

GREEN *Line*

No 67 / NOVEMBER 1988 / 60p

Die Grunen activist Interviewed

Green Party Conference report

Flies at the I.M.F. Honey-pot

Genocide in the rainforests

Break In at Upper Heyford

Killing off homeopathy?



**SAVE FORESTS SAVE PLANET
THE FORESTS THE PLANET**

GREEN Line

No 67 / NOVEMBER / 60p

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

Monthly magazine of
Green politics and lifestyle

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

COVER PICTURE by Paul Peter Plech for Oxford FoE group. Available as envelope address labels, 50 for £1, bulk discounts available. All profits to rainforest campaigns. Write OxFoE, 379 Meadow Lane, Oxford OX4 4BL

SUBSCRIPTIONS

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

ENVELOPES

Whenever GL is printed with 24 pages we won't use envelopes so as to keep in the lowest letter rate. If you want an envelope nevertheless, please send £1 which will cover the next ten 24-page issues.

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DEADLINES

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

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5p/word

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GNOMON MAGAZINE, issue 3, 30p + A5 s.a.e. Articles, poetry, news, Stonehenge solstice riot plus festival report 88, paganism, poetry, Autumn Equinox at Stonehenge, Silbury Hill, Leicester crop mark ring mystery. From John Harrison, 2 Baggrave View, Barsby, Leics. LE7 8RB

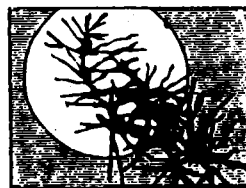
HOCKLEY HOUSE of the New University Project has "vacancies" for two women interested in mixed communal living, organising skills/ knowledge events, radical education, being involved in a vegan cafe/peace centre in Brum, organic gardening (to name a few things!) For lots more info contact/visit 24 South Rd, Hockley, Birmingham B18 Tel: 021-551-1679

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TWO MULES housing co-op would like to advise other groups interested in housing themselves co-operatively. Please contact 34 Belle Vue Rd, Bristol BS5 6DS (0272) 522131

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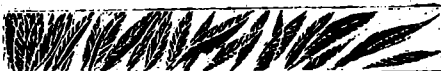
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COMMENT

WHAT ARE WE to make of the 1988 conference season? Has green, as *The Economist* of 15.10.88 noted, become "the world's new political colour"? On the one hand, we have the established political leaders, led by Thatcher, claiming ever greater concern for the environment, but on the other hand we have an economic system that is becoming ever harsher and un-green in its effects on people and the planet. The media too always love an issue around which our gutsy little nation can 'unite' be it the Falklands, starving foreigners or ozone depletion.

At first sight then it appears that we are merely seeing astute politicians playing for a new constituency which they sense to be lurking behind them; a realisation that green votes could hold the balance in a significant number of constituencies in the coming Euro-elections. We need to expose this green charade for what it is. We can do this both by hammering home what it really takes to be green on economics, social justice etc. and by showing that even in their own terms the Tories, for example, are talking contradictory nonsense on green issues.

But beyond the immediate wonders of the Silly Season, capitalism is changing - and not for the better. Marxism Today recently identified it all as New Times. We need to analyse these changes and respond to them.

Arguing with eco-Thatcherism

It's testament to the dominance that Thatcher exercises over Britain's hacks and politicians that she merely has to make one speech on environmentalism in order to transform it into the issue of the day. Yet we've seen this all before: as Hugo Young recently pointed out in *The Guardian*, "no trend, however fashionable, and no buzz-word, however transitory, is incapable of being discovered within the timeless tradition of conservatism". Thus, with little more than the repetition of bare-faced lies, has Thatcher since 1979 claimed concern for the inner cities, concern over

rising crime and concern about the NHS as Tory territory despite the fact that in all these areas, it is her government's policies that have done most to create a sense of crisis in the first place.

And so, as in the previous cases, this new concern for the environment and other aspects of greenery will prove to need no more than cosmetic action, perhaps a laudatory advertising campaign. There certainly won't be any examination of the effects of untrammelled economic growth, no choices made between development and conservation (beyond that needed to retain Nimby-susceptible Tory seats in the green belt). Thus Thatcher can claim at Brighton that "there is nothing new or unusual about the Tory commitment to protect the environment. The last thing we want is to have environmental debts for our children to clear up." And, "Given our record, we are well-placed to take the lead with other governments in practical efforts to protect the wider world."

But then, when you've got a mind like Ridley's guarding the Ministry of the Environment, you can mouth platitudes in safety. Ridley, in recent interviews, has been dismissive of the idea of a 'green vote', and has trotted out that lame canard about emotional, sensationalist environmentalists yet again. His view is that each environmental problem must be dealt with in isolation and only when the scientific evidence of damage is overwhelming. The idea that each instance of pollution is just a symptom and that it is the economic system that must be attacked is of course beyond his ken. No doubt he'll still be trying to determine exactly which cigarette it was that gave him lung cancer as he lies puffing away on his death bed.

We have to drive home the truth that both in specific policies (e.g. cutting research on water pollution, obstructing EEC initiatives on pollution control) and because of the capitalist philosophy behind everything this government does it is quite impossible for them to be green. Ever.

The *Economist* editorial was more frank about this bizarre phenomenon of eco-capitalism (about as coherent as Judeo-Nazism). The writer struggled to reconcile the magazine's belief in the free market with a realisation that it can't be relied on to produce environmental concern. Consequently, 'discipline' is required in the form of government legislation and taxation. Yet if *The Economist*

admits this is needed for dealing with pollution then the coherence of the free market argument disappears and they might as well admit that discipline is needed for food production, social justice etc etc - all of which is anathema to the Thatcherites.

But they shouldn't be too alarmed since *The Economist* reassures us that "None of this need brake economic growth... Making and selling anti-pollution equipment is now big business". Great! We can look forward to the day when multi-nationals will have monopolised pollution production and pollution removal, just as they are currently doing with food seeds, fertilizers and pesticides. According to *The Economist*, the environment is to be reduced to just another costable benefit; just another consumer durable with built-in obsolescence. Thus "The simplest course is to ask individuals what they are prepared to pay for quieter streets or cleaner air, and regard that as the best measure of benefit. As voters grow richer, the amount they will be prepared to pay will rise." So now you know. Those children who have to play in streets poisoned by the lead from commuters' cars will have to wait till their parents get rich enough to choose to move to a cleaner area. Morality neatly reduced to economics.

Arguing with green consumerism

Now we might disregard Thatcher with a shrug were it not for the fact that, over the next few years, the green project may well be hijacked by the green consumerism. The schism has already been highlighted by the almost simultaneous publication of two books entitled *Green Pages*. In one of them however, the front inside cover sports an advert from Shell and the back inside cover an advert from BNFL. How can any publication calling itself 'green' even contemplate promoting these companies?

Green consumerism is seen by some as a transitional stage, and whilst it's better if we choose some products rather than others, consumerism does nothing to change the basic growth and profit oriented nature of the economy - indeed it actually creates a new market for the capitalists. Why should a predatory firm like Safeways be praised for stocking Ecover products while it continues to stock Unilever? If past history is anything to go by, the large stockist will simply see if Ecover sells profitably and then use their market strength to nail

Ecoveer to the floor before producing their own-brand version and driving the original supplier out of business.

Or take CFCs. As we have pointed out in GL before, many of the products using them are both totally superfluous and dangerous; switching to non-CFC versions of the same products allows people to continue wasteful consumer habits, with the added incentive that they feel they are doing something useful even as they consume. Aren't greens supposed to be trying to convince people that consumerism is a problem, not make them feel good about doing it? It's particularly sad to see Paul Ekins of TOES claiming in a recent issue of New Economics that "consumption of some sort can be an important contributor to human well-being. What might be termed the 'new economic' approach to consumption need not proceed from the assumption that we should seek to minimise it." That reads horribly like the start of a retreat from the more radical premises of TOES' original aims.

On the other hand Jonathon Porritt, writing in UK CEED Bulletin, acknowledges that the short-term advantages of green consumerism "are almost certainly outweighed by the simultaneous immunisation of such consumers against reality." The question then is, can he put that belief into practice at FoE? Because it must be admitted that the success of the CFC campaign (and it has worked superbly) is due in large measure to the fact that it adds to G.N.P.; it requires new products from the companies; it opens new markets; it does nothing whatsoever to challenge capitalism itself.

Morality goes to market

But eco-capitalism is not just a practical nonsense, it is also ethically obnoxious for it attacks the problem at the wrong end. Firstly, it should not be up to consumers whether or not to destroy the planet, it should simply be made impossible for the producers to create dangerous products in the first place. Otherwise multinationals will sell whatever they can get away with, as is seen with the marketing of agrochemicals and pharmaceuticals. Secondly, as The Economist unwittingly showed, consumer choice depends on having enough money to be able to choose. Inevitably therefore, the poorest in every society will be the last, if ever, to benefit from healthier food, a cleaner environment and so on. Green consumerism allows the timid and the better-off to feel they are doing something worthy without attacking

the real problem - capitalism, the tackling of which would threaten their own lifestyle. Green Consumerism may have its (limited) place, but in seducing us with the illusion of real progress it may well divert us from the wider task of creating a better world for all, rich and poor.

New Times...

So what of the wider picture; this sense of uncertainty and concern that both Thatcher and the greens are benefiting from?

"At the heart of New Times is the shift from the old mass-production Fordist economy to a new, more flexible, post-Fordist order based on computers, information technology and robotics. But New Times are about much more than economic change. Our world is being remade. Mass production, the mass consumer, the big city, big-brother state, the sprawling housing estate, and the nation-state are in decline: flexibility, diversity, differentiation, mobility, communication, decentralisation and internationalisation are in the ascendant. In the process our own identities, our sense of self, our own subjectivities are being transformed. We are in transition to a new era." So reckons Marxism Today (October 1988).

Coupled with these economic and social changes is a move, among radicals, to a more issue-based politics around feminism, anti-racism, international solidarity, and environmental concern. Naturally, MT sees the greens as one small component of a larger left-wing opposition whereas greens see MT's essentially economic analysis as only one part of a larger green whole. Only one of these views can be right.

The importance of the New Times analysis is in recognising the fracturing of capitalism; the move away from enormous unionised factories of mass-production to a globalised, decentralised world of numerous small markets - like green products - yet still firmly under the control of the same multinationals as before.

Many in the green movement appear to welcome these changes, especially in the way they break the power of trade unions and the centralised nation state, and in the way they ape some of the cherished hopes of the green manifesto on decentralisation, consumer power etc. But this is a particularly unfortunate view to take, as the new capitalism that Thatcher has glimpsed and ridden on for most of a decade, is as evil and unjust as the old Fordist capitalism. And

furthermore it is far harder to revolt against - who can see a future Labour (or Green) government reclaiming real control of any of the denationalised industries or its principles surviving the electronic blackmail of the flight of computerised capital?

...Bad Times

What is missing from MT's analysis is an acknowledgement that post-Fordism hasn't reached many parts of the world. Our new high-tech computerised world is built on the exploitation of peripheral, non-unionised (and therefore powerless) workers in thousands of Free Trade Zone factories of the forward-looking multinationals that we're all supposed to be admiring so much. New Times may mean the self-satisfaction of green consumerism and Mrxism Today Beaujolais Nouveau but it also means blighted, insecure lives for those at the bottom of all the little decentralised heaps around the globe. In the name of pursuing members those realistic unions like the EETPU are willing to collude in forming a dual labour market where a fortunate few are feted with jobs for life and union organised BUPA schemes while the majority of workers on the other side of this Japanese miracle face a life of insecure, peripheral employment backed by an underfunded and inadequate welfare state. Greens have to realise that the idea that we'll all be sitting at home happily tapping away at our computers and choosing our leisure time can only come true for the few elite professionals needed to service the robotic, new-age capitalist machine; for the rest it will be back to the sweatshop.

In the face of these unpleasant wider realities the true insignificance of green consumerism can be seen. Porritt (CEED Bulletin again) notes "a disturbing element of complacency among environmentalists." We do seem to have been basking uncritically in this Summer's sudden media fame. And soon green will be last year's fashion unless we take this opportunity and the coming Euro-election campaign to get across the full meaning of 'green'.

