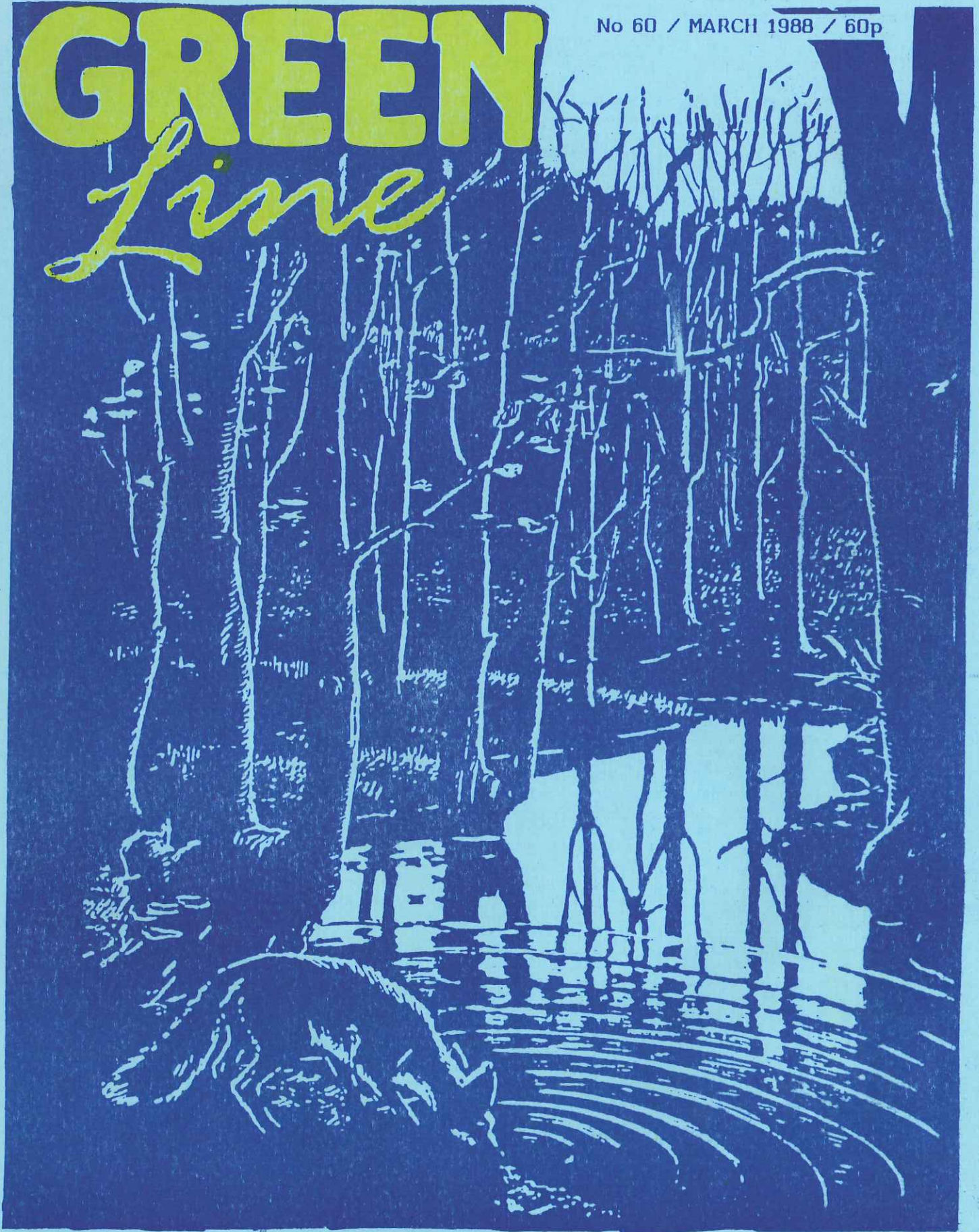


GREEN *Line*

No 60 / MARCH 1988 / 60p



- Greens: individual or collective?
- Deep Ecology and 'overpopulation'
- GL goes to Costa del Sellafield

Britain's Green Monthly

GREEN Line

No 60 / MARCH 1988 / 60p

Green Line, 34 Cowley Road, Oxford
(0865 245301)

Monthly magazine of
Green politics and lifestyle

GREEN LINE is published ten times a year, and is produced by a collective based in Oxford. Green Line appears thanks to the efforts of Carole Guberman, Barry Maycock, Graham Hooper, Michaela Young, Tim Andrewes, Rachel Western and Jerry Spring. Thanks especially to all those who help fold and collate the mag, lick stamps and stuff envelopes - but who don't get a proper mention. You wouldn't get your copy without their work. 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.

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.

ADVERTISING

Display advertising is only £75 a page, smaller sizes pro rata, 10% off for cash with copy. Send camera-ready copy by the 10th of the month prior to publication, or enquire for our typesetting and layout charges.

DEADLINES

The next issue is due out on **APRIL 1ST**. We need all news, articles, small ads etc by 15th March. In general all articles are read and discussed at a meeting of the collective in the middle of each month.



page 2 / GREEN LINE

Small Ads

5p/word

THE SOCIAL ECOLOGY PARTY: Extra-parliamentary, eco-democratic, symbiotic (which includes feminist), decentralist, internationalist - does not yet exist but is blowing in the wind. No national conference until local core groups have laid the foundations. Join the preparatory network. Contact Peter Cadogan, 3 Hinchinbrook House, Greville Rd, London NW6 5UP Tel: 01 328 3709

COMING SOON - European Integration! For more information write for your free subscription to "Twentieth Century Watch" to WATCH, PO Box 2525, Lincoln

HOW TO get rid of guilt. Free booklet from Dept XG, PO Box 2525, Lincoln

TREES - TREES - TREES! Wide selection of native trees and hedging for shelterbelts, wildlife etc. Most at 75p per plant +p&p. Please send sae for list to: LIMITS FIELD, The Prospect, Long Preston, nr. Skipton, North Yorks BD23 4QH

FREE WEEKEND for couple in Broadchalke, Salisbury, bungalow is offered by active, musical widower pensioner in exchange for some decent grub. Telephone 0722 780354

INTERHELP DEEP ECOLOGY INTENSIVE Laurieston Hall, S.W. Scotland, March 25th-30th 1988 including the Council of All Beings. Details and bookings: Maria Wood, 1 Low Park Cottages, Sedgwick, Cumbria. Tel: 0448 61122

STONEHENGE - Beautiful handmade, 4 colour screen print, (approx 20"x15") saying simply "We want our stones back". Send £1.75 (bulk orders discount: 2-5=10%, 5-10=20%, over 10=30%) Send cheque /P.O. /stamps to Paul Whymark, 37 Divinity Rd, Oxford OX4 1LH

PERSON WANTED to join business making wood (coppice) crafts and teaching environmental education in Surrey. Contact Frances on 01 549 6730

TIPIS, handmade to the traditional Sioux design. Order now for Spring delivery. Also 'Tipi Living', 40 pages, illustrated. £2 inc p&p. Full details from: Patrick and Co, Dove Workshops, Butleigh, Glastonbury, Somerset BA6 8TC D458 50682

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BICYCLE BEANO. Really special cycling weeks with delicious vegetarian cuisine in magical Mid Wales. Clean air, peaceful lanes, natural jacuzzis, wild flowers, tranquillity. 'A fine, friendly week with happy, relaxed people.' Completely non-macho approach to rides. All ages. Bikes available. Easter - September. Brochure: Bicycle Beano, 59 Birch Hill Rd, Clehonger, Hereford O981 251087

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. Ten A4 display sheets on the importance of plant foods in solving world food problems £1.00 inc postage.

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

GROWING OUR OWN by Kathleen Jannaway. How to grow healthy food with minimum labour and no artificial or animal products 35p+15p p&p. Movement for Compassionate Living the Vegan Way, 47 Highlands Rd, Leatherhead, Surrey.

LOWER SHAW FARM Spring Events: 18-20th MARCH Craft Weekend: Basket making, spinning and rough woodwork. 1-4th APRIL Easter Celebration 15-17th APRIL Games Weekend: Cooperative games, new games, nature games...

29th APRIL-1 MAY May Frolic: Dances, maypole, songs, music...

20-22nd MAY Watercolour Workshop 27-30th MAY Women's Creativity Wholefood meals. Low cost. Sae for details to Lower Shaw Farm, Shaw, Swindon, Wilts Tel: 0793 771080



Sunflowers

Green Collective Trading

Sunflower T-shirts £4.50; Green Collective post cards 20p each; booklets £1; envelope re-rollers £2.50 per 100; 'The Greens Are Gathering' badges 25p each; Sunflower stickers ('The Greens Are Gathering', 'Liberate the Earth', 'Animal Liberation', 'Women's Liberation', 'Green (170)') 30p each.

Discounts available for bulk orders. Sale or return for green groups, market stalls etc. Send for price list and full details:

'Sunflowers', c/o Ann Ginn, 8 Wordsworth Road, Baintree, Essex CM7 5BX; (0373) 21184.

HAPPY BIRTHDAY TO YOU!

THE NEW UNIVERSITY - ONE YEAR ON

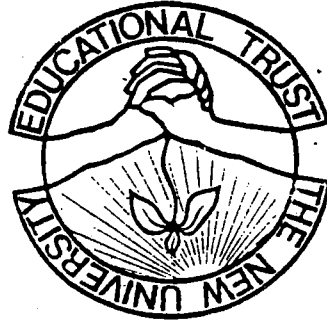
A GOOD few months ago I wrote a piece for GL outlining a vision of a green university: out of the window would go careerism, hierarchies and specialisation, and in would come dialogue, participation and holism. Well, subsequently a large seven-bedroomed house was bought in Hockley, Birmingham. You may have seen the odd paragraphs about our small but growing activities. A town terrace in inner-city Birmingham is not everyone's dream of a green university, but we've discovered that if green means anything, it is getting away from rigid, static visions, seeing everything as a process and then getting out there and pushing that process along. That's what 'Hockley House' has been about - and it seems to be paying off.

Since moving in at the beginning of December 1986, there has been a gradual increase in activities as people have seen something concrete and have been inspired - workshops, courses, meals, skills and knowledge sharing weekends, weeks and festivals. The events have had an attractive informality about them - no external 'assessment', (de)grading or prizegiving here! What has gone on may not change the world overnight, but it is beginning to define what education could be - sharing knowledge and experiences in a relaxed and friendly atmosphere, combining the practical with the theoretical, the personal with the global.

There have been drawbacks. Five unwaged people living and working together, trying to create a new university is no easy task (if not sometimes a masochist's delight!). Contact with local people (mainly of Caribbean or Asian origin) has raised some challenging problems and threatening issues. We've also had difficulties recently attracting women members to the house (anyone interested?).

On the other hand, a prize for the 'Best Education Social Invention 1987' and three mentions in the Guardian in six months must mean something! So too must the presently mushrooming projects which have been inspired by the NU's first year: a house in Bristol, perhaps another in northern England, a larger 'rural centre' in Herefordshire and a vegan cafe/ bookshop/ meeting place in south Birmingham are all in the pipeline. There are no overall plans, no senates to lay down what the direction will be. In fact to an outsider there seems hardly any organisation at all!

Back in GL last year ROGER HALLAM introduced us to a new project: an alternative, green university. Here's his update on progress so far.



• Plans into action

So what actually is the New University? Well, there's no one answer. It's what you make of it. If you've got the energy, go for it! That's the basis of our organisation. There's no division between decision-makers and doers to stifle enthusiasm, and the house is a concrete example of what can be done. The university's specialisation, if there is any, is in giving inspiration and practical knowledge of how people can control their lives. There is a commitment to reflection and evaluation with the aim that a stock of accessible and relevant knowledge can be built up. For example, I have just finished a booklet about how we set up our housing co-op and bought the house which shows how other unwaged people can do the same.

Using this method, another house is being bought in Bristol which will be similar to Hockley House - and educational community that opens up its home for meetings, workshops, skills and knowledge sharing etc. The rural centre will also be bought as a co-op, raising the cost with a mortgage and loans from sympathetic people and organisations. Here, the aim will be to pursue and develop radical education in a more structured way. For example, we are planning a one year holistic education foundation course, 'what is the world/me about and how can it/me be changed in an effective and fulfilling way?' (details on request!). And the cafe? Well, if green education isn't to remain a middle-class indulgence or succumb to careerism and the handing out of status symbols, then it has to get to grips with how people, with little or no money, can make a living which is both fulfilling and doesn't exploit

other people or the environment. The vegan cafe is an education in alternative economy - learning by creating one. Food will be organically produced by the rural centre. Members of the worker's co-op will be committed to regular educational reflection on their experiences - from the politics of food to interpersonal relations and group dynamics.

