



THE SIZEWELL REACTION....

# GREEN LINE

Noll

April 1983

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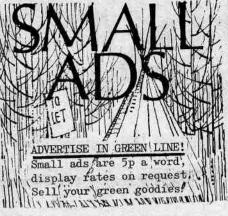
BRITAIN IS APPROACHING the thick end of the wedge. The state apparatus and all that lies behind it is ruthlessly imposing its will: the experience of this, previously the preserve of comparatively small groups of strikers and racial minorities, is now available to literally millions of participants in the peace movement, and in particular to women.

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OUR REVIEW OF the current stage of energy politics in Britain will be in two parts. This month we look at the Sizewell Inquiry as the CEGB finishes reading its 'proof of evidence', and report on signs of success in the campaign against sea dumping of nuclear waste. Next month we have a report from SNAG on direct action at Sizewell, an account of D-I-Y direct action in the form of the consumer campaign (hassling your electricity board by withholding the 'nuclear' portion of your bill), and a run-down on the current situation of renewable energy sources. And probably more!

THE STRUGGLE against nuclear power has not been a key issue for many people lately. And many people would assume that the struggle has gone on in much the same way that it did in the 1977-81 period: campaigning against power stations - first Torness, then Sizewell on safety grounds (the hypothetical meltdown); or cost ("some economists can prove that nuclear power is more expensive"); and need ("we can't really need ten new power stations").

But in the last few months there have been some major changes in almost every aspect of the nuclear struggle. At the start of the fuel chain, the government has decided not to renew its contract for Namibian uranium - probably to the great relief of the industry's PR men who were never strong on defending apartheid and the military occupation of Namibia. They haven't of course dropped it for humanitarian or political reasons. Rather it is due to the enormous surplus of uranium now stored in this country - a clear sign of the industry's failure to expand at the planned rate.

At the other end of the chain, dumping of waste at sea may be on its way out. The London Dumping Convention, the body the British always relied on to give the practice some authority, this year voted for a two-year moratorium on nuclear dumping at sea. This has reinforced the European Parliament's call for an end to the practice and it is unclear how long Britain will be able to go on defying world opinion. (See separate report in this issue of GL.)

But perhaps the most damaging news for the industry has been the admission by the National Radiological Protection Board that the 1957 fire at Windscale in all probability caused over 200 cancers, and of these at least 13 would lead to deaths. While the nuclear industry has gone berserk trying to prove that these were only paper deaths - it is after all impossible to prove what causes a cancer - there was undoubtedly some satisfaction for Greenpeace and the Political Ecology Research Group who had produced the same figures as a lower limit for deaths in their 1981 report on the fire. They followed up the NRPB report with new evidence showing that in normal operation Windscale may be expected to cause a few cancers each year. This, coupled with the five cases of leukaemia at the Sizewell A Magnox station, has done

a lot to remind the public of the threat posed by nuclear power.

But the news that should cause the biggest changes in our perception of nuclear power has been filtering out of the Sizewell Inquiry. Though less than three months old, the Inquiry has already been a mine of interesting information. This is in itself interesting since the proper cross-examination has not yet started. But it is already clear that the 'traditional' structure of the nuclear industry may be changing. Rather than send all Sizewell B's spent fuel to Windscale for reprocessing, they are talking about storing it at the power station for long periods, possibly indefinitely, as the American nuclear industry does. This would reduce pressure on Windscale, and indeed there is talk of ending 'commercial' reprocessing - something that is coming to represent a steadily increasing cost to the industry.

Cost is something else that has received some welcome publicity. The CEGB has admitted that nuclear power has not so far proved cheaper than coal. With the ending of the industry-promoted 'energy gap' scare of the mid-seventies, the cheapness of nuclear power was plugged as its main rationale; yet this view has been harder and harder to hold to in the light of steadily more detailed criticism from more and more sources. They still hope that the current AGR programme - described by a former CEGB chairman as an 'economic catastrophe' - will be cheaper, but the justification for this and for Sizewell B's costeffectiveness rests on some pretty dubious assumptions about rising coal prices and the shelving of reprocessing costs mentioned above. All in all a pretty sizeable step backwards by the industry, and one that renders most of their glossy promotional material obsolete.

#### **NEW PLANS FOR WASTE**

Their plans for nuclear waste are also changing. Last year saw the abandonment of plans to build a high-level nuclear waste dump for at least 50 years. Instead they will opt for above-ground storage until the heat in the wastes dissipates enough to make burial much easier. But the backlog for reprocessing at Windscale is now so great that a further type of dump is planned. Its site is as yet unknown, but it would store spent fuel rods from AGR stations until Windscale could take them. As well as being a security risk, problems with corrosion could make a serious radiation leak a very real possibility. On top of this there are plans to build below-ground medium-level waste dumps (to supplement/replace sea dumping?), and a new low-level waste dump to replace the trench now used at Drigg near Windscale. All in all disputes over waste dumping in this country may have only just begun, and a lot of communities could find themselves under threat.

### Many Company

#### THE WEAPONS LINK

But perhaps the most curious occurrence at the Inquiry was the attempt by a CEGB official to dictate government policy for the next 40 years when he said that no plutonium from Sizewell would be used to make weapons. This claim results of course from the government's concern over CND's involvement in the Inquiry. While the destruction of the Atoms for Peace myth would be bad enough, the researchers involved in the CND case are becoming increasingly worried that as well as plutonium from 'military power stations at Chapelcross and Calder Hall, plutonium from other power stations has also been diverted to the weapons programme. There are potentially serious discrepancies between the amount claimed to have been produced and the amount which research shows would have been produced. It is clear that the government sees CND more and more as the unwanted guest at the Inquiry.

The one group they most want there, of course, are Friends of the Earth. As recognised protestors about nuclear safety, the government could argue with FoE and at the end, when the Inquiry recommends in favour of going ahead, claim that the safety issues had been covered exhaustively. Unfortunately, this won't happen, not due to FoE's failings but due to the failure of the government's watchdog (the Nuclear Installations Inspectorate) to finish their own safety assessment. They in turn - probably justifiably - blame the CEGB for failing to supply them with the information they need. It is now clear that they will not be in a position to grant the operating

licence before the Inquiry finishes, and this in effect makes a mockery of the Inquiry's brief to investigate safety issues. One of the most crucial areas of safety is the risk of fuel rods splitting in the event of a coolant leak, or fuel clad ballooning as it is known. All sides accept that this is a problem that has to be solved satisfactorily, but due to the delays it will not be possible to discuss it at the Inquiry.

So safety as an issue is in abeyance. The Department of Energy has admitted that there are no grounds at all for pushing ahead with ten PWRs on need terms, and the need for even one will be extensively questioned. The cost argument, too, has lost much of its force already, and will also be criticised from all sides. The last justification the CEGB can use is that of fuel diversity. With 83% of our electricity coming from coal, this is in fact a good argument for new sources of energy of any sort, but whether it can be used to justify nukes is questionable. What it does show is that we should be lobbying hard for the renewables.

At the start of this Inquiry I felt that the nuclear vs. renewables argument would be entirely irrelevant. Small-scale technologies, some just on the commerciality horizon, are not a direct alternative to a massively centralised technology like nuclear power. But as the arguments for nukes get knocked down one by one, so the arguments for detailed assessment of the renewables become arguments that must be answered. We may have nuclear technology on the run, but it is essential that realistic energy planning for the future can start to visualise its replacement now.



ON ST VALENTINE'S DAY about 150 demonstrators gathered outside the London Dumping Convention to complain about a well-known filthy habit of the Atomic Energy Authority. A number of strands of the green movement were present, including Greenpeace, Campaign against Sea Dumping, Sea Shepherd, Ecology Party, Friends of the Earth, and CND.