Eventually, the media are going to start asking hard questions themselves and we have to be able to answer convincingly. Otherwise green politics will continue to receive these periodical condescending pats on the head from the 'serious' politicians as they nick the odd idea here and there to patch up their worn-out ideologies. Don't let it happen.

FINANCING ECOLOGICAL DESTRUCTION

This is the title of a new booklet published by FoE, SI and other environmental and human rights groups around the world. It was released in Berlin to coincide with the recent World Bank/IMF jamboree, and details the "Dirty Half Dozen" World Bank projects, the causes of severe environmental degradation and the dislocation and destruction of tribal peoples and their cultures.

The projects described are:

- Brazil Power Sector (see last issue)
- Carajas Iron Ore Project, Brazil
- Sardar Sarovar dam, in India's Narmada valley
- Botswana Livestock Ill Project
- Indonesia's Transmigration Programme
- Pesticide treadmill in Sudan's Gezira cotton plantations.

The booklet concludes with a review of the roles of international bodies and how they could be reformed to preserve, rather than destroy, the world's natural heritage. It is available from Friends of the Earth, 26-28 Underwood St, London N1 7JQ for £1.50 (no p&p).

BRAZIL BURNING

The ecologist, author and film-maker, Herbie Girardet has recently returned from the Brazilian Forests where he witnessed immense fires, estimated to be covering 15% of Amazonia (an area of nearly twice the size of Britain). "On one seven-hour flight I saw the forests were on fire and ablaze the whole way". The burning, supported by government tax concessions, is being done to clear the land for cattle. Even that great supporter of ecological rape, the World Bank, accepts that the highest priority must be given to prevent further deforestation in Amazonia.

Rainforest soils soon deteriorate once the forests are gone and in just a few years the cleared forest turns into a desert. But burning itself also releases huge quantities of carbon dioxide - estimates of the order of millions of tons - which will contribute to the greenhouse effect, and the ability of the forests to regulate weather patterns is lost.

A campaign has started to "stop Brazil burning", calling on people to write to the Brazilian Ambassador (32 Green Street, London W1) urging a halt to the destruction, and to join a boycott of Brazilian meat products: remember, those cattle were reared and murdered in the graveyard of one of this planet's most vital ecosystems.

Contacts: Herbie Girardet 01 969 6375 (evenings) & Nicolas Albery 01 229 7253 (day & evenings).

ETHICAL EAT-OUTS

VEGE TABLES, Vegetarian Restaurants Guide, London Vegans, available from them at 7 Deansbrook Road, Edgware, Middlesex HA8 9BE, price 50p. If you are looking for an inexpensive guide to vegetarian and vegan eating places in the London area, this small directory is worth getting hold of. Printed on 100% recycled paper, it gives brief but comprehensive information about a large number of establishments, including opening

HABITAT CHOPS WOOD

The retail group Habitat has announced that it is phasing out the sale of products containing tropical hardwoods. Two of the woods used by Habitat, iroko and anegre, come from the forests of West Africa, where up to 90% of forest has been lost to commercial logging among other incursions. With 95% of the UK's tropical timber imports derived from ecologically destructive forestry, Habitat's change of timber consumption should be quite welcome. Could this be a suitable example to persuade other tropical timber users to change too?

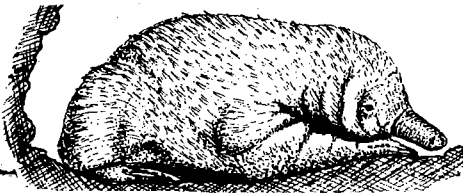
In the same month of Habitat's apparent repentance it was announced that British timber importers intend to raise \$30m annually for a tropical forest management and conservation fund, a move welcomed by FoE. The fund was first proposed by FoE in 1985, and would be raised by placing a surcharge on tropical timber imports and would be administered by the international Tropical Timber Organization. The UK Timber Trade Federation has said that it received unanimous backing for the scheme at a meeting of importers on 12th September.

Although FoE have welcomed this important move, they are aware that this alone is not enough to save the rainforests. According to FoE's Rainforest Campaigner Simon Counsell "The proposed surcharge should be seen as an insurance policy provided by the trade against the disappearance of an essential raw commodity and the invaluable environmental services provided by tropical forests. It would also be recompense for lack of care in the past."

However, this measure alone will not satisfy the growing demand for stricter controls on a devastatingly destructive industry. Any new funds available for tropical forestry should be directed at improving management of areas already being exploited, not at opening up new logging concessions in pristine forests. Timber importers should also adopt a Code of Conduct to ensure that imports are derived only from well-managed, ecologically sound areas, and these initiatives should be conducted in association with all other European Community timber trades.

Clearly the pressures of greens and environmentalists on the tropical timber trade are having some effect. Let us keep the pressure up.

For more information about FOE's Tropical Rainforest Campaign contact Simon Counsell or Koy Thomson, FOE, 26-28 Underwood Street, London N1 7JQ, 01 490 1555/03



hours, type of service and even the nearest tube and BR stations.

One small moan is that all the entries are lumped together in alphabetical order which would make it difficult to find an appropriate restaurant in, say, North East London. Dividing the list into regions or even different boroughs would make this task much easier. Nevertheless, at 50p a copy, it is a worthwhile buy if you live in London and are stuck for places to go for cruelty-free cuisine.

RIGHT LIVELIHOOD

Two of this year's Alternative Nobel Peace Prizes, the Right Livelihood Award, go to Sahabat Alam (Friends of the Earth) Malaysia, with particular regard to their Sarawak office and its founder, Mohammed Idris, and to Jose Lutzenburger, a leader of the movement to save the forests of the Amazon.

The two other award winners are John Turner for his work on low cost, self-built housing, and Inge Kemp Genefke, founder and director of the International Rehabilitation and Research Centre for Torture Victims in Copenhagen. As well as saving the sanity of many victims his pioneering work has lifted the lid on the despicable involvement of doctors in torture in many countries supported by our government. Fortunately, Genefke's foundation is spreading to other European and southern countries.

The fact that the two recipients of the Award are in the forefront of the battle to save the world's rainforests and their inhabitants shows the increasing recognition of the importance of their cause. And it shows that "Right Livelihood" now means more than being vegetarian and buying recycled toilet paper - Right Livelihood means being a warrior for the Earth. Let Mohammed Idris and Jose Lutzenburger be an inspiration to us all.



All the award winners will be in Bradford for a conference on December 3rd. Contact Paul Ekins (0274) 737143 for details.

JUNK FREEPOST

An anonymous leaflet sent to Green Line contains a wickedly good idea for a tactic to use against military recruitment offices, multinationals and companies involved with animal abuse, human exploitation, ecological destruction and other nasties, if they have freepost addresses. It could be quite an effective tactic for group/ mass actions against particular targets.

What you do is send a heavy parcel of rubbish, scrap metal, concrete etc. to the freepost address, making sure that a) the parcel can be fitted through a letter box and B) you cannot be traced from the parcel. The result, increased postage fees and hassle for the recipient.

A similar sort of action that I heard about a few years ago is filling the freepost "please send me a brochure of....etc." forms that appear in so many adverts with the address of your target, so that they get bombarded with brochures, sales reps. etc; result, more hassle for them.

NETWORK

WHEN OZ IS US

Greenpeace Australia have discovered that their government has agreed to grant the U.S. the right to declare any U.S. ship and the waters within 1km of it U.S. territory in case of accident, sabotage etc! So if a reactor or missile were to blow up then the Australian emergency services would need U.S. permission to contain the radiation. And you can guess how keen they would be to have foreign experts crawling over their top secret toys after an accident.

Already there has been one reactor meltdown at sea, five reactors dumped on the ocean floor and over 20 nuclear missiles lost from U.S. vessels. So a serious port accident is not such a remote possibility. Does anyone know what our government has agreed to over American ship accidents?

AMERICAN COVER-UP OF JAPANESE WAR CRIMES

Gruesome human experiments carried out by the Japanese during the invasion of China killed 2000-3000 PoWs from China, Korea, Russia and the USA. They were infected with tetanus, tuberculosis, typhoid, plague, smallpox and anthrax, subjected to chemical weapons such as phosgene and mustard gas, and blasted by fragmentation bombs that ripped their flesh and exposed them to gangrene. In order to keep the information for its own programmes the US kept the findings secret and returned the Japanese doctors to their country to continue their careers.

READ ALL ABOUT IT!

Green Links, the mag for the student green network is out Nov 10th. It covers the poll tax, deserts, the North Sea, rainforests, the greening of Thatcher, building the peace movement. The mag came out of meetings at the New University over the last year. Send s.a.e. plus 50p to Green Links, Green Soc, Leeds University Union, PON (honest!) Box 157 Leeds LS1 1UH (0532) 430188. Cheap rates for bulk orders.

TAKES YOUR BREATH AWAY

FoE are calling for a boycott of Peugeot for their part in getting the French government to block an EEC move to cut NOx emissions from small cars. Local groups will leaflet Peugeot dealers. Make your own protests as well. Greenpeace have already run into problems in placing adverts against Ford who are hypocritically delaying a clean up of their engines in Europe, although they already have to back in the USA. Supposedly right-on papers like the Guardian have refused the ads. No prizes for guessing why.

FOOD POISONING DEPT 1

The growing evidence that agrochemicals are absorbed by fruits and vegetables, making washing only partially effective, highlights the inadequacy of current regulations on Maximum Residue Levels (MRLs) in food. For a start levels are only set for "the most important components of the average national diet." - there are no MRLs for celery, lettuce and spuds, partly because MAFF knows these particular vegetables are particularly affected by residues. Marks & Spencer have imposed their own limits on Tecnazene, a fungicide used on stored potatoes. It might be better to keep your apple core and throw away the rest.

FOOD POISONING DEPT 2

Bet you never knew how vital nuclear bomb-making was to the wholesome appearance of our food. CWF mag Agscene points out that one of the waste products of the nuclear process is Caesium 137, which can be used for food irradiation. So instead of having to dispose of their rubbish themselves the nuclear industry can make us pay to have it spread round the population.

GREEN DIARY

- NOV10: Leeds Green Action public meeting in Leeds Civic Hall at 7.30pm. Breaking Apartheid in Namibia. Call (0532) 430188
- NOV 11: FoE Annual Conference. Public meeting with Anita Roddick on "The Campaigning Consumer"
- NOV 12: Local Environmental Action Groups Conference organised by FoE. University of London Union, Malet St, London WC1. Phone FoE on 01 490 1555 for details of wide range of workshops.
- NOV 12: Third Newcastle Green Fair at Newcastle Arts Centre, 57 Westgate Rd, 10-4pm. Local & national groups, entertainment etc. Admission free; phone 091 281 4904
- NOV 12-13: FoE Conference proper
- NOV 16: What is Anarchism? Free Daychool for anarchists and greens at S.I.S. Holbrook Centre, Holbrook Rd, Plaistow, London E13. Come to learn/come to contribute. Write A's & G's c/o NELPSU, Maryland House, Manbey Park Rd, Plaistow, London E15
- NOV 18-20: School teachers course on renewable energy at Centre for Alternative Technology, Machynlleth. £55-£155 (how rich is your LEA?). Phone (0654) 2400
- NOV 25-26: FoE Cymru Conference in Newport
- NOV 28-29: Ozone Depletion Conference in London. Expert line up from NASA, British Antarctic Survey etc. But given the absurd cost (£60-£120) you might as well read about it in New Scientist later. Write O.D.C, 2 Marylebone Rd, London NW1 4DX
- NOV 30: What are the main threats to the planet? Daychool (definitely not £120), see NOV16 for details.
- DEC 3: Right Livelihood Award Winners will be speaking at the University of Bradford. Phone (0274) 737143 for details.

