless of giving objectors a fair hearing. There seems to be little control over Barnes' running of the inquiry from the government sponsored Council on Tribunals. There'll certainly be a hollow laugh from groups like COLA (Consortium of Opposing Local Authorities) when the government accepts Barnes' final recommendations after such a "full and fair" public inquiry.

## NUCLEAR NEAR MISSES

IT IS perhaps little known that two of the major disasters in the last few years very nearly involved nuclear accidents. The Boeing 747 that crashed at Lockerbie in December missed the Magnox Reactor at Chapelcross by only a few miles. Also, the Armenian earthquake was nearly responsible for another Chernobyl at the nuclear plant at Yerevan, said to be sited on fault lines. Apparently, the Russian government used the opportunity of the earthquake to arrest five members of the independent Karabakh committee who are calling for the closure of the plant.

## ECOLOGICAL IMPERIALISM

GUESS WHERE THE kiwi fruit comes from. Sainsbury's? No. New Zealand? No. From China. And when New Zealand's latest exotic wonder, the Pepino, hits the shelves spare a thought for the country where it was discovered - Chile - which, like China, won't benefit by a cent. Meanwhile, a Turkish strain of barley saves US farmers US\$150m each year through its resistance to a particular virus.

Of course, the idea that a country should be able to monopolise the rights to use a plant just because it originates there hardly smacks of international solidarity. But you can understand the resentment of Third World nations having to buy back patented versions of plants originally taken from their countryside by colonisers and multinationals. There's something sick in the idea that Ethiopia, having given the world wheat and barley, should now be facing yet another famine.

In November, the UN Food & Agriculture Organisation will meet to finalise an agreement that will go some way towards compensating Third World farmers for their present and historical innovations that have given the world its major food crops such as rice, wheat, maize and potatoes. Given the impossibility of tracing back to the sources of ancient food crops, the FAO is setting up a world fund for plant

genetic diversity into which compensation will be paid for the use of plant genes. The price will be that new plant varieties will remain patentable.

It seems equitable enough, yet (surprise, surprise) the US, a major holder of genetic material, is leading opposition to making mandatory contributions from the annual sales of seeds (US\$2.7bn in the US alone). Among the rich countries, only Spain has contributed under the present voluntary system.

Basically, the US dislikes the FAO because its one country-one vote structure means that US interests are always outvoted by other nations. Consequently, it has worked through an autonomous body called the International Board for Plant Genetic Resources, which is controlled by the rich countries and so consistently supports the interests of rich governments and business.

However, FAO does have a lever on the US since its seed companies and scientists still need to collect germplasm from Third World countries, particularly to fuel the biotechnology industries. Clearly, the Third World will have to go on the offensive to force the US and others to recognise farmers rights. Otherwise, the only people without legal protection will be the very farmers of the Third World whose ingenuity over thousands of years has largely created the diversity of food plants that the rich countries are now trying to corral into their selfish little world.

## FOE POISED TO LAUNCH DOLPHIN CAMPAIGN

FOE IS about to launch a new campaign to save the dolphins from mass slaughter and possible extinction. Nowhere is the situation worse than in the tropical Pacific, where 30,000 miles of monofilament drift nets - enough to encircle the entire planet - are deployed every day by 1,500 ships from Japan, Korea, Taiwan and other countries.

These nets are intended mostly for catching tuna and squid, but in reality they trap anything caught in their path - seabirds, unwanted fish, seals, dolphins. Countless more sea creatures are killed by "ghost nets", damaged nets that are simply discarded into the ocean. Already the Hawaiian Monk Seal has been reduced to a few hundred individuals, and extinction could well be its next step.

FoE will develop in this country the successful campaign run by the America based Earth Island Institute (300 Broadway, San Francisco CA 94133, USA), which has already lead many tuna brands to carry claims that their fish are caught by rod and line, rather than by drift netting. Some UK brands are already making the same claim, but these claims should not be accepted without investigation.

Last year the US Congress mandated trade sanctions against nations that do not cooperate with environmental assessments of the impact of drift netting, and FoE may campaign for similar measures here.

Drift netting, invented in the 1970's by the UN Food and Agriculture Organisation, is not the only threat to dolphins. They are also highly vulnerable to pollution, as seen in the case of the endangered Amazonian pink dolphin, and are deliberately trapped by Japanese fishermen who slaughter them and sell their bodies as fertilizer.

Also Sea Shepherd's ship will be taking action against Pacific tuna fishing fleets and Japanese drift nets. Contact Sea Shepherd (UK) at Box 5, Ashford, Middlesex TW15 2PY (0784) 254846.

## IN FLAMES

THE MARINE Conservation Society has been virtually knocked out by a fire at their HQ which caused around £50 000 worth of damage. Their insurance cover will only cover a fraction of this and some of the damage - loss of 30% of their unique and irreplaceable research records - is more or less permanent.

The MCS are urgently appealing for funds to help them get back on their feet. Generous donations to Mandy Wilson, Director, The Marine Conservation Society, 9 Gloucester Road, Ross-on-Wye, Herefordshire HR9 5BU.

## EURO-STUDENTS ARE GATHERING!

Student Meeting in Bologna, 6th to 11th September 1989.

IN BOLOGNA, ITALY, a meeting of European students brought together 800 people from all over Europe to discuss the formation of some kind of European student network. Over four days, students from the EEC, Eastern Europe and Scandinavia discussed in workshops a range of issues to be included in a student platform. The results were then debated and are to be referred to individual student associations throughout Europe. On the agenda were not only subjects of importance to students alone, such as the formation of effective international links and the promotion of democratic student associations where they do not exist already, but also global and social issues such as the value and independence of scientific research, and the inevitable question of accepting sponsorship from unethical companies.

It emerged that a consensus among European students was impossible to achieve. Even on issues such as the improvement of educational standards, some delegates, in particular from the more open-minded of the Central European universities, were all-in-favour of a radical market-forces approach: judging lecturers on their success in pleasing the student consumers - a rosy view of the potential of market forces in education that the EEC students were quick to challenge. Equally, the EEC was regarded with more enthusiasm by some, notably the Italians, than others. These differences were not, of course, always on national lines; there was something of a split between Communist and Christian Democrat participants which arose from a division among Italian students over the usefulness of the meeting, and then spread - a split that seems to have originated in Italian domestic student politics.

These differences did to some extent restrain the congress. It had been hoped to present a document to the EEC stating student aims and objectives, but this was scuppered partly by the obstruction of the Communist faction who pointed out that the meeting was unrepresentative, and therefore could not make declarations on behalf of anybody, and also more mundanely by the clear lack of consensus on many issues. Many of the views expressed were

encouragingly green, such as calls for stricter controls on the funding of research by multinationals and a whole workshop devoted to alternative teaching methods - but such views were clearly not shared by all those present. It was, however, notable that a recommendation to avoid funding for future meetings from unethical companies, especially in South Africa, was adopted relatively painlessly.



If the meeting could not produce a definitive Euro-student voice, it was nevertheless an excellent opportunity to set up the kind of contacts that provide for the free flow of information and, hopefully, of people. Computer databases were discussed to set up cultural exchanges, to transmit advice, and where necessary encouragement to other student associations. These beginnings may not develop beyond an exchange of addresses, yet there is a clear urgency among students not just to improve the quality of education, but to tackle wider issues on the green agenda: e.g. the role of business, the Third World.

There is another gathering planned in Trondheim, Norway, at which the topics chosen for debate are decidedly green: the ecological crisis, regionalism and nationalism, the East west divide, and the North South divide. For more information on the Trondheim gathering, contact *ISTIT-90, University of Trondheim UNIT, 7034, Trondheim, Norway*. If you want to know more about the student networks to be set up in Europe, contact *Andy Spring, Oxford University Student Union, 28 Little Clarendon St, Oxford*.

ANDY SPRING

## GREEN MUM'S DIARY

**Monday:** Can't wash up breakfast, my birthday present is finished - at last. Start new shopping list on the back of the milk bill. Memo: where can I buy economy size Ecover washing-up liquid?

**Tuesday:** No luck with Ecover locally. Shall have to waste petrol driving out of town. At least I can fill up with lead-free! Wash up using kitchen soap. The houseman complains I am wasting hot water trying to rinse off the smears. "Economy 7 doesn't mean expendable you know!"

**Wednesday:** Phone call from Education Office: supply teacher wanted at Prospect Green School, 'emergency cover', so wear trousers, trainers and Green Action T-shirt. Just as well, as I am allocated to 4th year girls' run 'cross country' through Prospect housing estate! The shirt saves me: the girls assume I'm fit, so don't sprint ahead for a smoke behind the Parade. Stop by the river instead. I hear about the woodwork teacher, also green. His tutor group gave him green board-writers for Christmas ("He's into sniffing, Miss!". Memo: must find out whether chalk is a better use of resources. Tough day. Too tired to wash up.

**Thursday:** Emergency cover continues. Find Head of Home Economics at break, Ask about Ecover stockists. Apparently she has more than enough to do without faffing around after fancy ecological home aids. Consider sneaking the school's bottle of Liquid Nasty just for tonight's washing up. Memo: leave note for the milkman requesting new copy of the bill.

**Friday:** Rush hasty letter to son, begging for help with green-friendly stockists, into post before breakfast. First class stamp extorted from the houseman in mid-shave, who complains of extravagance. "Why didn't you send it Second Class two days ago?" Have no time to argue, am too busy rummaging in Clean Used Paper box for old envelope to use Green Line label on. Memo: stamp tastes better. Write 'James' on the label out of habit. Too bad, his housemates will just have to giggle. Anyway, why do you have to be called 'Jimmy' if you're green?

**Saturday:** 10a.m. phone call from James (a phonecard is, after all, green). No problem. There is an economy size washing-up liquid in his room, ready for the houseman's birthday. I only have to find it... Two hours later entreat Directory Enquiries for FoE's number. Stockist located at last.

**Sunday:** Wet and windy. Give green carboot sale a miss. Too busy washing up.

J.C. SPRING



### ABOLISH THE ARMY!

ON NOVEMBER 26th 1989 the Swiss will be able to vote on the abolition of the army! Between March 1985 and September 1986 members and sympathisers of Gruppe Schweiz ohne Arme (GSoA, Group for a Switzerland without an army) collected over 110,000 signatures for a citizen's initiative for a Switzerland without an army and for a global peace policy. This will result in a national plebiscite in November when people can vote for or against the Swiss army, the first time in world history that people have had a chance to vote on this issue.