As these and other similar projects come to fruition, it seems that radical, holistic education will be taken to its natural conclusion: a growing network of co-operative communities, based upon dialogue rather than hierarchy and reconnecting education to political action, work and everyday life. So for all you readers that have been sitting on the sidelines for the last few months (or years), isn't it time you got involved in the NUP? Frankly, what is needed more than anything is money. Our co-op can offer you up to 7% interest on loans. So why let the High Street banks fund big business, merchants of death and 'Third World' dictators when it could be used to help people here in Britain create concrete alternatives? Think about it! And yes - do pay us a visit (tho' ring first).



For details of anything mentioned in this article (e.g. the co-op booklet, rural centre, loans etc.) or other activities write to the New University Project, 24 South Rd, Hockley, Birmingham B18. Tel 021 551 1679

Environmental pollution animal experimentation

OF ALL the dangers threatening humanity, none is more subtle yet more potentially devastating than the accelerating tons of toxic chemicals being dumped into our air, water, land, food, and medicines.

Pollution is out of control. "We're fouling our own nest, and we can't survive if we continue," says Dr Irving Selikoff of Mt Sinai Medical Centre, New York. How is it that modern chemists, scientists and industrialists are being allowed to poison our planet, bringing us to the brink of environmental catastrophe? Why and how are we letting them get away with it?

The startling truth is that animal experimentation is the key element in facilitating the destruction of our planet through chemical pollution!

Every new substance which comes into use is first "tested" on animals. Properly aware anti vivisectionists now know that these "tests" are invalid. They are never truly applicable to human beings because of the difference in metabolism among species. This is a basic natural law, but the "scientists" are still pretending they don't know about it.

The fundamental law of our civilisation is profit. Everything is subordinated to that - including our survival. A new chemical will be marketed if there is money to be made from it. Later, when people start dying of cancer or some hitherto unknown disease as a result of ingesting these substances, the manufacturers can always say that "all the required animal tests were carried out". They don't mention that animal tests aren't applicable to humans. Thus animal tests have an alibi function:

they are the pretext for marketing highly profitable poisons.

For the sake of this discussion, suppose that animals did not exist. The industrial syndicates would have a problem. They would have to poison us honestly. They would have to say to us: "This new chemical is probably going to poison you, but we're going to market it anyway because there's money in it for us."

In the absence of animal experiments to cloud the issue, the industrial whizz kids would be obliged to use one of the many available accurate tests on any substance they wished to market. That way, nearly all of today's medicines, pesticides, herbicides, food additives, detergents and industrial wastes could not be palmed off on a gullible public as having been "safety-tested", and we should not now be close to destroying the delicate ecological balance of our planet with animal-tested pollutants.

It is already rather late - some say too late - to reverse the rush to destruction. If we are to survive at all, we must abolish animal experimentation completely before the end of the decade. Do away with these animal "alibi" tests. Our governments and scientists will have to be honest about poisoning us, and we'll have to submit knowingly to be poisoned - if that's what we really want.

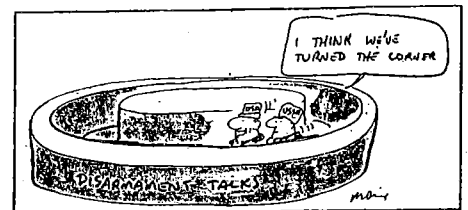
Join the abolitionists. Help us in our urgent task of closing down every vivisection laboratory in the country before the end of the 1980s. The alternative is to perish in a quagmire of poison and pollution entirely of our own making.

• TOMMY McCANN

GREEN-LIB CONFERENCE

First red-green meetings, next an organization of socialist greens and now a Green-Liberal get-together. Green Voice, a network of Greens and radical Liberals formed last autumn, is organizing a conference, "The New Direction - Green and Liberal", on March 26th-27th, at the University of Leeds.

Speakers invited include Austrian Green MP Freda Meissner-Blau, Simon Hughes MP, Sara Parkin, Matthew Taylor MP, Jonathan Porritt, Michael Meadowcroft, Jean Lambert, Ralf Dahrendorf and Tim Cooper. The opening rally, "Political Values for the 1990s", will be followed by workshops and a closing plenary. Creche, low cost accommodation and travel are available, as is stall space (£5 per day, £8 both days). Further details about the conference and bookings from Green Voice Conference, 14 Consort View, Leeds LS3 1NX.

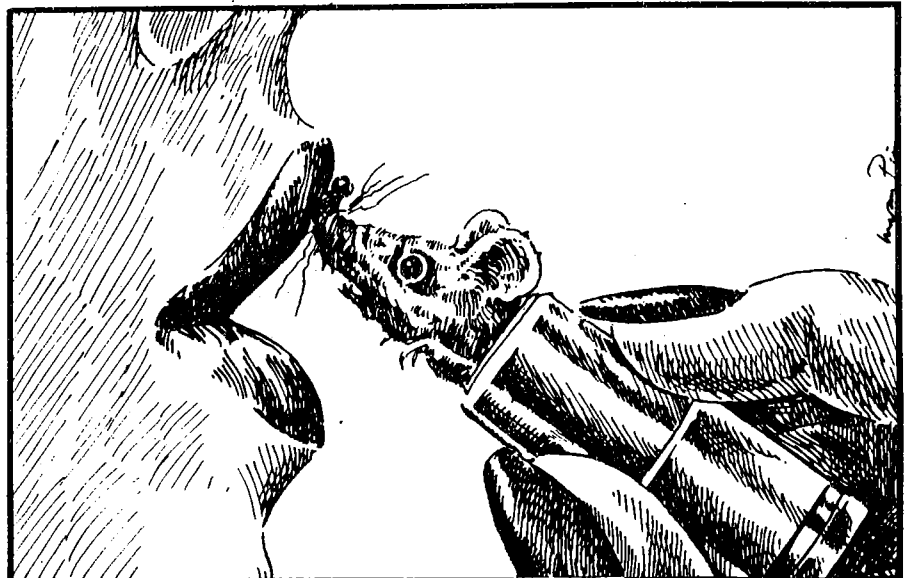


RANFURLEY MOVES

The Ranfurley Library Service, mentioned in GL50, has moved to a new home. For those not in the know, the Service collects unwanted books and magazines and sends them to developing countries where there is a demand for books in English. Unsuitable books are sold or sent for pulping, to raise money to serve the Service's cash needs. Their new address is at 39 Coldharbour Lane, London SE5, tel. 01 733 3577.

ANIMAL AID COSMETICS

In February Animal Aid launched their own range of cruelty-free cosmetics. The high quality products have no frilly packagings and the profits from the sales go to Animal Aid's "Living Without Cruelty" campaign, which encourages individuals to adopt a lifestyle free from dependence upon animal suffering. At the moment the cosmetics are only available through mail order but Animal Aid are looking for retail outlets. For further details contact Mark Gold at Animal Aid, 7 Castle Street, Tonbridge, Kent TN9 1BH, tel. (0732) 364546.





FOE HITS THE OZONE EATERS

FOE have stepped up their campaign against the use of chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs) in aerosols. CFCs are eating up the earth's ozone layer and there is already a hole the size of the United States above Antarctica which is growing in size. The ozone layer shields the earth from cancer-causing higher frequency ultra-violet radiation, so its destruction puts at risk many millions of people as well as other forms of life.

CFCs in aerosols have already been banned in the USA, Canada, Sweden and Denmark, and West Germany. The Netherlands and Switzerland are to follow suit by the end of the decade. There are alternatives to CFCs and roughly a third of aerosols use them.

FOE's campaign has already included a day of action held on 20th February and petitions to MPs calling on the Government to ban the use of CFCs in aerosols. FOE are also asking people to boycott the use of aerosols and to write to aerosol manufacturers and CFC producers urging them to stop the manufacture and use of CFCs. Further details of the campaign, addresses to write to and information on non-CFC aerosols are obtainable from FOE, 26-28 Underwood Street, London N1 7JQ. Their pamphlet "The Aerosol Connection" is also available from the same address, costing £1.00 (incl. p&p).

Mind you, one wonders what nasty side effects the non-CFC alternatives have. Maybe better not to use aerosols at all?

The following aerosols all contain ozone-eating CFCs

BEECHAM

- Body Mist antiperspirant for women*
- Body Check antiperspirant for men*
- Slazenger antiperspirant for men*
- Bristows hairspray*

Beecham, Beecham House
(Beecham has already replaced his fully tested.)

CUSSONS

- Cussons for men shaving foam*
- Imperial Leather Classic anti-perspirant*
- Imperial Leather Classic shaving foam*

Cussons, ...

ELIDA GIBBS

- Denim antiperspirant*
- Denim body spray*
- Denim Musk deodorant*
- Sure Super Dry for Men*
- Impulse Body Spray*
- Sunsilk hairspray*
- Harmony hairspray*

Elida Gibbs, 43 P

GILLETTE

- Rightguard deodorant*
- Rightguard antiperspirant*
- Silkience hair spray*

Gillette, ...
Mohlar)

L'OREAL

- Ellnett Satin hair spray*
- Freestyle styling mousse*
- Studio Line styling mousse*

IS RECYCLING ENOUGH?

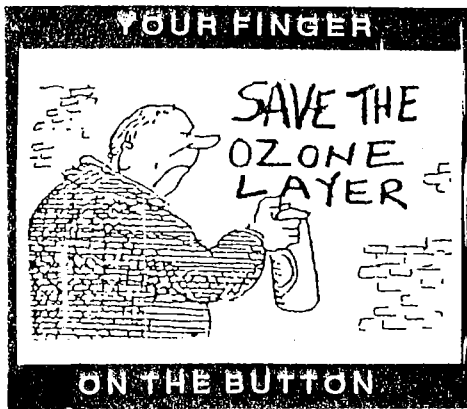
It is heartening to see the recycling field expanding, what with more and more recycling schemes and recycling directories and even possible labels on cans. We know that production of materials involves lots of energy consumption, environmental degradation and pollution, and that recycling materials can reduce this. But even recycling involves its share of environmental damage and energy wastage and not all materials can be recycled (e.g. multi-material packagings); which leads me to a point that is not made often enough, in my opinion, when talking about recycling.

Reducing materials consumption is all very well but surely we should also be reducing their consumption in the first place? Reducing consumption saves resources at least as effectively as recycling does, and it would also help educate us to tread a bit more lightly on the earth, taking only what we need from it and no more, whereas recycling could provide a cop out e.g. "It doesn't matter how many beer cans or newspapers I needlessly use because they can be recycled anyway".

Reducing materials consumption is unfortunately not easy, certainly not as easy as collecting stuff for recycling, but we can all (and should) do at least a little bit: cutting down on or cutting out newspapers and junk mail (saving our braincells too); avoiding extraneous packaging, extra bottles of this or that which we didn't really want or need, etc. etc. One major source of excess materials consumption is the almost obligatory extraneous packaging on shop goods. Pressure should be brought on retailers to reduce their packaging as much as possible (maybe a new campaign for FOE?). The late Dr. Kit Pedler, author of "The Quest for Gaia", used to remove the packages from goods he'd bought at the shop counter as a protest against excess packaging, maybe an example for some good direct action.

There is, I think, much that could be done by all of us, including me, to reduce our materials consumption. Without this recycling as an action against materials wastage will be limited and I feel that there could additionally be a danger of the recycling sector - particularly the commercial recyclers - becoming dependent upon supplies of waste materials to the extent that there is a vested interest in maintaining high consumption and wastage so as to maintain those supplies.

• Graham Hooper



RECYCLING SNIPPETS

* After years of pressure from FOE for labelling of recycleable packaging, and following meetings with the Can Makers, there are moves afoot to start printing a symbol on cans identifying aluminium and mixed steel.

* More and more Waste Recycling Directories are being produced around the country (FOE have received around 40). Has your local FOE/Green group produced one for your area? If so, FOE would like a copy to help produce a complete information data file. If not, why not have a go? For information and advice contact Adrian Judd, Pippa Hyam or Rob Angel at FOE, 26-28 Underwood Street, London N1 7JQ, 01 490 1555.

ANTWERP MEETING

AGALEV, the Flemish green party, are organising a conference in Antwerp for next April 9-10th. For details, and to say what you would want at the conference, write to Dirk Janssens, AGALEV, Tweekerken Str 78, B-1050 Brussels, Belgium.

**Antwerpen
Groen**

NETWORK

SARAWAK UPDATE

Harrison Ngau, Director of FoE Sarawak, has now been released from prison but is serving a 2 year restricted residence order. Of course, he hasn't been charged with any crime or tried in open court. Trade Union activist Arokla Dan has been transferred to a detention centre, probably for a 2 year sentence. Altogether, 33 people are still being held under the Internal Security Act, including some who'd been working on the Bukit Merah radiation poisoning campaign (see GL International 58).