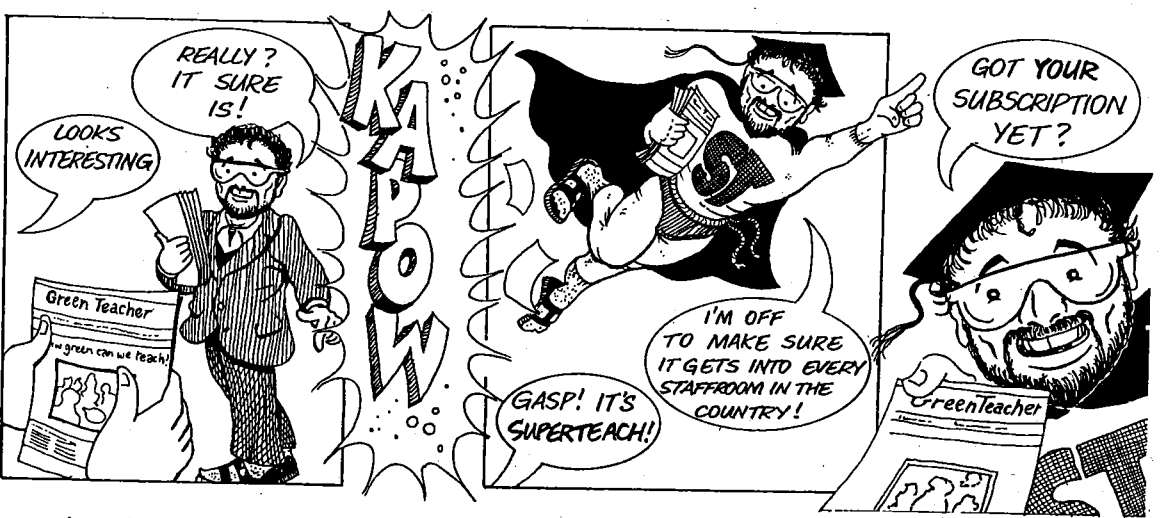
LOST PROPERTY DEPT

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GLASTONBURY (WOT, ALREADY?)

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AS EDUCATION SEEMS TO BE INEXORABLY PUSHED TOWARDS NARROW, ANTI-ECOLOGICAL, ANTI-HUMAN "TRAINING FOR JOBS", EVEN SUPERTEACH... IS ALMOST LOSING HEART..... BUT WAIT...



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NETWORK

NATURAL MEDICINES UNDER THREAT

Right now many natural medicines (herbal, homeopathic, anthroposophical, biochemic) are under threat because of the way in which the DHSS is interpreting the 1968 Medicines Act, and there are fears that a good number of them may be rendered unavailable, seriously impeding the practice of herbalism and homeopathy.

Under the Medicines Act, new medicines have to go through full clinical trials, and the DHSS is insisting on a review of natural medicines by the Medicines Commission with full clinical trials. At the moment herbal medicines are under this review and homeopathic, anthroposophical and biochemic medicines will follow from 1990 onwards.

The first major problem with these clinical trials is that they will be exactly the same trials as are used for brand new synthetic drugs. For a start there are doubts about the validity of these trials anyway: Opren, Debendox and Eraldin all passed the test to be later withdrawn from sale because of the damage that they caused. But, that aside, natural medicines work according to different principles to synthetic medicines, developed according to different medical ideologies.

There are no experts on the theory and practice of natural medicines represented on the assessment committees in charge of the review, so these medicines will be assessed by people unfamiliar with their therapeutic application. It is rather like getting an interior decorator to judge paintings.

The Natural Medicines Society, who are working to protect natural medicines and ensure that they continue to be available, have been trying to persuade the Government to give natural medicines a fair trial under people versed in the various disciplines. They have set up their Medical Advisory Research Committee to provide the specialist input should the DHSS be persuaded to take their advice.

Happily the NMS has some support in both Houses of Parliament, though it is not certain whether there is enough to force a change. The NMS could cite the experience of West Germany, where no one medical system has a monopoly position in the eyes of the Government and there are separate medical commissions for each principal medical philosophy, including homeopathic and herbal medicine.

However, even if alternative medicines are assessed along alternative medical lines there is the second major problem. Any natural medicines that pass the clinical trials would then only be available on prescription, i.e. from GPs. Well, how many GPs are knowledgeable about, never mind sympathetic towards, natural medicines and the holistic approach to cure? If this is to be the fate of natural medicines after review, it would mean that they would cease to be available to the majority of the public, thus further limiting our choice of treatment for our ailments.

A second threat to natural medicines comes from the EEC, who want to reclassify vitamins and supplements as part of the Single Market harmonization planned for 1992. Presently these products are classified as foods and can be sold in health food shops and the like, but the EEC wants to reclassify them as medicines and to restrict their sales to pharmacies. If this happens to vitamins and supplements, the NMS fear that all natural medicines and even such products as aspirins and cough mixtures would be similarly restricted. This would mean that, herbal and homeopathic suppliers, health

food shop owners and other people more knowledgeable about natural medicine will no longer be able to offer them to the public. Would the pharmacists, relatively ignorant of alternative medicine and (with few exceptions) prejudiced against whatever lies outside their customary province, stock natural medicines? It looks unlikely at first sight.

Moreover, to my suspicious mind, it looks like an excellent opportunity for the pharmaceutical industry and the pharmacist chains to take over the natural medicines market with the "opposition" (i.e. the health food shops etc.) put out of action. After all these big boys have got plenty of financial clout to muscle into the alternatives market anyway. Could we soon see homeopathic or herbal mixtures a la Glaxo or La Roche next to the Aspirins or the Anusol, reduced to mere "pill for this or that ill" status; just another product to be hyped for profit first before therapeutic value? Would these "schmalternatives" really be much better, if at all, than their orthodox equivalents?

The NMS is busy lobbying against the threats from both the DHSS and the EEC, and are calling for support in their campaign to keep natural medicines widely and freely available. Anyone wishing to join the NMS and help them in their struggle may contact them at Edith Lewis House, Back Lane, Ilkeston, Derbyshire DE7 8EJ.

These current problems facing alternative medicine, from the DHSS and the EEC, could easily be put down to bureaucratic indifference and similar factors at first sight, but I wonder if there is a more sinister undercurrent. Orthodox and alternative medicine, despite a certain amount of cooperation between experts and practitioners, are fundamentally different in philosophy and, let us face it, in competition for acceptance and use by the public. The orthodox medicine of the medical establishment, based on the idea of the body as a machine and concentration on disease management rather than actual cure of the person afflicted, is not exactly delivering the goods of generally better health. Perhaps, considering the vast amounts of money that are made from selling drugs to sick people and the massive vested interests involved in this trade, we should be wondering whether this really is the medical establishment's primary aim at all these days.

Anyway, more and more people are turning to alternative medicine, with its holistic principle of treating the whole person rather than just the disease (or the symptoms); often they turn to alternative therapies as a last resort after trying orthodox medicine and finding it seriously wanting. This must be worrying news to the large industrial and retail concerns who push out the drugs and other orthodox medical treatments.

There seem to be two ways of dealing with a movement that threatens the status quo. One is to try to put it down. This could be by ignoring, dismissing or attacking the movement's ideas and theories, as has happened over the centuries to alternative therapies that had to survive unaccepted by mainstream medical opinion. (Witness Nature Magazine's reluctance to accept the findings of Dr Jacques Benveniste's recent research into homeopathy) Or it could be by actual suppression, as in the US Food and Drug Administration's clamp-down on Wilhelm Reich's work with orgone energy.

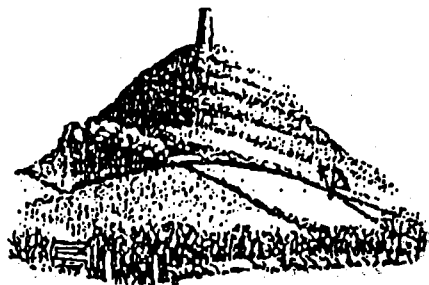
Another way of dealing with a threat to

orthodoxy is to absorb it into the system while changing it so that it is no longer a threat. There are already signs of this in the green/alternatives movement at large e.g. Green Consumer Week (as if consumerism is green), the Realo factions in the Green parties and the Conservative Party's recent leap onto the environmentalist bandwagon.

Could the same thing be happening to alternative medicine? It is quite possible for the medical establishment to take in alternative medicine on its terms. Some doctors are taking short courses in homeopathy, osteopathy and other therapies. The pharmaceuticals could turn to manufacturing off-the-shelf homeopathic, herbal or biochemic medicines alongside their synthetic drugs and take over the market, forcing genuine natural medicine producers out. This could be made easier with retail outlets for medicines restricted to chemists shops, which too often are hand in glove with, if not actually owned by, the drug companies.

Yes, alternative medicine would become accepted at last, up to a point, and at a price. The radical approach towards treatment of alternative medicine could be lost and the medical systems reduced to mere sidelines in orthodox medicine's battery of products for this or that standard condition. Do we want alternative medicine hijacked in this way? And would we really be any healthier for it?

GRAHAM HOOPER





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Times are not looking good for indigenous peoples of the rainforests. Western governments seem concerned only to limit the damage to rainforests in order to protect themselves from the environmental consequences of deforestation. They appear to pay no attention to the human rights of people in the forests, whose cultures are currently being trampled underfoot in the rush by countries like Brazil both to realise the rainforests as hard currency for repayment of debts and to settle the cleared land to avoid facing up to the issue of land distribution. Here are just a few of the things that are going on in South and Central America.

Forest genocide

WORLD BANK STEALS CAAZAPA

The World Bank is poised to finance the theft and destruction of 381,000 Ha of forest in E. Paraguay. It is ironic that an objective of the Caazapa Rural Development Project was to benefit the Ache and Mbya tribes of that remote forested area of Eastern Paraguay. The only results seen so far by the 21 Indian communities are the invasion of their lands, the destruction of huge areas of forest for logging, large scale farming and cattle ranching, and the decimation of their populations by imported diseases, enslavement and murder. This has been the fate of the Ache Indians, of whom only about one hundred remain, now precariously settled within the project area.

The Mbya are more numerous, comprising some 1600. They are settled agriculturalists who have maintained their traditions in the face of intense pressure, including missionary advances from the government supported New Tribes Mission. But the Paraguayan Indian Agency, INDI, has failed to take any measures to safeguard Indian lands or resources, despite the existence of legislation that would enable them to do so. A recent World Bank commissioned report on INDI indicates that the Bank's confidence in INDI is misplaced. They have failed to implement any of the four protective measures recommended by the Bank, and are currently under investigation for the theft of timber from Indian lands. The report admits that both Ache and Mbya "remain without even minimal land tenure security".

The Caazapa project aims to colonise 381,000 hectares, at a total project cost of \$54 million, of which the World Bank is to contribute \$31 million. So far just \$5 million has been disbursed, and the project is seriously behind schedule. The main reason for this, apparently, has been objections from the local landowners, in particular the daughter of Paraguay's military dictator Alfredo Stroessner. Ultimately they want to take control of all the land themselves, so any idea of "relinquishing" these lands either to colonisers or worst of all to the Indians, by granting official title, is being strongly resisted.

Meanwhile the Ache and Mbya have appealed to the international community for support. To express this, please write, calling for the project to be halted until Indian lands within the project area have been demarcated and titled, to:

Barber Conable, President, The World Bank, 1818 H St, Washington DC 20433, USA

and/or

General Alfredo Stroessner, Presidente de la Republica, Palacio de Gobierno, Asuncion, Paraguay.

FOREST "PACIFICATION" - GUATEMALA

The US and Guatemalan Governments are spraying pesticides and defoliants over huge areas of the Guatemalan highlands, ostensibly to eradicate drug plantations, although the drug plants do not grow at such high altitudes. The spraying is infact intended to destroy the Indian communities (440 communities have disappeared since 1979), believed to harbour guerillas, and cripple their agricultural production. It also destroys huge areas of forest. Similar sprayings in the Peten, Central America's largest remaining rainforest area, allegedly followed by napalm, have led to fires that have devastated 1,500 square kilometres of primary and ancient secondary rainforest, around 5% of the total area.

The spraying has caused considerable controversy in the country. Not only are the highland Indians threatened, but also coffee growers, fruit farmers, gum tappers, and many others. Protests have been made by the Congressional Committee on Environmental Protection, agricultural associations, environmental groups and local government officials. But as long as the power in Guatemala remains with its brutal US backed military elite, of which President Cerezo is but a puppet, no real improvement in the situation can be anticipated.