Three inflatables belonging to Sea Shepherd and the Campaign against Sea Dumping appeared on the Thames bearing large black drums labelled Radioactive Waste. They were led by a boat from the River Police who were evidently pleased at a change in the humdrum routine of retrieving the bodies of those who prefer the cold waters of the Thames to continued existence in the urban industrial society. The drums were delivered to the door of the conference where they remained guarded by two policemen, proclaiming "Dump the A.E.A." to all who passed. Later, when the demonstration had dissolved, they were taken into the

building. Each to his own. The convention decided three days later, in a vote of 19 to 6, to impose a two-year moratorium on sea dumping of nuclear waste pending further monitoring. The response of the Atomic Energy Authority was predictably "Up yours, international community. Britannia pollutes the waves O K. The Great British Sea Dump continues." However, the irresistible force of the British sea dump is about to encounter the immoveable object of the British unions. Jim Slater of the National Union of Seamen (in response to a heavy mailing from ourselves) is approaching other transport unions to propose a ban on the handling of nuclear wastes intended for sea dumping, pending the report on environmental contamination.

So the battle is definitely going against the dumpers, though it is by no means over. Continued pressure is needed first of all on MPs. Write to them expressing outrage at the government's intention to flout the 1983 decision of the London Dumping Convention; point out that any breach of this convention will encourage the Japanese to ignore the International Whaling Convention on whaling; point out that the onus is on the nuclear authorities to supply evidence that the radioactivity has not yet entered the food chain (not just to construct computer models which conclude that this is theoretically improbable); put to your MP that a reasonable scale of surveillance would be at least one specimen from every catch taken in the sea areas fed by currents from the dump site.

If parliamentary and democratic action fails, then in view of the seriousness of the long-term threat and three international agreements (1958 Geneva Convention, the recommendations of the European Parliament in 1982, and the London Dumping Convention in 1983) we feel perfectly justified in attempting to prevent the dump ship from sailing in 1983. This ship is the Atlantic Fisher, converted at great expense with a special anti-Greenpeace dumping device which drops the waste straight out of the bottom. The exact time and place of the sailing are not yet known, but the most likely date will be July 23 from Sharpness Docks, Gloucester. The Campaign Against Sea Dumping is therefore provisionally organising a Green Gathering at Sharpness from July

19 - 25 to coincide with the loading. As well as picketing the gates, we want to have as many boats on the water as possible. Try to get your group to beg, borrow or... buy a boat.

Remember there is nothing, absolutely nothing, half so much worth doing as messing about in boats. especially if by doing so you are helping save the world

Richard Lawson (Campaign Against Sea Dumping)



## SIZEWELL: update on the enquiry

AFTER FIVE weeks and forty-five volumes of evidence the CEGB have finished presenting their case to the Inquiry - or "describing their pet project", as the East Anglian Daily Times puts it. End of part one, so to speak: a convenient moment to reflect on how it's going.

Considering that these five weeks have been the CEGB's main chance, their big opportunity to convince us all. they've had some lousy press. Considering that objectors have had little opportunity to say anything, that we have yet to start putting our evidence and properly cross-examining the CEGB witnesses, things aren't going too badly. Co-ordination and communication is OK, morale is too. Certainly better than at Windscale, from what I hear.

There are three of us at Snape more or less full-time. Jennifer Armstrong, who works on behalf of the TCPA, GLC and CND; Graham Searle working for the Stop Sizewell B Association, the Leiston group which is putting together a wide-ranging case; and I work for EAAANP, the regional grouping, the Ecology Party, and Sizewell Reactions'. Other groups have been there for the parts of the CEGB evidence that interests them.

What has been happening so far is that the CEGB have been reading their proofs of evidence - the 45 volumes - and at the end of each volume we were allowed to ask elucidatory questions, provided these were handed in two days in advance. Despite this some interesting things have come to light: for example, an admission that the CEGB average error in forecasting electricity demand for the last ten years has been +26% (that's 26%!! I mean, why didn't the Inquiry pack up and go home right then?). We also got a description of the air-cooled AGR irradiated fuel store(s) that they want to build to relieve the reprocessing bottleneck that has arisen because they haven't started to build THORP yet - and anyway (they told us) THORP will only last 10 years. They also revealed that they reckon, if the FBR programme does not materialise, that they can use all that plutonium as fuel in thermal reactors, especially the PWR.

Two procedural battles have been won - the GLC convinced the inspector that details of existing rail flask designs are relevant to the Inquiry, and he ordered the CEGB to release them. The Suffolk Preservation Society similarly forced the release of internal site comparison studies showing, hopefully, that Sizewell is not the best PWR site but was chosen for political reasons.

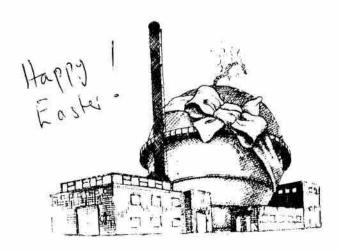
The presence of the Department of Energy at the Inquiry is something that has not happened before certainly it is the first time that a supporting government department has agreed to be "crossexamined as to the merits of government policy" at a planning inquiry or anywhere else. We hear that it was all a mistake by DEn's counsel, they never meant to say that. Certainly all the other government departments involved - DOE, DOT, MAFF - have refused to be cross-examined.

But the DEn will be, and I hope that by the time you are reading this they will have crawled back to their bunker on Millbank to lick their wounds. A close look at their evidence to the Inquiry is interesting - they are now talking about economic cycles rather than economic growth! But they do seem to be distancing themselves from the PWR application. They have to really: on the one hand they must know what's happened to nuclear power in the US, and on the other they have a bill before the Commons which removes the CEGB's monopoly on generation, distribution and supply, encourages the private generation of electricity and (this was inserted by a standing committee) requires the electricity boards to encourage the development of CHP.

The DEn knows what's going on but, so far, has avoided a power struggle with the CEGB and the nuclear lobby. Perhaps it is beginning to assert its authority. Perhaps it sees the possibility of a new and very powerful ally in the Treasury. It's all guesswork: all we know at this stage is that they haven't got the planning permission yet, and that it's worth putting in all the oars we can muster.

Back at Snape, it was a nice irony that the CEGB finished on International Women's Day. So that when the moment came, the women were in the middle of "Marshall's on the main line, tell him what you want" in harmony, at volume - so no one heard. Another bit of history - a group of women breaking the rule of silence, singing the CEGB off stage.

John Valentine





"To speak, write and act out of one's own experience is a radical idea, but not new. And yet, whenever in this society a woman speaks from her own experience, something new is revealed. For in this culture, female experience has been silenced and it is, therefore, unknown." - Susan Griffin.

WORKING AS national co-ordinator for Women for Life on Earth means that I spend a great amount of my time sitting at my desk, typing, answering the telephone, and attempting to keep up with the increasing amount of correspondence and enquiries that fall through my letterbox punctually at 7 a m each weekday.

Most of the Women for Life on Earth post is from women. Some of it is just straightforward enquiries or subscription forms to the Women for Life on Earth network and magazine. Others are subs from isolated women containing requests for other contacts in their areas. Others request information concerning specific or general environmental or peace issues, or send in information for our resources file, or contributions or listings for the magazine. are students and teachers asking for suggested reading and resources for courses. And some require support of a different nature. Such as the letter I just received from an isolated single parent in Gloucestershire who is courageously mounting a case against a West German and a French drug company - for producing and selling pregnancy testing drugs (now withdrawn on Western markets, but sold over the counter in the Third World) which have caused a whole appalling range of deformities from heart defects to hare-lip in the children of 600 women. These women were dosed with the drug without prior knowledge or consent. The writer of the letter has a 13-year-old son who has already had several operations, including plastic surgery, for his palate, and is now painfully losing all his teeth. The drug companies, needless to add, are denying all responsibility.

Stories of this nature are far too common. Women with minimal resources, rising to challenge the mentality which continues to perpetuate such heedless acts of inhumanity and disdain for life, and which is motivated by nothing more than greed for material profit.

And I sit at my desk furiously hammering out these words on my typewriter, gnashing my teeth in anger and frustration and an overwhelming sense of impotence. But that is one of the tricks of the game of patriarchy - to cause us to feel impotent. I am not powerless. We are not powerless. And the more of us who realise this and join together to challenge what we feel to be unjust. the greater will be our power.

However, in order to do this it is vital that we recognise that we can no longer separate the means from the end. In other words, the process we choose to achieve our vision is as important and an integral part of the vision.