An international mission on 'Native Rights and the Rainforest' returned from Sarawak in January with a grim report on the social and environmental impact of logging as well as ministerial incompetence, vested interests and evidence of intimidation aimed at silencing those defending their rainforest homes.

Rejecting the testimony of the native peoples and other scientists that logging is destroying the environment and traditional way of life, W.Sarawak Minister of the Environment and Tourism, Datuk Amar James Wong told the mission: "I will not bow to experts. I am the expert. I was here before experts were born." Another gem from Mr Wong: responding to the mission's concern over local and global climatic changes resulting from rainforest destruction, he said: "We've got too much rain in Sarawak. It stops me playing golf." The government denies that the natives have rights to the lands leased for logging; (Mr Wong again) "all forest belongs to the State. No one has any rights to it."

Dismissing the mission's concerns for the Penan, a nomadic hunting and gathering people who have been particularly hard-hit by the logging, a government official remarked: "We don't want them running around like animals ...the problem is to settle them down otherwise they have no rights. Shouldn't they be taught to be hygienic like us?" - familiar sentiments towards people with some of the most ecological lifestyles on earth.

Meanwhile back in GB, a cross-party group of MPs has tabled an Early Day Motion (no 490) calling for the government to take whatever steps it can to help the release of those still being detained or restricted. FoE are asking people to urge their own MPs to sign it. Call Koy Thompson at FoE 01 490 1555, or Luke Holland at Survival International 01 723 5535, for more details.

EARTH ACTION

Earth Action is a new youth section being set up by FOE, who will be officially launching it this spring. FOE intend to develop it into a network of active campaigning groups at a local level. They aim to reach the many young people who are aware of environmental issues and want to do something to change things. Initial campaign areas will be Tropical Rainforests and Pollution. A leaflet has been produced and an action pack is also being put together for anyone wanting to start a group. For further details contact Julie Brown, Earth Action Co-ordinator, FOE.

VEGAN ACTION

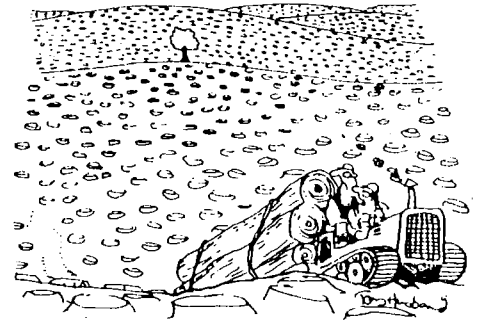
A new(?) vegan group based in Glasgow has aroused the attention of GL. They are the Vegan Action Group and appear to be fairly active. They have produced a range of leaflets on meat and dairy produce, vivisection, dissection, fur, circuses, hunting and Holland and Barrett (do you know that H & B's parent company, the multinational Booker are also into Third World exploitation, factory farming - broiler chickens and turkeys - and provide information on genetics technology and management relating to broiler production). They also produce a "Cruelty-Free Glasgow Shoppers' Guide". Their literature may be of interest to, and food for thought for, other local vegetarian/vegan/Green groups nationwide. Write to: Vegan Action Group, 136 Ingram Street, Glasgow G1 1EJ.

STOPPING THE SLURRY

If you were wondering how well our water supplies are protected from bad farming practices then a recent Water Authorities/MAFF report is interesting. It admits that "polluters find it cheaper to pollute and pay the fines than to undertake the work needed to prevent pollution". Only about 4% of incidents end in prosecution and then the fines average £290.

In fact, MAFF's own grant system for treating animal waste does not cover the separation of rainwater from slurry although this would prevent the majority of pollution incidents. The need for tighter regulations and enforcement is urgent given that silage effluent is 200 times more polluting than domestic sewage and cattle slurry 100 times. And always in the background is the risk of long-term groundwater contamination.

BLOODY HELL, WE MISSED ONE!



OUT OF THE

At last, after several years' work, FOE's Good Wood Guide has been launched. The Guide has been designed for use by members of the tropical timber trade and members of the public who want to help save tropical rainforests. There are three parts to it:-

- The Green pages list manufacturers, importers, shippers architects, local authorities and other institutional users of tropical woods who are actively helping to save rainforests by obtaining timber from ecologically benign sources.
- The Yellow pages list companies or institutions who are helping the campaign to save rainforests but may still be using some non-sustainably produced tropical timber.
- The Pink pages name retailers and suppliers who are selling tropical hardwood products that are contributing to the destruction of rainforests. This section also lists, wherever possible, suitable alternatives.

Companies listed in the Green pages have been awarded FOE's "Seal of Approval", which may be displayed by the company at its premises or in adverts. Seal of Approval labels also mark items and timber products that qualify under the scheme.



AWARDED BY
FRIENDS OF THE EARTH
SUPPORTED BY
THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION
OF RETAIL FURNISHERS



About 100 acres of tropical rainforest are lost every minute, resulting in the extinction of over 50 different wildlife species every day and putting at risk the homes and lifestyles of thousands of forest-dwelling tribespeople. Much of

NETWORK

CRUELTY FREE AT TESCO'S?

BUAV have been running a campaign aimed at persuading Tesco Stores (Britain's largest groceries chain) to stock a range of cruelty-free cosmetics, toiletries and household



WOODWORK

this deforestation is the result of commercial logging carried out with little, if any, concern for restoring the forest. 85% of Britain's tropical hardwood imports come from such unsustainable sources.

FOE want the timber industry switch to using tropical hardwoods that have been grown sustainably, such as on plantations where the loggers take care of the forest and carefully control the amount of timber removed. Until such tropical timber is sufficiently widely available, FOE recommend that greater use should be made of timber from better managed forests, generally from Europe and North America, or that new materials should be substituted for some uses of tropical timber.

There are some hopeful signs in the Timber Traders camp. The Timber Trade Federation has agreed, in principle, to a Code of Conduct which would ensure that only tropical timber from sustainable sources would be imported into Britain. The National Association of Retail Furnishers has endorsed both the Code and the Good Wood Guide and concerned members of the timber trade have formed the Association of Woodusers Against Rainforest Exploitation (AWARE) to promote the Code of Conduct. Additionally many traders and companies are attempting to qualify for FOE's Seal of Approval.

The Good Wood Guide is available from FOE, 26-28 Underwood Street, London N1 7JQ.

AGAINST HARDWOODS

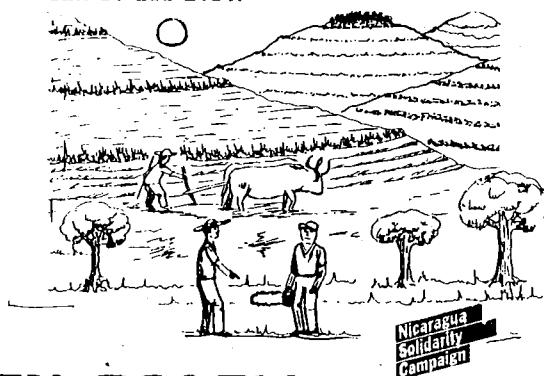
FoE suggest adopting an AA tactic against stores that sell unsound products; in this case, tropical hardwoods. The idea is to go in and look interested up until the point of sale, then turn it down and say why. FoE will be publishing a list of intransigent national chain stores soon. Till then you could concentrate on those local retailers still peddling mahogany lav seats etc.

products, thus offering consumers a choice between whether their toothpaste or whatever is implicated in animal suffering or not. Postcards asking for the stocking of cruelty-free products have been issued for members of the public to send to Tesco's head office and the store chain have admitted that they have already received over 4000 of them.

A meeting has been proposed between BUAV and Tesco to clarify their respective positions and determine future policy, but until Tesco meet BUAV's request the postcard campaign will carry on. Further information and "Choose Cruelty-Free at Tesco" postcards are available from BUAV, 16a Crane Grove, Islington, London N7 8LB, 01 700 4888.

NICARAGUAN BRIGADES

Advanced notice of reforestation brigades that are being formed for mid-May to mid-June 1988 and August 1988. These will also include agricultural study tours. Application deadlines are March 15th and April 15th respectively. Cost will be about £850 and the Nicaraguan Solidarity Campaign can help with sponsorship ideas. Contact NSC Brigades /Study Tours, 23 Bevenden ST, London N1 6BH 01 253 2464.



THE GREEN DIARY

MARCH

- 7th. European Year of the Environment Day.
- 8th. International Women's Day.
- 10th. Anarchist Communist Federation. Meeting, subject: Family. Marchmont Street Community Centre, Marchmont Street, London WC1, 8.00pm.
- 10th-13th Green Party Conference, Floral Hall, Southport. Further details & bookings: Nick 661650. Want a lift? Phone Ian: 510045.
- 12th. FOE Cities For People Workshop (local groups). Details from FOE 01 490 1555.
- 16th-24th Central America Week. Theme: "Peace for people - People for Peace". Details: Michele Guimarin, Central America Week 88, 82 Margaret Street, London W1N 8LH, 01 631 5173. Local events everywhere.
- 19th. FOE Tropical Rainforests Workshop (local groups). Details from FOE 01 490 1555.
- 19th. Bio-Dynamic Agricultural Association. Workshop "Feeding Animals for Health and Performance/Homeopathic Veterinary Care", Emerson College. Details: BDAA, Woodman Lane, Clent, Stourbridge, West Midlands DY9 9PX, 056 288 4933
- 19th. Ecology Building Society. AGM, York. The Society is sponsoring an exhibition on the day "Conservation, Craft and Community", York Guildhall, off Coney Street, 11am-4pm.
- 20th Spring Equinox
- 20th-22nd Anti-nuclear men's action. Florennade Peace House. Details Belgium (082) 688862
- 20th. Spring Equinox.
- 20th-22nd. Anti-Arms Trade Vigil, Gov't Arms Sales HQ, Soho Square, London W1.
- 8-9.15am. Details: Robert Mitchell 01 247 7729.
- 24th. Anarchist Communist Federation. Meeting. Subject: Leisure. Marchmont Street Community Centre, Marchmont Street, London WC1, 8.00pm.
- 25th-30th. Deep Ecology Intensive, including the 'Council of All Beings', at Laurieston Hall, Kirkcudbrightshire, SW Scotland. Ring Maria Wood on 0448 61122. But - tickets are £92 or £68!!!
- 26th. Oxford Green & Red Conference, Oxford Town Hall. Speakers, workshops, lunch. Admission £4 waged/£3 unwaged. Book early to guarantee a place and lunch. Details & bookings: Jon Carpenter, 33 Newton Road, Oxford OX1 4PT, (0865) 726229.
- 26th-27th. Liberal-Green Conference: "The New Direction - Green & Liberal". Details in Network.
- 27th. Harrishurg Day. Actions everywhere, including events at Sizewell. Info: Deborah, Yoxford (072 877) 327. 29th. 9th anniversary of Three Mile Island. Anything happening?

APRIL

- 1st-4th. National CND Demonstration - Aldermaston. March leaves London on Good Friday
- April 1st. Accommodation to those who register in advance. Encircle the Base, Easter Monday April 4th. Assemble at base 12 noon. Details: CND 01 250 4010.
- 2nd. "Peace on Earth", Easter Rally organized by Selly Oak Peace Council. George Cadbury Hall, Bristol Road, Birmingham 29, 2pm. Speakers include Rev. Tony Dumper, Bishop of Dudley. Details: Michael Jones 021 472 4540.
- 7th. Anarchist Communist Federation. Meeting, Marchmont Street Community Centre, Marchmont Street, London WC1, 8pm.
- 9th. FOE Public Speaking Workshop on Nuclear Power. Details: FOE 01 490 1555.

**SUPPORT ANIMAL
RIGHTS
PRISONERS**

Andrew Clarke V50557,
Geoff Sheppard V50730,
HM Prison,
Jebb Avenue,
Brixton,
London,
SW2 5XF.

Lindholme, Bawtry Road,
Hatfield Woodhouse,
Doncaster,
South Yorks,
DN7 6DG.

Ronnie Lee,
V02682,
HM Prison,
Long Lartin,
South Littleton,
Evesham,
Worcs,
WR11 5TZ.

Brendan McNally,
T03014,
HM Prison,
Acklington,
Morpeth,
Northumberland,
NE65 9XF.

Vivien Smith,
P34563,
HM Prison,
Cookham Wood,
Rochester,
Kent,
ME1 3LU.

Gary Cartwright,
T02960,
HM Prison,



**TOMORROW
THEY'LL BEGIN
INJECTING
SCAMP WITH
WEED KILLER.
SHE'LL DIE IN
AGONY
IN ABOUT
4 DAYS....
IF SHE'S
LUCKY!**

**Animals
can't
protest-
they rely on
YOU
instead**

The trial of Andrew and Geoff is due to begin on June 12th, though the date is provisional.
Please write and remember:
1) not to expect a reply
2) not to include any material that could jeopardise future actions or someone's freedom, as all letters are opened and censored.