'Pests'

XAPURI FOREST WAR

In Xapuri, Brazil, in the Amazonian state of Acre, a state of war has developed between rubber tappers (seringueiros), and a powerful coalition of cattle ranchers and land speculators. Peaceful attempts by seringueiros to protect the forests on which they depend from burning have met with violence and shootings, culminating in the murder of Ivair Higino de Almeida, a Xapuri rural union member. The Brazilian Institute for Forest Development (IBDF) has connived at the destruction, handing out irregular forest clearance licences, and failing to enforce forest legislation. This led to the occupation of the local IBDF office by 300 seringueiros demanding a halt to the illegal deforestation, and the simultaneous occupation of the Rio de Janeiro IBDF office by members of the Brazilian Green Party. The day following the occupation, two rubber tappers were shot by unidentified gunmen, one receiving nine bullet wounds, though happily both survived. The rubber tappers now have the support of Acre Governor Flaviano Melo in their attempts to create "extractive reserves", but little protection against bullets. And the burning continues.

More information from Rainforest Action Network, 300 Broadway #28, San Francisco CA 94133, USA.

AMAZON ON TRIAL

The trial of the two Kayapo tribal leaders, Paulinho and Kube/i, and their American anthropologist friend Dr Darrell Posey, has taken a turn towards the ridiculous. Originally arrested for being foreigners seeking to influence Brazil's foreign policy (in fact seeking to save the forests of the Amazon, see previous issue), they were scheduled to appear at the Belem courthouse on 14 October. But Kube/i was refused entry to the court on the grounds that he was "improperly dressed", having appeared attired in his full tribal regalia. He was also accompanied by a further 400 Kayapo Indians, vigorously protesting outside.

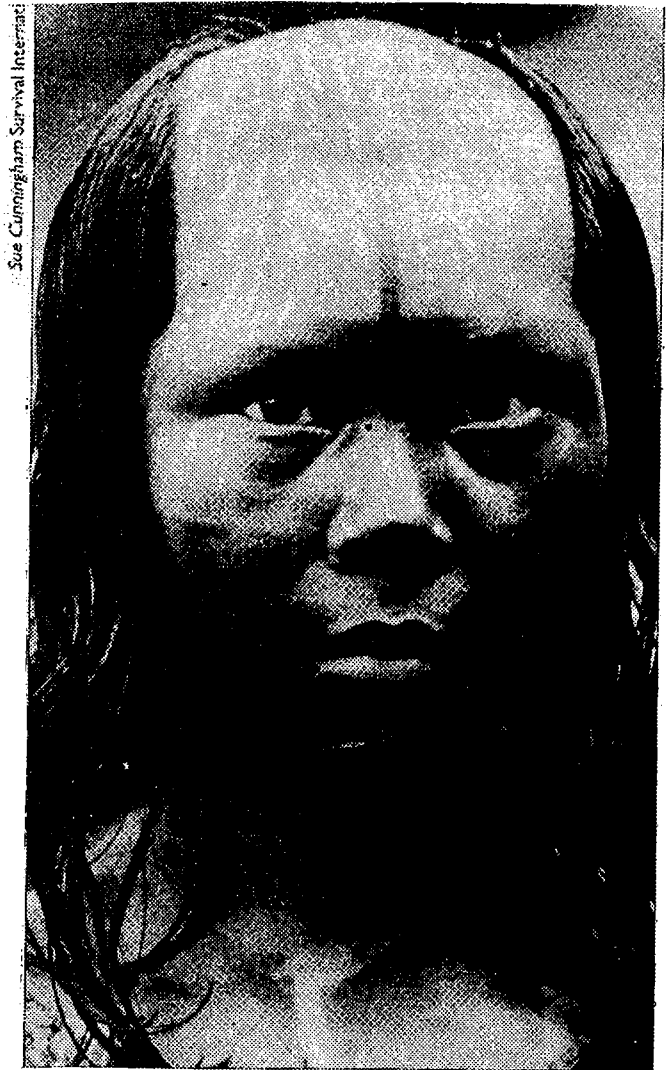
The trial has now been indefinitely adjourned as Brazilian President Jose Sarney ponders its implications. His heavy-handed approach is drawing international disapproval and ridicule, and is showing up Brazil as the authoritarian anti-democratic mega-state which it is. Further action is likely to be muted, especially as the two tribal leaders are soon setting off on an international tour to draw attention to their cause, during which they will be visiting Britain, Holland, Italy, Germany and Belgium. They are expected in Britain on the 12/13/14 November - for more details contact FoE, 01 490 1555.

BP SPEARHEADS WAORANI INVASION

The Waoranis, a group of Indians traditionally occupying 1.75 million acres of the Amazon in Ecuador, are fighting to regain their ancestral lands. They have recently been squeezed into a "reserve" of only 4% of their former range, while oil companies have been spearheading the invasion of their lands. As roads are cut through the forest for exploration, movement of drilling apparatus and the construction of pipelines, an army of landless colonisers is following. BP, Braspetro and Elf are partners in exploring a 500,000 acre block near the Napo river, in which a series of deaths have now paralysed further work.

About 2000 Waoranis are living in a 165,000 hectare reserve, insufficient to sustain their traditional way of life, as the wild animals on which they depend for food are becoming a rarity. And even this reserve has been divided

"You can't have development without someone getting hurt."
David Hopper, Senior Vice-President for Policy & Planning, World Bank, June 1987



Xikrin Indian girl, whose ancestral lands will be taken by the World Bank funded Carajas project in Amazonia.

up among oil companies. But to the East of the road, which army engineers are pushing through from South to North, live the Tagairis, a Waorani tribe that has avoided contact with western "civilization". They intend to carry on doing so. Two missionaries, attempting to mediate between the Tagairis and the oil companies were killed last year. New seismic workings have been attacked, and workers have been evacuated following sightings of Tagairis.

Leonardo Viteri, vice president of the Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of the Ecuadorean Amazon, commented "In 24 years of oil exploration and extraction, the Indians have seen none of the benefits. We want guarantees that there will be a redistribution to the local communities and that the ecology will be respected. Above all, we want the government to recognise the Waoranis' land and for the colonists to be expelled. If the colonists do not respect our wishes, we will evict them by whatever means, violent if necessary. If the authorities do not stop the road, we will."

BP's address is: The Chairman, BP International, Britannic House, Moor Lane, London EC2W 9BU

JUTTA DITFURTH, a founder of the West German Greens in Hesse, is presently one of three speakers of the Die Grünen in parliament. She is a noted standard bearer of "Die Linke", the anti-capitalist Left (formerly known as the "fundis"). She was interviewed by Green Perspectives, an American Left Green newsletter in July. We reprint edited extracts here.

Die Grünen - future prospects

Jutta, could you give us a description of the situation in the German green movement as of the end of July 1988?

The most exciting news that I can report is the Perspectives Conference. The greens hold them periodically to discuss what their views are on various issues. The latest Perspectives Conference was held between June 17th and 19th of this year in Bad Godesberg, near Bonn.

How many people attended?

At one single session, the largest number, I would estimate, was about 1,200.

Were they mainly greens or does that also include the general public?

The great majority, practically all of them, were active greens. In my opinion they came from across the whole political spectrum of the German Green Party. It was a very impressive conference - people packed the town hall. Many of the sessions were held on a green where people could enjoy the weather, although they were inside tents, so there was a very festive atmosphere during much of the conference.

How was the conference organised?

It was organised in relatively few sessions, so that in some there were only a small number, 30 or 50. In other sessions, those dealing with particularly important issues, there were often 600 and sometimes as many as 1,000...

Do you mean workshops?

No, not workshops the way you have in the United States. We had people, say four or five, representing all different tendencies in the German Greens. They sat at a table next to each other, and each was given the opportunity to present his or her point of view on the issues that were raised. Afterward the floor was thrown open to everyone in attendance. People freely discussed issues from the floor, addressing the audience as well as the speakers. There were lively discussions that included almost every point of view represented by the individuals sitting along the tables.

What were some of the issues that were taken up?

Every major issue that involves the green movement was discussed in at least one or other of these sessions. We took up the nature of the state in Germany, nuclear energy, biotechnology, women's rights and issues of the relationship of the Green Party to NATO, peace issues, and of course a large number of environmental issues. Of course we also took some of the basic conflicts over coalitions with the Social Democratic Party or with other movements in Germany.

What were some of the statements made in the particularly important sessions?

What impressed me a great deal at one of the sessions was the view of some greens toward West Germany's membership in NATO. At one of these sessions Joschka Fischer presented the realo position - he's the realo leader in the Hesse Landtag who was the environmental minister in the Hesse Green-Social Democrat coalition until last

year. He said that the Greens should not withdraw from NATO - a point of view that has caused a great deal of controversy among greens in West Germany. Joschka states not only that should West Germany should not withdraw from NATO but that it's very important that we remain in NATO. This represents a very marked swing of the realos toward the right, although that has been going on for some time.

Another very important issue was the attitude of the Greens toward the State. In their recent four-point program, the realos have finally said something that we on the Left have been accusing them of believing for years, and that is that they want to work within the present system entirely. They have come out in favour of "radical reformism", but as part of the social order itself. They are committed to the existence of capitalism; in fact they call for "ecocapitalism". This is completely reformist and completely, in a sense, conformist, so that I can find very little distinction any longer between them and the Social Democrats.

Another issue that was raised at the Perspectives Conference has been troubling the green movement enormously over the past months, and that is the right of married men to rape their wives. As leftists inside the party, we have adamantly opposed rape under the veneer of marriage and have supported women in their attempts to prevent their husbands from taking possession of their bodies against their will. A recent party congress called for a minimum two-year sentence for men who commit marital rape. But the realos hedged on this question and asked for only a one-year maximum sentence.

As you know, Germany has a very strong patriarchal history behind it, and the women's movement has had the greatest difficulty trying to counteract it. It disturbed me enormously to find that the realos are not prepared to confront this patriarchalism directly, face to face, but rather took a very soft position at the conference, closer to that of conventional opinion than I could have believed.

Does that mean that realos believe married men have the right to rape their wives?

No, the question, didn't take precisely that form. It's rather that they seemed very soft on the issue, didn't seem to want to press it, and that caused a very considerable uproar among greens. In fact this is one of the hottest issues that exists, and it has led to a great amount of public response.

Still another issue was the question of nuclear power. As you know, we demand the closing of nuclear power stations in West Germany. Again, the realos took a much more hesitant position. They called for phasing out nuclear power rather than an immediate shutdown. Some individual realos seemed to be very equivocal about the elimination of nuclear power in West Germany generally.

Let me give you another example of how far to the right the realos have moved. They publish a periodical

called Realo Manifest and there they publish many of their statements on various issues, including issues that have divided those of us on the Left from them. And one statement that they made was really incredible! I hope I have it exactly right: "To withdraw from NATO reflects the opinion of a very special type of German who is not interested in the security of the world." That was more or less the sense of it. Isn't that absolutely incredible?

Who wrote that line?

There was no particular signature under it. It was more or less a general statement of the realo position so far as NATO is concerned.

My speech at the conference was one of the harshest attacks on the realo positions from NATO to nuclear power. When I was finished, to my utter surprise, the audience broke out in an ovation of applause. I was simply overwhelmed by the support shown by this very sizeable audience in the town hall, at least a thousand people. And I think this set the tone for the rest of the conference. From that point onward, the positions of the Greens in the conference sessions pretty generally were in support of the views presented by the left wing of the party. So that one could say that this was an almost triumphant meeting from the standpoint of the positions that I and others have been holding for years in the Greens.

And let me state a conclusion from my experience over those three days. Having attended many of the workshops, particularly the ones that dealt with the really crucial issues that distinguish the Left from the realos, and having heard reports from others who attended the sessions at which I could not be present, I would say now that the Greens in West Germany are far more radical than at any time in their history. It was an absolutely astonishing experience for me and for all the friends who have been working with me in our long struggle over the past years.