The current 'women only' debate within the peace movement ignited by the December 12th Action and the Women's Peace Camp at Greenham Common provides an opportunity for us to analyse and question the process.

There are many, especially those of the male sex, who viewed the action as divisive, creating a split within the peace movement and further aggravating the separation and sexism between men and women. What they failed to see was that this particular action did not exclude men. Rather its purpose was to include and encourage women to take part who in many cases wouldn't have been able to do so without the support of men. Asking men to play a supportive role was not excluding them, and I find it only illustrates to what a large degree we are still influenced by the values of a patriarchal society when performing the support work is considered of less value or importance and less of an integral part of the action.

It also serves to illustrate what a long way it seems we have yet to traverse before it is recognised that if women are to be able to participate actively and equally in other areas of life outside their reproductive capacity, men must take on an equal share of the 'support' functions centering around childcare, reproduction and mothering. This involvement will also help men on the way towards acquiring certain human characteristics which have for too long been relegated to women and devalued - such as: becoming intuitive, emotional, co-operative, caring, sharing, and nurturing.

This is not to imply that all men lack all these characteristics, but rather that men as well as women suffer from social conditioning and role modelling. A man is conditioned and encouraged to be dominant, rational, independent, intellectual, productive, competitive, and his worth is measured according to his work and the amount of money and power it earns him. This all creates a fertile seed-bed for the 'might is right' mentality.

Though many men are working very hard to overcome this conditioning as so many women are working to overcome theirs, we still have a long to go before we can truly consider ourselves free of the layers and layers of patriarchal clothing of which our regulation uniform has consisted for such a long time. This shedding process is a painful and difficult one. Part of the metamorphosis towards balance and harmony and the ability to work together productively, regardless of our differences, includes the need in many women, myself included, to have a space and time. in which to be only with women. This hasn't prevented me from working with men (some of my best friends are men!). Rather, it has helped to give me the inner strength and confidence and belief in my selfworth to be able to make a more valuable contribution to any mixed groups and also in my daily life.

Time and time again we are attacked for simply creating a women's space in which we may come together and feel safe enough, open enough, and strong enough to rediscover together values and aspects of our deepest selves that have been suppressed and devalued for centuries. We are developing a feminist culture based on our shared female experience as a means for reintegrating values

which are essential to a truly ecological society. The ultimate goal, for most of us, is not separation but integration.

We in the Green movement find it easy to talk about an egalitarian and libertarian society. Yet in the same breath can be heard disapproval directed towards those of us choosing to work and/or live, some of the time or all of the time, only with women. (Though I have yet to hear men complaining about being excluded from the Women's Institute!) The issue at stake here is one of freedom of personal choice and respecting that freedom for each other without being judgemental. When we are able to do that together, we will be truly on the road towards libertarianism.

The Women for Life on Earth network continues to strengthen and grow like the web of Arachne, spun with threads of hope and love by women throughout the world as we become aware of our power and our ability to direct it towards creating a better world for us all.

"We are all connected. I know this. Dark and light. Male and female. We are a tribe whose fate on this earth is shared. I do not know the outcome. I have moments of despair. But I have learnt that when I see out of my own experience, and chart it as clearly and precisely as I can, I see what I have not seen before: I am surprised.

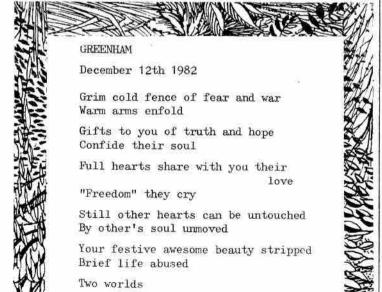
"This earth holds a vast wisdom and a capacity to heal that we are only beginning to comprehend. We are made from this earth. This is my hope."

(Susan Griffin)

(The quotations are from Susan Griffin: Made from this Earth - Women's Press, 344pp, £4.95.)

(c) Stephanie Leland.

(Stephanie Leland is national co-ordinator for Women for Life on Earth, a network promoting the link between feminism, ecology and peace through means of nonviolent direct action, public education and information exchange. For further information, send a s.a.e. to: Women for Life on Earth, 2 St Edmunds Cottages, Bove Town, Glastonbury, Somerset BA6 8JD.



Cold closed fence to be climbed

Jenny Carpenter

Two minds

All alien divide



"TWENTY-ONE GAGS FOR GREENHAM"

### DON'T PAY TAX FOR GENOCIDE

IN 1969 the British Government passed the Genocide Act - making it an offence to commit, conspire towards, or have intent to commit genocide. Nick Kollerstrom has been in touch with Lawyers Against the Bomb to see if a case could be prepared, using the Genocide Act as a defence, for withholding that part of one's income tax which relates to nuclear weapons. Nick writes:

"We are now acquiring weapons pre-programmed to specific destinations, some of which are missile silos; and of necessity it follows that these are meaningless unless one is prepared to fire them first. And the firing of these would of necessity result in genocide, the genocide involved being us.

Add to this the consistent refusal of NATO officers to assure us that they would never be the first to use nuclear weapons, and you have the case."

Field Marshall Lord Darver has reached the same view over Trident, arguing that it could only be used if a British government was prepared to start a nuclear war and at the same time commit suicide.

If you can help with preparing a legal case, or wish to withhold tax and become a 'test case' (you need to be self-employed to do this), contact Nick Kollerstrom at 5 Shaws Cottages, Pitch Place, Worplesdon, Surrey.

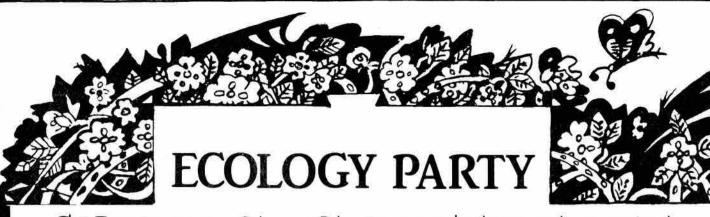


DON'T SPEND IT ON BOMBS say the bright green-andpurple stickers just brought out by Women for Late on Earth. Recommended for sticking on fuel bills, rent and rate payment slips, tax and VAT returns, all licence, pension and insurance forms, cheques, and much besides!

One sheet of 20 stickers costs 65p, 5 sheets £1.75, 10 sheets £3, or 20 sheets £5.25 - post free from 'Don't Spend it on Bombs', c/o 7 High Street, Glastonbury, Somerset BAO 90P. (Make cheques out to 'Don't Spend it on Bombs'.)

And the sort of money they're talking about? "14m per hour in the 'western alliance' alone.

7



## SPRING CONFERENCE

THE ECOLOGY Party's spring conference held in Malvern last month found the 300 members who attended in high morale in what most people expect to be an election year. The party expects to put up nearly 100 candidates in the General Election, and the conference approved the final draft of the election manifesto — a somewhat original style of manifesto which makes a strong appeal to the human and spiritual aspects of political ecology and which is due to be published in a couple of months under the title "Politics for Life".

The key debate was undoubtedly that on defence, where the party had to decide between two papers which differed in places in both emphasis and strategy. In fact, conference decided to accept both, and the party's Council has now approved a reconciled version of the two documents. This reiterates the party's demand for unilateral nuclear disarmament, the withdrawal of US bases and withdrawal from NATO; seeks the establishment of "a genuinely defensive, non-nuclear, nonaligned European Alliance incorporating countries in both Eastern and Western Europe"; and advocates the immediate development of a strategy of nonviolent defence. The paper looks forward to a time when "serious nuclear disarmament by the superpowers would enable Britain to begin the process of conventional disarmament."

To reduce world tension and lessen the risk of war, the party advocates withdrawal from the arms trade, an end to the export of all military and nuclear technology, and the promotion of policies geared towards economic self-reliance and the responsible use of resources. Priority would also be given to implementation of existing plans for the conversion of military industries to socially useful production.

The party sets its peace policy in the context of the realisation that "violence underpins our social fabric", and that "lasting peace is impossible in the context of a patriarchal social and political system based on domination, a denial of feelings, and an unquestioning obedience to authority."