GET MORE FOR YOUR MONEY:

A recent study of energy use in the North-west reveals that at present rates, consumption will grow by 25% by 2000. Yet, by applying known techniques of conservation and efficiency, we could cut that growth to just 3%. That difference equals the building of 10 Sizewell Bs and would save some £50bn even after paying for the conservation measures.

Unfortunately the Tories are too busy preparing the electricity generating industry for privatisation to notice little studies like this one. And afterwards, the newly privatised companies will of course be trying to sell us as much electricity as possible, regardless of environmental effects or resource depletion (you know the kind of thing - "Free Radio alarm-clocks if your street can create the demand for a new nuclear power station!").

At the local level, JULIAN EDMONDS shows how government policy forbids councils to invest in energy-saving even when it is proved to be cost-effective in purely capitalist terms. His motion for the Green Party conference in Southport argues that greens should make this a priority issue in forthcoming elections.

Local government has entered a crisis of public confidence. Thanks to the excesses of a few councils, the public largely supports the Conservatives in their centralisation of power. Opposition to the latest Local Government Bill is muted because the official opposition parties know that they will lose votes if they are seen to be lining up with the 'loony left' councils.

This state of affairs must be of the utmost concern to the Green Party. We propose to make district councils the most important tier of government, but present public perceptions are diametrically opposed to this. However, we can spotlight a government policy which is so obviously absurd that it cannot fail to weaken their position and build support for our cause.

• Opportunities to save energy

Treasury spending restrictions do not mean lower rates. In fact, £1m a day of your money is going up in smoke because the controls prevent investment in energy saving technology - even when this would save money.

Large buildings built before the 1973 fuel crisis usually waste energy somewhere. Insulation, electronic controls to ensure that rooms are only heated and lit when necessary, and replacing old boilers usually produce worthwhile savings. The biggest potential energy saver though is combined heat and power (CHP).

An engine, usually burning gas, drives a generator to produce electricity for the building. The 'waste' heat is used to heat water which can then be piped through a

central heating system or used as hot water. The unit will consume about the same amount of fuel as the boiler it replaces so the electricity produced is effectively free and total fuel consumption is halved. CHP is particularly effective in swimming pools and has also been applied in hospitals, educational establishments, prisons and many other public buildings. A typical system will pay for itself in 2-3 years.

Public money could also be invested in upgrading council flats and houses where problems often occur because the occupants live below the poverty line and can't afford sufficient fuel to keep the dwelling warm and dry. Dampness causes mould and rotting timbers, and if councils can't afford early repairs then often houses have to be written off entirely. People then have to be put up expensively in squalid Bed & Breakfast accommodation. Bad living conditions cause ill health and every Winter about 40,000 more old people die than in the Summer.

By applying some basic physics to the problems of damp and warmth, an integrated heating and ventilation system has been developed which costs £1000 to install per dwelling and £5 a week to run. If this saves £10,000 of repair work over 20 years then it pays for itself every 2 years, in addition to improving the occupants' living conditions.

Longer term developments which are also cost effective include district heating by CHP and passive solar-heated houses, which are cheaper over 100 years than building nuclear power stations to heat existing homes.

VOTE GREEN!

• Treasury stupidity

The treasury sets a limit to the amount of capital each council can spend. Usually they can only buy major capital items without which services would deteriorate. Energy efficiency is not an immediate priority so there is not enough money for it. Yet, with rates of return of 30-50%, anyone would be able to finance such an investment with a normal bank loan and pay the money back within 5 years. Evidently, private bodies are encouraged to do this, but if you're in the public sector you will violate that holy of holies, The Public Sector Borrowing Requirement.

District councils are responsible for housing, and under the popular 'Right to Buy' policy they have considerable income from council house sales. However, they are not allowed to spend more than 20% of this money. The rest, £7bn in total, is simply locked away. £5bn of this could pay for a basic thermal upgrade in all council homes and the rest could buy CHP units with an output equal to four Sizewell Bs.

The years since the fuel crisis have seen the growth of contract energy management (CEM) companies, who offer their services to bodies with no spare cash. They will put in CHP at no initial charge in return for a share in the savings. The Department of Energy thinks it's a great idea, but the Treasury regards shared saving schemes as "wheezes to get round capital controls".

This issue was first aired on a Radio 4 'Face the Facts' documentary in July 1986. Since then, little action appears to have been taken. At the London Heating and Ventilation Show on Nov 4th 1987, a representative of Britain's largest CEM company said that restrictions were still "very substantially" affecting business. Cecil Parkinson says that some pilot schemes are now underway with a view to preparing guidelines, but

monitoring will take years. The CHP Association and the businesses involved are told to be patient, but their patience is beginning to wear a bit thin - and so is that of the millions of council tenants who can't afford to heat their homes.

• Green pressure

Unfortunately, behind the scenes lobbying will not change the government's mind and there must be a limit to how far companies like Shell and BP, which have CEM subsidiaries, are prepared to rock the political boat in order to help a minor part of their business. On the other hand, the Green Party can have an influence by threatening to take votes from the government if it does not act.

Motion 17, which I have put forward for the party conference in Southport (March 11-13th), calls on Green candidates in the forthcoming elections to stand on a platform of investing in energy-saving measures whatever the consequences. The issue would feature prominently in election leaflets and media coverage. We should identify and draw attention to specific opportunities in our local area, such as a council estate in need of thermal upgrading or a leisure centre that could benefit from CHP. Any actual attempts by our district council to get schemes going should be highlighted.

The aim would be to bring the issue to the general public and engage in debate with government representatives, thus causing a transfer of votes from the Tories to the Greens. If any Greens get elected, they would attempt to win the support of other councillors to carry out their election promises, regardless of any action taken by the government. Illegal action would only take place once a very large number of people had expressed their support at the ballot box.

Councillors facing government repression for implementing a policy whose reasonableness could not be denied (unlike Derek Hatton's) should find the great majority of public opinion on their side. If Nigel Lawson has any common sense he will remove

the restrictions and let us go ahead with energy saving investment. However, we have to be prepared for the government to dig in for the usual trial of strength even at the risk of surcharge, being banned from office or dragged from our council seats by the bailiffs.

The campaign would debunk a number of myths that have impeded the progress of the party. We are seen as naive, impractical, middle class and out of touch with people's real problems. Being banned by the Tories for implementing a workable and affordable policy to improve the quality of life of the poorest would lead to us being taken more seriously by ordinary people. The money saving aspect would begin to dispel the spendthrift image that has made all the opposition parties unelectable during Thatcher's reign. And it would bring one step closer acceptance by a majority of a manifesto which states: "the responsibility of Districts, where most power would lie, would include taxation and benefits."

MOTION 17 RE ENERGY CONSERVATION AND LOCAL COUNCILS

Conference notes that:-

- (i) District Councils throughout Britain are sitting on £7bn of receipts from council house sales
- (ii) The government's restrictions on capital spending prevent them from investing this money in much needed measures to save energy and alleviate fuel poverty, even when such investments offer very high returns
- (iii) The Treasury further prevents councils from making use of private capital from energy management companies, taking the view that such schemes are 'wheezes to get round capital controls'.
- (iv) This policy causes death from hypothermia
- (v) This policy violates the government's own stated objective of improving cost efficiency

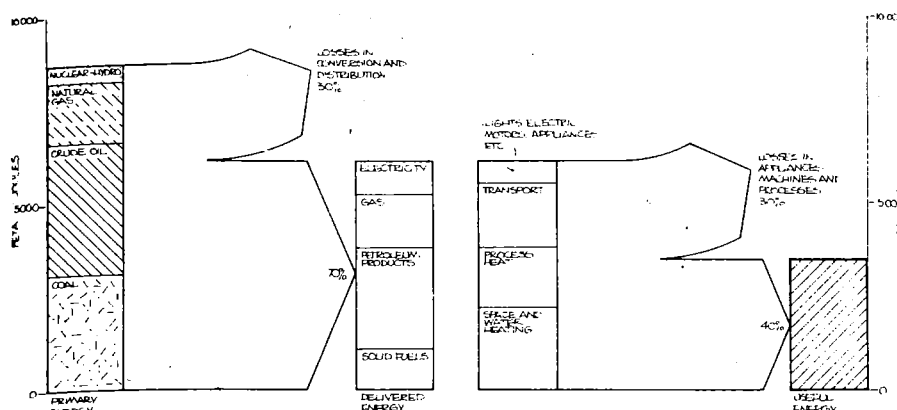
Conference therefore calls on all Green candidates in the 1988 District Council Elections to stand on a platform of investing in the most effective measures to save energy in council property while maintaining standards of thermal comfort and, if elected, to do so even if such action violates government spending restrictions.

Proposer: Julian Edmonds (North & Mid Beds)
 Seconder: Helen Prescott (Liverpool)

For further info on new developments in domestic heating and curing dampness contact Practical Alternatives, Victoria House, Bridge St, Rhayader, Powys LD6 5AG

For a tape recording of 'Face the Facts' send £1.50 to Julian Edmonds, 95 Beverley Crescent, Bedford MK40 4BZ

Energy wastage in Britain



There seems to be a sense of unease amongst some greens whom we talked to recently. They feel that in practical terms a couple of decades of pressure group campaigning, together with a welter of books and magazines broadcasting green principles, have not changed British society that much. There is still a fixation on growth and consumerism in mainstream politics. High-tech in the form of nuclear power, motorways and large-scale development, for example, flourishes at the expense of the environment. Centralisation and giantism, against which E F Schumacher wrote so eloquently, are still key concepts in Britain's economic development. And economic and most other thinking is still imbalanced towards the over-rational, the reductionist and analytic rather than acknowledging the significance of feelings and intuition, holism and synthesis. Even in Germany the 44 Green members of the Bundestag seem to have lost their way a little, with the split between fundamentalists and realists threatening to open out into a yawning gap (see *The Observer* 6.12.87).

Of course one cannot expect miracles overnight, and to put this pessimistic view is not to deny the immense impact of the green movement on people's ideas and consciousness. But it is to question whether significant and irreversible social change is taking place, towards the kind of ecological society which greens have urgently advocated for the past 20 years.

• Recycling environmentalism

Part of the problem might be that the debate over what is wrong and what to do about it does not seem to move forward so much as round and round. As John Seymour said in *Resurgence* (Nov/Dec 87), "An increasingly boring thing about our alternative movement is that we all go on saying the same things."

Walter and Dorothy Schwarz in *Breaking Through*, attack the reductionist and exploitative ideas and values of the Western scientific world-view, advocating more 'wholism' and so forth - but they are merely restating yet again a message that is familiar through writers like Carolyn Merchant, Fritjof Capra, Henryk Skolimowski, Robert Pirsig and, of course, Schumacher himself. These writers in their turn reiterated the organicism of others like Alfred North Whitehead, Lewis Mumford and von Bertalanffy.

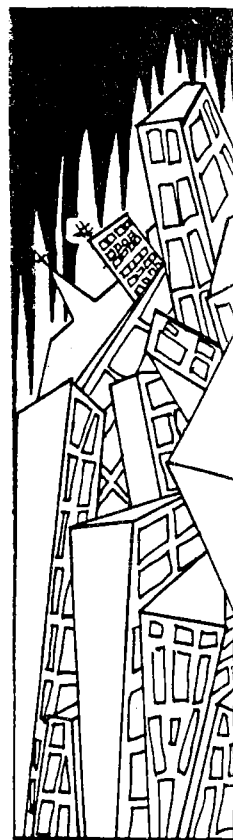
The Schwarzes' claim that "more and more people" are embracing the 'new' wholistic thinking seems rather hollow. When greens say that 'more and more people' are following their ideas, as they frequently do, one feels alas that they are drawing their sample from a dreadfully restricted circle of acquaintances. An occasional Saturday afternoon spent on the terraces at Anfield or Old Trafford might give us all a salutary lesson in what sorts of things 'more and more people' are really thinking.

Yet some of us continue to push the same old messages, perhaps closing our minds to how the debate might be moving on. Take 'overpopulation' in relation to resources for example. This was considered to be an issue to be panicked over in the early 70s. But as time moved on, a more sophisticated view emerged (or re-emerged) from green critics on the right and left. This was that maldistribution of resources was the real problem; that populations stabilise and even fall once a certain level of affluence has been reached; that the appearance of 'overpopulation' - as in famine or starvation - is really a symptom of social injustice and capitalist exploitation of less industrialised countries. This view is indeed seen in *Our Common Future* (The Brundland Report), which identifies overpopulation as the root cause of environmental and resource problems.

