

# GREEN *Line*

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Vietnam

GL68

NEW YEAR

1988-9

60p



# GREEN Line

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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

## 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.

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

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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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# ALF COMMENT SMITHS

## Whither GL?

SO THAT'S 1988 done with. Ten more GLs on your shelves or bonfires. Another treadmill year of unpaid effort, time and cost for us, the collective. Why then should we carry on next year? Us, producing. You, giving life to the mag through your support as readers and contributors. The end of the year seems a good time, in the midst of the yuletide consumerist mayhem, to stop and ask what GL should be doing in 1989.

Let's be clear: we don't produce GL as yet another consumer unendurable: we produce it as the only public forum that exists nationally for radical green debate. For that to work we have to have your comments, reports, criticisms and argument flooding in (and thanks to all those who do already write back). *If you've got a renewal reminder slip with this issue, why not fill up the back with your views even if you don't intend to renew. After all, how are we supposed to know what you want if you don't tell us?*

In addition, we have limited resources of knowledge, time, effort and money to chase up every issue that we'd like to see in the mag. We are aware of its unevenness over the months - simply a reflection of the energy that we can spare for each issue. If there is some area of the green debate that's missing; some green project that's unreported, then tell us about it!

### GL's delicate course

Your feedback is vital. Your opinions and constructive criticism, to which a magazine like GL must necessarily respond, are essential. The alternative is to shrink into a radical 'ghetto', with a 'cult' readership circling round increasingly narrow obsessions. This in the end was the fate of the old 'Peace News', issuing from the somewhat narcissistic world of the insufferably right-on: the relaunched 'Peace News' will probably swing the other way, embracing uncontroversial dullness in order to straddle the middle ground and attract a wider readership.

There is a real need for GL to steer a delicate course between these two very different destinies. You the reader have to choose between saying "I disagree with this therefore I can't be bothered to read it" and "I disagree with this therefore I shall write a

response."

If it lose contact with you the readership, GL will become merely whimsical, reflecting the various personal preoccupations of us collective members. This is why readers' contributions, particularly in the form of full-length articles, are so necessary. Being lazy sods, we'd rather write as little as possible! By preferring such articles to more 'professional' writing we are opening up the magazine to those who would normally be excluded from the usual mainstream publications. Please make use of this resource! This policy too has its dangers, with GL reflecting the concerns of zealous contributors rather than contemporary political realities.

Constructive complaints are welcome: mere whingeing often leaves us bewildered, especially when directed at the tone (aren't you angry at the state of the world?), as opposed to the content, of an article. More than ever we need genuine debate that really pushes our analysis forward, even into unknown, uncharted territory; that helps us think our position through, and does not simply play safe. Clarity of ideas is necessary for political effectiveness, to prevent us from being led down the usual blind alleys. So let a thousand debates, a thousand criticisms bloom!

Unfortunately, it is also depressingly clear that genuine debate is not greatly valued: there is much sheltering under slogans which are used, not to illuminate a political position, but to indicate group loyalty. Within the group, dissent is actually stifled; criticism exposed as disloyalty - you're not really Green, you're not really a genuine peace campaigner!

### The costs of blandness

Magazines of campaigning groups tend to reflect a spurious consensus and preach to the converted, with the fragments of real debate relegated to the censored and controlled Letters Page: CND's 'Sanity' waste trees revealing the nastiness of nuclear weapons to an already converted anti-nuclear readership. Such publications serve to confirm us in the rightness of our thinking; and their organisations survive from year to year because of their necessary function within the system - the containment and management of dissent.

Big Business and the State stitch things up in other ways too, on a more mundane level. Take Environment Now, an informative if politically pathetic journal, which Rank Hovis MacDougall seem likely to kill off for not making money; and then, not so long ago, a prominent animal rights magazine decided not to discuss campaigning issues (and risk mentioning the ALF, direct action, and other controversial topics) in order to become more glossily acceptable and 'get into WH Smiths'. If GL ever became accepted into WH Smiths, we would no longer be a thorn in anyone's side; and we would have failed.

All this doesn't mean that we're not

optimistic. To answer the question posed at the start of this piece: we'll be doing GL in 1989 because we believe it has a useful role to play in the green movement and potentially could play a much larger role as a place of argument.

We can build on the current strengths of the mag. For instance, GL is not reliant on advertising, though small ads do make a useful contribution. Nor does it have financial links with organisations, campaigning groups or other vested interests. Financial independence guarantees genuine political independence and certainly there are no hidden millionaires pulling the strings. Of course the downside is that small shop sales mean that the magazine is too dependent on subscriptions and the loss of a subscriber can become a major hand-wringing event.

### We refuse to be environmentalists

There is no doubt that GL would gain more readers by moving into the mainstream of 'environmentalism', at the same time attracting more advertising revenue: but at what cost? The 'environment' can all too easily provide the shelter of a 'safe' issue, discussed in deliberately 'neutral' language (neither left nor right!) to avoid upsetting anyone and taking a clear stand on crucial issues. Hence its attraction for cynical politicians who can focus on symptoms rather than causes, a distraction from social problems and their own utterly inadequate policies.

But as the spotlight falls increasingly on green concerns it provides an opportunity, not only to push harder and harder for radical policies, but also to show how ecological and social issues cannot be separated; how the mad people who run this society will continue to pursue profit at the expense of the people and the planet because they are caught up in a mad system; how any 'reformism' can only be cosmetic, tinkering around with a death machine.

There was a time when, not so long ago, Green candidates or speakers at public meetings were able to speak eloquently on the subject of rainforests or bottle-banks, then gape open-mouthed when asked about Northern Ireland, or the latest Housing Bill.

That time of somewhat endearing innocence is now over for us: and we must respond accordingly. In pushing for complete social transformation we must come out from behind environmentalism, and define ourselves as a movement that is defiantly anti-capitalist and unashamedly of the left (look at the Green Party policies on abolishing private ownership of land or basic income schemes funded by high taxation etc.).

GL, its readers and contributors, must be part of that process of definition.

Happy New Year,  
The Green Line Collective

## GREEN DIARY

It all seems very quiet out there. Are we missing something, apart from our deadlines?