One point of embarrassment at conference was the low percentage of women intending to represent the party as General Election candidates. Conventional party politics has seldom attracted women (of the right kind!) and for obvious reasons: it seems that Eco has so far failed to persuade many women that it differs from the big parties in this respect.

AT ONE of the evening sessions, guest speaker E P Thompson was joined on the platform by Simone Wilkinson and Sue Lamb, two members of the party who are also members of the Women for Life on Earth network and who intend to stand as candidates in the General Election. (They would be opposing Margaret Thatcher and Brynmor John respectively.) We report their speeches here.

During the course of conference, members of the party responded overwhelmingly in support of a motion saying that the Ecology Party "enthusiastically endorses joint Women for Life on Earth / Ecology Party candidatures."

#### E.P. THOMPSON

AFTER THANKING the Ecology Party for what he called its "very substantial input" into the peace movement in Britain, Edward Thompson drew attention to the common strands to be found in the peace movements of Europe and North America - women and the feminist movement, young people, and the greens. The green emphasis, he said, refused to accept the "if" in the future; the green case was that civilisation is actually being destroyed now by the nuclear cycle. The technological priorities are already damaging and destroying the human environment of civilisation.

1983, he said, is "as critical a year as can possibly be: if we do not reverse the armament process, then we are on the downward slope to the terminus of World War III". The nation is as deeply divided as at any time since after the Chartist movement, when Disraeli wrote of the Two Nations. Mrs Thatcher has selected Michael Heseltine as Defence Minister not against the Soviets but against the peace movement. The government's propaganda budget in favour of nuclear 'modernisation' may total £18m - and it is known that there are more Public Relations Officers in the Ministry of Defence than in all other ministries put together. Clerical and lay members of the Church of England Synod were bombarded with propaganda by the MoD, who had obtained a list of all members of Synod.

One of the problems we face in 1983 is that we have mobilised enough public opinion to make the political cost of the full quota of Cruise and Pershing unacceptably high. A compromise is being sought, and the most likely compromise would also be the hardest for the movement to deal with. It is suggested that the US might scrap plans for cruise

in Belgium and Holland, and possibly withdraw most if not all from West Germany, leaving'little nests' of cruise missiles in Comiso and Greenham Common: in return the Soviet Union would reduce the number of SS-20s in the European theatre to less than 100.

To prevent the "de-coupling" of the peace movements, it is necessary to respond <u>now</u> by stepping up our demands. The public must be made aware of the risk of compromise, and shown the causes and sources of the threat of war itself, the structure of the Cold War. We should therefore be emphasising now the need to rid Europe of <u>all</u> nuclear weapons, and for a "people's detente" thawing the Cold War.

The major set-back to the Western peace movement comes, E P Thompson told the conference, not from its own failures or from counter-propaganda, but from the absence of any discernible thaw in the Eastern bloc. The authorities there respond to any independent peace movement with paranoia, fear of losing ideological control. The Western cold warriors are continually exacerbating this paranoia: Reagan's speech to the 'Born-again Christians' put people in prison in the Soviet Union; Mrs Thatcher's speech attacking CND which "committed the historical vugarity in a statesman of comparing the Soviet Union to Nazi Germany in the 30s, makes ruling groups in the Soviet Union terrified and closes prison doors in Prague."

The hawks in the West are feeding meat to the hawks in the East, creating "this field of force which keeps us divided." Europe could be compared to South Australia, with the Cold War "parching out the humanity of Europe's natural cultural community." Mrs Thatcher was like an "ideological incendiary" throwing in the lighted torch.

Our problem in the peace movement is that we all face an extremely dangerous opposition. Mrs Thatcher is now the most bellicose of western leaders, with the answer 'No' for every proposal coming from the other side. Israel, Britain and the US have voted against or abstained on every proposal to come before the UN (no first use, comprehensive test ban, the freeze, etc) from countries including India, Sweden, and nations of the Third World.

E P Thompson concluded with the question: "How do we construct an alliance (with respect to each other's rights including party rights) strong enough to check Mrs Thatcher and throw her out?"

### SIMONE WILKINSON

SIMONE STARTED by telling conference how she got involved in the peace movement out of "absolute deapair and fear". Pregnant herself, she had met a woman whose uncle was a Hiroshima survivor, and who told her that in Hiroshima to this day no woman is congratulated when shelearns of her pregnancy: instead, everyone waits silently for nine months, for so many babies are still born deformed in Hiroshima today. She read about the nuclear issue and the end of the world seemed so near. She joined the local peace group - "but it seemed incongruous to me to plan a march once a year when the end of the world was about to happen." She felt she was going 'over the top', but visited Greenham Common and found many other women just like herself and not 'over the top' at all, but quite same. Here she was able to talk to women on the level of fear she wanted to talk on.

Another changing point in her life was her first nonviolent direct action - "to put your body where your beliefs were, and how effective it was."

People join peace groups, pay an annual subscription and work hard locally - but saying 'CND will get rid of nuclear weapons for me' without realising that they themselves were CND. "I know that we are not going to have Cruise Missiles in this country because I personally am not going to allow them to come here."

Members of Women for Life on Earth started taking the ideas out around the country, encouraging ordinary women to come out from behind their doors and realise that they can change the world. Members of the network are also considering putting up as candidates in the General Election. The basic idea, Simone explained, was to put women against right-wing Labour candidates to try and force Labour to put up unilateralist candidates. They would be standing to make a point, not because they expected to win. Simone herself was proposing to stand in Finchley against Mrs Thatcher. "In Finchley I can say, 'Do you realise what voting for this woman means? It means that you're voting for the death of your children, and you're voting for the death of my children." It meant explaining how the cuts were affecting education. "It means making all the links, very simply."

Some people see Women for Life on Earth as a feminist movement. But many women come to WFLOE from fear, and their perspective widens out. To talk of 35 years of peace, Simone said, is a racist suggestion - have people known peace in Nicaragua, El Salvador, Vietnam, Northern Ireland? "I am not living in peace, but I am going to live in peace because I am demanding peace. Women for Life on Earth are demanding peace, and they're working on every level."

WFLOE is not just an 'anti-' movement. It is for life. Greenham Common was primarily a witness to the opposition to Cruise, but its second function was that of "a celebration of life". It has shown, said Simone, how women have come together from all walks of life, from all political backgrounds, from all religions, and they are learning to live with and respect those differences, and even to love each other for those differences.

"We are one world and one people. We must start thinking like that."

#### SUE LAMB

SUE LAMB described how she came into the peace movement out of despair. She too was pregnant at the time. She realised how incongruous it was that she should be prepared to bring a child into the world, but not prepared to work to save the world. So many of the people in the peace movement seemed to spend their time talking to other like-minded people that she and some friends went and lived on the street in the local town and mimicked the actions of the Greenham Common women.

Mothers in the Soviet Union cannot voice their fears, so Sue realised she must voice her fears for them and for their children too. Two-thirds of the children in the world are starving: this is not peace, and we who are privileged to see the global scale are obliged to act for these children too.

Sue plans to fight her General Election campaign on very local issues, showing "what arms spending is doing to my and my neighbours' children" - and how it affects hospitals, parks, sewerage systems, and so on. "It is up to the people of this country to take their responsibility for their environment and to start to clean it up. It is up to us to extend this on a world level, and for the people of this world to start working against the true enemy - the military-industrial complex and all that brings with it.

Nuclear weapons are an evil object, but they're just a symbol of a mentality."

She concluded with these words for Eco members:

"If we don't take risks for peace, then we're not going to have peace. I ask you to sort out the Ecology Party and become more of a street campaign. I want people where I live to know all the things that you know. I give you an open invitation to come and campaign in the Rhondda any time."

### JONATHON PORRITT

IN HIS 'Conference Speech' to the Ecology Party's spring conference in March, Jonathon Porritt (one of the party council's co-chairs) anticipated a "transfer of credibility" in green politics from West Germany to this country.

But the party does not claim, he said, either to be or to represent the green movement: "all we claim to do is to embody green politics. We are only one expression of the green movement." What the party is trying to build is very different from what the movement is trying to build.