Yet the theme of 'overpopulation' has been steadily adhered to by some greens - fortified by *Limits to Growth* and *The Population Bomb* in the 70s, by *Global 2000* in 1980 and by the Ehrlichs' revival in 1987. Their book and TV series, *Earth*, still gives the impression of 'overpopulation' as the root cause of environmental ills, while the much discussed TOES book, *The Living Economy*, still takes as its starting point for green economics the 'fact' that

The ideological dangers and practical weaknesses of the green movement must get to grips with. DAVID PE... search for a balance between individualist and collec...

How can the Green Movement break through?

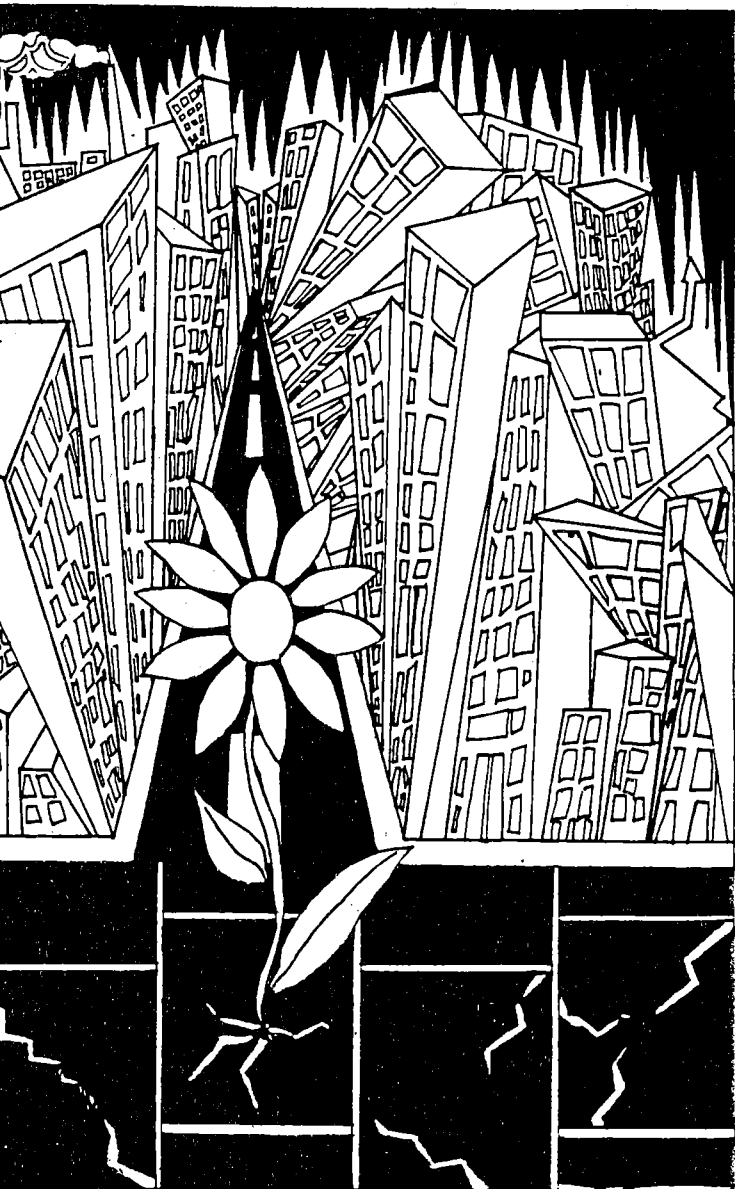


resources are finite and population growth is a root problem. The very real 'fact' that resources satisfy human needs and that in consequence humans can define and redefine what are needs and resources does not seem to have made much impression on some of the TOES writers, who today recycle Schumacher's ideas (themselves a recycling of people like Gandhi and Kropotkin).

Porritt's influential *Seeing Green* is also a recycling, this time of the 50s 'end of ideology' thesis, which held that in the face of new common threats to human wellbeing, from the bomb and then the 'environmental crisis', socialism and capitalism are converging and must continue to do so. Old ideological disputes are said to pale into insignificance and the 'old' politics are irrelevant: Right and Left no longer matter. Interestingly enough, this last idea is a fundamentally conservative ideology.

Perhaps then, the old politics are still alive and kicking, not just in the wider society that greens wish to see changed, but within the green movement itself. When you analyse it, there are, mixed up in a radical environmentalism that wants deep social change, most of the elements of true conservative, liberal and socialist political philosophy. Some groups - like the Green Party, which wishes to have a new ideological consistency - actually may display a mix of each political philosophy. And

any over-reliance on individualism is a problem that
 PAPER and NICKIE HALLAM set out the problem and
 activist approaches to social and personal revolution.



individuals too, believe bits of one thing and bits of another. This is hardly surprising, not just because we are all human, but also because environmentalism, as Tim O'Riordan points out, is particularly good at exposing the contradictions and conflicts in all of us, as it should.

Nonetheless, a lot of greens seem to be uneasy at this, and feel that without a clearer ideological and practical direction we may find ourselves in the odd position of actually sustaining some of the ideologies we seek to sweep away. The ideological mix that is sometimes claimed as a strength by the green movement might turn out to be a source of weakness.

• Is the green movement counter-revolutionary?

Radical greens want revolutionary social change. Yet there are certain things which they often champion that are positively counter-revolutionary if they are emphasised at the expense of other things. Rampant individualism and consumerism - cornerstones of liberal capitalism - are two cases in point.

Individualism, the liberal view that society can be expressed as the sum of its individual parts, underpins the approach to change of many greens. It translates into the belief that "the personal is political" as Theodore Roszak put it in Person/ Planet.

Of itself, this is absolutely valid. After all, we can hardly hope to achieve lasting change until individuals start to treat each other with the kind of care and respect that we want for the planet and so we uphold individualism in this sense. Think for example of the unequal ways in which men and women relate in their personal lives. This must be transformed, not only by large scale material changes, but also by a deep willingness to change personally. We believe that to achieve more harmonious social and ecological relations the 'masculine' tendency to close up emotionally and to undermine personal openness must be confronted. Personal openness is valid both for itself and as a force for social change, and it cannot be traded off for collective structural change. Individual men need to make strenuous and genuine efforts in their own lives to recognise and value the power of personal change; to overcome their fear of becoming 'weak' through expression of their feelings; and instead to view it as a strength. A supportive environment in which individuals are collectively working for such personal change can aid this. Women also need the support and validation of other women and men if they are to become more assertive and begin to take themselves and what they have to offer more seriously. All round, we must reassert a gentle approach for the benefit of people and the planet.

But the idea that the personal is political is often taken to mean that the transformation of oppressive hierarchical power relations in society and towards nature must start and largely continue with the individual - putting immense burdens on her or him. The idea is that individuals will reform and re-educate themselves, their attitudes, values and consciousness to behave in cooperative, loving and ecologically sound ways. And then the rest of society, impressed by the way greens have reformed themselves, will simply follow their example because it sounds a good idea.

However, if you ask where our attitudes and values come from, and if you conclude, as do Marxists, that they owe much to what society actually does in organising itself to produce things from nature then another conclusion follows: that within an economic and social framework which is organised competitively, hierarchically and exploitatively, it is extremely difficult for the mass of people to change their consciousness and behaviour - unless at the same time that framework is also changed radically. Such change may well not be possible without revolutionary and collective political action involving the mass of the people.

The idea of a 'proletariat' organised in this way may mean little at present to the people living in appalling conditions on the Buttershaw estate in Bradford or in inner city Birmingham or London; they are understandably bound up in the perceived 'helplessness' of their position and they may well not become 'revolutionary' until their material circumstances further decline thereby forcing them to action whose outcome we cannot foresee. By the same token, they will hardly behave ecologically or communally merely by appeals to their consciousness as individuals. To them, notions of the Dance of Shiva, or flowing with the currents of the Universal Being are just gobbledegook.

This then is the dilemma that Chris Hall posed in GL57. He acknowledged that of course the process of individuation is important but he also urged greens to develop an analysis of society based on revolutionary collective class consciousness. And we would stress that without this, individuation leads to undesirable and counter-revolutionary effects: chiefly guilt and disaffection.

The striving as individuals for a green ideological consistency and practice in our daily lifestyles is not to be derided as mere 'lifestylism' as Chris Hall points out (though we should be ready to laugh at ourselves as Martin Stott makes us do in Spilling the Beans). On the other hand, if we were to succeed totally then it would actually make us inhuman, insufferable and quite incapable of relating to ordinary people. And if we fail we are in

danger of feeling over-guilty about it. Guilt is counter-revolutionary: it is a prime weapon of the established order of capitalism. It puts the blame for the failures of society and its economic organisation squarely on us as individuals. This demoralises us, paralyses and disempowers us as elements in what might otherwise be a force for collective social change. Eventually our failures disenchant us and we may simply quit under the weight put on our shoulders. Then the forces of capital, collectively, will have won again over our individualism. Thus we must seek strength in the collective of what Chris Hall calls the "common economic class" of those who do not own the means of production.

Furthermore, suppose that the green movement as a collection of individuals achieving change through 'individual spiritual struggle' did succeed? Suppose too that, through by-passing conventional political and economic structures and living 'independent' lifestyles, 'more and more people' actually did raise their consciousness to become an effective counter to industrial capitalism, a thorn in its side big enough to cause haemorrhage? Then the greens would have to face up to the old problem that capital would probably not give in without a struggle. The kind of solution sometimes suggested now seems absurdly unrealistic. For instance, in the The Living Economy it is proposed that merely through consumer campaigns multinational corporations would change their ways and put nature before profit. We would instead need to have a strategy for mass action to take power fully back into our own hands. And this means reaching out to ordinary people now and becoming part of their consciousness rather than simply trying to show by example, injunction or infliction of guilt how they ought to change their ways to fit in with our ideas for the New Age.

In their book on communes, Abrams and McCulloch suggest in class terms why this outreach does not happen. As things stand, the people who are putting such complete emphasis on individual lifestyles are in fact the disaffected middle classes, the 'petty bourgeois'. They reject capital but they also reject and dislike organised labour. Caught in between, their approach is one that sets out to solve their own problems of alienation more than the problems of the wider class of people who have only their labour to sell. In as much as they do solve their own problems as individuals this is fine for them, but it also heads off and contains their potential as true revolutionaries, which lies in linking up with the 'working class' movements and infusing them their consciousness (a process which Marx suggested would be a key part of the defeat of capitalism). This is why, say Abrams and McCulloch, emphasising the individualistic approach whilst rejecting the wider collective may be regarded as counter-revolutionary. One might add that a politically limited green movement also carries out a very useful function for capitalism in that, without pressurising it at its very roots, it draws attention to the problems which the system is causing and enables it to adjust and accommodate.

In a similar manner, the attempt to change capitalist society into an ecologically sound one through forms of consumerism smacks of contradiction - as has been pointed out in these pages before (e.g. GL55). The idea of outwitting the consumerist society through consuming in enlightened self-interest the wares of the Body Shop, Traidcraft or organic farms, or through not consuming battery eggs or mahogany loo seats is really the central message of Thatcherite liberal capitalism. That is, we as consumers exercise our power in a democratic market economy through exercising our 'sovereign' choice to buy or not to buy. The problem is, as J K Galbraith pointed out years ago, that there are masses of people who are disenfranchised from this exercise of power by virtue of not having the money to spend in the first place. Of course it is easy to sit and write in this way in self-exoneration for a less than perfect lifestyle. And, given the probable correctness of the maxim of true socialism that the 'working class' will not (and should not) be liberated until and unless they themselves want to, it is

even an arrogance to pose as an 'intellectual vanguard' leading the masses into freedom. Indeed it is counter-revolutionary, as it was in Russia.

• Moving forward

So, should we therefore sit back, relax and do nothing, waiting for the revolution to generate itself spontaneously from the ashes of capitalism's ecological contradictions? Of course not. Rather, it is a question of redoubling our efforts whilst not challenging them into more of the same. The focus must shift towards a better balance of individualist and collectivist approaches. We must join with and become part of the labour movement and any other representative of the 'proletariat' - which does exist in huge numbers in both 'developed' and less-industrialised nations. As Chris Hall suggests, we must develop radical mass strategies where economic class analysis plays a role and is not rejected as outmoded. In so doing, we will be into the realm of political ideology and political struggle of the 'old' collective sort yet introducing a distinctively green perspective. This is saying little that is new but neither does it suggest anything ideologically inconsistent. True revolutionaries, like the Russian feminist Alexandra Kollanti, urge a fusion - or dialectic - between strategies for material, economic and structural change and change through attempting to revolutionising our own individual ideas, attitudes and values.

The greens in Britain have not taken such a message about ways of relating to each other completely on board yet. It is time that we all did so, before we bore ourselves silly by repeating the same old shibboleths and before we get too demoralised in over-individualistic Thatcherite Britain.