In preparation for this plebiscite a real national movement (like CND in the UK) has grown in Switzerland, accompanied by a broad discussion on the implications of a national military defence in the age of nuclear weapons. This would have been unthinkable only a few years ago. The GSoA does not expect to win this vote, but its initiative is still supported by a quarter of the population and by as much as a third of 20-34 year olds. Perhaps Mrs Thatcher will agree to a similar referendum in the UK. For further information contact: GSoA, Postfach 261, CH-8026, Zurich, Switzerland.

### THE END OF END REVISITED

THE END of END (campaign for European Nuclear Disarmament) is constantly being proclaimed, but on it goes - yet even the most enthusiastic supporter might wonder about its role after the fiasco at this year's END Convention held in the Basque country in Spain at the end of July. The Conference collapsed in uproar with the organisers literally pulling the plug on the microphones before the final speaker, Basque regional President Jose Ardana, could address it. The issue of Basque nationalism had to be properly addressed by a major European convention held in the Basque country, though the organisers don't seem to have foreseen this: as Bruce Kent remarked, "it was a bit like holding a conference in Derry and not talking about the situation in Northern Ireland".

Annual strains within END threaten to turn the organisation into a squabbling irrelevance. As an 'anti-nuclear' campaigning group it keeps bursting out of the confines of its 'single issue' to aspire to the function of a forum for political dissidence (ironically this is likely to be

anti-capitalist in the West, anti-communist in the East), in the process trying to manage all the political currents that swirl around the annual convention, and threaten to engulf it. It certainly failed to come to terms with the difficulties of the Basque issue, showing an attitude, so prevalent in the peace movement, towards conflict, "suppressing discussion", to quote *Sanity*, rather than allowing a platform to speakers which the establishment - and many within the peace movement - regard as illegitimate." This led to the shambles of the final plenary, when the microphone wires were cut.



**RADIATION LEAKS**

GREENPEACE HAVE published a survey of radioactivity around U.K. nuclear naval bases that differ markedly from MAFF's, including Cobalt-60 and Antimony-125 which are both associated with submarine reactor cooling water. The survey suggests the ministry is failing to monitor widely enough or allow an evaluation of the doses to individuals around the naval bases. A summary costs £1.50 from Greenpeace, 30-31 Islington Green, London N1 8XE.

Meanwhile evidence continues to mount that Aldermaston and Burford nuclear weapons factories are causing leukemia in children living nearby. Unfortunately, the leukemia levels are too high to be due to the level of radioactive discharges from the factories - at least this is according to current models of radiation dosage effects. It would seem more scientific (and don't these nuclear scientists pride themselves on their rationality?) to alter your model when it consistently fails to explain the data. This is especially so since little is known about the effects of radiation on the foetus. The government is now investigating whether it is the children of employees at Aldermaston and Burford who are most at risk from Leukemia (though you'd have thought they ought to be monitoring this anyway).

**PEACE EVENTS** appear in the green diary on pages 3 to 4.

# Farewell to cruise

CAROLE HARWOOD

IT TAXIES TOWARDS us, its headlights blazing. Then roars, heavy-bodied, low over our heads. This is *the* moment, it's airborne, cruise is leaving Greenham Common. We wave and cry, call out goodbye to the roaring air. Then it's gone.

We agree we feel shaky and shaken. It'd been a tense few minutes - the plane had hesitated. Was it overloaded? Had they changed their minds? Was the pilot asking for political asylum?

It'd been a tense few years. All that those Welsh women had wanted was a chat with Michael Heseltine about cruise missiles. Not much to ask, in a democracy. How he must have come to regret his coy reluctance. So the women stayed and stayed, and soon there were hundreds of them, suddenly one Sunday, there were 30,000 and Greenham became a word that, translated, meant "world changing".

This afternoon, Greenham is a place of ghosts; women have left their sounds and presence here. The push that sent the Starlifter skywards came from strong women, many of whom have seen their lives upturned by their own protest. Some of those with children have seen them snatched away ("Greenham woman means unfit mother"). Women had to suffer the media parading their pain for the vicarious pleasure of others.

Women loving women reclaimed tabloid jibes and wore their "Burly Lesbian" badges with pride. Other women, neatly folded and put away careers, expectations and 'normality' to take the risk of being right. Some women have cracked under the strain, others have died. This afternoon we remember and mourn for them as we watch part of one dream come true.

Many women *couldn't* get to Greenham over the years. Why they couldn't, or why they felt it wouldn't be their place, are questions that remain to be addressed, and need to be. And their have been bad times at the camp, when women have seemed set against women. But the fact remains that this is a women's place, set up on the edge of a military madness that even the government now seems keen to distance itself from.

Women came here to challenge the British State, and stayed to

challenge powerlessness, the heterosexual nuclear family and the myth of compulsory mixed actions. Women said: we don't need men, we can do this ourselves. And they did!

It's been a long and burning hot afternoon. Snipping and snapping seemed an appropriate way to mark what is clearly a victory. Camera in one hand and boltcutters in the other, it was pleasing and satisfying to watch a neat square appear in the fence in full view of both the plane and the MoD police.

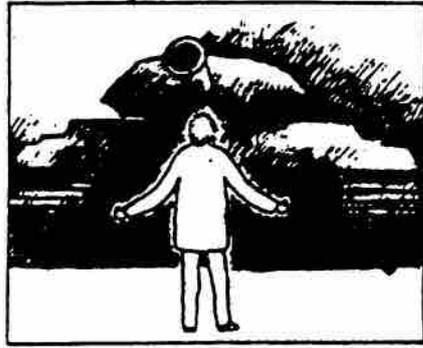
Women wave from the water tower inside the base, women are arrested here, there and everywhere. We are saying: we're not complacent, we're vigilant, and if you don't take this fence down, we will. We know about sea-launched cruise missiles, we know about every government's ability to recycle their own particular ways of killing. But knowing there's still a long way to go is no excuse for not celebrating beginnings.

The plane moves very slowly, we hold our collective breath. "Come on boys, you can do it!" a woman encourages him through a loud-hailer. A local man watches as the plane gathers speed: "Now the missiles are going, people feel free to surface, they're saying: we never wanted them here in the first place". We ask a policeman inside the fence: "When are they leaving?" "Not a moment too soon," he replies.

Suddenly I remember Rose, who stayed here at Christmas eight years ago. She left her family, she had been very, very ill; just up and left and arrived here. She cut off her long hair and sent it to the base commander. That was her protest. Then she left. Nobody ever saw her again.

We wave the plane away into the distance, why hold back the tears? The women's protest at Greenham Common airbase has been a success. "After all," Carola asks, "who's here to protest about them going?"

This article first appeared as a supplement to Peace News #2315 (4.8.89). Peace News is at 8 Elm Ave, Nottingham NG3 4GF



# This month, GL looks at green politics in the wider world...

## The greens' entry into the Riksdag - one year on

A founder member of Miljöpartiet de Gröna, MICHAEL MOON, reports on Swedish politics.

LAST YEAR, overnight the situation for the Swedish greens was completely transformed. After years of being a basement party, permanently on the brink of economic annihilation, we found ourselves virtually part of the establishment - with vast resources at our disposal. Our election successes at all levels brought not only political sway but handsome dividends.

To be honest, the party hasn't yet come to terms with the new situation. Newspaper photographs of our MPs all togged up, traipsing in with the other dignitaries at the opening of parliament jarred on our grassroots sensitivities. The green movement, with its deeply ingrained anti-establishment, non-authoritarian tendencies, doesn't quite know how to relate to its 20 man-woman strong group of green MPs. The green parliamentary group together with its staff of secretaries and advisors is an incommensurably strong force in relation to the non-salaried committees and working groups in the rest of the party. There's been quite a lot of squabbling as to who gets to say what to the media, and a former party speaker has publically criticised the party for being too conformist and middle-of-the-road.

### Parliamentary realities

But so much for the party's problems; what about Sweden as a whole? The main effect of the green wave has been that politicians of all convictions and none have started talking about the environment. This greenmongery is frequently no more than nauseous claptrap: the strategy of the ruling Social Democrats for example has for years been to make radical noises while quietly getting on with the job of administering the capitalist economy to the total satisfaction of Big Business. The government continues to do its utmost to reduce production costs and pursues its long-term policy of supplying unlimited cheap energy - thought to be a major factor in Sweden's competitiveness on world markets.

On the question of nuclear energy, the government seems intent on creating maximum confusion. Ministers and high-up officials daily contradict each other: one day,

someone says that they stand by the decision to commence phase-out during the 1990s; the next, somebody else declares that there is no alternative but to retain all twelve reactors now in use past the year 2000.

A key to understanding the social democrats is to realise the vast influence of the Landsorganisation(LO), the Swedish equivalent of the British TUC - except much more powerful. Its leaders sit in the central committee of the party and to a great extent dictate its policies. Especially when it comes to environmental issues, LO usually joins forces with the even more influential Employers' Union(SAF). Undoubtedly, this powerful axis has, since at least the 1970s and probably the 1930s, seen the role of the Social Democratic Party as that of containing and neutralising pressures for radical change, be these traditional socialist or environmentalist.

Against this background, there seems to be few grounds for giving any credence whatsoever to the radical-sounding pronouncements of the Minister of the Environment, Birgitta Dahl. Nor need anyone be surprised that the government is doing everything it can to adjust the Swedish economy to the demands of the European Common Market. Every piece of new legislation has to be specially scrutinised to make sure it does not infringe EC regulations. While stopping short of actually seeking membership, the government wants all the trade advantages that membership would provide.



This so-called harmonisation with the EC is going to be one of the hottest issues in the coming elections in September 1991. So far, Miljöpartiet de Gröna has made all the running in publicising the various threats that this policy involves - not only for the environment and worker rights, but also to Swedish democracy and sovereignty. In short, despite a lack of experience and an imperfect political analysis, events are pushing us to the forefront of Swedish politics.

# Hungary on a knife edge

NIKI KORTVELYESSEY reports on her recent visit.

THE ELECTION OF the first non-communist government in post-war Poland and the first free elections in Hungary, together with economic and social transitions of breathtaking speed, have tested the leaderships of the superpowers no less than their own bemused citizens. In watching the awesome birth of democracy, Westerners would do well to remember that lack of information and media manipulation have never been the instruments of only communist governments. Forty years of Cold War have ensured that an entire 'First World' generation was socially, politically and culturally alienated from their closest neighbours.

Changes in Eastern Europe need to be reflected in changes in Western thinking, if some kind of united Europe is to have a chance of becoming a reality. It was in this spirit that I invited UK greens to make the journey to Hungary to meet the new emerging political groups and to experience their confusion frustration and exhilaration. For me it was doubly poignant: I couldn't avoid a feeling of history as I sat with tomorrow's politicians in the same room from whose windows I had, as a child, watched the Soviet tanks rolling in to occupy Budapest.