The Ecology Party must challenge candidates from other parties who use the word 'green'. Referring to a recent campaign in Putney by Peter Hain, Jonathon Porritt told his audience: "By saying that he represents green politics merely because he wants to save the environment, he is doing a disservice to the cause we stand for. Not to challenge that position is to fail the politics we stand for." While the Ecology Party cannot claim an exclusive right to green politics, it must make it clear that its alternative is valid, unique and distinguishable - not just a part of "the great green melting-pot in the sky."

The party's General Election manifesto was written to provide "the minimum political consensus for green politics in this country, so that people do not have to join an organisation that tramples down one part of their commitment while laying claim to another."

Eco's contributions to the politics of peace and of work would be vital in this election year. The party was uniquely placed to broaden the base of the peace movement at a time when "CND has almost reached the maximum potential open to it in terms of attracting people into it. CND is running into all sorts of trouble. There are worries that the way CND has linbed itself so emphatically with left politics in this country is undermining the potential for a broad-based peace movement in this country." Ecology Party members should be active in their own right in the peace movement, not just as CND members. Porritt remarked on the "astonishing support for the way we can link the commonsense arguments about disarmament to the moral position, to the whole ecological position about being stewards of this planet, to the notion of consistent politics so that what we say in one breath is not immediately denied in the next.

On the subject of work, the emphasis must be on pragmatic and immediate proposals - nothing romantic, but the bread and butter of a credible alternative. Jonathon Porritt noted the campaign of Die Grünen in the recent federal elections: "the somewhat apocalyptic anti-industrialism we heard from Bahro at our last conference got hardly a look in: they had an extremely detailed, pragmatic economic policy, linked to the notion of a self-sustainable society achievable over a certain number of years."

The next few months would be "make or break" for the party, with the goal of establishing a growth point for green politics after the General Election.

### NOTES FROM THE GREENPEACE FRONT

### John Marjoram

ONE OF the constant problems that besets 'green' people who work in CND is that all their time is taken up with the nuclear struggle leaving little time for other ecological matters (perhaps nuclear weapons are put up as a smoke screen so that growth merchants can continue unimpeded!?). At the other end of the green spectrum you have people who refused to work in the CND structure, saying that the left-wing bias makes it impossible to work with. With CND's membership growing by 2,000 a week, I feel we must get involved at a local group level if we are to effect change. We need to get fully involved ir the integral workings and then spell out the green perspective of peace at every opportunity. Only in very large conurbations can parallel green organisations be set up.

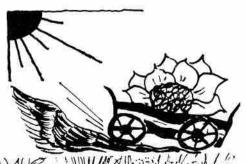
### PEACE NEWS — READERS MEETING

This leads me to the fact that the Peace News collective are now taking ar interest in green concepts. This is to be welcomed. On May 28/29 they are holding a readers' meeting (these generally attract about 100 people - could Green Line consider a readers' meeting?) with the theme of 'Nonviolence and the Greens'. They write: "We must consider the links between nonviolence and the synthesis of ideas which some people call the Green Movement and also to look at PN's role in this." It would be useful if a few readers from Green Line who are also sympathetic to the aims of PN could come along. The venue is Stroud (more details from me on Stroud (04536) 70962.)

Since the German election it seems to be in vogue to be green. FoE/Clear are sponsoring a series of rather up-market 'Green Rallies'. Speakers include Ralph Nader, Petra Kelly, Joan Ruddock, David Bellamy, and Jonathon Porritt. The venues are London, Central Hall Westminster April 27; Leeds Town Hall 28th; Bristol, The Watershed, 29th; each at 7.30 p m. Tickets are £5 from

### FOE ON THE BANDWAGON

2 Northdown Street, London N1 (Cheques payable to FoE/Clear.)



#### PEACE CAMPS

New peace camps at RAF Bishop Court, Northern Ireland (an early warning station); Porton Down, Wiltshire (chemical and biological warfare experimental centre).

The New Statesman is compiling a dossier of all minor and major incidents that have occurred between protestors and the 'law'. Details should be sent to Peace Action, New Statesman, 14/16 Farringdon Lane, London EC1.

#### SIZEWELL

Rob Edwards of the CND Sizewell working group has begun crossexamining the Dept of Energy at the Public Inquiry. Through persistent questioning the DEn have accepted that they own a considerable amount of plutonium. They also confirm that plutonium from Magnox stations was exported to the US between 1964-71 under a UK/US defence agreement. CND will be presenting its case sometime in November. Oxfordshire ANC are publishing a pamphlet by Rob Edwards, "The Plutonium Connection: Sizewell B and the Bomb", for the CMD working group (available from April 18 for 90p incl p&p from Oxon ANC, 37 Cowley Road, Oxford.)

#### **OTHER NEWS & DATES**

Tarmac: a model resolution has been sent to all NFZ councils which is legally watertight and allows for the blocking of all Tarmac tenders.

A Walk for Life: May 19 to August 5, 800 mile walk from Faslane to Greenham. (Info: Caroline on 01-806 4615.)

Upper Heyford Blockade: May 31 to June 3rd. CND regions are organising this. (Info: Oxford (0865) 726441.)

CAAT National Meeting, April 8 -10, Friends Meeting House, 16 Newton Terrace, Glasgow G3.

US-USSR Embassy Link will now be on July 16 (<u>not</u> June 4 as previously announced). Organised by London Region CND.

CND Mass Rally in London, October 22. The idea is to block London with cars: do we approve?!

#### **GREEN CND MEETING**

Sunday April 10; West Oxford Community Centre, Binsey Lane, Oxford (5 mins from station), 10 am to 5 pm. On the Saturday afterhoon, a workshop on consensus decision making and facilitation, same venue. Overnight accommodation, Oxford 53718 (Suzette) or 246079 (Jon).

The Green CND pamphlet is nearly with the CND printer. I'll personally give a £2 prize for a better title than 'A Green View of Peace' (which no one is happy with.)

John Marjoram

(Reports and news to John at 23 Lower Street, Stroud, Glos.)



### PERSONAL GROWTH Life-skills for radical change

HUMAN RIGHTS (2)

IT WAS argued in GL 10 that an understanding of needs, particularly psychological needs, is necessary for the effective disentanglement of the problems of human rights. One of the most basic psychological needs, it was suggested, is for self-acceptance.

By self-acceptance we may be tempted to understand: that feeling which is self-approving of our thoughts, actions and being, without reference to the approval or otherwise of others. That is to say that our emotional security does not rely on other people's opinions and reactions. To a greater or lesser extent we choose what we shall think and do according to the image we have of ourselves; of who we think we are and what we think we are like. The nearer we approach in practice to our self image, the better we feel. We attempt to develop, because we must, a self that is acceptable to us. This feeling has the very essence of "rightness".

This view of self-acceptance is popular because it appears to be a sound basis for happiness. I call this NOMINAL self-acceptance because it is incomplete, as I will attempt to show. Nominal self-acceptance is achieved when what we are, to our conscious knowledge, and what we think we should be, by our own judgement, coincide without regret.

There are naturally many possible ways of being: in the total consciousness of the human race there are potentials for every extreme of spite and negativity and also for the highest spiritual grace. Each and every human being has the capacity for developing ANY attribute of consciousness that CAN be developed. The limits of our knowledge of what IS possible are defined by those human beings who have worked to manifest them in their lives. In any given age we choose which attributes shall be developed by us, and which not - according to our culture, our conditioning and insight.

There are of course innumerable things in the whole of human consciousness which may be unacceptable to our, individual, self-image. Some of these may be rejected in certain cultures and not in others: sexual mores, for example, differ widely. Other attributes may be rejected by a large number of people regardless of culture.

(I make a small digression here to highlight the scale of human development. In seeking to give examples of areas of consciousness that may be rejected by "large numbers..." by reason of humanity rather than culture, I reflected on murder, theft and slavery. Most cultures outlaw these activities to a degree, that is to say within a given social group. Even so, these three examples have generally been at best modified or drawn-back-from in their most blatant manifestations only. They have largely become ritualised as, for instance, in capital punishment/war, political takeovers/'national' appropriation, economic slavery - respectively. Certainly there has been progress in these areas but little enough, and what progress hasbeen made is in our very recent history.)