**DEC 10: Aspects of the Criminality of Nuclear Weapons.** Institute for Law and Peace seminar at the Richardson Institute, Lancaster University. Details: Edward Stanter (0448 52216).

**DEC 10: Peace on Earth** - a day celebrating the 40th anniversary of the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights. In Birmingham. Details: Janet Bloomfield (021.643 4617).

**DEC 10-11: Gathering at Yellow Gate, Greenham Common.** See Peace News, page 22, for details.

**DEC 11: Picket of Wormwood Scrubs** at 4pm in support of the Broadwater Three. See back cover for details.

**DEC 13: Effects of radiation of women.** Talk by Dr Alice Stewart at London Ecology Centre, 45 Shelton St WC2. Organised by Womens Environment Network, 01-490-2511

**DEC 14: Anarchist's and Green's Dayskool** at NE London Poly. Animals and the Politics of Food. 1pm - 4pm, SIS, Holbrook Centre, Holbrook Rd., Plaistow, London E13. Near Plaistow tube and buses 69, 173. Free.

**JAN 17: Women and transport in cities.** Talk by Helen Dawson. See Dec 13th for details.

## IN SEARCH OF THE BARLING BOMBER

WHEN DEVELOPERS moved in a few months ago, taking over a site in the quiet Essex village of Barling Magna, they built a £300,000 house in the heart of a Green Belt area, despite local opposition. The five-bedroom mansion had practically been completed, when an opponent of the development decided to act, determined not to waste time writing to the wastepaper basket of the local MP, Essex County Council, or Rockford Council (which had granted permission for the building in the first place); nor to bother to campaign, canvas, leaflet, picket, organise, mobilise, agitate, moan in a nearby pub or write letters to the local newspaper. No: this anonymous activist (person or persons unknown) simply blew the house up.

The explosion occurred at 3 am on Sunday 21st August: it was an extremely effective piece of demolition, and rubble was scattered over a wide area. Soon it was obvious that this was not an accident: scientists sifted through the ruins and found pieces of wire and tubing near containers which may have contained fuel.

A belief then emerged that the bomb, an 'unconventional device', had been made from instructions contained in the 'Anarchists' Cookbook'. The local press excelled itself here: **EXPLOSION LEAVES VILLAGE IN FEAR** was a typical headline in the Southend Evening Echo of August 25th.

In actual fact, the only villagers who seemed to be apprehensive were, not surprisingly, the next door neighbours; generally speaking there was a good deal of tacit support for the action by local people who may even be concealing the Bomber's identity.

Many of them had resented losing a piece of open land: when permission was granted in 1984 for the construction of three houses on the site, there were objections about the effect this could have on an adjoining Grade Two listed building; also, a draft local plan had zoned it as a green belt. After the explosion council files containing the names of 25 people who objected to the development were turned over to the police.

Now the site is guarded 24 hours a day, patrolled by trained dogs: the house is being rebuilt. But the highly effective piece of direct action has stirred the imagination. One local resident remarked: "I think it's fair to say that there are a lot of people here who are not totally out of sympathy with the bomber. He made a statement about what's happening to the architecture in this area that ought to make people sit up and take notice... the village has been taken over by the nouveau riche."

The name 'Guy Fawkes of London' was inscribed in the visitor's book of Barling parish church shortly after the explosion. Was this a hoax, or the authentic signature of the Bomber? When I was recently in the area I visited the church in order to sign the book as 'a friend of Guy Fawkes'. But the door was firmly locked.

They must have seen me coming.

BARRY MAYCOCK

## COLD COMFORT

WHILE MRS THATCHER tries to sort out which gases are involved with which pollution problem in time to welcome everyone to her own ozone conference in London, John Pile of the British Antarctic Survey is claiming that the Montreal Agreement on CFCs is already way out of date. An additional problem, as we predicted in GL55, is that several important CFC producers in the South, Taiwan, China, India and South Korea, are refusing to cooperate and ratify the treaty. Given the potential markets for CFCs in these countries, they have the power to nullify any efforts made by those countries who are taking action.

BBC2's Newsnight coverage of the issue displayed the typical arrogance of the rich North in its implication that these wayward nations will be responsible when we all start getting skin cancer: as Michael Gwyn of the U.N. Environmental Programme put it, "the blame will rest squarely on them." It's not that we shouldn't put heavy pressure on those countries that selfishly put everyone else at risk, but you can see why a country like India finds our complaints about its industrialisation pretty hypocritical. Their

*gorging on the "magnificent cake", 1888*



## BANK YOUR BOTTLES AT TESCO'S

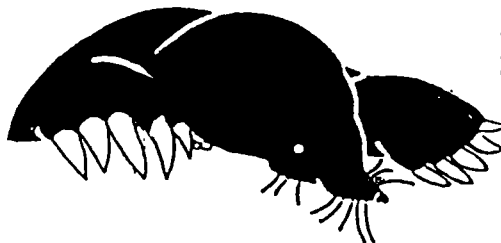
At the London Recycling Forum in September, Richard Taylor, Tesco's Divisional Director of Consumer Affairs, stated that it was Tesco's policy to provide space for bottle banks at every store which has over a hundred car-parking spaces: he was "disappointed" at the number of stores providing this facility. Following on from this, FOE are calling for local groups and supporters to write to their local Tesco store, if it has more than one hundred parking spaces, reminding them of Tesco's policy and persuading them to install a bottle bank, bearing in mind Tesco's policy. Contact FoE on 01-490-1555

## COVER PICTURE CREDIT

The photo shows dancer performer **Francoise Sergy** in her own work, **Gold**, a performance about wealth and the ecstasy of wanting. It includes a human fruit machine costume, a bride and teddy bear soap opera and a christmas tree cum wedding dress. Another work takes a scathing look at the contradictions between Western medicine and lifestyles. In **Barefoot Pacemaker** The dance of the Sugar Plum Fairy becomes "a sickly sweet nightmare for health fanatics, chain smokers and compulsive eaters alike" (Sophie Constanti, Spare Rib).