Last Winter, ANDY GREEN paid a sceptical visit to BNFL's exhibition centre at Sellafield /Windscale. Given the number of visitors to the site, his findings of biased information should be of grave concern to all of us trying to oppose the nuclear industry.

Costa del Sellafield



Last Guy Fawke's day, I paid a visit to Sellafield to take a look at Britain's best known and most controversial nuclear power site. British nuclear fuels, who operate the site, have turned it into a major tourist attraction, and 65,000 people visited the Exhibition Centre in 1986. In the first week outside the Cumbria tourist season, the visitor's car park was full, and a larger centre is under construction to cater for the rise in demand. The centre is on the perimeter of the site itself, but I took one of the regular free coach tours around the site, and it is possible to arrange in advance a guided tour of the plants themselves. It seems then that BNFL are confident that they can convince the public that nuclear power is good for them. They merely reminded me that it was time to renew my Green Party membership, and I would be interested to know what other visitors feel upon leaving. There was no evidence that BNFL are surveying peoples reactions, and it may be that in many cases they are doing us a service and not themselves.

• Preying on ignorance

The centre has computer games, video presentations, cinema and seminar facilities and working models of the plant, transport facilities and fuel handling machinery. To cap it all, there is a free hand out of balloons, badges and glossy pamphlets - this article was written with a biro marked "click on to nuclear energy". The exhibition surprised me in its content. There is very little effort to reassure people directly about the safety of the industry, and no mention of chernobyl or the arguments that the British build safer reactors than the Soviets. The only attempt to counter specific criticisms is a Greenpeace-bashing video that deals exclusively with the 1984 CEBG media stunt with the 100 mph collision between a BR locomotive and a nuclear fuel transport flask. This takes Greenpeace accusations that the flask was arranged so as to minimise damage, while the locomotive was tampered with so as to disintegrate with optimal drama, and gets BR men before a microphone to testify that these are all lies.

Essentially the exhibition does not cater for the informed sceptic, but is aimed at converting the ignorant into nuclear power enthusiasts, using two basic ploys. The first is to assure people that BNFL are not a bunch of untrustworthy, penny pinching, privatised cowboys; that on the contrary, they are under almost total government control. That might work on a Sun reader, but not on you and me. Hence great emphasis is laid on the fact that the government owns all the shares, and that the civil service Nuclear Installations Inspectorate is closely involved in the design, building and operation of the plants, under the terms of the

Nuclear Installations Act 1985. The second ploy is to use the psychology of scientist worship. Thus we are told:

"Radiation was unknown a century ago but scientists have learned to detect, measure and control it, and to employ it usefully in industry and medicine. However, the idea of radiation is new to most people, and may cause alarm if not explained."

Gangs of school children are led around the exhibition by their chemistry teachers and are made to copy legends from the exhibits into their books. At that age, to understand is to trust. BNFL sends a travelling exhibition around the schools of the North-west as well.

• Propaganda

Not surprisingly, the exhibition is 'economical with the truth'. We are told that our nine Magnox reactors have proved to be so safe, reliable and economic that they have become known as the "nuclear workhorses" of our electricity generating system; we are not told to whom. We are told that the average Briton receives a background dose of 2 microsieverts (mSV) a year, and that only 0.1% of this comes from the nuclear industry compared with e.g. 37% from radon and thoron gases in our homes; we are not told that a nuclear employee is legally permitted an annual dose of 50 mSV (shortly to be reduced to 15 mSV in the light of new Hiroshima-Nagasaki evidence) equivalent to an annual risk of death of 1 in about 700 yet exceeded for one man in March 1986, and that the company's own figures show that a seafood eater near Sellafield takes in 0.4mSV with their fish.

We are told that if all our electricity were produced in nuclear power stations, the amount of high level radioactive waste produced in fuel reprocessing for each Briton during their lifetime is equivalent to the volume of a tennis ball; we are not told that this is accompanied by 70 times as much intermediate level waste (e.g. fuel cladding) and 700 times as much low level waste (e.g. disposable clothing).



We are told that the plutonium extracted while reprocessing Magnox fuels is used to fuel Dounreay's Fast Breeder Reactor; we are not told of its military use.

In some cases, the truth is made very clear, such as when we are told that a balanced energy policy involving nuclear power is ideal for countering "disruptive industrial action". In other cases the truth is absent; pollution from the nuclear industry is "negligible", while "although several surveys have been made around the world, no evidence of actual hereditary damage by radiation has yet been discovered on any human population." Thus the leukaemia cases that occur at a frequency ten times the national average in the local area do not exist according to BNFL.

A hop on a coach allows you through the gates and into the site (provided you pass the police check, give them your name and address and are not carrying a camera), where a spokesperson tells us with affected pride of the company's activities and achievements. When I asked about the distinction between 'Sellafield' and 'Windscale', I was told by the spokesperson that Windscale was the name for the limited site centred around the two militant (sic) piles built in 1947 that were closed after a fire in 1957 because "we didn't build them very well in those days", while Sellafield is the name for the much larger overall site; a mystifying mix of Freud and frank.

These were not comforting words given that next door sits the Calder Hall Magnox station opened by Her Majesty in 1956 less than a year before the fire that remains the most serious nuclear accident in the West. The National Radiological Protection Board has estimated that the accident could have caused up to 260 cases of thyroid cancer, 13 of them fatal. 20 tons of uranium still sits inside No.1 pile. Needless to say, the spokesperson made no mention of a leak of radioactivity, but was keen to point out the 11 miles of cooling pipes that shroud each of Calder Hall's four reactors. Such complexity in a nuclear installation was expected to impress us; it scared me but then being a scientist myself, I do not have limitless faith in other scientists.

• Chaos and Acronyms

I was shocked by the scale and chaos of the Sellafield site - a product of a little planned industry that has developed at the very limits of technological knowledge, so that more clean-up plants are always being built as after-thoughts as our scientist gurus deliver new ideas. Sellafield employs 10,000 people with 6,000 working for BNFL and 3,000 working on construction projects. Amongst other attractions there is a small test-size Advanced Gas-cooled Reactor, and we were calmly told that our scientist friends have to come up with ways of decommissioning it over the next 10 years, but that they do not know how yet. No doubt answers will come, or be forced. To accompany these are several generations of fuel and waste handling plants.

Current additions include a Vitrification Plant that will convert highly active waste from the present liquid form into glass discs ready for 50 years on site storage, followed by burial who knows where, a Thermal Oxide Reprocessing Plant (THORP) that will reprocess AGR fuel and foreign Light Water Reactor fuel, an encapsulation plant for handling intermediate level wastes, a Site Ion Exchange Effluent Plant which reduces Irish Sea discharges and has cut the discharge levels to 12% of

peak (1975) levels, a bigger Fuel Handling Plant to cope with the imports, and special plants for dealing with plutonium contaminated materials.

We were expected to be impressed by the large advanced foreign orders for THORP (THORP is expected to deal with 6,000 tonnes of irradiated fuel over its first ten years of operation) and that BNFL is one of the largest British exporters to Japan i.e. that our island is becoming a nuclear waste disposal unit for the planet. We were also expected to rejoice at the current growth of our nuclear industry; BNFL's development programme is costing £1.2 million a day over the next decade, with 30% of this going on THORP. To put this in perspective, the whole conventional economic basis of reprocessing is in grave doubt as research by the Political Ecology Research Group suggests that storage or disposal of spent fuel (e.g. with the Swedish KBS-3 system) is much cheaper. Furthermore, reprocessing greatly increases the volume of waste and the hazards of dealing with it. We can only conclude that BNFL have either given up the intellectual argument over the future of nuclear power or are catering for very naive visitors. Anyone wishing to organise a visit to a BNFL site, obtain their publications or see their videos should write to: Information Services, BNFL, Sellafield, Seascale, Cumbria, CA20 1PG. Tel (09467) 27735.

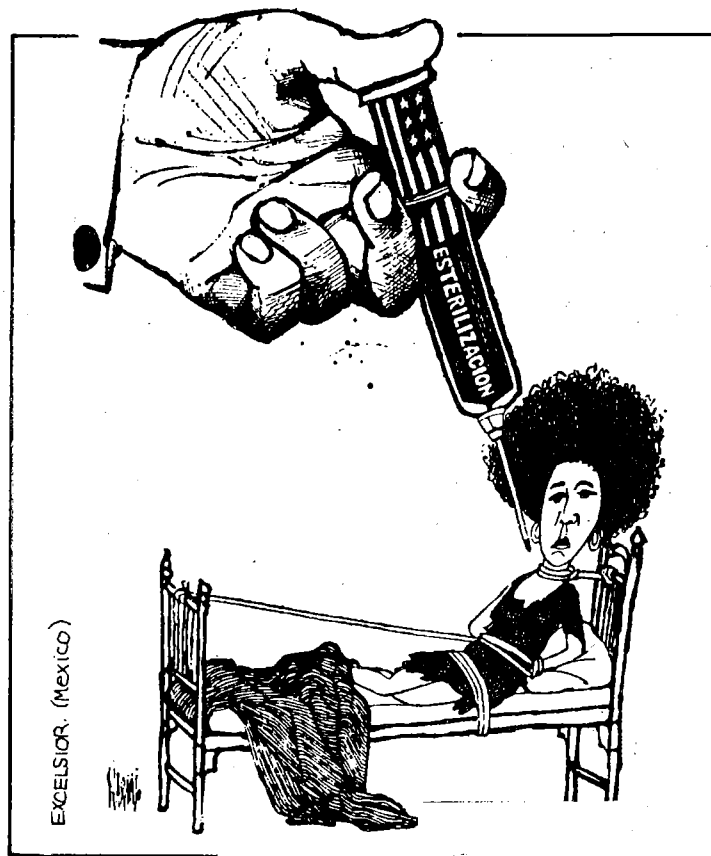


Last month in Green Line 59, JANET BIEHL set out some criticisms of deep ecology from an ecofeminist viewpoint. To conclude her article this month, she discusses deep ecology's analysis of the population 'problem'.

'Overpopulation' and ideology

The implications of deep ecology for ecofeminism are more than theoretical. As Devall and Sessions in their book Deep Ecology: Living as if Nature Mattered so confidently and correctly point out, there are political implications as well as theoretical ones in their viewpoint. "Certain outlooks on politics and public policy flow naturally from this [deep ecological] consciousness." At the March 1987 conference on ecofeminism at the University of Southern California, George Sessions expounded the principles of deep ecology before an audience of ecofeminists. He read point number four, which states: "The flourishing of human life and culture is compatible with a substantial decrease of the human population. The flourishing of nonhuman life requires such a decrease." It is a central thesis of deep ecology that there are too many people on the planet. According to Arne Naess, "I should think we must have no more than 100 million people if we are to have the variety of cultures we had a century ago." Deep ecologists invoke Malthus on the issue: "Malthus, in 1803, presented an argument indicating that human population growth would exponentially outstrip food production, resulting in 'general misery', but his warning was ignored by the rising tide of industrial/ technical optimism," lament Devall and Sessions. Now, Malthus is notable for his view that population increases geometrically (1,2,4,8) while food supply grows only arithmetically (1,2,3,4). This view has repeatedly been shown to be false since his day - even during his lifetime agriculture and industry were growing faster than the population.

But Malthus is also notable for his view that forces such as disease and starvation will relieve 'overpopulation', as if by natural law and that nothing should be done to mitigate suffering from social conditions. This includes women's suffering at the hands of men: "It may appear to be hard that a mother and her children, who have been guilty of no particular crime themselves, should suffer for the ill conduct of the father but this is one of the invariable laws of nature; and knowing this we should think twice upon the subject and be very sure of the ground on which we go before we presume to counteract it." No friend of women would call obedience to men an "invariable law of nature", yet deep ecologists ask ecofeminists to take this writer, John Hess in *The Nation* 18.4.87, to heart on overpopulation. At the USC conference, Sessions interrupted his own recitation to patronizingly ask ecofeminists what they intended to do about the overpopulation problem. He stated that the ecofeminist position on population was as yet unclear to him. Well let's try and make it clear.



Ecofeminists understand that men have historically mined women for reproductive capacity as they have mined nature for its resources; the domination of nature and the domination of women have been parallel. As feminists of all tendencies have stressed, childbearing and child rearing are often onerous and often obviate any other kind of work. The denial to women of reproductive choice has often entailed a suppression of their development and personality, a curtailment of their selfhood and freedom and a foreclosure of any future but one of childbearing. By denying women their selfhood in the name of a denial of ego, men have often reduced women to mere baby making machines, that is to only one of their many biological functions. They have curtailed women's participation in society's second nature - in culture - thus denying them the full exercise of both their first and second nature, their biological selfhood. Which is not to say that many women don't choose to have children or that their childbearing capacity is not important to them. But, in varying degrees throughout the world, men have tried to leave women with little choice in life except to be childbearers. In some patriarchal cultures, a plenitude of children enhances a man's status in society. Fortunately, women have responded to this in recent years by demanding full control over their own reproductive capacities. Women do not want childbearing to be mandated by the status requirements of male culture. Whether women decide to have or not to have children, the decision must ultimately be theirs.