One of the ways in which we 'cope' with personally unacceptable parts of our, universally shared, consciousness, is to shun them so completely that we refuse to admit that they are part of our make-up. Our unacceptable drives are largely shared with others in the same culture, through conditioning, and there

arises a silent conspiracy to bury all such feelings. If someone dares to breach the 'taboo' in public, we go through a pretence of shock and indignation.
Worse still, we experience shock and indignation without the least awareness of the pretence. We shut the offender away, some would prefer them killed, because what was done was 'unthinkable'. We should LIKE it to be unthinkable, maybe, but we pretend that it is not thinkable by us, and self-righteously punish the offender as hard as our self-rimage will allow.

Nevertheless we have feelings: feelings are the expression of needs and drives within us; they are spurs to action. These we cannot avoid. If the drives giving rise to certain feelings have been alienated by us, we experience fear: unconsciously, fear of acting in ways we have been conditioned to view as 'evil' and of being rejected by society. We cannot allow these feelings to persist if they contradict our precious self-image; the basis of our self-esteem, or NOMINAL self-acceptance. We therefore seek to repress these alienated drives. Refusing to acknowledge that these drives are within US (who have the feelings), we rationalise that the drives causing the feelings must exist elsewhere. We discover, either by design or accident, other people who openly display the drives we seek to repress or, more usually, who display some similar characteristics. Alternatively we assume them to be displayed by others who are convenient targets for aggression for any other reason. Such interactions occur all the time between individuals, between groups and nations, between classes or castes and between sexes.

Perhaps the most important point is that in <u>any</u> event, whether our assumptions about the drives of others is true <u>or</u> false, the fears that precipitate and give force to repression of others is the <u>same</u>: it comes from within. The psychological mechanism which has been described here is called PROJECTION.

In the violation of human rights, throughout the centuries, projection has been the most significant factor; greater even than greed, to which it is most often allied. Projection is the ultimate destroyer Most frightening of all is that nothing is essentially different today: we have barely begun to deal with the problems of projection in society, we have just moved it around from one object to another. Since we live in reason, the fallacies of many projections are realised, but instead of realising our projections themselves, we transfer them to other objects. Projection thrives in ignorance and isolation. world is arrayed East and West, in exactly this way in order to preserve the possibilities of making projections on the 'other side'. Behind a rhetoric of peace and security is the desire to destroy - for fear of self-knowledge.

Fear... is fear of the self or part of the self: the opposite of self-acceptance. Where our nominal selfacceptance is threatened by changes in the environment of our lives, we experience fear. In closed societies or when changes occur gradually over generations, we learn to adapt to new circumstances without undue alarm. In rapidly changing circumstances, however, which the world can no longer escape, nominal selfacceptance is increasingly under pressure from other cultures and radical insights into the nature of being. It is clear that a more holistic definition of self-acceptance is necessary: one which is not at the mercy of changing circumstances, one that can allow other people to live their lives differently. This requ res individuals to work for greater understanding of themselves.

We must altempt to reclaim those things, both trivial and profound, that are projection: learning to accept that there are drives and needs that we have alienated and repressed and learning to accept that these are indeed an essential part of our own selves. Our consciousness is human consciousness. What is thinkable, is thinkable by us. We need not fear the admission, for we retain our uniquely human capacity for choosing what we manifest of our consciousness, which is in fact something that unawareness of our projections undermines. We may dare to be our whole selves, for it gives us greater control - not less - over our lives. We may see that other possibilities exist for living a fulfilling lire than those which we may choose for ourselves.

All this is, admittedly, far from easy. In taking aware responsibility for our whole selves, our self-image will inevitably undergo changes in the process. Since our self-image is what we tend to cling to most vociferously, there is resistance and fear. Letting go of this self-image is perhaps what is meant by "dying to the self".

Often there are specific times in life when an individual may feel driven to undertake this work through intense pressure on nominal self-acceptance. This was certainly true of me. We may however embark on the journey of discovery through the simple will to do so. I feel that such a will is an imperative to prevent world catastrophe in the short term. In the long term, it is my personal belief that the true dawning of the aquarian age is based in this work. The pains of growth are its labour pains. We should perhaps see our role less as revolutionaries and more as midwives.

I have attempted in these last two articles to embrace a very broad and deep subject within a very short space. Much, possibly too much, is left unsaid but there must be an important clarification at this point. PROJECTION has been represented in its negative aspect and its reclamation difficult and painful. There are however many other aspects of projection that are the seeds of delight and salvation. Perhaps these aspects comprise the greater part. Next month I shall begin to consider more positive aspects of projection in relation to the balance of masculine and feminine.

Robert Fielder



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THE SOCIALIST COUNTRYSIDE GROUP held its inaugural meeting in London on March 26. We have been promised a report for our next issue.

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KEITH MOTHERSON has written to us pointing out that he has never worked for the Daily Telegraph (GL9, page 13). We also have an article by him on paedophilia and children's rights which we hope to publish in a future issue.

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IT'S A long while ago that the slogan "Nothing added: nothing taken away" appeared on the packets of Shredded Wheat. How much it influenced the sales of that still popular breakfast food it is impossible to say, but it probably had a persuasive ring for quite a lot of people. In the last few years there has been a growing suspicion that, though we in the industrialised countries are fortunate to have enough to eat, our food is being interfered with in ways that are not conducive to health. During the "never had it so good" sixties and seventies a great abundance and variety of packets and tins appeared on the supermarket shelves. But how far were the contents determined by what was profitable and convenient for farmers rather than by what was considered good for the health of the community? How far were the additives designed to extend "shelflife" rather than human life?

The list of permitted additives is long, and while conclusive evidence against them may be lacking, there is no proof at all that they are harmless. They may have passed the required tests on animals but this gives no guarantee of safety for long-term effects on humans. Disquiet is growing and is partly responsible for the boom in "health foods" and the mushrooming of Health Food stores in most High Streets.

As to what is "taken away" - 30% of most wheat grain is removed by milling and used for animal feed. It comprises the 'germ' - i.e. the embryonic plant - and the outer layers, the bran. The germ is now known to be particularly valuable as a source of protein, B vitamins, and iron. The bran is the largely indigestible cellulose, now usually called fibre, which is being recognised as having a very important function in preventing constipation and its attendant ills. 'Bran' and 'fibre' have become wonder words that appear on a great variety of packets on supermarket shelves.

Moreover, the work of Dr Denis Burkitt in comparing the disease patterns of rural Africans (who live largely on unprocessed foods high in fibre) with those of people in industrialised societies where food is highly refined has aroused much interest and approval. Orthodox doctors bedazzled by the power of their wonder drugs have been slow to admit the relevance of diet to specific diseases, but they are changing. Fibre is being used to cure diverticulitis as well as to relieve constipation, and is being recommended as a preventive of many diseases including diabetes, appendicitis, cancer of the colon and breast, coronary heart disease and thrombosis. The Nature Curists find it hard not to say, "I told you so," and the trend has been accelerated by the teachings of the macrobiotics. There is no doubt that whole cereals are in fashion - but there are negative aspects to be considered. The processing of whole cereal foods may be better, but what about the growing, and the treatment before they are processed.

In my article in the last issue I quoted figures from Professor Schupham's research on 'The Nutritional Value of Crops as Influenced by Organic and Inorganic Fertiliser Treatment' that revealed how seriously the composition of foodstuffs can be changed by the type of fertiliser used.

More worrying still are the facts given in the official report of the Ministry of Agriculture's Working Party on Pesticide Residues (1977-81). Not only are consumers at risk from the residues of poisons sprayed on growing crops but also from those used to treat grains, fruits and vegetables in store. These fall unevenly on the outer layers of the grains and are more likely to reach harmful concentrations in wholemeal flour than in white.

What can we do about it? Doubts that anything useful will be done at Government level are justified by past experience. What was done about the Bramhell Report or the Swan Report or the findings of the Farm Animal Welfare Advisory Committee on poultry slaughter?