Dissident and 'unofficial groups' fighting the repression and censorship of unelected, unaccountable autocrats have long been supported by the anti-establishment in the West, in some sense of shared struggle. Any number of East-West groups have sprung up over the decades, many giving very real help to the information-starved activists in the East, who were often risking their jobs and freedom. For their Western counterparts, able to come and go, unconstrained by crippling poverty and shortages, it was the stuff of spy novels. If caught, the Cold War proved a peculiar ally. Often opposed to the ruling elites of both sides, yet benefiting and conditioned by the capitalist system, activists sometimes found it difficult to avoid a patronising attitude. (When the cost of a good meal in a posh restaurant would buy a cup of coffee at home the temptation to throw money around was great). But the Western image of bountiful Big Sister was perpetuated, and the pecking order reconfirmed. Nor had the well-meaning and genuinely concerned Westerners any way of really understanding the way repression brands the spirit. However bad our governments were or are, there's always the hope of the next election. For a long, long time, East Europeans had no such hope. Some still don't.

In 1984, while British greens were gearing up to fight the the last European election, Hungarian activists were being beaten up and jailed for distributing leaflets opposing the Nagymaros hydro-electric project. In the 1985 Parliamentary elections the Communist Party candidates could for the first time be opposed by 'independents' (so long as they agreed to the communists' programme). Forty years of clearly defined disempowerment, of strangling censorship and impenetrable punitive bureaucracy, all enshrined in law reinforced by education and carried out in the name of the people, had bred a generation that scorns idealism and

takes its revenge by loathing all politics.

Issues like the role of women, race and the trade unions, espoused and mutilated by the Stalinists for their own ends in the early days, have left a bad taste in people's mouths. A tiny percentage of workers have joined the new independent unions; feminism is treated like a joke; and open anti-semitism is rising. On the other hand, the churches, long oppressed, are now equated with free expression and their demands to regain their schools and property are very supported. Nationalism, suppressed since Lenin and later by the Brezhnev doctrine, is rampant - complete with demands for the return of the Hungarian-speaking part of Romania and Czechoslovakia removed by the Allies in 1918.



## Shadows of the past

Even in the current obsession with unearthing the unspeakable secrets of the past, the Hungarian press deals with the fate of politicians, the treachery of leaders. You don't hear ordinary people talk much about the grimmest times: the 50s and early 60's; of the disappearances; the hideous trumped-up charges; the tortures and life sentences; and least about the soul-numbing, all-pervasive suspicion. A whole generation learnt to trust no-one.

With the usual sense of guilt felt by victims, they don't talk about the rape of their national identity, the obliteration of their natural rights; confessing instead to having joined The Party in order to get a job. But the recent crop of opposition magazines carry small ads offering information on the fate of people who disappeared, for the benefit of friends and colleagues who at that time would have denied any acquaintance with the accused, and who only now are brave enough to want to know.

The past is still very real in the minds of most people; indeed it formed the consciousness of anyone now under 40. I learnt to read, not about cats and mats, but about downtrodden workers and their capitalist exploiters. Well into the 60s, every public building carried huge banners denouncing the West and exhorting the workers to use their new liberation to work ever harder for its downfall. Slogans were an essential part of political 'education'. The net result of this, and the withdrawal of passports, was to create a vision of the West as the forbidden fruit. Western tourists (whose hard currency was needed) confirmed the image of glamorous wealth and galloping modernity in their appearance, behaviour and possessions, (especially those Hungarians who had left after the war or '56 and needed to justify their leaving).

The perception of "Western is wonderful" is all-pervasive, and it will take a long time to dispel. Sometimes I feel guilty for trying to destroy the illusion, but mostly I am aware that in Britain, however well-founded our anger at some profit-motivated outrage, at some Thatcherite human rights breach, by and large the offence to our rights can be undone: we have the tools. If anything it makes me more angry to know that British complacency and apathy are the chief enemy when I remember what these injustices can become.

## Westward Ho!

So now with political change beginning to unfold at a speed that makes your head spin (for speculation on the multiplicity of reasons for those changes see your daily press), is it a wonder that the opposition groups, so long the heroes of our rebellious youth, are expounding views that make any right-on British lefty's hair curl? In Hungary, with the communist government proposing pluralism, a market economy and private ownership of the means of production, what have the 'alternatives' got to say? Opposition and government alike look to the West for financial salvation. Hungary has archaic industrial equipment, massive energy inefficiency and the highest per capita foreign debt in Europe. To get on its feet, never mind compete, it's going to need outside help. Of the West, a hard commitment to abandoning the stance of the Cold War is required, and of the East, a realistic assessment of the effects of undisciplined Western economic values. To leap from central planning to anarchic free market structures could create an inflation rate that would leave Latin America gawping.

We spoke to a new political party who had fought, and won, three by-elections this summer without an agreed economic policy. We spoke to other, would-be, political parties, and we spoke to elected MPs, both Communist and Independent. What we hoped to leave behind in their minds was the green vision dawning of a future that's neither capitalist or socialist, but non-materialist. We tried to sow the seeds of a train of thought that could result in Hungarians facing up to the Western banks and offering not to repay their debt, but to invest in cleaning up their industries. Perhaps not to set joining the EEC as their supreme goal but to re-establish their status as a country self-sufficient in food and fuel. In turn, we have to remind ourselves that a country where no decision-makers were born when Hungary was last independent, must have great bravery to strike out alone as the momoliths on either side could so easily trip her up.

"What about defence?" people asked us. With Austria and Switzerland applying to join the EC, possibly at the risk of their neutrality, what hope is there for Hungary? At present, her relationship with Romania, East Germany and Czechoslovakia is frighteningly poor. When your shipmates become your enemies, just as the boat is going down, is that the time to be principled?

Indeed, where is hope to be drawn from for all of Europe? We watch West Germans lionising Gorbachev, and sense that their confidence that he can guarantee peace is exaggerated. The Poles, Hungarians and Soviets all entertain high hopes of economic support from George Bush, presiding over a country with the biggest debt in the world. We all hope for the "common European home", yet no-one at the top is even beginning to sketch out the dismantling of NATO and the Warsaw Pact. Even Solidarity wishes to remain under the protective umbrella.

For greens, the answer's easy, though applying it is trickier. Environmental threats really don't recognise political boundaries, nor will they wait for ideological change to take effect. The superpowers will be the last to admit the failure of their systems. Small countries, acting

together, could strike out and give a lead in the direction of the kind of economic and social policies that are congruent, not contradictory. However, self-reliant we aim to be, we are one continent, and a great opportunity to start anew, to undo the mess, before us now. As the blocs dissolve, Western and Eastern must become mere geographic pointers. In order for that to happen, our thinking too must change. Undoing the training of a lifetime will be no easier for us than it is for the Hungarians, but undo it we must.



# Ghana's Friends of the Earth

There are many grassroots initiatives suggesting an independent path for Africa. GRAHAM HOOPER describes one of these in West Africa.

NEWS ABOUT, AND concern over, green issues in the so-called Third World appear to focus on problems either in Asia (Bhopal, deforestation in Nepal, Sarawak, Aotearoa) or Central and South America (Amazonia, Nicaragua, Panama). Sometimes the environmental catastrophe in Sahelian East Africa (Ethiopia, Sudan etc.) comes under the green spotlight.

Almost unnoticed in comparison, West Africa is witnessing colossal destruction of its natural systems which has brought it virtually to the edge of environmental collapse. This is not just an environmental issue, as the disaster will gravely affect the West African people; for them it is increasingly becoming a question of life or death.

A recent briefing paper from FoE UK's Rainforest Campaign gives a horrific but depressingly familiar picture:-

*Deforestation rates in countries such as the Ivory Coast are the highest in the world; the inexorable southward expansion of deserts is beginning to touch upon areas once covered with lush vegetation. Rampant logging has made forests vulnerable to fire and colonisation; fuelwood, timber and fodder shortages are forcing rural populations to deplete remnant forests and exhaust the soil. Export oriented industries, largely controlled by the First World (that's us, folks), and 'prestige' development projects have obliterated entire ecosystems and left a legacy of dislocated communities. Wealthy nations have exploited the region's political and economic weakness and treated the region as a dumping ground for the unwanted by-products of consumer society.*

However, in the midst of this carnage there is a beacon of hope. Friends of the Earth Ghana, a small group run entirely by Ghanaians, has struggled against enormous adversities to raise the profile of environmental issues, especially that of the forests and their conservation, and they have achieved some success. They have lobbied government agencies for better protection of the forests and have now been asked to take part in a complete revision of Ghana's national Forestry Policy. FoE Ghana have also started monitoring, in conjunction with the FoE(UK) Rainforest Campaign, the World Bank's and UK ODA's Tropical Forest Action Plan for Ghana.

One area where FoE Ghana have been most successful has been in reforestation schemes for village communities in areas that have suffered heavily from deforestation. The 5 to 10 acres replanted by each village provide fruit and fuelwood and stabilise and improve the degraded soils, and potentially provide a good source of local income (a 10-12 year old teak tree could fetch US\$60 as a transmission pole, much in demand for a planned rural electrification scheme) Initially, mostly non-

native species have been used but it is intended that more native species be used in future.

Following the successes of these pilot schemes, 24 villages have asked FoE Ghana for help in setting up reforestation schemes. As well as helping reverse the massive forest destruction, the reforestation work has also helped raise the consciousness amongst rural communities on the need for environmental protection.

As well as helping to influence the government's forestry policy, FoE Ghana are also giving advice to the government's Environmental Protection Council on the formulation of a national environmental policy. They are also investigating, in conjunction with the University of Ghana, the impact of the Volta River Hydroelectric scheme, which has brought economic growth to some parts of the country while destroying the economies of fishing communities and causing increases in the incidence of debilitating diseases.



## Wider influence

According to the FoE briefing paper, FoE Ghana could play a crucial role in environmental issues throughout the whole of West Africa. Thus they would be in a similar position to that of Shahbat Alam Malaysia (FoE Malaysia). Despite much work done in the First World about greening of multilateral funding agencies, little is known of the World Bank's activities in Africa, and nothing is known of the African Development Bank. FoE Ghana could be in a good position to monitor the activities of the ADB and the World Bank.

It is certainly heartening to see environmental and green action springing up in Africa, organised by Africans for Africans, instead of seeing the usual picture of Euroamerican concern over rainforests etc. as if the local people were either invisible or apparently didn't care. One cannot help feeling that there is also the question of whether FoE Ghana will come into the same trouble as befell Sahabat Alam Malaysia after the government coup in that country.