And I say this contrary to what is being reported today in the press. The press in Germany is trying in every way to indicate that the realo-fundi struggle is still going on; that it is tearing the party apart; that the Greens are still engaged in this incestuous fight; and that, if anything, the realos are the ones who are winning most of the struggles. I can easily understand that this impression would exist in places outside West Germany as a result of this kind of reportage. Let me state categorically that all this information is grossly misleading and indeed that it is outright false. The Greens are in my view now the most radical movement, at least in the political arena, in West Germany today.

What is the proportion of realos to leftists among the German Greens at various levels of party organisation and in various parts of the country?

Of the 44 or so Green Bundestag members, I would estimate that approximately 20 to 24 are realos and approximately 10 to 12 are Leftists. The remainder move in between, and by 'remainder' I mean some of the realos and occasionally even some of the people on the Left. So that the Bundestag green fraction is largely realo, although not entirely so by any means. In the worst of cases about two thirds of the Green Bundestag members are realos.

What about the party congresses?

There I would say that the drift is mainly toward the Left, and sometimes very emphatically so. For example, the executive committee of the party today is composed of 8 leftists and 3 realos, which means that the leftists in the party have the overwhelming majority on the executive committee of the party. And generally at the party conferences, certainly at the latest one, we on the Left have had support on most of the basic issues.

Doesn't that bring the party into conflict with the Green

Bundestag representatives?

Oh yes. It very definitely does, and there are often very serious differences between what the congresses want and what the realo faction in the Bundestag actually tries to support. So that the realos in the Bundestag, functioning to a great extent on their own, often act independently of what the congresses at various conferences want.

I wonder if you could tell us the position of the Greens in West Germany today. What is their place in the political culture, and what kind of support do they have?

If you asked me that on the basis of what we know from opinion polls and the like, I would say that the Greens are able to gather between 8% and 9% of the electorate. That is of course speaking only about federal and state elections. There hasn't been any basic change as far as those figures are concerned.

A major problem we run into is the rumours and the scandals the realos spread. The realos continually act very much on their own, and they have spread all kinds of ugly stories about financial mismanagement by the Left in the party that have absolutely no foundation in fact. Their behaviour in this respect is from my point of view very, very reprehensible.

And that is a big problem we have today: the fact that so many reports are exaggerations, if they're even true at all. We have to counter the rumours fed by the realos to the press, but this consumes a great deal of our time and attention. And it's painful to us because we're very anxious to work at the grassroots level - the various social movements that exist outside the parliamentary structure - not simply within the framework of the Bundestag and the various Landtagen.

The rank and file of the Green Party are often very much opposed to the way in which the realo representatives in the Bundestag behave. For example, quite recently about 400 people, mainly Greens from all different levels of the party including the Executive Committee, but also some people from the social movements around or inside the party, wrote up a major protest and placed it in a full-page ad in one of the leading newspapers. It vigorously protested about the behaviour of the realo Bundestag members on the question of marital rape. It said the Bundestag realos had not taken a vigorous enough position on this question. In some cases leading party figures have made outright disclaimers that the realos in the Bundestag even represent the Greens.

To the best of my recollection, this was the first time such a sizeable and influential group of people, greens for the most part, openly voiced opposition to the realo representatives in the Bundestag. The event was quite unprecedented and reveals the extent of the growing alienation that many in the party feel first of all from the realos in the Bundestag and then from the realos generally.

What do you think will be the future of the Green Party in West Germany and also of the various tendencies inside the party?

I believe that the realos are giving themselves another year - possibly a little longer than that, but not much longer - to actually change the party around. If they don't succeed, it's my suspicion that many of them may enter the SPD. This at least is the story I hear from people of various tendencies inside the party and around the country.

You must understand what many realo leaders believe, and this has been a steady development toward a very distinct and final position: they believe that one has to accommodate oneself to the capitalist system and work within the system, and as I pointed out, they have used words like "ecocapitalism" to designate their viewpoint.

Joschka Fischer says he wants to make an SPD out of the Green Party.

How do you think the Germans are going to vote with respect to the Greens?

I think the party is going to become more and more radical, and I believe that it will pose serious alternatives to the German people. The realos up to now have often made this very difficult, first by their voting record in the Bundestag and second by the extent to which they very frequently stand between the party and the extra-parliamentary social movements. It has been very difficult at times for the Green Party to establish the kind of connections with grassroots movements that could easily be established, because of the record of the realos and the extent to which they make the party seem much more conservative than it actually is.

I think things are becoming polarized. We are beginning to see a much more radical formation developing in West Germany - on one side the Greens, as well as a right wing that is much more authoritarian. And people are now being increasingly confronted with choices between a very radical movement and a very conservative movement.

I'll give you a striking example of the extent to which radicalisation is beginning to take place. Quite recently, a steel plant in Reinhausen in Nordrhein-Westphalia was going to be closed down. This led to a genuine uproar in the community. In November of last year the workers went out on strike against the wishes of the SPD and their own trade union. The struggle went on for months and was marked by extreme militancy. What is very important is not only that the workers engaged in unauthorised strike action, but also that they got support from the entire community, especially from the women. This went on for about half a year and became increasingly heightened, reflecting more and more the irritation and the anger that is beginning to appear among workers as well as among more middle-class people or professionals.

Let me also point out that there is a tremendous radicalisation going on among young people in West Germany. Young people are becoming more and more radical, and there is a potential for a growing youth movement that could also move very sharply to the left. Women are becoming more politically active than they have been in the past, with the result that we are beginning to see a new sense of militancy among young women as well as among young men.

I am talking also about young workers, and perhaps even in the case of Reinhausen, workers generally, who are developing a new sense of defiance to the established trade union leadership, and to the Social Democrats.

In what areas do you think the Greens are losing strength and in what areas are they gaining strength?

It's hard to say right now - the situation is very fluid in West Germany and things are changing quite rapidly. But a big problem at the moment is that of rotation. Next year, virtually all the speakers who are rightists in varying degrees are going to have to rotate or give up their offices in the party. The same is true for the leadership of the Bundestag Greens - they too are supposed to rotate, although the Left Greens are the only ones who do rotate these days. The problem we face is in finding new people who will truly reflect the sentiment of the party, not that of the party structure. So we are confronted with the need to develop and educate new people who will replace us in the various executive bodies of the Greens.

Our thanks to Green Perspectives published by a left green group in the United States. This interview first appeared in Issue 9, August 1988. Green Perspectives is published monthly, generally with one major article plus short reports. Recent issues have covered politics of myth, the population debate, and Earth First! Subs are \$10 for 10 issues. So send your enquiries to Green Perspectives, PO Box 111, Burlington VT 05402, U.S.A.

TIM ANDREWES summarises the decisions taken at this year's Green Party conference and assesses the mood in the run up to the Euro-elections.

Sunflower may be ditched shock!

ANIMAL RIGHTS

A motion calling for the phasing out of all animal experiments within five years has committed the party to an uncompromising stand on animal rights in the laboratory. A Green government would impose an immediate ban on all animal experiments relating to cosmetics, weapons and behavioural research; toxicity tests such as Draize and LD50 methods were singled out for special condemnation. In addition, all government research grants would be switched from animal tests to alternative research, such as Epidemiology, in order to shift the emphasis from curative to preventative medicine.

AGRICULTURE

The adoption of a detailed and technical voting paper has committed the Green Party to the scrapping of the Common Agricultural Policy, the replacement of price support with income support and the abandonment of set-aside and extensification measures, thus giving farmers economic security without the incentive to over-produce. As such, this is in line with the party's policy of guaranteeing a basic income to all.

The policy document, which also includes a Farm Compensation Scheme for existing farmers, and a voluntary 'Farm Revenue Stabilisation Scheme' to give farmers additional insurance against bad harvests, demonstrates a degree of expertise and policy detail which is lacking in other areas of the party's manifesto. The new policy, coupled with the party's existing commitment to organic techniques in farming and a strong commitment to protection of and access to the countryside, will give Green candidates a strengthened hand in next year's Euro-elections.

EUROPE AND BEYOND

A major theme running through the conference was the issue of the EEC, given that the party hopes to field candidates in every constituency in next June's European elections. In a protracted debate on policy for these elections, both in plenary sessions and in workshops, it became clear that there is no single Green view on the EEC. The manifesto states the party's intention to withdraw from the EEC unless reconstituted on ecological principles. Some members interpret this as a mandate to withdraw from this obviously unecological body, while others view the policy as a mandate to seek reform of the



The sunflower: going up or coming down?

SAVING THE SUNFLOWER

Perhaps the most contentious issue at conference was the attempt by National Party Council to replace the sunflower as the party's logo with one of three designer-symbols commissioned by professionals. The Sunflower question aroused the passion and fury of many activists: posters appeared declaring "Save Our Sunflower!" and eventually an emergency motion was carried calling for the sunflower to be considered as an option, and the whole issue to be put to a ballot of the membership. The arguments against keeping the sunflower were confused: it had become associated with healthy eating, some said, while others claimed it looked like a fried egg (hardly health food!). Commissioning new logos on such spurious pretexts seemed unnecessary. After all, sunflower logos only look like fried eggs when the petals have not been drawn properly, and most Greens don't mind being associated with healthy eating! More importantly, the sunflower is an international symbol of the Green movement, and is too well-established both in the UK and abroad to be ditched unceremoniously now.

RESPONDING TO MEDIA ATTENTION

An undercurrent running through conference was how best to use the increasing public attention and media interest generated in part by Ms Thatcher's greenery but mostly by the inescapable fact of ecological crisis.

The conference itself seemed more media-conscious than the last one I attended in 1987. Time has been given over to Topical Motions, during which 'important' issues such as seals and the Greenhouse Effect, and 'important' people such as David Ike, TV sports commentator and Isle of Wight Wunderkind, are given the opportunity to get their share of Guardian column inches. In a similar vein, Guest Speaker sessions have been moved from their evening spot to a pre-lunch session, allowing journalists to get their copy in to make the next day's page five headlines. As usual at conference, there was not enough time to get through the whole agenda, and I felt that we were losing valuable debating time to these media events.

There appeared to be an increasing impatience and irritation amongst a section of the party with the unusual way Greens go about things. Criticism was voiced of Kensington Green Party for fielding a 19-year-old candidate in the recent bye-election; yet another attempt was made to delete cannabis legalisation from the manifesto; and the very concept of a movement without leaders was undermined by the greater emphasis on set-piece speeches in the time-table.

I came away from conference not unduly worried by these developments, mainly because the grassroots activists could not be tamed: the legalisation of cannabis remains party policy, Kensington's struggle through the courts (see GL66) was given enthusiastic support, and the sunflower revolt is proof that the membership won't blindly accept changes for the sole benefit of 'presentation'. Yet the lure of media fame may yet take its toll as the Green Party gains in influence and coverage at the European Elections. I leave you with the words of Jonathon Porritt: "What actually matters is having candidates who understand that message and who will get out there and sell it. And to sell it, may I point out that not only does the party need an impressive range of candidates to do the job, but the party will need one, good, spokesperson, appointed specifically to do that job in a way the media will understand and respond to, and any more purist cries about the inadequacies of the media, really, truly get you nowhere."

EEC from within.

The discussion document contained traditional Green condemnations of the EEC - over its commitment to economic growth, its plans for the expansion of nuclear power, its half-hearted policies on aid to the Third World and to poorer regions within the member states. In addition, a string of amendments from Oxford Green Party were passed strengthening the Party's policy of opposition to free trade, and its commitment to economic as well as political decentralisation.

Speeches from Jonathan Porritt and Sara Parkin on the subject of Europe showed up the differences of opinion within the party on the EEC. Porritt declared, "I think it is right that this party is opposed to membership of the EEC" yet in the rest of his speech, he spoke of the EEC's valuable role of protecting the environment both in Britain and in other member-states where standards are lax: "EEC legislation now is the only bullet we have against governments of this kind." Porritt predicted that the European Elections would only be about two issues, Democracy and the Environment.

For Sara Parkin, on the other hand, the issues were not as narrow and straight-forward as this. Her speech detailed the emptiness and hypocrisy of the EEC's environmental concern, and she argued that the real target for Greens had to be the economic system which the EEC promoted. The completion of the Single European Market in 1992, she predicted, would lead to the outbreak of continental "economic warfare". Furthermore, "Demands for democracy, social justice, ordinary human welfare and environmental health will be swept aside by the tortured thrashings of a schizophrenic economy", as competitiveness and the pursuit of profit dominate further the policies of governments and business alike.