Sergy will be at York City Art Gallery on Jan 24th and Bretton Hall College on Jan 25th. But she welcomes bookings from groups, whether in the workplace or the community. She is partially supported by FoE.

For more info, or to book a performance or photographic exhibition of her work, contact her at 48 Morat St, London SW9 0RR, tel: 01-735-1640



## FOR ANTARCTICA

domestic producers simply don't have the resources to make rapid switches like ICI and DuPont, and risk being frozen out of the market in CFC replacements. Clearly, the question of ensuring that the eventual banning of CFCs isn't used against Third World industries will need cleverer handling than Newsnight managed.

And just in case India, China, Taiwan and South Korea were in danger of thinking that Northern Governments were getting any less hypocritical, 35 nations duly carved up Antarctica among themselves during November. Whilst lip service was paid to environmental and wildlife protection (although that didn't extend to allowing NGOs the slightest input to the treaty discussions), more in evidence was lip smacking at the prospect of getting hold of the minerals buried under the ice.

As the Malaysian PM declared: "I've heard the South Pole is made of gold and I want my piece of it." He's clearly realised it's better, at least in the short term, to sit at the rich's table rather than pick up the crumbs underneath. Why should we expect those CFC producers to act differently either?

*gorging on the "magnificent cake", 1988*



## NEW READING MATTER

FoE have recently revamped their quarterly magazine. "Earth Matters" is a nice improvement on the old mag., with an attractive layout on a par with most good green magazines. The first issue has featured on waste dumping in the Third World, global warming and pesticides, plus news of campaigns and local group activity, reviews, letters and more, all for the price of £1. FoE hope to attract many more supporters with Earth Matters. Whether they do or not we shall see, but the mag. is certainly worth checking out through FoE, 26-28 Underwood Street, London N1 7JQ, or at your local radical bookshop.

## SALMON FARMING: BOON OR BLIGHT?

Salmon farming is one of the latest growth industries, particularly in Scotland where it is taking off along with farming seaweed and rearing oysters and mussels. In the last five years, the number of salmon farms has trebled to 200, producing 12,700 tonnes of fish worth £50m last year. However this Scottish economic miracle has been causing concern among environmental and animal rights groups. This Summer, articles on the controversy have appeared in CEED Bulletin and Compassion in World Farming's mag AgScene.

What does salmon farming involve? Firstly, eggs are stripped from breeding females and mixed with male milt in hatcheries. The young "fingerlings" are then transferred to cages 50 yards square in freshwater lochs or the sea. At the time of slaughter, anywhere between 1 to 4 years later, the stocking density is about 20kg per metre; about one (3.5kg) fish packed in a cubic area smaller than a portable TV. After being starved for two weeks, the fish are stunned before being bled to death.

Research has shown that fish feel pain and experience fear and anxiety, and there appear to be welfare problems at all stages of rearing, quite apart from the eventual slaughter. If the young fish are transferred straight into the sea from the hatchery they suffer significant physiological shock, resulting in a 15-20% mortality rate. Normally a young salmon would have time to adjust to the changing salinity as it migrated downstream. Naturally, any handling of the fish also causes stress.

Confining a migratory animal like the salmon to cages, 50 yards square probably causes an effect to their mental welfare: the cages mimic the obstructions they would experience in their up-stream migrations and their frustration in the cage is expressed in constant agitation and leaping.

The salmon farmers also pose a threat to wildlife. The large numbers of fish not surprisingly attract predators, which doesn't please the farmers. According to Marine Conservation Society figures, 1050 seals, 2050 cormorants and shags, and 200 herons were shot or entangled on farm sites in 1987. The Scottish Animal Rights Network estimates that 6000 seals are shot annually, three times as many as are killed in the infamous Orkney seal cull!

Predation will not be solved by such massacres of wildlife. There are alternative methods of keeping them away, such as top and bottom nets and electronic seal scarers, though unfortunately their use is not compulsory. The problem could be lessened by better siting of farms: one farm was set up less than a mile from a well-known colony of several hundred seals - clearly asking for trouble!

Pollution is another fishbone of contention. TBT is used by many farmers, illegally, to stop fouling of nets and cage structures. It has adverse effects on all marine life and was banned in 1987. Nirvan, an organophosphorus pesticide, is used to rid salmon of sea lice. It also kills off the surrounding crustaceans, including commercially important lobsters and crabs. One scientist has said that if Nirvan was banned it would mean the end of salmon farming.

In order to get that oh-so-delicious pink colour out of fish that actually have greyish flesh as a consequence of their intensive rearing, farmers use Cantaxanthin dye. It has been banned in the U.S.A. as a potential carcinogen, but it is still allowed in the E.E.C. to disguise farmed salmon flesh and

battery eggs. There are no programmes to test for antibiotic residues and no requirement for labelling what went into the salmon during rearing.

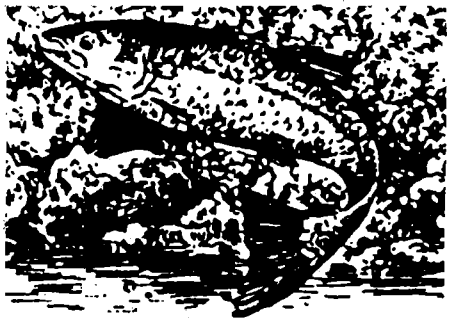
According to a Clyde Purification Board estimate, an average 25 tonne salmon farm produces as much sewage as 7,000 people! This sewage, along with detritus and uneaten food, sinks to the sea or loch bed forming a black sludge. The Marine Conservation Society will be studying the effects of this on sea-bed ecology to test widespread fears that it is having a serious effect. The putrefying sewage produces toxic gases such as ammonia and hydrogen sulphide which can poison the salmon above, and some sites have already been abandoned as a result of their own pollution.

Salmon farmers claim that "all fish farmers are environmentalists because it is the environment which sustains our crop". This is similar to the verbiage that comes from terrestrial farmers and don't need reminding of their grubby environmental record. Other people who rely on the sea or the lochs for their livelihoods are equally sceptical. Scalpay fishermen have been saying that "within a year or two of the installation of fish farms, mussels, winkies and other shellfish harvested for generations have vanished and other species within a couple of miles of the cages are inedible due to their eating the unnatural farmed salmon."