At the moment, the group's major problem is finance and much of their work is prevented through lack of necessary funds. The money needed is small by western standards: a reforestation scheme for a group of villages would cost only US\$4,000, for example. To raise funds for them, FoE's Rainforest Campaign has begun a special appeal. Contributions, big or small, are more than welcome.

If you wish to contribute, send some money to: Ghana Appeal, c/o The Rainforest Campaign, FoE, 26-28 Underwood Street, London N1 7JQ.

# Arms, Cold War and the Third World

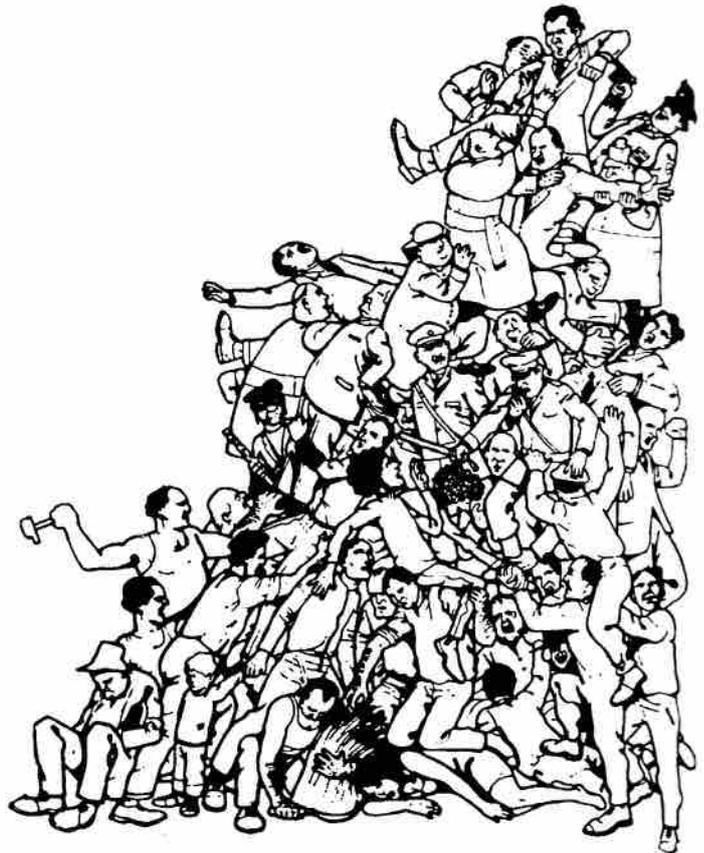
Taking up the international theme, BARRY MAYCOCK looks at the global arms race in the light of the apparent thaw in East-West relations.

WHILE THE PRIVILEGED West sleeps a little easier now that the Cold War has defrosted somewhat, as the nuclear threat recedes (or the 'Russian Threat' according to another point of view), as Cruise missiles depart and peace banners are folded away, throughout the Third World the usual unremarked and routine wars continue, fought with 'conventional' weapons; and in many cases these are wars promoted by our own governments, with weapons supplied by our own industries. The merest glance at what is happening globally (as opposed to a preoccupation with Our Own Backyards - the OOB syndrome) is enough to smash any complacency that the world is becoming a more peaceful place. And the steady escalation of weapons production and distribution guarantees that the future will continue to be terrible, especially for the world's poorest and most vulnerable countries.

## Recycling the petro-dollars

Obviously the arms trade is a symptom not a cause of conflict but it plays its own part in generating war and maintaining its momentum. As far as the Third World is concerned arms sales only took off in a big way after the Middle East war of 1973; oil-rich countries took the lead in using their increased wealth and power to acquire the latest Western - and Soviet - military equipment and technology. Third World military spending rose dramatically: in 1965 the proportion of global arms spending accounted for by Third World countries was six per cent; by 1982 it had crept up to 20%. All in all it tripled between 1965 and 1982. Armies grow and the poor starve: out of the US\$160 billion spent on military purposes by Third World countries in 1985, US\$30 billion was used to pay for arms imports, which is more than the total sum received by the Third World in economic aid. Since 1982 arms sales have declined, partly because Third World countries are producing more of their own weapons, but primarily because there is less cash around - and this only means that expenditure on health, food, and housing will be sacrificed in order to maintain the military budget.

It is easy to feel indignant at Third World regimes, nasty generals, corrupt politicians etc. but the main task for us is to change the policies of our own governments. If the poor South longs to buy, the rich North is no less keen to sell. Thatcher's Britain is certainly an enthusiast in this field, with 70%-80% of its arms being sold to Third World countries; and while other suppliers are struggling to remain buoyant (in what is now a buyer's market) Britain's share is steadily increasing and was expected to take a fifth of world business last year. Of course this all



makes sense according to the twisted logic of an economic system driven by cut-throat competition and the pursuit of profit: this is just a 'market' transaction like any other - if we don't supply these weapons, somebody else will!

There is of course much more to it than that: although much of the arms trade is opportunistic and indiscriminate, most of it actually serves specific political purposes, and takes place within the context of deliberate foreign policy decisions. Most of the wars that have taken place since World War II (99% of them in the Third World) have been 'internal' conflicts, fought by the armed forces of the ruling central government against a guerilla army operating within the country's borders. And however appalling the regime, our weapons will help prop it up, providing it keeps 'communist' insurgents at bay, and looks after Western strategic interests (in effect the interests of international capital); such weapons will also be used by the regime to threaten or eliminate internal opposition and dissent. A typical example is Indonesia, where the West supports one of the world's most repressive regimes in order to 'safeguard its interests' (i.e. financial investment): the UK government "implicitly assumes that any threat to those interests should be countered by the Indonesian authorities, using military force" (from *Death On Delivery*, p.72). Meanwhile Indonesia slides deeper into debt, and is now totally dependent on foreign aid - but aid is only granted on condition that the government makes yet more concessions to foreign companies and introduces cutbacks in the public sector. So the cycle of misery continues, and this in turn generates resistance and rebellion: but any subsequent struggle against oppression is crushed by the weapons that have helped to cause it.

## Dependency

Although the arms trade becomes an important factor in Third World economic dependence (and in many cases bankruptcy) the west nevertheless has to make sure that

poor countries can continue to obtain these weapons: this is made possible by loans and favourable credit facilities, and also by military aid. In 1985 43% of all aid was received by the Third World in the form of military-related assistance. In all this mess the IMF and World Bank play their usual ignoble role: their loan conditions apply to cutbacks in the public sector but not usually to military expenditure, so debt and the supply of loans become another instrument of power and control (in effect 'war by other means'). Even where the Third World countries make strenuous efforts to set up their own weapons production there can never be genuine 'self-sufficiency' while the advanced industrialised countries hold a monopoly over the latest technology, and thus maintain ultimate control.



### Radical responses?

The impact of military spending on the Third World is described in *Death On Delivery*, the latest book from Campaign Against The Arms Trade (CAAT), an organisation formed in 1974 to seek an end to the international trade in weapons and for the conversion of military spending to 'socially useful' production. The strength of CAAT is that it can transcend nuclear obsessions, a narrow preoccupation with the British Bomb, or the mechanics of the latest weapon-system. Its limitations lie, like so many campaigns, in its single-issue focus - after all, it is impossible to disentangle the arms trade from everything else that is going on, economically and politically. Also CAAT cannot itself make political choices, nor can it discuss whether it makes sense, for example, to deplore the arms trade to Nicaragua if the Contras are being liberally supplied with weapons. In the last analysis the arms trade is only one aspect of an ongoing battle for control of the Third World and its resources, its raw materials, trade and trade routes, not to mention its cheap labour. This will only intensify as the old Cold War 'bloc' system of 'planet management' falls apart, regional rivalries escalate, and US economic power is challenged by, among others, Europe and Japan, in a world that is changing rapidly and fundamentally.

And yet is it? And are so many of these changes deceptive? A different view, that the old superpower dominance and rivalry (between the USA and the Soviet Union) is basically intact, and that the Cold War is by no means ending and has simply entered a new phase, is expressed by Fred Halliday in his latest book *Cold War, Third World: An Essay in Soviet-American Relations* (Hutchinson Radius). Halliday describes how, throughout

the 1970's, US uncertainty and loss of confidence (especially in the years following Watergate and the defeat in Vietnam) appeared to lead, as a direct consequence, to a wave of Third World revolutions and an apparent ascendancy of Soviet power and influence. It was this trend that the Reagan government sought to reverse, adopting a new belligerence, with the kind of posturing typical of the Second Cold War of the early '80s. Learning from past mistakes, Reagan preferred to use 'pro-insurgency' and 'low-intensity conflict', selected intimidation, and economic pressure - all sorts of aggressive tactics short of direct military involvement. The USA gave more attention to 'finessing' revolutions: manoeuvring tottering dictators out of power at the last moment in order to head off the overthrow of the state, an obvious example being the Philippines, where US support was suddenly withdrawn from the Marcos regime (though the myth still persists that the dictator was removed by 'people power'!).

But behind all the rhetoric and the bluff there was more confusion than coherence in US foreign policy under Reagan; in the end it was less a resurgent US than Soviet economic and political weakness that has led to the retreat of the USSR from its foreign policy commitments in the Third World and the decline of an aggressive 'anti-imperialist' ideology. In fact the decline of international socialism as a practical and ideological force indicates that the old rivalries will not persist in quite the old way, at least for the foreseeable future.

### Beyond the blocs

But Halliday does take the view that the conflict between the two superpowers is ultimately ideological: all too often it is viewed as a continuation of 'imperialist' rivalries, or as a result of mutual misperceptions, or as a useful concept for them both, with the two blocs feeding off each other, or even propping each other up. There are elements of truth in all these views, but at root, Halliday remarks, "What is at stake, beyond bases and warheads, images and misunderstandings, is the strength and relative power of two contrasting ways of organizing societies." And this remains true whether the Soviet Union is regarded as Stalinist, state capitalist, or as a model of how *not* to organize a socialist society. So those who long for a world 'beyond the blocs' are likely to end up with a world dominated by one particular 'bloc', and one particular economic system - capitalism. It would be a world with less political choice, not more, and we would be bludgeoned with the old lie that There Is No Alternative to the capitalist system.

And yet the world has already moved 'beyond the blocs' and beyond Halliday's somewhat conservative view of current international trends: the old hegemony of the two superpowers is surely crumbling; and the very basis for many conflicts has moved on. It is true that Halliday does acknowledge the strength of Europe and Japan, but does not feel that they have "converted their economic and political strength into a distinct political military capability". This is true at the moment, but for how long? If a new world is emerging it is a sombre prospect; only the complacency of the privileged could have concocted the myth of a 'New Age'. Beyond all such shallow trends in thinking, the opportunities for the right kind of change and effective action must be based on an understanding of what is happening internationally, far from any cosy 'backyard' illusions.