Apparently, it must be spelt out to Sessions that a woman's participation in society as a political, social, intellectual and emotional being often goes hand in hand with her decision not to have children or to have fewer than men want for their status needs. Amazingly, at a conference whose stated goal, among others, was to make the connections between deep ecology and ecofeminism, Sessions completely failed to grasp that the answer to the 'overpopulation problem' was staring him directly in the face: feminism itself. Perhaps the most important single factor today in reducing population growth is the increasing control women have over their bodies and reproduction. Sessions' inability to grasp this is more than just myopia. Although embracing feminism as

a solution to 'overpopulation' clearly would best solve what he sees as a serious problem, it would also wreak havoc on his sexist ideology, for an alliance with ecofeminism would entail including women as full participating, individuated persons with rational selves into his political movement. But his ideology, which prescribes selflessness for women and asks them to "think like a mountain", could not contain this; indeed it would blow it apart - for in deep ecology, woman is the model nonbeing, the model 'thinking mountain'.

The solution to 'overpopulation' that Sessions et al. propose is fertility programmes. "Optimal human carrying capacity should be determined for the planet as a biosphere and for specific islands, valleys and continents. A drastic reduction in the rate of growth of population of homo sapiens through humane birth control programs is required." It is only too well known that so-called fertility programmes often become programmes to sterilise both Third World women and women of colour in the United States. Far from granting women free choice in reproduction, these programmes often coerce women into not having children at all. Because deep ecology lacks a commitment to the full actualisation of all women's potentialities, particularly their selfhood, there is no more in its recipes that would prevent the coercive rationalisation of women into reproductive factories than there is in present patriarchal governments. It would be arrogant and presumptuous beyond belief for a group of white men wandering around in a 'wilderness', experiencing 'humility' in a nature that they see as irrational - as irrational as they think women are - to tell women whether women should give birth. Equally, it would be foolish beyond belief for women to allow them to do so.

• Don't buy self-oblivion!

Despite all their piety about wilderness and nature, deep ecologists' 'solutions' to 'overpopulation' would rationalise women in the same way that modern industrial society rationalises nature, producing the very society that deep ecologists denounce. They condemn industrial society in one breath and in the next demand the technique of fertility programmes. They would rationalise women in the name of an emancipatory nature. They would deprive women of reproductive choice in the name of a spiritual connectedness with the natural world. They would ask women to do without individuality and control over their own lives in the name of "humility" toward the natural world. And they would ask women to give up their awareness of boundaries - and, by extension, of oppression - in the name of countering anthropocentrism.

Despite the schism between deep ecology, with its avoidance of social and natural history, and social ecology, with its orientation toward these histories, male deep ecologists seem intent nonetheless on forming an alliance with ecofeminists. Ecofeminists have nothing to gain from such an embrace: the alleged affinities between deep ecology and ecofeminism exist mainly in the minds of deep ecologists. Deep ecology's strange mixture of macho John Wayne confrontations with 'wilderness' and Taoist platitudes about self-effacement is suited more to privileged white men with a taste for outdoor life than to feminists in their struggle for selfhood, individuation and a truly human status in both nature and society. Deep ecology simply traps women in a nonsensical and circular argument. Both social ecofeminists and spiritual ecofeminists have by and large resisted the attempted seduction by deep ecology. Ecofeminists roundly hissed Sessions at the USC conference in response to his question about overpopulation. Ecofeminism's affinities, if it is to have any, must be with a tradition that stresses ecological individuation and harmony rather than deep ecological self-oblivion.

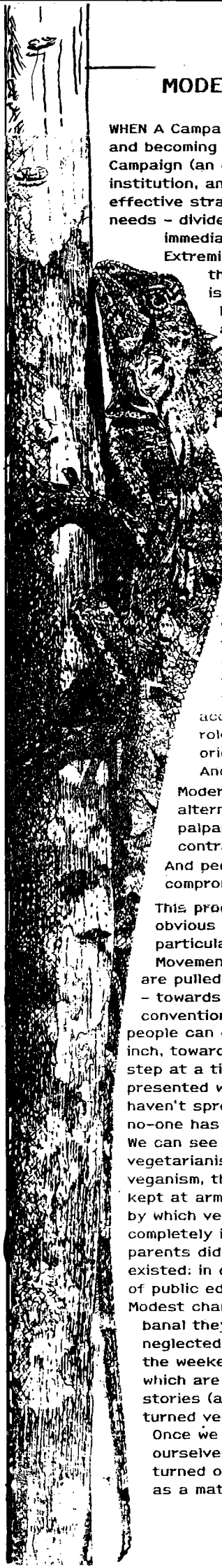
MODERATES AND EXTREMISTS:

WHEN A Campaign starts gathering momentum and becoming a Threat, the Target of the Campaign (an organisation, a state, an institution, an industry) deploys its most effective strategy - indeed the only one it needs - divide and rule. The Campaign is immediately split into Moderates and Extremists. The Moderates are wooed by the powerful, and a wordless pact is concluded along the following lines: the Moderates are dropped a few crumbs now and again (an odd piece of reform, a few few gestures or promises) on condition that the Extremists, those radicals with their impossible demands, are kept at bay. The Moderates grow fat on the crumbs; the modest successes bring in new members; the Campaign gets rich, generates its own protest industry, along with jobs for the Leaders. This cosy arrangement, however, can be jeopardised at any moment if the Extremists become too visible. The powerful don't need to attack the radicals any more: the Moderates do the job for them. The two groups by this time have themselves long accepted this definition of their roles - positions defined originally by their opponents.

Another advantage of putting the Moderates forward as the only real alternative is that their position is palpably shot through with contradictions and inconsistencies.

And people aren't fooled - the shoddy compromises are only too apparent.

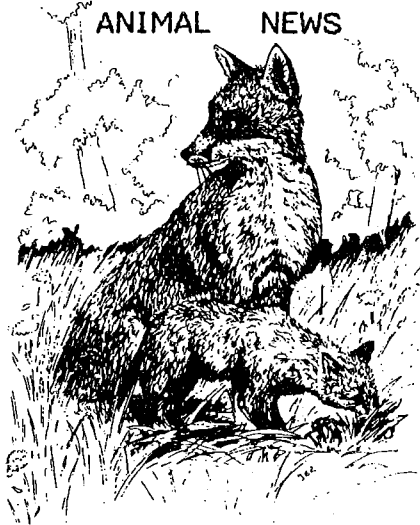
This process and these divisions are obvious in most campaigns, but particularly in the Animal Rights Movement. Our policies and alliances are pulled in these two opposite directions - towards complete polarisation. The conventional 'moderate' wisdom is that people can only be coaxed, inch by painful inch, towards our position: one feebly modest step at a time! And so no-one is ever presented with a real choice: if our ideas haven't spread very widely it's because no-one has ever bothered to spread them! We can see this happening with respect to vegetarianism, promoted on the grounds that veganism, that most extreme position, must be kept at arm's length. This is part of a process by which veganism actually becomes completely invisible. Until I became a vegan my parents didn't even know that such beings existed: in other words the elementary work of public education hasn't even begun yet. Modest chances to spread the word, however banal they may seem, must not be neglected - the use of local newspapers, the weekend freebies, or local radio, all of which are looking for 'human interest' stories (an article on the lines of 'How I turned vegan and lived!' for example). Once we are given a chance to explain ourselves, the conventional wisdom gets turned on its head: veganism is revealed as a matter of simple commonsense, its



A FAIRY TALE

arguments basic and obvious (after all, if we can live healthily and happily without using and abusing animals, why do so?) - while at the other extreme are the bizarre and inexplicable cruelties, the monstrous baroque madness (there is no other word for it) of the animal abuse industries. One task is to reject the terms and definitions of our opponents, and gain a new flexibility of outlook: to be infinitely respectable, and infinitely subversive, both at the same time.

• Barry Maycock



Graphic: In Richardson

* If you find veganism a reactionary compromise, go fruitarian! Leaflets from Wilfred Crone, 14 Walkford Way, Christchurch, Dorset BH23 5LR.

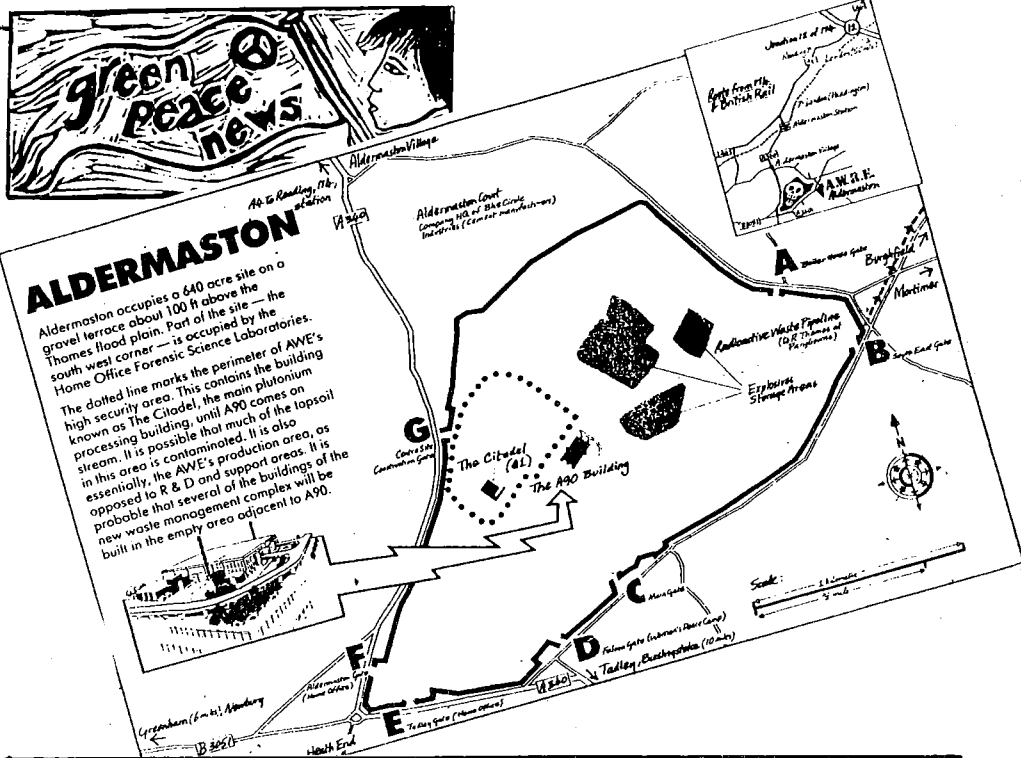
LONDON ANIMAL RIGHTS NETWORK

The first meeting of LARN will be on Sunday 6th March from 2 to 6pm in the large meeting room above the Fallen Angel pub, 65 Graham St, N1. The aim of LARN is to build contact and solidarity between activists and local groups in the London region. Anyone who is genuinely concerned about the exploitation of animals and who believes that a movement of active local groups is the best way of fighting it is welcome. Two of the capital's most active local groups, London Greenpeace and Islington Animal Rights Campaign, have already expressed their enthusiasm, and will be there.

For more details contact: Box LARN, 83 Blackstock Rd, London W4.

EVENTS:

MARCH 7: Islington Animal Rights Campaign public meeting: 'Animals in Prison'. Joe Philips of Zoo Check will present a slide-show and discuss the campaign to defend animals in captivity; 7.30 at the Gillespie Neighbourhood Office, 102 Blackstock Rd, N4. Contact IARC, Box 17, 83 Blackstock Rd, N4.
MARCH 10: London Greenpeace Public Meeting: 'Direct Action Under Attack'. Robin Lane, ex-press officer of the Animal Liberation Front, will discuss the state's recent attacks on the direct action wing of the animal rights movement in the past two years, the upcoming trials of ALF activists and supporters; 7.30pm at 6 Endsleigh St, WC1. Contact London Greenpeace, 5 Caledonian Rd, N1 (01.837 7557).



PEACE DIARY

MARCH 2: The unofficial peace movement in the Soviet Union forum 7.30 pm, 421 Park Road, Loughborough.

MARCH 8: Women's lobby of MPs, 2 pm at Westminster Gallery, for legislation for the protection of children from radiation. Contact 46 Woodstock Road, Sheffield 7 (0742 550262).

MARCH 16-24: Central America Week: 01.631 5173.

MARCH 17: CND Open Day at Underwood Street. Send SAE to Denise Servante at CND. Meet the personalities behind the faces, the faces behind the names, the names behind the initials!

MARCH 19: A one-day conference of the Anti-Nuclear Network, a grassroots national movement campaigning against nuclear power, 10am-5pm, at Jacksons Lane Community Centre, Archway Road, London N6.