This theme was taken up in a motion calling on the Green Party to make opposition to 1992 a key plank of its electoral platform. The motion was passed by a large majority and should prove useful in drawing the distinction between what Sara Parkin called the "grey-Greens" who treat only the symptoms of environmental crisis, and the "green-Greens" who seek to tackle the root causes.

Last month we reprinted extracts from DAVISON BUDHOO's letter of resignation to the director of the International Monetary Fund, Michel Camdessus. In this second part, Budhoo claims that the Fund has been hijacked by its staff in pursuit of their own goals of personal greed and aggrandisement.

The international honeypot

NOW I WISH TO GO ON TO discuss that picture of privilege and emoluments and exceptions, for it is the all and end of everything pertaining to Fund staff action. I call it the Honeypot. Honeypot? Yes, Honeypot - of all the good things of life that our organisation proffers to its employees. The Honeypot is like eternity; it has no end. It is the source from which comes the New Nobility on Earth.

I don't know if our founders in 1944 did ever envisage the emergence of us as a New Nobility drinking endlessly from a Honeypot; I suspect that they didn't. I think they saw us merely as a necessary input in the overall vision of international institutionalism being harnessed to help restore the economic greatness of the western world. They never conceived that the nondescript and 'neutralised' army of neo-colonial civil servants they were creating would ever dare to steal the institution and wear its spoils on their chests as Knights of an equally Dark Age would wear Orders of Merit and baubles of exclusivity.

Materialism breeds materialism, whether at the international or at the personal level

How simplistic were those founders, Mr Camdessus! Didn't they know anything about human nature? Didn't they have any inkling of the impact of their mean little vision on the psychology and motivation of ordinary men and women who would be asked to serve that vision and seek to realise its most essential features? I tell you Sir, despite all the technical expertise of key figures like Keynes and White, the Bretton Woods Conference remains a prime example of human shame and failure of perspicacity. Not only were our founders preoccupied with the foolish and wholly unworthy vision of Pax Atlantica, but in the process of trying to weave that vision into the warp of post-war world institutional structures they left the door wide open for the faceless bureaucrat to slink in unobserved and take charge and transform everything into a credo of massive personal power and massive personal material advancement. With the Fund mask on our face and your approved briefing paper in our hand, we roam the world in our hundreds dispensing harsh and summary justice on the poor and the defenceless and the underprivileged.

You know Sir, transformation of the Bretton Woods creed from a vision of Atlantic economic supremacy to an irresistible quest for staff gratification is nothing if not a logical and wholly-to-be-expected progression. Materialism breeds materialism, whether at the international or at the personal level. What started out as a vision of western materialism unencumbered by considerations of humanity or calls for greater social justice for the poor and destitute of the developing world, has merely slipped into a different gear to become a vision of personal material bliss for the staff, unrestrained by norms of professional

propriety or by pangs of conscience.

The Fund's founders, in chasing their improbable dream, overlooked all scope for exercising compassion and alleviating social injustice in certain parts of the international system that they were creating. Compassion and social justice were the very roots on which we should have nurtured an evolving and pragmatic Fund philosophy for the Third World. But our founders denied us staff access to those roots and shrivelled our soul. So later on, when we stole the Fund, we were as clinically and completely materialistic and single-minded in pursuit of our own gratification as they were in pursuit of Pax Atlantica. In a very meaningful way our staff is the logical consequence of our founders, just as the latter are the logical consequence of the prevailing 1944 international ethos of Superior People and Inferior People. If truth be told, late 20th century international economic institutionalism is just another reenactment of the theme of Possessor and the Dispossessed, and just another rerun of the mechanics of ensuring Greater Possession for the Possessor and of letting the fortunes of the Dispossessed hang on the irresistible and unconditional and vainglorious and exclusive aim of Those Who Possess. It is chilling to realise that virtually the whole world is involved; hardly anyone can escape responsibility; we are either culprits or victims.

Our brilliant careers

I want to get on with the juicy details of the Honeypot. Given the fact that I don't want to reveal the privileges of others, I will have to speak about myself. In May 1988 at the time I left the Fund my total salary was US\$143,000, US\$29,000 of which comes from travel and family subsidies etc. But my allowances are relatively modest because my family group is small. So let's increase the size of my family group and see what happens.

Assume that I had my grandmother living with me in Washington D.C. and I had chosen to have five children a school or college in Geneva. Then my gross earnings would shoot up towards the US\$200,000 mark per annum. If, in addition, I was on assignment in Guyana then you could add another US\$100,000 to the total. My own annua package is more than the annual budgeted salary of almost every Head of State in the world. The Big Family Staff Member with my identical pay on assignment in the Third World even as the five kids learn social graces in Geneva - compliments of the Honeypot - would receive about 1000 times more than the per capita income enjoyed by 2/3 of mankind.

Oops! I forgot to mention the intangibles that come with the job: like diplomatic immunities and our U.N. Laissez Passer that we flash before the eyes of cowering customs officers; like Royalty Class and First Class travel everywhere we go, and generous subsistence allowances for overnight stays in London and Paris and Copenhagen and Frankfurt and Rome and Rio de Janeiro and Caracas on our way to bust up the natives in Africa and Asia and

elsewhere; like highclass nightclubbing in Sin Cities, compliments of the Honeypot; like personal secretaries on each and every one of our missions; like maids that we bring into the U.S. on G5 visas at our pleasure from Paraguay and Mexico and Jamaica and Greece and India and the Philippines and everywhere else; like the very generous medical benefits plan and the Group Life Insurance Plan and the even more generous Pensions Scheme; like the realization dawning upon us that we have finally made it to Ultimate Paradise...

But Our Pot transcends the staff; it radiates like a glowing flame from our headquarters in Washington; it is seen throughout the world as the emblem of Easy Money and High Living and Exclusive Jet-Setting for people with pretensions to economic technocracy. It draws into its orbit pent-up frustrations and aspirations and way-out fantasies of bureaucrats and has-been politicians and self-seekers from all around the world. They hope and aspire and fantasize about getting a piece of the action, and a select few achieve their goal of consumption - at least at that minimal level that serves to tickle the pallet and make them ask for more.

Our Executive Board and their staff are as equally subject to the charms of Our Pot as we are. All the goodies bestowed on us are bestowed on them, only more so - given the Fund's policy of maintaining percentage differentials between the emoluments of the faceless bureaucrats and those of our political directorate. The Board remains in general a happy but quiescent, almost anesthetised body. At any rate, it seems to operate today as a rubber stamp for action and initiatives of the staff, especially in relation to our Third World role.

One of the most depressing experiences you can have as a Fund Staff member is attending Executive Board meetings to hear Executive Directors singing staff praises and going through the motions and repeating uncritically the data and conclusions that we serve up to them. At the relevant meeting last year on Trinidad & Tobago no Executive seemed willing to query changed statistics in several of the series previously presented. Such questions, had they been asked, could have brought to light some of the staff's statistical malpractices. Is the Board not interested enough in objectivity and accuracy and consistency to take a stand at some stage? Obviously the High and Not-So-High Priests responsible for the Trinidad & Tobago trickery thought it was not. They relegated the Board to an inconsequential blob of complacency and head nodding.

And suddenly... nothing happened

You remember Sir how some years ago we instituted new organs in the management and decision-making structures of the Fund and the World Bank so as to give developing countries a greater say in the decision-making process? You remember how the Development Committee and the Group of Twenty Four came into being? You remember the lofty aims that we touted for them? What ever became of those aims?

Nothing happened, nothing at all. Sure we established a Development Committee. Sure we created an Executive Secretariat for that committee at - of all places - the World Bank, to operate virtually as just another part of the staff of the World Bank and the Fund. Sure we brought in the Ministers of Finance of the Third World and their hordes of advisors to Washington. Sure we built a spanking new conference hall and facilities in the Fund for them to sit and talk through fancy new microphones with simultaneous translation into several languages. Sure we got them to issue press communiques. Sure we appointed Chairs and Vice Chairs and sub-committees and

sub-sub-committees and working groups and consultants. Sure we implemented, honestly and faithfully, all the mechanics of setting up another White Elephant programmed to gesticulate wildly, harmlessly, when we turn on the batteries. Sure we did all the cosmetic things we needed to do to take the mounting political pressures off our backs...

The world is no closer now to an amelioration of the ills of Imperialism than it was at the time of Queen Victoria

But nothing happened. Nothing except accelerated abuse by our staff of the powers that they yield in developing countries, and more and more Fund programmes that turn economic logic on its head, and greater politicisation of the Fund, and an even more uneven distribution of power and influence in the Fund in favour of First World members, and even more death and destitution in the Third World because our institution operates the way it does.

I could go on and on with examples of Wise Men rising suddenly to say their lines that we have taught them to say and falling back into oblivion again with equally indecent haste. I could go on about us writing our own history and undertaking bogus exercises to judge our own relevance and pronouncing from within our own exalted place in history. I could show how our Honeypot has the peculiar knack of turning up in the most unlikely places, mesmerising everybody and corrupting everything and making nonsense of the angry resolutions of Third World leaders at Annual Bank/Fund meetings.

In all that we do in response to anything that could endanger the joys and privileges of Honeypot-Wallowing seeming reasonableness and sweet talk is the order of the day. There is no intellectual effort, no honest search for solutions, no new thinking whatsoever. Mediocrity and an absolute slavish imitation of High Priests who have made it in the Fund; stultifying conformity and an amazing perfection of the art of yesmanship - these are the essential elements of a true Fund person. Hypocrisy underlies everything we do - but then core elements of the staff have had centuries of experience in practicing it on subject peoples. The world is no closer today to an amelioration of the ills of imperialism than it was at the time of Queen Victoria. Therein lies the bequeathment of the West and the tragedy of the South. Therein too, lies the entire history and insidiousness of the Fund.

When all is said and done Sir, we are nothing if not a vainglorious spider weaving an enormous web. The flies around us irritate us; we cannot stand their buzzing; we fear that they have the power to bust up our web and, besides, they are succulent; they titillate our taste buds. So we stalk them. We sing songs of love and adoration. We lure them into our web and then we kill and eat them; they become part of everything that we are; they are assimilated into our system; they nourish us. And at the end of the day we are fatter and more secure than ever before and there is peace and quiet in our house, and no flies will dare approach us tomorrow. Maybe the day after tomorrow they will venture by again; but not tomorrow; already we have bought tomorrow's peace with today's labour.

Our thanks to Bandung Productions for passing us a copy of Davison Budhoo's letter of resignation.

AUTONOMOUS PEACE ACTION'S SUNDAY OUTING AT UPPER HEYFORD

WHEN CND ANNOUNCED a demo against new nuke deployments at USAF Upper Heyford, Autonomous Peace Action denounced their planned protests as "carnivals of passivity and powerlessness" and circulated thousands of leaflets calling for direct action instead. Thames Valley Police brought this to the attention of CND. Whilst activists hide-bound by the byelaws and symbolic actions for the last four years welcomed APA's initiative, the CND bureaucrats did not. They tried (and failed) to recruit stewards willing to police the demo and spread absurd rumours that did more to discredit them than APA by revealing their opposition to all forms of illegal protest.

These bureaucrats, locally and nationally, passed the buck onto each other in such a manner that demo preparations were shambolic and publicity so poor that there was a low turnout on October 15th. The end result was that direct action actually dominated the national demo at Upper Heyford - particularly APA's....!

AROUND MIDDAY, APA gathered at the peace camp. 20-30 charged into the PX (base supermarket) car park: some even had time to buy drinks from the vendors there before Thames Valley and Ministry of Defence ('Mod plod') police could turn them out! Peace movement personality and byelaws activist John Bugg joined the trespass, tape-recording his arrest as he pointed out to the cops that they had no right to arrest APA as they just had. Incursions into the poorly defended Residential Area continued, keeping a full vanload of Mod Plod occupied for about an hour.