We can spread knowledge of the dangers so that people can demand that health factors can be given priority over considerations of profit at every stage of food production. We can encourage people to choose better food whenever a choice is available, thus taking the profit out of doubtful practices. While victims of the present money-dominated system this is our most powerful tool, but we have to contend with mass advertising.

Once again it is important to "Live the future now!" by adjusting our own feeding habits and gaining all the support we can for the Organic Growers' Association. I would of course prefer vegan growing, i.e. without animal products (or at least seek assurance that blood, bone, skin and hoof and factory farm slurry had not been put on the fields that grow the food I eat.) This is like asking for the moon at the moment - but it can be done. Like the moon, it will be reached in due course.

Let us do all we can to encourage the wholefood co-ops springing up in many districts - but often short-lived through lack of support. These ventures do more than 'sell wholefoods: they are pilot projects of the co-operative, small-scale methods that must become standard in the New Age. If there is no wholefood co-op in your area, why not form a bulk-buying group? Uniting with people in your own area you can take turns in buying and distributing wholefoods bought in bulk from wholefood co-ops in neighbouring towns or from such wholefood bulk order firms as Real Foods, 37 Broughton Street, Edinburgh, whose carriage charges are reasonable. A step further would be to take a market stall - and sell literature as well as food.

At least we can all make our own bread. There are signs that bread is once more being upgraded as the "staff of life" (except for those with allergies!) Ideally we should grind organically grown wheat ourselves as Schumacher did; at least we can use organically grown 100% flour. The following recipe is very quick and easy, and much more nearly foolproof than more conventional kneading methods. Using it, breadmaking will quickly become a habit.

#### WHOLEMEAL BREAD

Mix 3 flat dessertspoonfuls of salt with 3 lbs of wholemeal flour and put to warm. Stir 3 dessertspoonfuls (1oz) of dried, yeast into \( \frac{1}{4} \) pint of lukewarm water and put in a warm (\( \text{not} \) hot) place to work for about 10 minutes. Oil 3 large bread tins and put to warm. Stir the yeast into a pint of lukewarm water and tip into the flour. Then tip in another pint of lukewarm water. Stir lightly until all the flour is taken up. Then mix well with a fork using a stretching lifting movement for 1 - 2 minutes until the dough changes in texture. Tip into the tins and put in a just warm (not hot) place to rise until the dough comes level with the tops of the tins. Bake 30 minutes at 400°F.

Industrial farming pollutes many foods besides cereals, destroys the environment and wastes irreplaceable fossil fuels. It cannot continue indefinitely. Hydrogen bombs, nuclear missiles, chemical weapons, nuclear power stations, factory farms, slaughter houses, pesticides, herbicides, and artificial fertilisers are all products of the same anti-life mentality. The less horrific could in the long run prove the more deadly. All are propagated in distant bureaucracies by mechanically minded people suffering from blinkered vision. The only real solution is the Green one: self-sufficient communities small enough to practise participatory democracy and functioning as part of a worldwide network linked by the common philosophy of Reverence for Life.

Agriculture in such a future will be vegan with small fields surrounded by orchards, woodlands and wild life areas. The fertility of the soil will be maintained by plant composting and green manuring techniques. Trees will take over much of the vast area now devoted to livestock. The forests will be harvested on a sustained yield basis to provide both the energy and raw materials for integrated forest industries which will meet the needs of surrounding communities. All the products of the photosynthetic activities of the trees will be used instead instead of being burned, so pollution will be avoided. Thus the trees will perform the function of creating an environment fitting for the New Creatures of the New Age, just as surely as the Carboniferous Age forests made possible the evolution of air-breathing animals.

The age of Predatory Man is surely coming to an end. He is wasting his resources and fouling his nest. He is destroying the forests on whose survival his own depends - to make 'beefburgers'! Trees and humans have a common destiny. Let us welcome the coming Green Age of the Trees.

Kathleen Jannaway

#### Recommended reading:

The Triumph of the Tree (John Stewart Collis)
The Coming Age of Wood (Egon Glesinger)
Cereal Growing without Animal Manure or Artificial
Fertilisers (Lawrence Hills, 'The Vegan', Summer
1982)

And see the biofuels demonstration at the National Centre for Alternative Technology, Machynlleth.

### **Die GRÜNEN:** VICTORY in DEFEAT

Jonathan Cooper was in Hanover during the elections to the Bundestag in March.

THERE HAD been a change of attitude in the people of Hanover towards Die Grünen since I was last there in September, when they were still regarded with suspicion and as a danger to long-term political stability. But they had won a good deal of support during the election campaign, and it was generally agreed that they had a pertinent viewpoint. Even Herr Vogel, leader of the SPD, admitted during an election debate that Die Grünen "asked the right questions."

We knew it would be close between getting, or not, past the 5% barrier. Much would depend on getting out of the heartland of Lower Saxony, Hamburg, Baden-Württemburg and Hessen into areas of poor support like Westphalia. The goal was seats in Bonn from which influence would be greater and more significant. 5% would mean 25 seats, each additional 1% giving 5 more seats.

From the start in 1979 the Greens were a political mixture based on the concept of an 'anti-party party'. Membership varies from original ecologists like Baldur Springmann to intellectuals like Rudolf Bahro, the East German dissident who fled to the West. Political progress was quick in coming: in March 1980 they polled over 5% in Baden-Württemburg and sent members to the Stuttgart Landtag. Since then the Greens have continually gained strength.

The make-up of the membership is interesting. As one would expect the party is strong among the under-30s distrustful of the political status quo. However, surprisingly, the second highest level is among the over-50s, who vividly remember the destruction of war.

A major advance was the acquisition of General Gert Bastian to the party - a former commander of the 12th Panzer division, then a NATO official. He resigned from NATO as a protest against Cruise. He has given Die Grünen a credibility for their defence programme. His active role in the election campaign has certainly been reassuring to those who saw the Greens as an anarchist menace. Indeed, defence policy has been a common bond, with the fear of nuclear war. Germans know they will be in the front line in any future conflict. Hanover, being close to the East German border, was particularly sensitive.

The chaos that comes out of a broad church of different and sometimes conflicting views showed itself at Hagen last November. At that time opinion polls had the Greens at 8.5%, while the FDP had collapsed to 3%. Petra Kelly was thrown off the executive as part of the two-year rotation of members. The new members include an ecologist, Wilhelm Knabe; an ex-communist and shop steward at Texaco, Rainer Trampert, who has been accused of being too moderate and conciliatory by some members; and Manon Grisebach. Of the old executive, only Rudolf Bahro survived.

The key issue in the election was the economy. A policy outline did energe from the Hagen conference, but it has been difficult to convince the voters in the deepest post-war recession in Germany. Policy is

based on a rejection of growth, though Bahro wants to go further with an immediate abandonment of industrial society. Nuclear power would be scrapped: in its place, a programme of alternative energy projects. These would consist of solar energy, wind, waves, biomass and coal, creating 700,000 jobs in small community-based power plants. These jobs would counteract the losses in multinationals - which would be abolished to be replaced by smaller units aimed to produce what people actually want. This policy would mean a smaller basket of jobs, with job sharing and shorter hours entailing the end of the 'inflated' German standard of living. The Greens have lost their naivete, but not their ideology or sincerity.

The simple ideals of peace, and pollution-free fields, forests and rivers, appealed to people trapped in cities and those afraid of the future. But the Greens have now had to produce firm policies which would mean people having to make sacrifices in order to ensure the future. Some older members have been alienated on realising the implications of the less romantic policies, and the conciliatory drift of the leadership. But the party did not split into factions during the campaign, as some had feared. Still, the deliberate attempt of the SPD to pull support away and a fear of the party's anti-establishment views caused the Greens' opinion poll vote to slip from 8% when the election was called to 4% by the end of February - though support rallied somewhat during the last few days. The final tally of 27 members in Bonn meant a victory had been achieved - a landmark in German politics and worldwide. For the first time the ecological voice will be heard within the parliament of a major power. Within Germany the age of consensus politics is over.