At present there are about 1600 jobs in the Scottish salmon industry, although one estimate reckons each job has been subsidised to the tune of £90,000! Salmon farming is not exactly a local initiative either. Half the total salmon production is controlled by three multinationals: Unilever, Booker McConnell and Golden Sea Produce, who are piling in while the price is still high.

Paul Johnson of CIWF found that there were many people within the industry and in official bodies with damning evidence against fish farming who were unwilling to go public. Even on the information that has been allowed to leak out, it is clear salmon farming is far from the wonderful project its publicisers claim it to be. CIWF are asking their Scottish supporters to look out for planning applications for new farms and to object on environmental, conservation and welfare grounds. CIWF are also appealing for supporters to write to the Farm Welfare Council, Block B, Government Buildings, Hook Rise South, Tolworth, Surbiton, Surrey KT6 7NF asking them to extend, as a matter of urgency, their brief so as to cover the welfare of fish on fish farms, bearing in mind that salmon, the main species exploited, has a natural migratory instinct.

Which will your next tin of salmon be: a wild creature caught in a net, or a pink painted and intensively farmed bag of toxic chemical residues?



CIWF can be found at 20 Lavant St, Petersfield, Hants, GU32 3EW Tel: (0730) 64208

GRAHAM HOOPER

## QUOTES OF THE MONTH

White Kenyan, on the new shoot-to-kill policy against the poachers: "Personally, I don't mind if they shoot a few people, there's too many people anyway. It's the elephants I'm worried about."

Michael 'green beret' Heseltine worrying that the Soviets as well as Mrs Thatcher might be using green issues for ulterior motives: "We are witnessing the birth of green geopolitics. We must be sure we are well prepared." Watch this space for the first news of East-West Lentilburger Limitation Talks.

## HINKLEY: NO POINT

The Hinkley Point Inquiry, otherwise known as the search for the lost white elephant, has been plodding on for three months now. Opponents are concentrating on the issues of Need and Economics. In the first case it is argued that Hinkley point is unnecessary and in the second that energy needs can be met more cheaply and safely by other forms of electricity generation or by conservation. The CEGB meanwhile, are trying to use the Government's 'Non-Fossil Fuel' component, inserted into the privatisation terms for the electricity industry, to avoid answering their critics at the inquiry - who number over 11,000. But then they've already spent £17m on components for a reactor whose future is supposed to be still in the balance. Perhaps they're trying to tell us something...

If you want to follow the proceedings in detail then you can get the excellent fortnightly bulletin *Hinkley Inquirer* from Stop Hinkley Campaign, Cannington Court, Cannington, Bridgewater, Somerset TA5 2HA (£12 for the year).

And since some readers didn't realise that the 'ad' on the back-page of GL67 was a spoof, here is one objector's totally unambiguous variation on the same theme (thanks to Terry Mulvihill):



## WEN.....??

.....NOW!!

The Women's Environmental Network has had a highly successful launch and has produced its first Newsletter, which you can get, along with info on speaker meetings etc. from WEN, 287 City Rd, London EC1V 1LA for £20, £10 or £7 per year depending on your wealth. There are two meetings this month (see Green Diary) and others already arranged for next year.

Earlier this Summer, Elzbieta Rawicz-Oledzka from Wolnosc i Pokoj (Freedom & Peace) spoke of the growing green activism in Poland in response to the environmental and social damage being done by its crumbling industry. Increasingly Poles are willing to confront the authorities and face fines, harassment and prison in the fight to reclaim their own land, air and water. Currently 80% of Poland's rivers are too polluted for industrial use!

Elzbieta also appealed for donations of books, magazines and money for the Green Library project she works for. It aims to provide an information service in ecologically distressed parts of the world, and one is scheduled to open in Poznan, Poland, in May.

WEN itself hopes to be "a focal point for women to join together to shed new light on the war of survival." There will be campaigns on issues like the effects of chemical residues in breast milk, on radiation and pregnancy and on how transport systems are organised in relation to women. Why not give it your support? Write to them at the address above or phone 01-490-2511

## HOW PEUGEOT TAKES YOUR BREATH AWAY

FoE are asking for supporters to boycott Peugeot after lobbying by the company sabotaged an EEC agreement to reduce pollution from small cars.

By June 28 this year, the agreement to curb emissions of nitrogen oxides (NOx) and hydrocarbons had been all but accepted, following prolonged wrangling, with Denmark, Greece, West Germany and the Netherlands supporting tougher limits (in line with FOE's demands) against the rest. A compromise was reached to review all EEC vehicle emissions legislation by the end of 1990.

Then Peugeot persuaded the French government to withdraw their acceptance of the package and insisted that the limits remain in force for at least five years, so blocking any change of more radical curbs at a later date. Furthermore, France is now also opposing other member states offering tax incentives to encourage people to buy cleaner cars, measures which would put the public off Peugeot's dirtier vehicles. Takes your breath away, n'est pas?

So when you buy a Peugeot 405, not only can you drive like a maniac, as suggested by the adverts, but you can do so safe in the knowledge that, thanks to Peugeot, your dangerous macho power symbol won't be the dirtiest in town.

Stop the Lion from going from strength to strength and join the boycott. FOE action days are planned. Details from FOE, 26-28 Underwood Street, London N1 7JQ, 01 490 1555.

Forget about murdered turkey, nut roast, Christmas Cake etc. Try something unfestively different this year...  
...like this experimental veganisation of the famous Bakewell.

## GRAHAM'S BAKEBETTER TART

Shortcrust pastry made with 4oz wholemeal flour and oil or vegan margarine.

Jam

2oz vegan margarine

about 2oz sugar or to taste

3oz ground almonds

3oz wholemeal flour or bread/ cake crumbs

drop of almond essence

couple of teaspoons baking powder

# go Vegan!

Melt the margarine in a small saucepan then add the sugar, almonds, flour/ crumbs, almond essence and baking powder and a little bit of water to make a sponge cake-ish consistency. Mix well. Roll out the pastry and line a shallow 8 inch/ 200mm baking tin with it. Spread on a nice layer of jam and finally spread the cake mix carefully on top. Put in a hot oven and bake for 30 mins.