It was becoming apparent that a 'no arrest' policy was being operated - mainly because byelaw prosecutions are usually more bother for the cops than for those they arrest. Consequently a large group cut their way through the fence at the bottom of Peace Camp Lane and stoned the police when they attempted to stop them getting in. They were so taken aback (this had never happened before at Heyford) that about six protestors succeeded in occupying an oiler down from Gate 7 and then joined about a dozen others occupying the roof of the Base's Command Bunker.

The cops were given orders to use minimum force - dragging them down the concrete face of the bunker. Whilst H.M. Gov. was distracted there a small group of APA activists charged across the Residential Area again and stoned a police helicopter from Kidlington parked on the baseball field. The cops claimed the situation was contained, but the one stone that hit the helicopter put it out of action for three hours as it had to be stripped down to check for damage.

Everyone regrouped and made their way to Chilgrove Drive. A local activist had pointed out that this road marked the start of an obstructed but legal right of way across the base to Gate



10: the idea was to get the Youth CNDers at Gate 13 to join in as we removed Gate 12 from its hinges and headed across the base. Unfortunately, the once militant YCND proved pathetically passive, willing only to spectate rather than participate with APA. Gate 12 was secured a lot more strongly than we'd expected, and the cops arrested two activists they said had hit the helicopter. All the YCNDers could do was applaud and continue to listen to the folk singer and the Buddhists droning on at Gate 13. The two arrestees received NO backing from the CND Legal Support Unit: one was assaulted in the van whilst being taken to Bicester cells where they were held for five hours. When one activist cut across the fields and trampled wire to break into a new part of the Base under construction, all YCND did was clap and stare. APA left Chilgrove Drive in disgust.

About 20 of us crossed the low wall on Camp Road onto the lawn of the Officers' Club. One busied himself knocking on the door and demanding dinner whilst others scattered round the back. It took a number of aggressive squadales a quarter of an hour to secure the area again. Further down the road we observed three others who had scaled the twenty-foot high gantry on the Test Sheds. There were at least a dozen squaddies lining the perimeter at that point, vanloads of Mod Plod trying to coax them down, and even the RAF CO of USAF Upper Heyford Colonel Swaine had turned up - he was roundly abused (and also by a CNDer's loud-hailer!) as a failure and American puppet.

Two APA activists had been seized for cutting their way into high-security bomb stores on the north side of the base: they were transported across the base and released without charge, to save the military admitting that their security had been trashed. CNDers had also been active. Six Christian CND people had 'swiss-cheesed' the fence by Gate 8 and two were charged with criminal damage although the flightpath there encroaches on an ancient public right of way, the Portway. A guard post at Gate 10 was occupied by the Womens Group. It is understood no arrests arose from that.

Around 3.30 pm APA prepared to break in along Peace Camp Lane to get at USAF CO Colonel Shirley's F111 parked in a hanger just opposite. Unfortunately the cops had finally cottoned on and the helicopter was up and about again. After a short and indecisive interlude throwing sticks for the police dog to

chase, much to the irritation of its handler, we all crossed Camp Road for a game of football outside the Mod Plod station. When they left we broke down the fence surrounding it for a leaving present. The NVDA Network used a ladder to get in via Peace Camp Lane and were the last two to be arrested.

SO WHAT CAN WE learn from Heyford? At Aldermaston six months ago, the only action was the pulling down of one section of fence. At Heyford we managed a sustained effort of incursion and harassment throughout the day, with few arrests and the magnificent achievement of disabling a police helicopter for three hours and breaking into a high security area.

We have to ask ourselves now what we actually want. As I see it, there are three levels to work on. The lowest is continuing to break into the base for publicity purposes in the hope of radicalising CND: this we certainly did on October 15th. The next level is damaging the base as a symbolic protest against the arms race etc and deliberately seeking arrest to publicise this: this is certainly what NVDA CNDers will want to do, but in doing so they are reliant on a generally unsympathetic media and judiciary to validate their actions. The highest level is actually trashing bases as a direct attempt to disrupt the War Machine. The only thing APA activists were charged for at Heyford was the helicopter - because it caused real disruption and because it was genuine direct action and not its symbolic parody. It showed WE had the power and not them.

This is going to take a lot of organising. No longer should we band together in obvious groups without planning our actions. We should exploit CND's knowledge of base facilities and security (some of the NVDAers will certainly be willing to help: go along to their planned meetings before demos to contact them and get the facts) and come properly equipped with the cutters and carpets needed to get past fences, plus any equipment we'll need for trashing key points like communication towers, silos, and military equipment: a fire on the runway can close a base for up to three days; someone up a microwave tower will disrupt communications throughout UK; papers seized from and passed on to the right people can cause massive bad publicity.

We should also make sure we know the law if we can't fight off cops trying to arrest us: most bases are covered by byelaws which mean a £50 fine at most and more likely they will drop the case entirely if you know the right legal jargon.

So far, APA has relied on leafletting to get everyone together for big demo. But who needs such demos anyway, except for publicity purposes? Why not hit key military targets in your own area, covertly and in small groups when it's

PEACE DIARY

NOV 9: The Final Warning: Lobby of Parliament. The East Anglian Alliance Against Nuclear Power, along with CND, FoE and Greenpeace, are asking two people from every constituency within a symbolic 90-mile Chernobyl fallout range of the PWR sites to join the lobby from 2-5 pm. Contact the Final Warning, 48 Bethel Street, Norwich NR2 1NR (0603 631 007).

NOV 12: Thame Peace Group Concert, with Roy Bailey and Janet Russell, Thame Sports and Arts Centre 7.30 pm.

NOV 13: REMEMBRANCE DAY. Order your white poppies now! Last year the Peace Pledge Union ran out. Contact the PPU, 6 Endeleigh St, London WC1H 0DX (01.387 5501).

NOV 18-20: CND Annual Conference, Salford University, Manchester. Into the 23rd century!

NOV 23: Southampton CND AGM, 7.45 pm, Friends Meeting House. Contact 0703 779536.

NOV 26: Oxford CND Bazaar, Oxford Town Hall (Contact Oxford 728441). Also, a Day School on the Arms Trade, 10.30 am - 5 pm, St Barnabas Centre, Canal St. Contact CAAT, 01.281 0297.

EXCUSE ME OFFICER, WOULD YOU SAY THAT IT WAS VALID FOR ORWELL TO INCLUDE 'IGNORANCE IS STRENGTH' AS ONE OF THE PARTY SLOGANS FOR 1984?

I'M SORRY SIR I WOULDN'T KNOW THE ANSWER TO THAT... I JUST DO MY JOB... MOVE ALONG NOW PLEASE SIR...



not expected? It's easy to find out where they are: check Duncan Campbell's War Plan UK and The Unsinkable Aircraft Carrier and follow this up with reces and chats with local CNDers who seem sympathetic (and maybe want to join in). Let's hassle them everyday - not just one in two hundred!

PAUL ROGERS

NOTE: the official police estimate of the numbers at the demo was given as 1,200, even though some of us had actually heard the police radio give a figure of over 2,000! Now and again you can actually catch them out in this sort of blatant lying.

In all 15 people were charged with offences including criminal damage, obstructing police, and breaching the peace. Thirteen were dealt with by the MoD police: the other two were bailed by Thames Valley Police to appear before Bicester magistrates on November 7th.



MAYBE NEXT YEAR...

ANIMAL AID'S march and rally in Oxford on October 22nd felt a bit glum to me, and suffused with autumn melancholy: but then again, I've never been very enthusiastic about being marched round in a circle, and shaking my fist at deserted buildings. Despite this, I must admit that the sab horns, sounding through the city streets, were as inspirational as ever.

When the march eventually trundled past the University laboratories where Professor Colin Blakemore plies his trade, I started to fantasise about liberating the liberationists from their self-imposed restraint: what if all these committed people, perhaps a thousand strong, suddenly broke free, brushing aside the thin cordon of police, and poured into the science area? Of course no-one could have reached Level F, that guarded and forbidden place where the animals are hurt and killed: but there would still be endless possibilities for imaginative and creative actions: rooftop protests, banners unfurled from high windows, a sit-in, a symbolic occupation.

Needless to say, what actually happened was more prosaic: we stopped outside Blakemore's own department and shouted for a while at blank windows, at an empty building in an otherwise deserted street. For me this was the low point of the march, followed later on by an even more irritating moment when Mark Gold of Animal Aid addressed the rally. He made a point of urging the audience not to 'personalise' the campaign too much, not to focus exclusively on Blakemore when there are thousands of vivisectioners in this country, many of them a good deal worse. He also spoke out against the stupidity of the fanatical 'few' who have supposedly jeopardised the campaign by making threats against Blakemore, thereby playing into his hands.

And yet surely it is Animal Aid

itself, not any misguided followers, who have been responsible for maintaining, for upwards of 18 months, this (almost obsessive) anti-Blakemore campaign, to the exclusion of virtually everything else, with other forms of animal abuse, in all their infinite and hideous variety, reduced to a footnote. So supporters can hardly be blamed for sensing a personal feud here, and acting accordingly.

In addition, the attempt to blame everything on the 'fanatical few' is the same monotonous game played by the State and its media allies: they continue to dig us this pit, and we as enthusiastically continue to jump into it. This is even a persistent theme in more radical publications, for example the CAW Bulletins, where much criticism is directed at 'the militant few'. But it must not be forgotten that 'extremists', real or imaginary, always function as an excuse for governments, organisations, companies to make no concessions, initiate no reforms, in effect to do nothing - when they never intended to do anything in the first place. And by deliberately and cynically blocking off all the 'legitimate' channels of protest, by exposing the futility of all 'moderate' routes to change, they drive activists into an escalating militancy - then cry out: 'terrorism!'

If extremists didn't exist, they would have to be invented: if indignant protestors hadn't written threatening letters to Blakemore, maybe some police hack would have had to write them, or perhaps Blakemore himself: perhaps he invented all these 'threats'. Who knows? It hardly matters. What does matter is that campaigning organisations must not use the same excuse of a 'fanatical minority' as a scapegoat for their own failings and shortcomings, instead of trying to learn, investigate, and understand. Moreover, the whole tactic functions as a controlling device, to line up supporters and subscribers behind the policies of the 'moderate' leaders.

On reflection, it is clear that if we could have invaded the science area, which would at the very least have made people sit up and take notice, we might well have received a fierce condemnation - not necessarily from the media, the public, the police - but from Animal Aid itself. Still, next year is another year: and something might happen.

BARRY MAYCOCK

ANIMAL EVENTS

NOV 12: Christmas Without Cruelty, Broadmead Baptist Church, Bristol. 11am - 4pm. Organised by Bristol Vegetarian and Vegan Group.

NOV 29: Christmas Living Without Cruelty, Knighton Parish Centre, Church Lane, Knighton, Leicester, 8pm - 10pm. Details from Leicester Animal Aid (0533 600402/356309/311557).

DEC 4: The annual Smithfield Show National Demonstration organised by the Vegetarian Society (UK). Tel: 061 928 0793

>> more animal news next page ->

ANIMAL DRUG BANKS

'PHARMACEUTICAL PROTEINS' is the name given to a sinister new British Company whose business will be to genetically engineer animals and then turn them into living drug banks. Already they have injected human genes for a blood clotting protein, Factor IX, into sheep eggs. The substance is then harvested from these individual transgenic animal factories later in life when it emerges in their milk.

The company, based in Edinburgh, will be the first of its kind in Europe. It is closely associated with the Institute of Animal Physiology and the Genetics Research and owns the rights to all the results of genetic engineering research that is carried out there. Graham Turnbull, Executive Director of Pharmaceutical Proteins, hopes that the first drugs created by his transgenic animals will be on the market within five years time.

SOCIABLE DOLPHINS

The Department of the Environment has introduced new standards for Britain's Dophinaria. Within five years they must upgrade their pools to the new standards, which recognise dolphins and killer whales as social animals, which may no longer be kept in "solitary confinement", or lose their licences. According to Margaret Klinowska of Cambridge University, whose report forms the basis of the new standards, "All of them will have to rebuild". With a bit of luck, some of them might shut down altogether.