APRIL 1: London-Aldermaston March. The original Aldermaston march took place at Easter 1958 to protest against Britain's bomb. Thirty years later campaigners are marching again in CND's first major event of 1988. The march from London to the Atomic Weapons Establishment at Aldermaston will start from Hyde Park Corner, where people will assemble at 9.30am, and the 50 miles will be covered in four days, with overnight accommodation provided for those who register for the walk before March 16th. Ancient duffle-coats can be dusted down for this occasion.

APRIL 4: Easter Monday demonstration at Aldermaston. Assemble 12 noon: encircle the place at 2pm, covering the fence with peace symbols - itself an illegal act, though the police of course won't do anything on this occasion. The sad thing is that the fence will be cleared with venomous efficiency as soon as everyone has gone home. CND advise against invading the place, which is supposed to be highly radioactive. Just up the road is the bomb factory at Burghfield, an establishment so secret that its existence must be forgotten as soon as mentioned, for reasons of national security.

APRIL 9: The next Cruise Resistance meeting will take place at 11.30am at Southampton University Students Union on University Road Southampton. All people opposed to Cruise missiles welcome! Contact Di on 0703 554434.

THE EAST Anglian Alliance Against Nuclear Power is preparing some actions for 1988. There will be a weekend of events on March 26-28, and anyone interested should contact the Alliance, Home Farm, North Green, Parham, Woodbridge, Suffolk. IP13 9NW, tel. 0728 724432. Later on there will be a summer action, a major act of civil disobedience. Let's all be there!

* Peace News, in continuous circulation since 1936, has stopped publication for a while, and will be relaunched in a newspaper format in September 1988. There are plans for an interim promotional issue published for the Aldermaston march in April, and news, articles, and letters for this will be welcome (sent to 8 Elm Avenue, Nottingham). PN will reappear with a clearer political direction, concerned not merely with disarmament, but with all aspects of the current political situation, from its perspective of revolutionary non-violence.

The chill winds of shrinking finance are also blowing through the Sanity offices; CND's monthly magazine is due to be revamped as a slimmer publication, with 'Campaign!' as a centre pullout.



HOW GL ALLOWS OPPRESSION

I once said to myself I'd never read GL again! I'd like to tell you why - and why, many months later, I still feel uneasy about re-subscribing.

I stopped buying the mag early in 87 in protest at your decision to publish an attack on lesbians and gays (Letters: GL45, GL47). I remember being shaken at the time by the viciousness of the attack. You published a letter of mine and reaffirmed your intention to include in GL a wide range of opinions, not all of which you necessarily hold.

It was a consequence of just this policy that hurt and angered me last Spring, and it's your 'blanket' commitment to, or blind faith in, this policy that I wish to challenge. Sticking to your liberal 'open space' principle was, in the instance to which I refer, wrong.

One reason it was wrong is an obvious one to people who suffer the

disadvantages of lesbian or gay 'minority status'. You published material abusing our community - denying us our right to be and our right to love - and treated that material as a contribution to debate. This implies that our rights to love and existence are issues open to debate in the first place. The very terms of such a debate are offensive.

This false debate - false, because our rights are inalienable - opened with a torrent of heterosexual invective. You chose not to allow lesbians and gays a right of reply in the same issue or, in fact, any guarantee to a right of reply at all. The attack on us was malicious, ill-informed and downright dangerous. Publishing it despite this, you certainly should have elicited a response from the lesbian and gay community. Instead you published a



ECONOMIC LAWS AND THE BASIC INCOME SCHEME

In his reply to me (GL59), Adam Buick reasserts that "the present economic system is governed by inexorable economic laws which cannot be controlled by governments". Certainly this is true of existing governments, for the simple reason that they are the tools of the people who put them there: the manipulators of finance and the media. It would be naive indeed to believe that the Green Party has an easy task ahead of it to bring in its proposed economic reforms, even once it has gained a mandate to do so - but to assert that this is impossible is equally naive.

In asserting that "if an attempt were made to tax profits away ...it [the economy] would obviously tend to grind to a halt" Adam ignores that this is done now, although to a much smaller extent than we propose. To cite the Labour Party's failure is to ignore the differences in both aims and means in our policies. The Basic Income Scheme, introduced progressively, would, with our other policies, transfer economic power progressively back to 'the people' - the one-person businesses and small cooperatives that are already beginning to increase in number despite the obstacles of this economic system, in response to its failure to cater for their needs.

What will be difficult in this transition is overcoming, not "these laws", but vested interests seeking to maintain them. Their near-total control of the mass media is just one of our problems.

Adam should have read my letter more carefully. I did not describe his

proposals as "totalitarian", but said I could see no way of introducing them "overnight" without totalitarian means - which themselves would seem inconsistent with his aims. He has not answered this dilemma. I myself regard the moneyless, free-access (anarchist) society as the only eventual, rational way for society to be organised; but the stumbling blocks in the way are not only the "economic laws" we must change, but also the conditioning this society has imposed on most of its members, which they cannot be expected to overcome "overnight". Hence the vital need for a transitional program, of which the Basic Income Scheme must be a key element.

Brian Leslie
12 Queens Rd
Tunbridge Wells
Kent TN4 9LU

Adam Buick (GL59) seems unable to distinguish 'profit' from rent, or the ownership of land from that of other sorts of property like machinery and vehicles. He also assumes, without any supporting evidence, that 'capitalism' is intrinsically evil.

In the strict dictionary sense, capitalists are those who use their accumulated possessions in a business enterprise (i.e. rather than on profligate living). There is nothing wrong with enterprise - it has produced most of the material well-being of our present society. Capitalism is in fact a tool which can be used for good or evil ends. Our task as greens is not, as Adam

claims, to seek a viable alternative to capitalism but rather to ensure that the capitalist mechanism is used for the benefit of Mother Earth and all her children.

Most people today have been excluded from most of the land. There may be good technical reasons for control of access to some areas; but there can be no natural justice in reserving the benefits of such control for the exclusive enjoyment of the occupiers. In a modern industrial and technical society, Basic Income may be seen as a replacement for the basic territorial rights we have lost. Adam Buick argues that, because taxing away all profits would make the economy grind to a halt, therefore we cannot tax land. Not true! It simply does not follow.

The green position is that we should raise revenue by taxing the unimproved site value of all land (possibly leaving a small personal allowance untaxed as is currently done with income tax) and should use some of this revenue to subsidise a basic income paid to all resident British citizens as of right - a sort of negative poll tax.

Land tax and Basic Income are not concerned with 'profits' and could certainly be made to work within the present economic system, with or without Social Credit reforms. A quantum leap it may be, but it could still be seen as an evolution rather than revolution - and as such possible to achieve, rather than a mere pipe dream.

Owen Dumpleton
36 Partridge Close
Washington 6
Tyne and Wear
NE38 0ES

TO FORCE FALSE DEBATES

'disclaimer' written (sorry if I misrepresent anyone!) by a straight collective. Distancing yourselves as sympathetic heterosexuals from a fairly 'anti' contribution to a discussion on 'should gays be allowed' actually puts no distance between yourselves and the offensive nature of that discussion.

The 'disclaimer' is an editorial device designed to ease your sense of guilt in allowing oppressive polemic a legitimate slot in the pages of your progressive magazine. But however much you use this liberal device to disown oppression, you ultimately can't disclaim responsibility from providing oppression with a proper platform to begin with.

Oppression is, at base, a fusion of prejudice and power. While the words of a person who incites oppression can be treated as the rantings of a prejudiced individual, you shouldn't

ignore the fact that there's also in those rantings an ingredient of real power. It's the presence of power - institutionalised power - that makes such rantings more than expressions of contentious individualism. Please don't allow this systematically reproduced and supremely confident power a place in GL. It has appropriated almost all the space in the world for itself, and we need an alternative.

In one case at least, you have failed to identify how the double-edged weapon of prejudice and power uses the magazine to promote oppression. This is why I'd like to challenge your present policy of indiscriminately opening your doors to whatever walks in. Know what you sometimes print! Know what one hand does to hurt while the other helps....!

Norma Barclay

REGIONALIST ALLIANCES NOT FUTILE POPULAR FRONTISM!

The inter-party dialogue now in the air is interesting for its own sake, but is there a purpose to it? Where is it to go and what result is aimed at? This aspect wasn't touched on in the commentaries of Brig Oubrigger or Jon Carpenter (GL58 & 59). In the absence of a particular goal, is there not a danger that the initial sense of progress will fizzle out? We can imagine the initial exploration of common ground followed by the Liberals saying "we believe everything you believe - join us, we have the most realistic chance at government". And the Green Party members will say "Join us - we are the deepest green and the party of the future."

The article in GL55 by a Liberal, Felix Dodd, may have been a portent of the future. For what he actually said in it was that all greens should unite behind a popular front which he said should be the new merged Alliance Party. Ken Livingstone and Johnathon Porritt, he suggested, should join his party. This is completely unrealistic. Below his article was another example by Tim Cooper in which he suggested that disillusioned Liberals should join the Green Party. Is this then his real purpose in inter-party dialogue with the Liberals?

When it comes to the crunch, Green Party members will not change to Labour or the Alliance. Labour members, even SERA members, would

never contemplate joining the Green Party. As for Liberals, the fact that they are engaging in dialogue as Liberals would seem to indicate self-confidence, or else they would simply join the Green Party.

What then is the alternative to a futile 'popular frontism'? Why not invite Liberals and Labour members to join in a campaign for the Alternative Member System (AMS)? Under AMS, all greens could work together. If Mrs Thatcher wins the next election there will be unprecedented pressure within the Labour Party for PR. The day after such an election would be an excellent time for marches protesting for AMS. What reason might there be for Liberals and Labour members refusing to join such a campaign? Could it be that they would rather keep the Green Party out of Parliament and offer their party as a single popular front?

Meanwhile the opportunity exists to construct the first leg of realignment quickly and with ease in the May elections. Between them, Mebyon Kernow, the Wessex Regionalists, the Orkney Movement, the Shetland Movement and Plaid Cymru have an interest in 97 parliamentary seats. There is no way they can cover all the local seats to be contested. It should be easy for Area Green Parties to approach them, agree some common policies and share the seats. Ballot sheets could then read, for example, either "Green Party (supported by Wessex Regionalists)" or "Wessex Regionalists (supported by the Green Party)".

Mark Kinzley
7 Haysham Ave
Gants Hill, Ilford

THE EFFECTS OF RELIGIOUS INTOLERANCE

I would like to raise an issue close to the heart of Pagan greens, a Pagan being one who dwells 'outside the city walls', as opposed to an urban or town dweller.

In urban areas, little remains of the old religion, but we who live in rural parts are lucky enough to have many sacred wells, standing stones, stone circles and oak groves where we can gather to worship or be alone with the gods and goddesses. Many people with only vague or nonexistent spiritual beliefs still feel the power of the old religion when they visit these holy places and connect with the ancient presence there.

However, many of our sacred sites are now closed to us. Stonehenge is an obvious example, but other lesser-known stone circles and standing stones are no accessible. How would a Christian or Jew respond if he or she were to be chased out of the local parish church or synagogue by an irate farmer with a shotgun? How would a Muslim feel if someone put a wire fence round the mosque?

In a society which proclaims religious tolerance, Pagans are treated as second-class citizens, our rituals derided and our churches treated as ancient curiosities and destroyed by modern farming methods. When will Pagan places of worship be given the same stature in law as Christian churches?

The Pagan religion teaches a respect for the earth which no religion can with God stuck 'up there'. We see our creation in creation, not in some stained-glass window. We feel her power beneath our feet, not in some man-made stone church. The old religion has an essential role to play today because it respects the earth as holy and sacred; not something to be exploited, but a gift to be cherished, as much a part of ourselves as we are of it.

When the established church teaches us to be dominant over nature and over our natural and instinctive feminine selves and when all other paths teaching an awareness of creation and love of the earth are subtly undermined, ignored or ridiculed then there can be little hope for our mother earth.

G.Fox
Llanfedw
Llanfynydd
Carmarthen



© ONE DAY WHILE SPRAYING THE YARD WITH INSECTICIDE, EDGAR STOPS TO REFLECT.

CONTROL!

STORY + ART © Matt Fezell '81

FUNNY THING ABOUT THIS STUFF...



...IT KILLS BUGS BUT LEAVES THEIR OFFSPRING STRONGER THAN EVER!



I USE MORE EVERY YEAR AND EVEN SO THESE ANTS ARE BIG ENOUGH TO PAY RENT!



AND THE COCKROACHES...

EDGAR! COME QUICK!



Thanks to Semiotext[e]

MORE..... NEXT MONTH!!

THEY'RE AT IT AGAIN!

BAN THE BUG BOND