## XMAS PRESENTS FOR LIFE

The charity Play for Life has a supplement to its Guide to Playthings for Life, No.3. Everything recommended aims to help children learn to love life, to respect it and never to destroy it; to grow up with positive attitudes towards themselves and other people; to discover beauty and harmony in nature and a sense of wonder about the world and the universe. Send S.A.E. to 31b Ipswich Rd, Norwich NR2 2LN

## INTERMEDIATE XMAS PRESENTS

The Centre for Alternative Technology's catalogue has loads of gadgets that you could give for Christmas that are actually useful. There are solar battery chargers, solar fans, windchargers; organic compost makers, seaweed extract plant food; water filters, non-lethal (to the mouse that is) mouse traps...

For a full catalogue write to the Quarry Bookshop, C.A.T. nr Machynlleth, Powys SY20 9AZ

## GOING AGAINST THE GRAIN

Addy & Ken, writing in the magazine *New Leaves*, describe how to grow, harvest and cook Quinoa, a highly nutritious and hardy grain crop that used to be widely cultivated in the Andes. The only problem is to remember to wash the coating of bitter saponins from the seed before cooking, after which it makes a nourishing meal on its

## WITH NUTRITIOUS QUINOA

own. Write to 40 Southfields, Hendon, London NW4 4NR with an S.A.E. and they'll send you some seeds.

*New Leaves*, the magazine for the Movement for Compassionate Living the Vegan Way, is available from K & J Jannaway, 47 Highlands Rd, Leatherhead, Surrey KT22 8NQ for £3 a year (four issues).



## ARC PRINT NEWS

ARC PRINT, the animal rights printers and publishers, is currently working on a new publication, a report on the implications of transplant surgery. This report, written by Steve Beddard, will counter the inflated claims and propaganda surrounding transplant techniques. Recent events have delayed publication as it has been updated to take into account the very latest controversy over the vivisector's pipedream, transplanting animal organs into human beings.

Arc has also been involved in printing the Oxford Living Without Cruelty guide. This has been produced by the Campaign for a Cruelty-Free Oxford, an alliance of five local groups - and is a useful guide to retailers that stock 'cruelty-free' products. Five thousand copies have been printed, and the cost has been paid entirely by a selection of advertisers; therefore they can be distributed free, especially to students at various colleges.

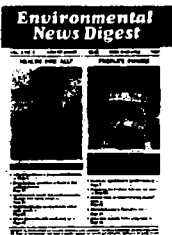
Arc Print has now produced a formidable body of animal rights publications, as well as innumerable leaflets. More money is needed in order to ensure its survival. Contact Arc Print at 265 Seven Sisters Road, Finsbury Park, London N4 2DE.

## THE GRAIGIAN SOCIETY



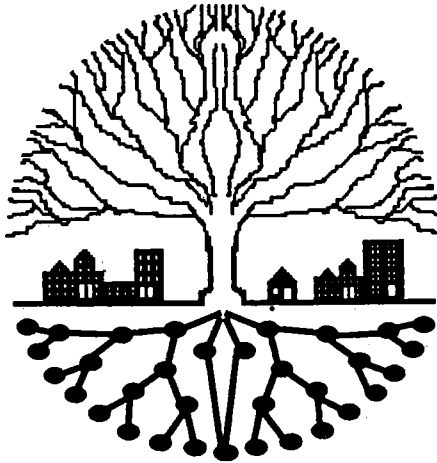
*Across the Sound from  
the Llyn peninsula St  
There are two & the  
it commands a wide  
towards Snowden in the east & t*

If you're feeling confused and rootless in these Post-Fordist New Times, then get back to green basics with the Graigian Society's Original Green Manifesto of 1965. Two of the current members founded the society as the first New Age monastery. You are welcome to visit them at 10 Lady Somerset Rd, Kentish Town, London NW5 1UP and to join (£5/£3 per year).



periodicals available or the money to subscribe to all these periodicals. The subscription rate for a year is US\$40/ (by airmail) OR US\$30 (by seamount). All payments to: SAHABAT ALAM MALAYSIA/ Friends of the Earth, Malaysia, 43, Salween Road, 10050 Penang, Malaysia. A small donation to support the work of this non-profit environmental conservation organisation will be greatly appreciated.

Note: Due to the expensive bank commission levy on overseas cheques, please try to send all payment to us by BANK DRAFT/INTERNATIONAL MONEY ORDER.



## GREENNET IS HERE!

With the increasing use of computers by campaigning groups etc. it has been possible to establish information networks such as PeaceNet and EcoNet in the U.S.A. Europe has its own GreenNet and for the cost of a modem plus a subscription you can link into this valuable resource.

You can 'post' letters instantly to other users, read electronic 'noticeboards' about Greenpeace, Central America, marine pollution, European environmental groups and so on. Moreover, you can add your own input to these 'noticeboards'. Both FoE and Survival International have been able to mount rapid media responses to emergency situations through GreenNet.

Whilst there is a certain unease about using computers, given the bad conditions for many of the workers who produce them and the link they have to militarism, GreenNet aims to provide environmentalists, peace and human rights activists with communications "as good as that available to the government, military and multinationals". We might as well beat them at their own game if we can.

Contact GreenNet at 26 Underwood St, London N1 7JQ, tel:01-490-1510

## SUBSCRIBE!

ENVIRONMENTAL NEWS DIGEST  
BULLETIN (6 ISSUES A YEAR)  
LEADING ENVIRONMENTAL  
NEWS BULLETIN FROM THE  
ASIA PACIFIC REGION.