# Disunited States of America?

What's going on in the US green movement? CLARE PALMER unravels some of the arguments in the deep ecology / social ecology debate.

OWING TO THE political system of the United States, there is no possibility of electoral success by a green political party at national level. Therefore most 'green' thinking, and action, is channelled into a variety of environmental pressure groups. As in the U.K., organisations such as Greenpeace conduct campaigns on particular environmental issues and have wide popular support. However, in addition to these pressure groups, there are a small number of radical green organisations, with powerful philosophical/ political outlooks. Prominent among these is the deep ecology movement and the organisation *Earth First!*, and the social ecology movement, linked closely to left green publications. It is on these two groups that I will focus. For the debate between 'deep' and 'social' ecologists, while acrimonious and backstabbing at times, has highlighted many of the key issues - and problems - facing Green thinking.

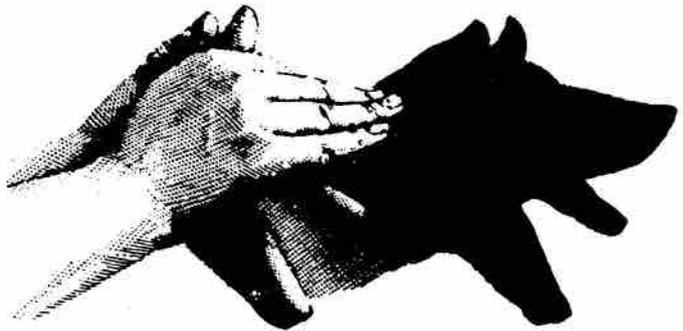
## Deep roots

The expression 'Deep Ecology' was coined in 1973 by Arne Naess, in his article *The Shallow and the Deep, Long Range Ecology Movement* (in *Inquiry* 16:p.95;1973). As the title suggests, this article was instrumental in putting forward one of the essential features of Deep Ecology - the existence of two forms of 'ecological' thought, the 'shallow' or 'anthropocentric' and the 'deep' or 'biocentric'. These represent two opposing paradigms, or worldviews. For those holding the shallow perspective, other species and the rest of Nature are of value only insofar as they can be used by humans (instrumental value.) Those who regard themselves as deep ecologists however, insist that "the wellbeing and flourishing of human and nonhuman Life have value in themselves (synonyms: intrinsic value, inherent value). These values are independent of the usefulness of the non-human world for human purposes" (B.Devall & G.Sessions *Deep Ecology*).

On this principle, all deep ecologists are agreed. Beyond this point, the implications of such a conviction vary. If all that is living has intrinsic value, are all living things equal ('biocentric equality')? Or is there some kind of ranking of value, with humans at the top? Most deep ecologists reject any idea of greater and lesser values. Naess himself speaks of a "core democracy in the biosphere" and argued that everything has an "equal right to live and blossom" (quoted in *Deep Ecology*). David Foreman (to whom we shall return), editor of *Earth First!*, commented in the paper (1.11.87) that "The individual human life is not the most important thing in the world. An individual human life has no more intrinsic value than an individual grizzly bear life."

This approach, of course, led deep ecologists into great problems. If all forms of life are considered to be equal, what then of viruses, weeds and locusts? Do they not also have an 'equal right to live and blossom'? Some deep ecological writing seems, in effect, to be valuing human life more highly than other life. Even Devall and Sessions, when defining 'vital' human need (for which interference with other species is allowed) include snowmobiles for the Eskimos.

The desire to allow other living beings to blossom and flourish also finds expression in the convictions of deep ecologists that a huge reduction in human population is necessary. This view is shared by Naess, Devall, Sessions, and the contributors to *Earth First!*. How exactly this is to be achieved is one of the sparking points in the deep ecology/social ecology debate. While Devall and Sessions talk of a period of time and "interim strategies", Dave Foreman, in an interview with Devall expressed his view that nature should be left to "take its course" in Ethiopia and the starving allowed to die (*Simply Living* 12;2). In an even more provocative pseudonymous article in *Earth First!* (1.5.87), AIDS was hailed as a "necessary solution" to the population problem (with the proviso that it succeed in killing 80% of the world's human population.)



## Deep questions

The emergence of such statements from the deep ecology movement in the United States caused a flurry of articles and correspondence in the environmental press. One of the most outspoken of the protesters was Murray Bookchin, associated with social ecology in much the same way as Naess with deep ecology. Bookchin pointed out that there was a deep rift in the ecology movement in the States. In an important article, he asked:

*Will ecologically oriented groups and the Greens become a movement that sees the roots of our ecological dislocations in social dislocations - notably in the domination of human by human which has produced the very notion of dominating nature? Or will ecology groups and the Greens turn the entire movement into a starry-eyed religion decorated by gods, goddesses, woodsprites, and organised around sedating rituals that reduce militant activist groups to self-indulgent encounter groups?* (*Green Perspectives* 6;1988).

These questions lead us to the heart of the U.S. debate. Social ecology is a left-wing green movement, opposed to capitalism in any form. Bookchin argues that "the real cancer that afflicts the planet is capitalism and hierarchy" (*Green Synthesis* Dec,1988). It is these which must be tackled, rather than a 'paradigm shift' from 'anthropocentrism' to 'biocentrism'. If the hierarchies within human society are dismantled (racism, sexism, homophobia) harmony with nature will follow, since dominating attitudes towards other humans have led, according to Bookchin, towards our dominating attitudes to nature.

Thus, Bookchin rejects the 'lumping together' of humans into a homogeneous species, with no distinctions made

between rich and poor, oppressors and oppressed. A huge reduction in population, as put forward by the deep ecologists would only be at the expense of the poor. Bookchin accuses deep ecologists of expressing "pious sympathy for suffering people while otherwise dooming them to death."

His objections also extend to the 'spiritual' nature of Deep Ecology. In its attempts to overcome feelings of alienation from Nature, deep ecologists such as John Seed (see GL73) have developed workshops and poetry to stimulate feelings of 'oneness' with nature. Ranging from invocations to Gaia, 'thinking like a mountain' and roleplaying other species, these form an important part of Deep Ecologists' efforts to change human consciousness of the world around them. But to Bookchin, this "Eco-la-la" is escapism from the realities of the *political* structures of oppression that cause environmental destruction.



To deep ecologists, social ecology is a continuation of the traditional anthropocentric outlook. Bookchin has shown his primary concern to be human society with humankind as "self-conscious agent of the natural world, enhancing the evolutionary process." He has not moved beyond the 'shallow' perspective of the natural world. For social ecologists, however, the deep ecologists are misanthropic and essentially right-wing, insensitive to the suffering of the poor and oppressed and preferring to waste time with 'eco-la-la'.



There is undoubtedly a rift in the radical environmental movement in the US. How far this is restricted to the public bickering of a few influential figures, and how far it extends to the supporters of the various movements concerned is hard to say. In many ways, it reflects the 'green/green' 'red/green' debate found in green movements internationally. No compromise seems to be in sight in the US. It can only be hoped that the continuation of the debate will lead to some agreement.

# The search for Japan's green conscience

How do you struggle against the world's most 'successful' industrial post-war economy? ADRIAN WRIGHT reports on the attempts to do just that.

EVEN IN THE heart of the industrial death machine the green alternative grows and struggles on: Japan has in recent years seen the emergence of a green movement that is challenging this ecologically destructive and socially degrading highly technological society.

At the end of last year Mainich Shimbun (one of the major dailies) published a discussino among some of their reporters on the biggest stories of the year. Figuring prominently among them are the burgeoning anti-nuclear power movement, the ozone layer, acid rain and other environmental issues.

According to a report by the National Police, the anti-nuclear movement has spread to protests beyond nuclear power plants to mining, transport and arms. Many 'citizens opposition groups' have been formed over the last year as the fallout from Chernobyl began to take effect in terms of sustained social protest. Furthermore, the movement has undergone a transformation in that many housewives are now active. Police were mobilised to deal with the movement 1,247 times, involving 152,000 police, representing significant increases over the previous year.

At the forefront of this anti-nuclear movement, reminiscent of the movements throughout Europe in the early 1980s, is the Japan Green Federation, a grassroots network of groups and individuals. The federation aims for the immediate closure of all nuclear power plants. However its campaigns still have a long way to go as there are now 35 plants in operation.

The task ahead is complicated by social customs like 'saving face', which have a strong influence in decision-making in Japan. When a large bridge was planned to connect two islands, but three governors wanted it located in their area, three bridges were built. The same goes for nuclear power: a plant earmarked for one of three proposed sites was wanted by all three. According to government policy, residents of areas which accept a nuclear installation are paid a substantial fee. The result has been a nuclear plant for each location.

This illustrates one aspect of the limited view of the environment held by many in Japan. Only 10% of the government's environmental budget goes to conservation of nature and then rest to preventing pollution problems affecting human health.

While we can expect the state to be estranged from nature, what about school children? Surely the global ecological consciousness has touched Japanese youth? But maybe not: when a large group of middle-school students were told by their teacher to draw a chicken, the chickens

were drawn with four legs. If they don't even know what a chicken looks like, imagine their conception of the wider natural world!

Faced with such a thin ecological consciousness, Japan's Green Party and Green Federation decided to join forces for the national elections. The reasoning was simple: not to split the green vote. The workings of the merger are a bit more difficult. The two groupings have decided to stay separate and co-operate to create a national organisation with a yearly national meeting of all green groups. The purpose of this gathering will be to exchange information and learn from the experiences of other groups as well as to discuss the movement's thinking and political direction. Of course the party and federation are wary of creating another huge centralised bureaucracy like existing parties, but feel co-operation through networks should bring them more power at national elections (e.g. media coverage) while empowering people at the grassroots.

The political platform of the party and federation is one that any European green party would be comfortable with. Animal experimentation and water pollution are among the immediate targets, while the long-term goal is a transition to a regionalised economy through the dismantling of the centralised power structures of the present inherently unsustainable economic and political system.

Alongside such deep green politics Japan has its light green campaigns. FoE Japan and Japan Tropical Forest Action Network are slowly working away at Japan's appalling record in the tropical timber trade: a situation describable only as a black hole sucking in the region's rich ecological systems and diverse indigenous cultures.



This is the area that has given Japan its Janus reputation. On the one hand, if you're at all into stereotypes, videos and all the other delights of consumerism then Japan has done wonders for your social life. On the other hand, if you consider whales and rainforests, rivers and lakes at all interesting and worthy of a right to life on this earth then Japan is definitely bad news. The only good news is that the greens are emerging to change the bad news.