JAPAN'S WILDLIFE RECORD

Japan, not content with being the world's largest consumer of whale meat and tropical hardwoods, has yet another record of which to boast. Japan is also the world's foremost trader in and importer of endangered species. A new international campaign launched by Sahabat Alam Malaysia and the Asia-Pacific Peoples Environment Network aims to stop the devastation and disappearance of thousands of species caused by the growing international trade in wildlife.

And it puts Japan firmly in the spotlight, for its importation of a staggering number of rare and endangered plants, reptiles, birds and mammals. According to the regulations of CITES (Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora), of which Japan is a member, much of the trade is illegal. Each year Japan imports 70,000 parrots from Asian countries alone; macaque, rhesus and tamarin monkeys, white tailed gibbons; 150 tons of crocodile skins from Indonesia, the Philippines and Malaysia.

An APPEN report, "Decimation of Wildlife - Japan as Number One", is available for \$8 each (min order 2 copies) from APPEN, 43 Sahween Road, 10050 Penang, Malaysia.

ANIMAL RIGHTS PRISONERS

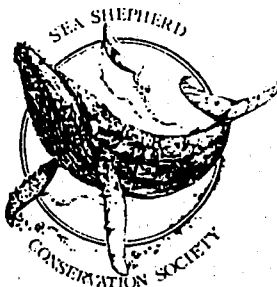
Note: Sally Carr, Robin Lane, and Lesley Phipps have been released.

THE BUAV DISPUTE

ANIMAL RIGHTS supporters may be somewhat bewildered by the claims and counterclaims of the BUAV Executive Committee (EC) and the Association of Clerical, Technical and Supervisory Staffs (ACTSS) concerning the current ACTSS campaign to restore trade union rights at the BUAV.

However, you can now read for yourselves the all-important original documents of the dispute, relating to the period April - August 1988. These documents came into the public domain at the opening of the Industrial Tribunal where sacked ACTSS shop steward Dominic Johnson is seeking reinstatement. They include extracts of BUAV EC minutes, normally barred to BUAV members; internal memos; and correspondence between the parties. The story they reveal is one of stark anti-trade union hostility by the BUAV EC; BUAV intransigence despite repeated conciliatory moves from the ACTSS and the BUAV ACTSS shop; and straightforward BUAV duplicity over the sacking of Dominic Johnson. The documents are available from Mac Daly, Wolfson College, Oxford OX2 6UD (for £1 including postage).

Also available are copies of letters from 19 Student Unions up and down the country which have so far expressed support for the ACTSS campaign. Registered in these are the practical consequences of the BUAV EC's actions: a rapid and far-reaching loss of credibility within the ranks of the student movement.



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CRITICS IN GLASS HOUSES SHOULDN'T THROW STONES....

IN HIS ARTICLE in GL65, Mike Simons tries to make a lot of mud stick on the ecology movement, accusing it of being based on Malthusian theories with crude racist and imperialist implications, funded by the extreme right and lacking any coherent strategy for achieving their ends. Simons is not only completely incorrect in his analysis of the green and ecology movement, but a complete hypocrite in his value judgements. I believe greens provide a far more intelligent politics than anything Simons or the SWP attempt, and that his arguments over the greens' history are full of fallacy and misrepresentation.

First of all, let's be clear about what the SWP recommend as a cure for all our ills: revolution. They argue that the only force capable of confronting capitalism (and if there's anything wrong with the world then it's due to capitalism) is the working class: so just convince the working class that the environment etc is an important issue and they'll all go on strike over it and everything will be better. This is not a caricature of the SWP; they have no politics as such; they only have an all or nothing policy that means they continually stand on the sidelines never selling out or compromising and never achieving anything either. All they can do is pour scorn on those who do actually want to achieve something and get involved in a struggle for realistic ends. They are the Jonah's of radicalism; forecasting gloom and doom for every struggle.

Of course, Simons would like to find some common essence to the green movement, but the whole beauty of it is its autonomy and decentralisation. When he tries to show what 'its' direction and 'its' politics are then he betrays his own bias in reducing everything to good/bad; fencing in the various unfettered strands of green thinking with his totalitarian regimentation of concepts and ideas. The only government the SWP has actually supported was the early Bolshevik one with its Red Terror, secret police, mass extermination of opposition (including workers' opposition), labour camps and militarisation of labour. They throw up their hands at the subsequent degeneration under Stalin, but given the original government is the course Soviet history took any surprise? This is the total hypocrisy of his "Greenpeace is not democratic" criticism; not only does the SWP not allow its members to organise to campaign for policy changes, but it operates under a Leninist "centralised

and authoritarian" structure and idealises one of the worst dictatorships of the 20th century, which between 1917 and 1924 (when Lenin died) saw the death of over 7m people.

Simons cites cases of the right jumping on the ecology bandwagon: Nixon celebrating Earth Day to draw attention from Vietnam, Ehrlich's "invitation to genocide" in his book *The Population Bomb*. Yet, even if we accept this left/right, good/bad, east/west, red/blue paranoia, there are plenty of examples of the right hijacking radical ideas: trade union democracy, abolition of the House of Lords, the active citizen, disarmament etc. The point is, it's impossible to produce the clean split between good and bad that Simons wants - the right can always take some or all of good radical ideas for their own purposes. To simply associate the right with a cause does not damn it, otherwise why should the SWP constantly cite *The Financial Times*, *The Independent* etc, to support their viewpoint? Presumably on their logic, if the SWP shares the same opinion as *The Independent* on Greenpeace (which Simons quotes approvingly) then the SWP must be a puppet of the right; unconsciously duped into perpetually whining at real radical movements and uncannily arguing for absolutely absurd tactics for all issues.

In conclusion, Simons' arguments against the ecology movement amount to no more than guilt by association; the sneering 'purity' of having never dirtied himself in real politics; and the blinkered judgements of someone unable to escape the rigid dogma of a shallow class politics.

John Mann
11 Churchill Ave
Hadleigh
Suffolk

DIE GRUNEN LESSONS

The article by Mike Simons on 'Die Grunen (GL65) is deeply disillusioning. I used to think that greens are somehow different; not wanting power for its own sake. Some degree of compromise is necessary, but Die Grunen in power has compromised so far that they now support things which no GL reader would go along with. Who can read what they supported in Hesse and not feel sick?

As far back as 1984 Rudolph Bahro wrote: "we have already reached the sage where our parliamentary group is putting forward proposals for reducing the military budget instead of total rejection. We are concerned for the wilting branches of industry; we defend the steel works; we are not for a halt to all experiments on animals, but for a few restrictions. No wonder the more radical campaigns against animal experiments and the nuclear State are beginning to say that the Greens don't make mistakes, they are the mistake".

In 1988 the realos want to appeal to the comfortably-off, and are currently dropping the commitments to withdraw from NATO, to shut down nuclear reactors and to create an alternative economic system. There are even rumours that they may ditch the fundis because they have most of the MPs and their policies will get votes, whilst the fundis will drop below the 5% hurdle.

Can any GL reader explain why this has happened? Surely this is more important than any other question. I for one am not going to beaver away for my local Green Party ever again, when at the end of the day, our work is going to be hijacked. Can any GL reader tell me why the German disaster won't be repeated here?

David Leaver
59 Sutherland Rd
London
N5 6XT

THE BENEFITS OF DECENTRALISATION

I believe it is an error in logic to compare entities within one category with those in another as though they were the same thing. Of course, defence foreign affairs and currency management are key instruments of power in present society, to use Martin Robinson's own words (letters, GL65). However, he must surely see that in a country where each local community controls its own economic and welfare arrangements, such key instruments become much more amenable to genuinely democratic control. This would be achieved by the much tighter control of economic policies each community would be able to achieve at base and also by enabling elected members to a central legislature to function as people's representatives. These representatives would then be able to focus on the much fewer subjects with which central government needs to concern itself,

instead of being swamped into a nullity by a plethora of matters which are none of its concern at all and which, by making them so, simply institutionalises government bureaucracy.

How far would Mrs Thatcher have gone with her Falklands War if she had needed the permission of a democratically run transport system to move troops and supplies? Or of a similar post office system to send her telegrams? But why does Martin worry so much about my scenario for non-centralisation? Why does he not construct his own? I would probably agree with it.

John Papworth
24 Abercorn Place
London NW8

>> more letters next page -->

ENERGY FOR LIES

For about two years now, electricity boards have been running ads on TV which contain a number of untruths. Green-minded people should join me in writing to the Advertising Standards Authority (ASA) at Brook House, Torrington Place, London WC1E 7HN to complain. It's not too late to start.

Many of the ads are relatively innocuous, but I feel that the term 'Energy for Life' is thoroughly misleading. It is a clear attempt to steal from the green movement its usage of 'Ecology - Politics for Life'. There

is no way in which electricity is energy for life - it does not create life in any form. In fact its generation destroys life. The logical slogan for the adverts which show the large number of uses to which electricity is put would be 'Electricity - Energy for your Lifestyle'.

One particular ad contains a number of grossly misleading and inaccurate statements. It states "it can mobilise the elements" and "harness nature". Neither of these statements is true. Later the ad says "it is the most prolific source of energy known to

man". This is also clearly not true. Electricity provides only 16% of energy used in this country. The most prolific source of energy is the sun. Later we are told "it is the most efficient and versatile energy we can command as our servant". While electricity is certainly versatile, it is certainly not efficient. Electricity generation is rarely more than 32% energy efficient.

In another ad, with a picture of the Thames Tidal Barrage, it is stated that electricity is "keeping the elements in check". The implication is that electricity is necessary to operate the barrage. While the present system may well be operated electrically, there is no necessary connection. It could easily be operated by steam.

I understand that the ASA will usually take note if they receive more than six letters on a subject. Because of the amount of time for which this ad campaign has been running I feel that a considerable write-in campaign is necessary to achieve success. It is vital that we do not stand by and allow these gross distortions to continue.

Mike Bell
69 Cambridge Rd
Oaklington
Cambridge

REUSCH DEFENCE

I fail to see how Robert Sharpe's book *The Cruel Deception*, reviewed in GL65 can be a "natural successor" to Hans Reusch's *Slaughter of the Innocent and Naked Empress*. How on earth can a book that is advertised so openly and without question by the vivisectionist community be a natural successor to books that have been hidden from the public at large? How can the author of such a book be able to make numerous radio and TV appearances on behalf of a 'Humane Research Fund' and be allowed the freedom of the press to expound his views on the uselessness of animal experiments, when Reusch's real exposes are not even allowed to be advertised on back of a bus?

The truth is plain to me. If this book had the qualities that *Slaughter* and *Empress* had, my bet is that it would not have got past the establishment barriers so easily. Any book worthy of being a natural successor should surpass its predecessor: *The Cruel Deception* does not fulfill this promise and the uninformed would still be ignorant of the truth. As the books by Hans Reusch have not had a fraction of the airing that Robert Sharpe has, are we to suppose that his latest book, *1000 Doctors Against Vivisection*, will again take a back seat in favour of a much publicised, faintly bothersome book?

A cruel deception indeed.

Eleanor Crabtree
"The Willows"
Ashby Rd
Harrogate HG1 1SD

"Why should I worry about oil running out? I won't be around."

Fortunately, for our children's sake, few people have such a selfish attitude to the future.

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Alternatives to fossil fuels will be found, they think. Well, we'd better hurry up.

Experts disagree on exactly when the world's supplies of oil will dry up, but around 60 years is the most optimistic view. Of course, Britain is lucky, we've got a lot of coal, but that will be used increasingly instead of oil to make replacement petrol and for plastics, fertilisers and medicine, to use ourselves and to export. So what of the alternatives?

Wind power. Wave power. Solar power. Tidal power.

Whilst their use will increase they are unlikely to be able to provide large amounts of economic electricity. Generally, the cost of harnessing their power is huge.

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And that is through nuclear energy.

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What's more, world supplies of uranium are estimated to last for hundreds of years, which will give us more than enough time to develop alternatives if we need to.

So, while some people might not care about their children's future...

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Nuclear electricity is a huge subject, so much so it is impossible to cover every aspect in one advertisement.

If you have any concerns, or would simply like to know more, ring 0222 219333 for your free information pack or write to Ian Shepherd at: Nuclear Electricity, 22 Buckingham Gate, London SW1E 6LB.

But I will.

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