This is an extremely useful news bulletin which is a compilation of news and articles taken from over 300 international periodicals and magazines on development and environment, with special emphasis on Third World issues. The news are condensed/summarised and categorised under 14 different sections for easy reference - pollution, natural resources, energy, economics, legislation, management, multinationals, health, wildlife, agriculture, toxic chemicals, working environment, disarmament, and urban environment. Each issue is 60 pages and also contains several full-length features articles, photographs, cartoons, illustrations and charts etc. This bulletin is suitable for organisations, institutions and libraries as a comprehensive reference document. This END is also useful to concerned individuals and researchers who do not have the time to read all the major environment/development

## TRAVEL NEWS

\* Rumania, shamed by its appearance in GL64, has suddenly closed down its chemical plant at Giurgiu, which had been polluting the Bulgarian town of Russe across the Danube.

\* The ex-FoE leader and now Environment Minister in the French Government, Brice Lalonde, seems to be losing touch with reality. His latest revisionist pronouncement claims that France's Pacific nuclear tests are O.K. now that they are underground, ignoring of course the sinking of the Rainbow Warrior. This is despite evidence of cracking and leakage of radioactivity from the coral around the test sites.

\* In Australia November 5th was marked by the grandiose official opening of Roxby Downs by B.P. and W.M.C. The CEGB will be taking uranium yellowcake; Japan will also use Roxby to replace its Namibian and South African sources. Someone needs to tell these people that theft of resources and land is the same wherever it happens.

\* The U.S. Government is beginning to pick up the bill for its nuclear weapons industry, reckoned to be about \$200bn for cleaning up and modernisation. Ohio State has won a crucial court battle that forces the federal government to clean up the radioactive mess surrounding the Uranium Enrichment Complex near Piketon, Ohio. Other states may well follow this lead where they have aging and polluting military sites.

\* ZAHACK, an organic, ecologically managed agricultural community in central Portugal, have sent us a plea for support. They, and many others in rural Portugal are threatened by the spread of Eucalyptus plantations. The damage these trees themselves do to local ecosystems is well-known - for instance from World Bank projects in India and Brazil - leaving aside the problems caused by the agrochemicals used in their cultivation.

This would be enough to oppose their replacing Portugal's rich heritage of natural tree species. More sinister is the connivance of the Eucalyptus industry in 'helping' to cause large forest fires that literally burn the people off the land. Apparently children and patients from psychiatric hospitals have been paid for fire-raising and are subsequently the ones arrested rather than the forestry bosses. When their fields, and sometimes villages, have been razed the locals have little option but to sell up for whatever the forestry companies offer. Portugal has lost 50% of its pine forests since 1974.

The workers at Zahack are well aware of the need for action but it is proving difficult to galvanise the local farmers: "hundreds of years of poverty and oppression have accustomed many here to accept such ecological catastrophes as destiny while the youth escape from the poverty into the factories and into the cities. Public consciousness of environmental danger is still missing".

Zahack appear to be running a similar project to Green Deserts' Los Molinos farm in Spain (see Network, GL59). Like Green Deserts they need financial support and publicity in Britain. Also they are looking for volunteers to come and work on the community (midway between Porto and Lisbon), especially those with knowledge of geology, building skills, solar power and windmills.

For more details write to Zahack, Apartado 6059, 3000 Coimbra, Portugal.



## CRUMBLING ORGANISATIONS

THE NATIONAL TRUST isn't exactly known for its radicalism, so it was hardly surprising that a majority of members voted (in a postal ballot, the results of which were announced at the end of October) to reject a motion banning hunting on Trust land. The nature of the vested interests that control the Trust was thereby exposed for all to see, not just because of the vote itself, but by the whiff of corruption that surrounded it. As one member wrote afterwards:

*"I was very surprised that there had been a vote at all. Weekend news coverage was the first I had heard of any ballot. I understand that in a postal ballot 75,583 members voted in all, 46,248 to continue to allow hunting. As the Trust is reported to have a membership of 1.6 million, does this mean that a million members did not bother to vote? Here's one member who never got the chance. I never received a ballot paper."*

As always, campaigners face a dilemma as to whether to become involved in such organisations, trying to change the unchangeable and move the immovable, or whether simply to let them sink into the mess of their own corruption. Certainly those who can afford to join, or who are already members, could get involved to the extent of ensuring that the Trust is properly accountable, truly representative of the concerns of its members.

But within these august institutions, blessed by the establishment, real change is stubbornly resisted: witness the problems faced by the RSPCA Members' Watchdog. This was set up to monitor the work of the RSPCA to ensure that its activities were genuinely effective in the fight against animal abuse: pressure from Watchdog has achieved some success, and at this year's AGM a member of Watchdog was elected to the Council.

However on October 26th five members of Watchdog, including the council member, were hauled before the full council to face expulsion. In a perfunctory and farcical 'trial' one of the council members, Major Stabback, even compared the event to a foxhunt and expressed his desire to be in at the kill! In the end the final decision on the expulsion of the Watchdog members was postponed until the next RSPCA Council meeting on November 30th. It is expected that the Council will move to expel the five members as part of a wider attempt to reverse progressive policies which the membership

have fought for over the past two decades. However, the struggle goes on: Watchdog has called for all animal rights campaigners to join the RSPCA and fight for more democracy and accountability within it. Membership of the RSPCA still remains open to hunters and vivisectionists. Indeed more than one AGM has seen animal abusers turn up to vote down a progressive motion, and then leave the room; their interest in the RSPCA being solely to ensure that it does not take up effective opposition to factory farming, hunting and vivisection. *Watchdog can be contacted at: RSPCA Members Watchdog, 44 Kingsley Road, Horley, Surrey RH6 8RH.*

There are similar problems at the Royal Society for the Protection of Birds which has developed a cosy relationship with the National Federation of Anglers, despite the vast number of birds that are maimed and killed in lost and discarded fishing tackle. After pressure from the CAA, Dr A.N. Lance, the RSPB's Director of Conservation, stated: *"I must make it clear at the outset that the RSPB is not opposed to angling, or indeed to field sports generally. The policies we pursue are in line with the terms of our Royal Charter, which precludes any RSPB involvement in the discussion of the ethics of field sports."*

It would be easy to dismiss these organisations as a lost cause, but it might yet be the case that wave upon wave of reforming pressure will eventually force even these entrenched establishment societies to yield to more radical ideas.