The Japan Green Federation is at 1-20-7 Honkomagome, Bunkyo-ku, Tokyo 113, Japan.

# On the Spanish greens

PAULA CASAL describes the origins and present organisation of the Spanish greens.

ACCORDING TO OCTAVI Piulats, the first Spanish environmental activity was in Rio Tinto, Huelva, 101 years ago. One of the first green triumphs was also in Huelva, when WWF preserved Doñana Natural Park by buying and donating it to the Government. In 1968 ADENA, a branch of WWF, was created, through the efforts of the media environmental hero, Felix Rodriguez de la Fuente.

The green movement of the 70's denounced Franco's regime as a destroyer of the environment and the official associations (especially ICONA, which still plants eucalyptus trees) as useless, and many independent groups formed such as AEROMA (1970-76), ASCAN in Canarias, ANAN in Navarra, GOB in Mallorca, ADENEX in Extremadura, and FAT, the Federation of Friends of the Earth.

After Franco's death in 1975 the movement became more active and more groups containing ecologists and not just environmentalists were founded (ADEPEN in Madrid, DEPANA in Catalunya, AGADEN in Castilla-La Mancha, ATAN in Canarias, Andalus in Seville, Alfalfa and Usera in Barcelona and Margarita in Valencia) and neo-rural alternative communities (such as Arco Iris) began to grow, some of them inspired by oriental spirituality or anarchist ideas. The first green council emerged (in Tarragona) from Arco Iris.

In the 80's the Comites Antinucleares de la Península, appeared in protest at Spain's huge nuclear programme. This culminated with several meetings to achieve coordination between the groups at La Granja-Vasallin, Cerdecilla, and Daimiel (which resulted in an ideological definition of ecologism, and non-political groups, such as CODA, for bird protection, left). However, the resulting Federación Ecologista didn't work.

At this time the urban alternative movement was growing among squatters, as were pirate radio stations such as Onda Verde, Radio Klara, and Oxigeno and publications such as La Puça iel General, Resiste and Sabotaje, that followed Germinal, Robinson and La Alternativa.

The key facts of the 80's concerning the green movement are:

- The electoral success of the Spanish Socialist Workers Party (PSOE), which, as any GL reader should be aware of, is neither socialist, nor a workers's party - some doubt whether it is Spanish, given the strong US presence, the concessions made to foreign investors, multinationals and tourists. They are not half as green as they claim to be. Infact, the only true word in PSOE is "Party". They have governed since 1983, since when greens have had good reason to lose all hope in a party that systematically betrays its promises: Eucalyptus keeps on being planted;

nuclear power plants keep on working (many think that the recent nuclear moratorium was not a political decision, and not even an electoralist concession but merely a financial decision, due to insufficient energy demand); tonnes of industrial waste keep on being dumped everywhere.

- Greenpeace-Spain was founded in 1984, won the anti-whaling campaign and grew very fast through campaigns to save the sea from militarisation and nuclear dumping.
- The anti NATO campaign, involved an amazing collaboration between greens, the peace movement, communists, anarchists and all sorts of parties and groups to the left of the PSOE.
- Chernobyl made, as in many other places, the antinuclear movement much more active, at a time when it was, (except in Euskadi (the Basque country) where Lemonz power plant is still closed) somewhat depressed.
- Finally there is the 'non-event' of the terrible level of environmental degradation (one of the highest of Europe, despite Spain's lower level of industrialization).

Key facts concerning the formation of the Spanish greens are:

- The presence of Petra Kelly (who also supported the anti-NATO campaign) and Lukas Beekmann at the Ecological Film Festival in Tenerife (May 1983) which encouraged the setting up of a commission to form a Green Party. Seven months later, 50 groups met in Seville and planned the first conference of Los Verdes at Málaga (June 1984). At the time, the influence of Die Grünen was so big that people asking for information about Los Verdes - such as me - received all the literature in German. The Spanish leaflet, was a brief and vague program in 4 paragraphs corresponding to the 4 basic pillars of Die Grünen, which did not even include an explicit rejection of nuclear power.
- Los Verdes, legally registered as a party in October 1984 and organised the congress of Cardedeu in Barcelona (Feb 1985) with some foreign guests and about 50 members of other groups who didn't quite agree with their orientation. Los Verdes has since begun a process of renovation, modifying the old statutes and allowing more room for federal self-determination and different languages.

## Reasons to be different

It is surprising to see in Sara Parkins' book about the European green parties how easily she identifies the young population as green and democratic, and the old as conservative and ungreen. She probably hasn't seen the hordes of young fascists demonstrating every 20th of November, or the massed Catholic youth acclaiming the Pope, or conversely the thousands of adults and even elderly who march towards American bases or in anti-NATO demonstrations. She would be surprised to see the age of some very committed communists who went through at least one war and contrast it to the number of young yuppies too busy with consumerism and social climbing to be activists. Maybe it's an anti-communist bias that has prevented her from seeing this, despite her noticing that Los Verdes isn't that young.

She also concludes that the enduring Spanish tendency for splits is due more to personality conflicts than to political differences, and reduces disagreements between Los Verdes and Los Alternativos to an organisational difference. The regionalism-nationalism debate is a very hot issue in Spain, that cannot be overlooked, and the rejection of centralism and electoralism are a matter of controversy, especially relevant with the desire for local government following Franco's regime.

Whilst there is a considerable amount of regrettable

sectarianism, for a fuller understanding of the present situation there are some other facts to be taken into account, such as Spain's anarchist and communist traditions; the rejection of Franco's authoritarian centralism; the programmatic and organizational immaturity of the green movement; the issue of non-violence and separatist terrorism (for example, many Basque nationalists happen to be very antinuclear, anti-Nato and green, too); EEC integration used to justify our membership to NATO; and the debate between environmentalists and radical ecologists coupled with the ecologists' reluctance to trust green politicians that have not been activists until very shortly before elections.

There is, too, the fact, stressed by Albert Recio in the excellent magazine of marxism, ecology, peace and feminism *Mientras Tanto* (38;1989), that many important direct action events often have a very rural character, (due to the most dangerous military/industrial installations being set up in the less populated areas). Such places are seen as an aggression on traditional ways of life; an example of the subordination of the rural areas to the urban centres and the former's marginalisation.

Rural direct actions - often portrayed as regressive rejections of progress - are brought about by very socially and ideologically heterogeneous local groups, that yet have the ability to unite when faced with great dangers requiring urgent action to attract the media and people keen on engaging in a socially useful activity. However, they are unable to appeal to wider urban social sectors and thereby form a larger and stable group, with the kind of global alternative proposal that would question the actual model of Spain's development.

## Green Parties of Spain

For some time there have been lots little Communist parties in Spain - now they have quite a few little green parties. Their temporary alliances and splits make it easy to get mixed up.

At the Euro-elections, the total green vote was 441,363, which is more than twice as much (2.6%) as in 1987. Five other groups with less than 300,000 votes got a seat in Strasbourg last June, when people could choose between 33 candidates (half of them totally unknown 2 weeks before the election), 4 of which were green of some sort.

- LISTA VERDE, (Euro-election: 163,703 votes) is linked to the European Greens and includes 4 groups: Los Verdes (from the Confederación de los Verdes Europeos), who obtained two councillors (Brugos and Alicante) in June 1987; Los Verdes Alternativos de Madrid; Alternativa Ecoloxica de Galicia and Partido Ecologista de Euskadi. If LV restructuring plans succeed, seats currently held in Strasbourg by Los Verdes would belong to the wider LV. In contrast to Die Grünen, LV is against the European green parties belonging to the Rainbow Group in the European Parliament.

The first LV MEP, 40 year-old lawyer Purificación Gonzalez de la Blanca, is an expert on EEC issues, who had previously lost her job in Spain's Ministry of Culture after repeatedly leading environmental protests. When she was told to leave she said: "I have lost my job, but not my dignity". She criticises the EEC as a capitalist club, its insensitivity to environmental issues where politics serve the interest of multinationals, and agrees with Wilfried Telkämper (President of the Rainbow Group) that "it's necessary to break the rigid and useless EEC structures to defend the Europe of the people, not the Europe of business and particularly not those who lack respect for people, the environment and cultures". She will fight against tourism's environmental destructiveness, water

pollution and depredation of Spain's coast.

- **LOS VERDES ECOLOGISTAS**, (161,486 votes). A dodgy party said to be a legal cover for the pro-nuclear Argentinian socialist sect, La comunidad, form which they and Partido Humanista originated. They have been accused of irrationality, proselitism with minors and right wing roots.
- **VERDE Vertice Español Reivindicativo Del Desarrollo Ecologico**, (Spanish Vertex for the Reclaiming of Ecological Development, 58,626 votes), founded in 1982 by journalist J.L. Barceló and is said to be a right-wing, pro-nuclear, anti-abortionist, pro-bullfighting party resulting from a split in Spain's major conservative party

Alianza Popular, or else a mere right wing strategy to steal green votes.

- **ALTERNATIVA VERDA-MOVIMIENTO ECOLOGISTA DE CATALUNYA** (47,548 votes) In 1987 joined with another regionalist party, Partido Ecologista de Euskadi, in the Confederación de los Verdes to take 65,574 votes (0.34% of the total for Spain). More recently, Catalunyan AV broke from the Lista Verdes because of not wanting to be represented by a national group, which they saw as insensitive to regional differences and rights to self-determination. However, future unification is expected by many.

*The forest is our livelihood. We have lived here before any outsiders came along. We fished in clean rivers and hunted in the jungle. Now the logging companies turn rivers into muddy streams and the jungle is devastated. The fish cannot survive in dirty rivers and wild animals will not live in devastated forest.*

A speaker for the Penan people of Sarawak.

# Sarawak News

Malaysia's forests are disappearing at three hectares per minute. This report was received from Sahabat Alam (FoE Malaysia).

- **Recent Blockade:** 17 July saw a new blockade staged by Penans of Long Kawi and Long Itam, Sg Bunau, in the Baram District. They were trying to prevent a timber contractor, Rimex Sdn. Bhd. from logging the very area they have applied for as a Communal Forest Reserve. The blockade was forced open on 23 July by the company with the aid of army personnel and some gangsters. The Penans were informed by the authorities that their application for the Communal Reserve was being processed, and that meanwhile they should not stop the logging.
- **Restriction Order lifted from Harrison Ngau:** On 23 June, the Home Ministry lifted the Restriction Order imposed on Harrison Ngau, SAM's representative in Sarawak. Harrison was detained under the Malaysian Internal Security Act in October 1987, as part of a nationwide series of detentions. In December 1987, he was released after spending 60 days in detention, but a Restriction Order was imposed stating conditions for his release. Among the conditions were to report to the police at the beginning of each month, not to make any press statements and not to attend any political or worker union gatherings.