## GEORGE IS BACK

THE IDEAS of Henry George provide the basis for a more environmentally beneficial economic system. A motion to this effect was passed recently by Friends of the Earth (Scotland). Members argued that economic forces, propelled by human greed and envy, are at the root of environmental problems, and that FoE should therefore "adopt an attitude towards national economic policy, based on justice."

George Morton reports that four main arguments were advanced in favour of 'Georgism':

- (1) As land is the source of all life and wealth, it is both irreverent and imprudent to buy and sell it as if it were merely a commodity.
- (2) Land rent collection would break down the multinationals, whose monopoly of capital is based on land monopoly.
- (3) Land speculation is the primary cause of business slumps, which are often the cause of war. As there is a natural limit to ground rent revenue, unlike taxation, the State would have less money to blow on arms.
- (4) It is unlikely that environmental degradation will cease until the exploitation of man does. Georgism would restore economic justice, in that land rent collection would give everyone equality of access to the gifts of nature, while the abolition of taxation would restore the right to the full product of one's labour and capital. Involuntary unemployment would be ended, since the right to use land is the essential pre-requisite of the right to

## **Baby Milk**

IN THE WEEK starting April 11 the European parliament will debate a draft code for the labelling of baby milks - drawn up, strangely, by the manufacturers! Most of the tough standards agreed by the World Health Organisation in 1981 have been watered down, circumvented, or ignored. The industry code also ignores a crucial point asked for in a resolution passed by the European parliament last year, that all EEC manufacturers should comply with the WHO code in their selling of baby milk in the Third World. (UNICEF say a million deaths a year occur as a result of inappropriate bottle feeding.)

Your MEP should be left in no doubt of your views. The EEC must back the WHO code, reject the industry code, and enforce the WHO recommendations in the marketing of baby milk in the Third World. Write to him/her before April 5. John Clark (Oxfam 2000, 274 Banbury Road, Oxford) would like a copy of your letter, and will let you know the outcome.

The name and address of your MEP is available from the European Parliament Information Service on 01-222 0411.

## **FUTURE WORK**

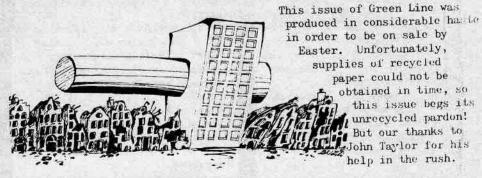
A JOB FAIR was held recently in Cambridge. It was concerned with work that could be described as 'socially useful' or 'democratically controlled' - jobs both paid and unpaid that ranged from setting up a community shop to setting up your own craft business.

There were about 35 stalls, and about 20 talks and workshops took place during the day, effectively mixing theory and practice. was a healthy reminder that 'socially useful work' isn't just limited to making windmills and kidney machines, but includes the arts and media, community work, health care, environmental work, domestic work, and so on.

The fair filled the gap left by conventional careers services, who all too often find time only to pass on the glossy literature given out by the big companies.

The organisers have produced a pamphlet full of background information and contact addresses (20p plus an A5 s.a.e.); and a set of notes to help anyone else who wants to set up a similar event. Write to: Work for the Future. c/o Cambridge Students' Union, 4 Rourd Church Street, Cambridge. CB5 8BL.





in order to be on sale by Easter. Unfortunately, supplies of recycled paper could not be obtained in time, so this issue begs its unrecycled pardon! But our thanks to LJohn Taylor for his

Dear GL.

Tony Benn says (GL 19) that 'the ecological argument' lies behind his demand for 'a big health programme, for 24-hour a day care for the old, and for raising the school-leaving age and so on.'

This is garbage. It is my utter opposition to these institutions which defines me as an ecologist. Those institutions inhibit our evolution into whole and spiritual beings. Big health services, for example, reduce us to cyphers, and their high technology prevents us from learning from our disease a greater integration and selfreliance. Segregation of the old saves us from changing our family structures or learning how to age with grace and strength. The old, totally cared for, give up in loneliness and despair, helpless. As for schools, they ought to be abolished, not extended.

And who can believe that state provision of these 'services' is compatible with a steady-state, sustainable economy? Or with decentralisation?

Mark Kinzley 7 Gaysham Avenue Gants Hill, Ilford, Essex

Dear GL.

I'm writing as a member of the Green movement in Britain to protest at the policy of the Ecology Party in contesting parliamentary by-elections. Since 1979 the Ecology Party has fielded candidates at numerous by-elections which for various reasons have commanded enormous media attention. The result of the Bermondsey by-election really is the last straw. A carpet-bagging Ecology Party candidate stood and obtained less than 50 votes - less than half what the raving loony candidate polled, let alone what the candidates who weren't raving loonies polled.

As a member of the wider green movement I really resent the Ecology Party's attempts to appropriate the "green" mantle at elections such as these. I resent it because it allows our opponents to dismiss us and marginalise our ideas by pointing to the derisory vote Eco candidates get; and I resent it because by standing in this way it assumes that only the Ecology Party can put forward these views. As a member of SERA I believe this incorrect. In the Bermondsey by-election the real green candidate came second.

Feter Tatchell has repeatedly stated, and been roundly denounced in the press for doing so, that he sees the extra-parliamentary forces such as the peace movement, the women's movement and the green movement as vital forces for change which he supports. Tatchell's work over the past few years for those left behind by industrial society in Bermondsev is a glowing example of the kind of thing that green movement activists ought to be doing in decayed inner city areas like Bermondsey. It's not OK for ego-centric outsiders to travel down from Norwich for a couple of weeks and appropriate the "green" mantle in a byelection. Quite rightly, he was totally humiliated by the electorate.

I believe that the Ecology Party has a place in the wider green movement, and hard work over many years by local activists in confronting local political issues and fighting local elections is a useful part of the development of the green move ment in Britain. Fighting media-hyped by-elections and being squeezed into oblivion is not legitimate. It allows our opponents to dismiss the entire green movement which is far more that the Ecology Party. It is time that the Ecology Party, if it is to be respected as a constituent part of the British green movement learned to act responsibly. Every time you stand in by-elections you humiliate us all and set back the development of a green movement in Britain. To stand against a well-known green candidate with a trackrecord of many years is unforgiveable.

Martin Stott 24 Princes Street Oxford

Dear GL

In their letters in GL9, Alistair Rae and Andrew Fryer try to defend pacifism, of which I was critical in GL7. Since then, the damage pacifism is doing to the green movement is becoming increasingly clear.

what is currently very worrying is the way the Tories are equating support of unilateral nuclear disarmament with pacifism. This tactic is allowing them, with some effect, to argue that the choice is between nuclear deterrence or no deterrence at all, when in fact there is a third choice - conventional deterrence. Conventional deterrence is what most nuclear disarmers favour because it poses no threat to the peace of other countries whilst at the same time making it clear that we are prepared to defend our own freedoms.

Andrew says that the Falklands war was meaningless. It wasn't. What it showed was the resolve of the British people to fight to defend the freedoms which are so dear to them. The British servicemen who died, died in defending those freedoms, and whilst they needn't have died, they did not die in vain.

I agree with Alastair when he says that Mrs Thatcher had one eve on her place in the history books and the other on the next election, but that does not alter the fact that some kind of military intervention was unfortunately necessary. Exactly what the pacifist approach to the Falklands crisis was is not clear, and what is even less clear is where the evidence is that that kind of approach would have been successful in freeing the islanders from the Argentinian repression.

I am not advocating violence. What I am saying is that in order to defend what we believe in, we must be prepared to fight for it. That does not mean that we hate those we fight, as Andrew suggests What it means is that we love what we defend.

Peter Mutton 46 Ardbreck Place Inverness IV2 400

Dear GL,

Frank Dobbs (GL9) suggests we withhold the £500 which the government spends for us on arms. I agree in principle, but being a democrat (democracy being the least worst of all forms of government) I do not wish to break the law.

I had considered stopping work and going on the dole - but recognised that economic independence is the root of any true independence.

So I decided to rean exactly the amount that can be earned before payment of tax - £1,575 p.a. The resulting necessity to grow and eat vegetables, use a bike and instal a wood-stove has greatly improved my quality of life.

I recommend it to anyone.

Mike Bell 69 Cambridge Road Oakington Cambs. CB4 5BG