The BUAV is also in trouble. Last May the BUAV Executive Committee unilaterally tore up the Trade Union Recognition Agreement with the ACTSS, and later sacked the ACTSS shop steward: the union then launched a boycott campaign, in which they were joined by the NUS. So now the BUAV 'Health with Humanity' campus bus tour is in shreds following the withdrawal of support from around 80% of the student unions approached. Furthermore some Labour controlled councils have cancelled their invitations to town centre sites, and other authorities may follow. To compensate, the BUAV is now arranging town centre sites in secrecy, and is therefore not informing local contacts until the last minute. The whole tour has become a shambles.

Obviously there must be change within the BUAV, and there is certainly a lot of opposition to the present BUAV leadership. A campaign is under way to begin organising to replace the current BUAV EC with one that supports trade union rights. *Please contact Mac Daly at Wolfson College, Oxford OX2 6UD (Tel 514824).*

## ...NEWS...NEWS...NEWS

\* Don't forget to join the CAA (Campaign for the Abolition of Angling) - a mere £4 annual subscription. This small but growing organisation consists of over 200 members, with 30 contacts covering 23 areas, and is sending ripples of anxiety through the angling fraternity. It has recently announced a change of address: now it hangs out at *PO Box 130, Sevenoaks, Kent TN14 5NR.*

\* The Anti-McDonalds Fayre, which took place at London's Conway Hall on October 29th, was an astonishing success, with crowds pouring in all day, desperate to hurl themselves at the vegan masterpieces served up by Veggies from Nottingham. This sort of event may start a precedent, a new kind of celebratory occasion: how about an anti-W.H. Smiths Fayre, featuring 'unacceptable' books and magazines, those that are banned, forbidden, subversive? London Greenpeace, who organised this event, need financial support to survive: contact 5 Caledonian Road, London N1.

## A COMMITMENT TO THE DOLPHINS OF THE PACIFIC

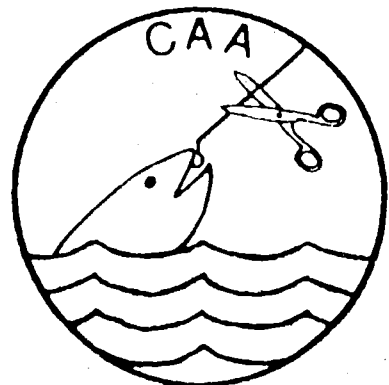
IN TERMS of sheer numbers the death by drowning of dolphins in tuna nets in the eastern tropical Pacific (ETP) remains the largest slaughter of marine mammals in the world today. To make matters worse, it is mostly legal and entirely intentional. The fishermen claim that they don't want to catch dolphins in their nets, but the fact remains that their methods rely entirely on setting their nets upon the dolphins in the first place. Therefore, large tuna canners like STAR KIST and CHICKEN OF THE SEA, who have been the target of a nation-wide tuna boycott, must take responsibility as long as they continue to buy yellowfin tuna on a "no questions asked" basis.

Only about 10% of the world's tuna is caught in this way and it only involves yellowfin tuna in the ETP; 90% of the world's tuna catch does not rely on the murder of dolphins. Sea Shepherd is demanding that this 10% be caught in some other manner not lethal to dolphin populations.

An estimated 75,000-150,000 dolphins die each year in the nets of the tuna fleets who fish the ETP. While the United States allows 20,500 dolphins to be killed each year "incidentally" by the 50 or so boats in the US fleet, former government scientists and observers have recently come forward to say that the number killed is actually closer to 50,000.

The men who were formerly employed by the US National Marine Fisheries Service (NMFS) to monitor dolphin deaths by US tuna boats, accused the Fisheries Service of doing nothing about unreliable counts and the harassment of government observers aboard the boats. Once out at sea, former observers stated that they had been threatened physically to falsify their counts; in one instance a 4" underwater bomb was tossed near one observer. They also said that tuna boat captains would conceal their logs and throw personal property overboard.

SEA SHEPHERD is making the plight of the dolphins in the Pacific a priority campaign for the rest of 1988 and throughout 1989. Plans are afoot to halt this massacre. Also, the boycott of HJ Heinz and Ralston Purina Products is continuing. Information is available from: *Sea Shepherd, Box 7000-S, Redondo Beach, CA 90277.*



\* One of the more radical animal rights magazines to have come our way recently is *Fur n' Feathers*, a highly recommended publication from the US. Its stance on vivisection is uncompromisingly abolitionist, which may account for the fact that editor Virginia Tyrendall was offered \$24,000 to close down the journal and shut up; she refused. Contact PO Box 2011, Burbank, CA 91507. Subscription cost is currently \$8.00 a year (cheques payable to Virginia Trendall).



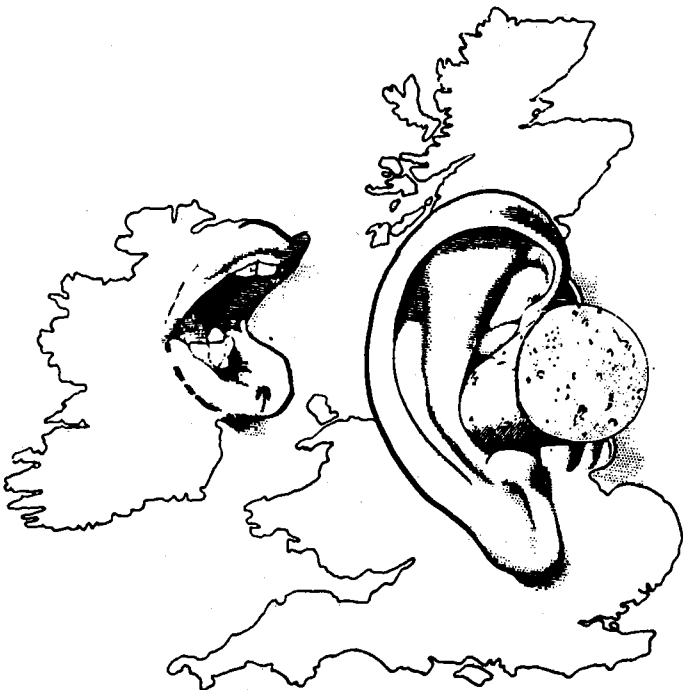
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In 1989 will fall the 20th anniversary of the most recent arrival of British troops in Northern Ireland. The Government's response is likely to be increased repression of dissent and stifling of real debate about the future of Ireland as a whole, as has already been signalled by Thatcher's belicose speech to this year's party conference and the new banning orders on Sinn Fein supporters. STEVE DAWE, who was secretary to the Committee for Withdrawal from Ireland from 1979-1981, argues that greens and peace activists must stop ignoring the Irish question, and instead forge stronger links with peace and green groups in the North and South in order to develop radical proposals for creating a reunited and independent Ireland.