- **Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) in Upper Baram:** Under Section 34A of the Environmental Quality Act 1974, logging an area exceeding 500Ha is a Prescribed Activity subject to an EIA. Numerous longhouses in the Ulu Baram have written letters of appeal to the authorities to ensure that EIAs are carried out prior to any logging activities. Ulu Baram is the last area of primary forest in the Baram District which has been licensed out for logging. Two major access roads have been constructed, and a bridge is being built at the village of Long San to facilitate the extraction of logs. SAM has written to and met with the Ministry of Science, Technology and Environment regarding this matter. The Ministry requested the names and addresses of the logging licencees and contractor firms operating in Ulu Baram. These have been provided, but we have yet to hear from the Ministry.

- **Natives drew up Resolution:** During a recent meeting of native community leaders of Baram and Limbang at Marudi on 23-24 June, a new resolution was drawn up stating the problems faced by natives as a result of the widespread and indiscriminate logging, and calling for effective measures from the state government to protect their lands, forests and rights.

- **New Arrest in Ulu Baram:** Six Kenyas from Long San, Ulu Baram were arrested on 15 July and charged on 29 July for Criminal Intimidation (under Section 503 of the Penal Code) over a dispute with a timber contractor currently working in the area.

- **Magistrate court cases postponed:** A court case involving 11 Kelabit and Penan was adjourned from 6 July to 6 December, while 2 of the accused were discharged at the request of the State Forestry Officer. On 11 April 6 Penan arrested for allegedly burning bridges had their cases postponed to September, while the court dropped charges against another, Musa Bong Mirai. They had been charged under Section 435 for Mischief. Another court case involving 10 Penan, arrested for staging a blockade, was postponed from 3 July to 5 February 1990.

- **Malaysia to allow ITTO visit:** This November, the International Timber Trade Organisation is to investigate logging on Sarawak. While primarily being concerned with timber trade economics, under its UN mandate ITTO is supposed to "encourage the sustainable use utilisation and conservation of tropical forests and to maintain the ecological balance in the regions concerned." Sarawak campaigners fear a whitewash and that the mission will ignore the central injustice that the state is handing out land to timber companies that belongs to the people of Sarawak by right.

Sahabat Alam Malaysia are at 43 Salween Road, 10050 Penang, Malaysia. They publish regular newsletters.

# Killing the goose that lays the Golden Eggs

OLIVER TICKELL looks at recent reports of the struggle for the Amazon - political and scientific.

IN THE JUNE 29th issue of Nature, a team of scientists headed by Charles M Peters of the Institute of Economic Botany in New York published their valuation of a single hectare of rainforest at Mishina near Rio Nanay in Peru. Their findings made interesting reading: the annual renewable yield of non-timber tree products was estimated at US\$650 per annum, after deductions for collection and transport costs. By contrast timber exploitation would give a once and for all revenue of \$1000 on delivery at the

sawmill, and would "greatly reduce, if not eliminate, future revenues from fruit and latex trees". This result is all the more extraordinary for its failure to take into account the revenues from herbs, shrubs, rattans, vines, and trees less than 10cm in diameter - these could easily bring the figure up to \$1000 per annum.

So why are the rainforests not exploited rationally, when the annual sustainable yield of non-timber products is the same or greater than the non-renewable timber value - as clear a case of killing the goose that lays the golden eggs as one might find? In the words of the authors, "without question, the sustainable exploitation of non-wood forest resources represents the most immediate and profitable method for integrating the use and conservation of the Amazon forests." Why has so little been done to promote the marketing, processing and development of these valuable resources?

The answer, they believe, is that "tropical timber is sold in international markets and generates substantial amounts of foreign exchange; it is a highly visible export commodity controlled by the government and supported by large federal expenditures. Non-wood resources, on the other hand, are collected and sold in local markets by an incalculable number of subsistence farmers, forest collectors, middlemen and shop-owners. These decentralised trade networks are extremely hard to monitor and ignore in national accounting schemes".

## Beyond economics

So far so good, but they stop well short of defining the true problem: not one of how much benefit there is to be gained, but of who is gaining: in the first case, small numbers of people in ruling elites and powerful corporations make huge amounts of money for themselves very quickly; but profits from non-timber extraction go to a huge number of small operators living at, or a little above, subsistence level - hardly the people with whose welfare corrupt governments are concerned.

Nowhere is this more clear than in the Brazilian Amazon, where the conflict is at its most critical and violent. The case made by Peters et al in their paper is hardly news as far as Brazil's rubber tappers are concerned. As Chico Mendes stated in an interview weeks before his murder by cattle ranchers (Fight for the Forest), "We're fighting for better marketing and price guarantees for rubber. We want better marketing policies and better working conditions for those harvesting nuts. But there are an infinite number of natural resources in the forest, so we want our government to encourage the industrialisation and marketing of other forest products that it has always ignored in the past."

Speaking of a particular 50Ha plot that was destroyed in an old rubber estate, he told how "in that area they destroyed, the last harvest produced 1,400 cans of Brazil nuts, a good crop. We challenged the owner and the Governor himself to work out the annual income per hectare produced by forest products such as brazil nuts and rubber and then compare it with that produced by grazing cattle. They refused because they knew we could prove the income from one hectare of forest is 20 times greater than when the forest is cleared and made over to cattle."

But the landowners clearly believe that there is more money to be made for themselves by destroying the forest, and will stop at nothing to do so: "the landowners use all the economic power at their disposal. They bribe the authorities: it is common knowledge that they've bought off the IBDF staff in the Amazon region... The other tactic they use, and it's a very effective one, is to use hired guns to intimidate us. Our movement's leaders, not just myself but quite a few others as well have been



Amazon agricultural workers take on the Brazilian state and landowners: "They're stealing the 'green' from our national flag."

*threatened a lot this year... we are sure this will be the landowners' main tactic from now on. They are going to fight our movement with violence and intimidation. There's no doubt about that".*

The research from the Institute of Economic Botany must be welcomed, as giving scientific backing for what the inhabitants and workers of the Amazon already know. But it is unfortunate that they neither recognise the all important political dimension, nor acknowledge the vital contributions of Chico Mendes and his colleagues who have lost their lives in the fight for the Amazon.

### Lessons to be learnt

There are several messages for the conservation movement here too. FoE's rainforest campaign has tended to focus on the timber industry, and how it might be reformed - maybe they should look further to the development of markets and industries based on the far more valuable non-timber products. Also, it should consider more direct assistance to organisations like the National Council of Rubber Tappers (CNS), set up by Chico Mendes to promote the rational exploitation of the Amazon forest and the welfare of its workers.

Foreign Aid for the rainforests from Britain's ODA has greatly increased in recent years, showing some political will for rainforest conservation - but the projects in question have been largely oriented towards more sustainable timber production, or pure conservation. Funds directed towards non-timber extractive industries would have a far higher potential for long term conservation. The same applies of course to funds from multilateral bodies such as the World Bank and the UN Food and Agriculture Organisation, currently promoting the discredited and timber-centric Tropical Forest Action Plan.

Above all, rainforest conservation should no longer be seen as an environmental luxury to be set against economic growth, but as a necessary precondition to the long term economic development of those tropical countries fortunate enough to have some left. This should be recognised by the IMF and the multilateral development banks, and rainforest conservation applied as a strict "conditionality" for bail-outs or development assistance.

In March 1989 the CNS and the Brazilian Union of Indigenous Nations joined together to release the following declaration:

*The traditional peoples who today trace on the Amazonian sky the rainbow of the Alliance of the Peoples of the Forest declare their wish to see their regions preserved. They know that the development of the potential of their people and of the regions they inhabit is to be found in the future economy of their communities, and must be preserved for the whole Brazilian nation as part of its identity and self esteem. This Alliance of the Peoples of the Forest, bringing together Indians, rubber tappers and riverbank communities, and founded here in Acre, embraces all efforts to protect and preserve this immense but fragile life-system that involves our forests, lakes, rivers and springs, the source of our wealth and the basis of our cultures and traditions.*

Let us give them all the help we can in their fight for the Amazon.

Fight for the Forest is available from: Latin American Bureau, 1 Amwell St, London EC1R 1UL, for £3.70 including p&p.



# Flightless EMU

Returning to Europe, why is there pressure to link Britain more closely to other currencies? DAVID SIMMONS looks into the matter from a green perspective.

THE EUROPEAN MONETARY system (EMS) has started its political life in Britain with one enormous advantage: Mrs Thatcher is against it. This one fact gives it instant popularity. But what is this system that we are so affected by it, yet so powerless to prevent it?

According to Lord Cockfield, within ten years there will be a single European currency, and no nation has the power to halt this inevitable development. Britain, he said, but implying Mrs Thatcher, would be deluding itself if it thought otherwise.

### Before EMU

The first stage is the EMS, which most of the original member states have joined already. But Britain is still not a member. Member countries join at an agreed exchange rate, and keep within that rate in relation to all other member countries' currencies. So on this basis the EMS is simply a way of stabilising exchange rates, similar to the exchange rates system set up under the Bretton Woods agreement of 1948, or the Louvre accord of 1987. So the EMS will add nothing to the chancellor's economic armoury.

Under the EMS, Britain and the other member states are allowed a 2.5% currency fluctuation - although Italy is allowed 6%. But supposing the range of fluctuation is not wide enough? And when we do join, at what exchange rate will we join?

The Treasury and the London Business School want us to join at a rate of exchange that will "lock in" Britain's uncompetitiveness in relation to other nations. By making our goods uncompetitive - whether sold domestically or abroad - the high exchange rate will force British manufacturers to hold down prices and absorb cost increases themselves. So British products will temporarily be less attractive, but we will be able to conquer inflation!

Well, that's the theory. This policy has been in operation for three years now, and what we actually get is mounting imports. Our own goods are less competitive, so naturally people buy more imports. And people abroad buy less of our exports. Meanwhile, the high interest rates that have been necessary to keep the pound sterling high, have also added to inflation - through mortgage rates, the cost of credit and so on.

However, apart from that, just by joining the EMS we will cut inflation. How? Who knows? But the EMS average is only 4.5% compared to Britain's 8.3%. It is assumed that currency stabilisation will reduce the rate of inflation.

And although currency stabilisation might reduce inflation and boost trade, this will only be true of our trade with Europe. There is no way that the EMS will stabilise exchange rates between Europe and Japan or the US. In fact, the evidence so far suggests that it will increase such currency fluctuations.

But the EMS is just the first step in the creation of a European Currency Unit (ECU); a single currency that will be legal tender throughout Europe. When - or if - this comes in, Britain will no longer be able to devalue its currency if it suffers a serious balance of payments problem. After the introduction of the ECU, countries with sustained balance of payments deficits will simply become depressed regions. If their locally produced goods are seen as too expensive, they will have to totally restructure their industry before they can sell more. This is a process that could take years, leaving the country as an economic backwater until it catches up with the other ECU member states.

### Some are more ECU than others

So why do we want an ECU, and who benefits from it? The answer can be found by looking at who is pushing for European Monetary Union. One of the most influential groups is the Committee for the Monetary Union of Europe. This group is "backed by more than 150 European companies with a turnover of £200bn..." (The Guardian 27.1.89) and there is no doubt that the committee is well-financed and able to produce research of the highest quality. But it might also be just a little bit biased.

Large companies like to have currency stability. They like to know exactly how much cash their exports will earn, and they don't want to have to worry about exchange rates or devaluations. Security and confidence are very important to big business. They are often so well insulated from the real world that the few aspects of reality that are uncontrollable and unpredictable are quite frightening to them.

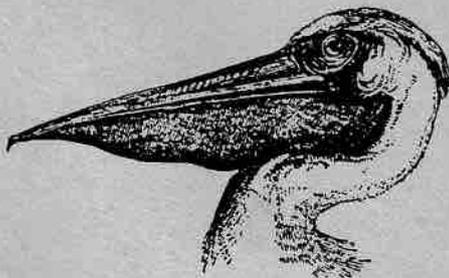
The situation is very different for small firms. They don't have the power to influence government, and they

are used to dealing in the constant change of commerce. It is generally accepted that small companies are more adaptable, more flexible, and quicker to respond than their large corporate counterparts.



The small company, faced with a new and difficult situation, adapts. The big corporation demands government action. And what we get is yet another deterioration in the economy, while the big corporations grow just a little bit more powerful. A few years from now, they will influence the European money supply, interest rates and the availability of credit. There will be one big European central bank, more powerful than the Bank of England is now, but just as responsive to the needs of commerce. But our political leaders will have created yet another supranational body that we will be unable to control.

## ANIMAL NEWS



...news...news...news...

A NEW Animal Rights Shop has opened in Liverpool City centre. It is situated in "Quiggins", 12-16 School Lane (just down from the Bluecoat Chambers, on the road next to Church Street. There is a wide range of animal rights sales goods - T-shirts, sweatshirts, badges, car stickers, cruelty-free products, mugs, information and lots more. The shop is open 9.30am-

6.00pm, Monday to Sunday. It is important that the shop is well supported. The rent is quite high and to maintain a daily animal rights presence in Liverpool it needs to remain open. Contact Merseyside Animal Rights Campaign, c/o Flat 4, 164 Princes Road, Liverpool, L8 2UL.

GARI ALLEN, imprisoned in May 1988 for animal rights activities, has recently been released: he wishes to thank everyone who has been in touch and given him support while in prison. Life is likely to be difficult for him on release, so contributions will be welcome (sent to the Gari Allen Support Fund), with cheques and postal orders payable to Gari Allen at c/o Raven Press, 75 Piccadilly, Manchester.

'ANIMALS AT risk calender' 1990 is now available to groups at £5.99 from Jane Inglis at Oakroyd Press, 9 Oakroyd Avenue, Potters Bar, Herts, EN6 2EH.

A NEW London group LONDON VEGANS has been formed to promote veganism in the London area. They organise stalls at a variety of events throughout the year - ranging from large festivals to jumble sales - and give talks and cookery demonstrations. They also organize social events such as walks and restaurant visits and provide an information service to

subscribers and other enquirers. Contact London Vegans, 7 Deansbrook Road, Edgware, Middlesex HA8 9BE. General enquiries about the vegan way of life can be discussed with Olive Jones on 01 524 4643.

THE ANTI-FUR group LYNX is convinced that the fur trade in Britain is on the brink of collapse: their new campaign aims to give it a final push. Fur sales and manufacturing figures in the UK have plummeted, fur shops have closed down across the country, and the latest news is that Hudsons Bay Company is leaving London for Helsinki at the end of September. In the words of the fur trade's own magazine 'Fur Review': "it has not been possible to maintain a profitable auction activity in London in the present market circumstances." Incidentally 'Fur review' has now closed down as well!

Meanwhile the government is planning to fight an EC ban on American and Russian furs caught by cruel leg-hold traps because it objects to giving greater powers to the European Commission. This is despite the fact that such traps are themselves banned in this country already. A case of leaving others to do your dirty work for you, it would seem.

This month ANIMAL EVENTS are listed in the green diary on page 3 and 4.

# Poll tax: looking to Europe

**CITIZENS AGAINST THE POLL TAX**, a grassroots, non-party group in Scotland is backing a campaign to test the legality of the tax in the European Court at Strasbourg. A number of people, having been fined for non-registration, have appealed - unsuccessfully so far - to Sheriff Courts, citing breaches of the 1707 Treaty of Union, of the Data Protection Act, and of the European Convention on Human Rights. The next stage, in Scotland, is to appeal to the Court of Session and, if that fails, the House of Lords. Given that the authorities will appeal against a decision in favour of non-payers, it could go to the European Court at Strasbourg. Apart from taking a considerable amount of time, this is also an extremely expensive venture and we want to raise enough money to help fund one such appeal.

Our appeal in Scotland is addressed primarily to those who benefit from the poll tax: many people here are welcoming this chance to fight the tax in a way that is not illegal and which stands a very good chance of achieving the desired result. We have received substantial donations; in many cases the whole of the donor's gain this year, and sums have varied from £1 to £500, but what has been equally encouraging has been the warm response to the appeal in such comments as: "Excellent idea!...I am one of those little old ladies in a large flat that Malcolm Rifkind [the Scottish Secretary] thinks he is doing a favour to" (£100); "Here is a glad £100 for the campaign" "I enclose a cheque for £10 which is all I, as a pensioner on the losing side of the poll tax can afford. Use it to fight the good fight"; "We are gladdened by what is being done and wish you luck" Poll tax losers (£5); "As a retired high school teacher I cannot afford much but gladly send what I can with my best wishes for your excellent cause" (£50); "yours in hope and anger" (£50); "Good luck in such good work" (£50).

As far as the case in England is concerned, our campaign can only benefit English poll tax payers. We are a year ahead of the English in this, and therefore any case we support will get to Strasbourg a year ahead of any such English case. If, as a result of such an appeal the poll tax is overturned in Scotland it is inconceivable that such a widely

unpopular measure will be allowed to go ahead in England and Wales: the electoral result of such a reaction would be disastrous.

So far three appeals, which have been dismissed by Sherriff Courts in Stirling, Edinburgh and Orkney, have now been lodged at the Court of Session. The appellants are a Minister of the Church, a solicitor and an employee of an electricity board.

Please send cheques, payable to Citizens against the Poll Tax, to Secretary, CAP-T, 186 Morrison St, Edinburgh EH3 8EB.

## DEAR SIR OR MADAM...

THIS DELIGHTFUL letter appeared in The Guardian not so long ago:

I RECENTLY had a long telephone conversation with the Community Charge office for my borough (Hackney). I wanted to know about paying Poll Tax for visitors, e.g. from overseas, or from other parts of Britain and the information I was given was remarkable. (1) If a person comes to my house (or yours) and stays, in X days he/she presumably becomes liable for the Poll Tax; (2) If I go away from my house to another place, in Y days I presumably do not "live" here any more, and do not have to pay the Poll Tax (to this local authority). What are the values of X and Y? The answers I was given were:  $X = Y = 1$ . So if a friend or relative visits you from Nottingham or New York, they should immediately report themselves to the local borough in order to pay (a proportionate share of) the Poll Tax. Conversely, if I go away, I should tell my local office, so that they do not charge me (of course, if my house becomes empty as a consequence, I will have to pay the Standard Charge); if I go to Nottingham, I should inform the people there and begin to pay them; if I go to New York I don't have to pay anybody.

The implications are enormous, and I wonder if my civic duty forbids me to point them out in such a public place. How will the local authorities around the country cope with the sheer work involved in all this pro-rating. If we all observe the law? The mind boggles when mother comes to visit, she puts in one application for a refund in Nottingham and another to pay Hackney, each for two days (well, mine would have, may she rest in peace). When you go abroad for holiday or work, you certainly put in an application for a refund so long as at least one name remains on the rolls for the house (to avoid paying the higher Standard Community Charge).

Can Hackney have been having me on?  
D.R. Hughes,  
London E9.

## POVERTY snippets... snippets... snippets...

THE CHANGE from rates to poll tax has enabled the government to 'disappear' a number of rebates, in addition to introducing more blatant forms of discrimination such as the 20% minimum payment. With rates, handicapped people received rebates in recognition of their having extra expenses compared to TABS (temporarily able-bodied people), but under the poll tax, councils cannot offer this. Under rates, householders living near unpleasant places such as a polluting factory or the local Conservative club, could apply for rates reductions. This will vanish under the poll tax so we can look forward to local people objecting to their council giving a drinking licence to the local Tory Association dive.

IN STRATHCLYDE the council gave up on warrant sales after its bailiffs were met by a mob of 300 local people and thrown out of the first housing estate they set foot in. It leaves the councils with the problem of retrieving money through banks and employers, sure to be expensive.

BLATENT TO the last (see also below), this principled government of ours has realised that the standard Poll Tax that was to be levied on second homes might have been used by wicked Labour councils to hit the rich. So now any home that is 'available' for rent for half the year, counts as a 'business' and is assessed at a lower rate. Neat eh?

AND NOW the Tories sink further still into a morass of hypocrisy, contradiction and self-delusion (e.g. Poll Tax Minister David Hunt: "I believe that people will see the Community Charge [Poll Tax] is much fairer when we've explained it properly"). There has to be something clinically wrong when they have the arrogance to announce central support for the 'safety net' (what about the Trades Descriptions Act?) that operates just in time to bail them out at the next election. I know they've been elected three times, but surely they can't think we're that stupid?

Meanwhile back on planet Earth, further efforts are being made to unite local poll tax campaigns into a national federation (but one that leaves room for a wide range of approaches rather than domination by one sector of the campaign such as Militant). At recent meetings in London to set up a steering committee there was agreement that building a non-payment campaign will be the only way to bring about the necessary confrontation with the government. The first big test of this will be in Manchester on November 25th with a national meeting of local groups, hopefully to be a two-day conference of workshops. Be there to get your voice heard.