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## Can we solve Britain's Irish problem?

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IN SEPTEMBER 1979, I was in Belfast as a member of a Young Liberal delegation meeting with the major political groups of Northern Ireland. Walking into the Turf Lodge estate in south-east Belfast I saw children stoning an armoured car and three army foot patrols - all in the space of a ten-minute walk. I already felt I had entered an occupied country. In central Belfast, attempting to find a taxi to take me to Truf Lodge, I had seen an army patrol in Castle Street. I seemed the only person on the street who could see it: four silent soldiers with guns held ready walking slowly in twos on opposite sides of the street might be a novelty for a single day, but as a daily occurrence this could hardly be seen as anything other than as a form of intimidation - hence the 'invisibility' of the patrol to the Catholics of the area.

The area I stayed in is now part of the constituency of Gerry Adams - not the most peaceable of human beings. His attitudes and those of the community he represents did not arise accidentally; they are the direct product of British Government policies in Northern Ireland since 1969 - a continuation of British repression of dissent in Ireland that has a history of hundreds of years. But the most surprising thing about the British role in Northern Ireland is the almost complete absence of comment on or engagement in the issue by peace groups in Britain. The British radical movement sustains campaigns on Nicaragua, El Salvador, the Pacific and South Africa. But the nearest area undergoing low-intensity warfare, an area which has contributed perhaps as many as two million people to Britain's population, attracts almost no interest.

There are many possible reasons for this. One is that campaigns on the issue in Britain have tended to attract supporters of republicanism and their Marxist allies. These highly sectarian groupings are noted for many things, but not for their allegiance to non-violence. Any open campaign on Ireland attracts their support and is then 'self-marginalised' by their presence. Recent attempts to launch a Time To Go campaign are explicitly challenging this problem; trying actively to deter overt republican involvement which would destroy the possibility of a mass campaign. Another reason for the lack of interest here in Irish issues is the deep-seated anti-Irish racism of our culture. To this must be coupled ambivalence about nationalism: never having been invaded, occupied and having therefore avoided having our culture smashed, people in England particularly find nationalism to be a dirty word. Generally, they have not absorbed the idea of what it is like to live in a country which has been colonised; where the normal culture has been destroyed as a policy of the rulers.

Since the colonial history of Ireland is longer than that of any other British colony, the impact of British rule has been correspondingly severe. The Irish have almost lost their native language, forms of dress, poetry, art and even a lot of their own history. Ireland is still engaged, after more than sixty years of the 26 county republic, in a rediscovery of its own past. This assault upon identity is most keenly felt in the six counties of the North's nationalist population, who have lived under Unionist rule since 1921. However these problems are perceived within the peace movement, there can be no excuse for allowing this conflict to continue by tacitly accepting it. If non-violence is appropriate in response to cruise missiles then it is appropriate to an actual war situation in a place ruled from Westminster.

We have recently entered another new phase in the history of Ireland's British problem. The Irish Republican Army (IRA) is raising its level of activity in preparation for what will probably be an extremely bloody commemoration of twenty years of 'the troubles' next year. The British Government's response has yet to become entirely clear, but it seems apparent that the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) and the SAS have

been following a shoot-to-kill policy for the past few years. Although this has only come into public attention quite recently with the Gibraltar killings and the Stalker affair, accusations of assassination of political activists have been made against the SAS since it was first sent to Northern Ireland.

Greens are committed to the creation of a peaceful, decentralised, participatory democracy. Greens of all parties involved themselves in the major social conflict of the miners strike, and have involved themselves in many other campaigns for social peace. Yet, Northern Ireland attracts very little comment - either in green journals or by green organisations, whose remit could include Northern Ireland.

### Hidden history

How did the Northern Ireland we know today come into being? Centuries of plantation, the precursor of British colonial practice, placed Scottish and English communities throughout Ireland and especially in the north-east, which was developed as an industrial area. The colonial principle of divide and rule originated in Ireland, as did most of the worst practices of British colonialism: to Ireland we owe the Special Branch, whose forerunner was the Special Irish Branch; the Special Patrol Group had its origins in the Special Patrol Group of the RUC; the most repressive legislation that British Governments have introduced (e.g. Prevention of Terrorism Act) derives from what was already in force in Ireland or in recent developments in Ireland.

The British Government of 1921, under Lloyd George, created Northern Ireland and forced Irish representatives to accept it as the price for a degree of Irish independence(1). Irish politicians and the Irish people were deeply divided about the acceptance of this partisan treaty and a civil war ensued. The history of what at first was called the Irish Free State is one of suppression of civil liberties, internment of dissenters and sporadic campaigns of violence by militant republicans against the Dublin Government. In this we can see the dubious triumph of divide-and-rule policies, setting the Irish people against themselves as well as splitting Ireland itself(2).

In the period leading up to the current conflict, beginning in 1969, Northern Ireland was a Unionist-dominated society where gerrymandering of electoral boundaries and discrimination in housing and job allocation rendered the Catholic, and generally Irish nationalist, community one of the poorest in western Europe. Cowed by violence, repressive policies and the complete indifference of the British Government the Catholic community mainly accepted the situation in the North - or else did what Irish people have done for decades in response to poverty, and emigrated.

The late sixties saw the emergence of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association, campaigning with increasing publicity for the rights of Catholics. There was some British response - such that the Campaign for Democracy in Ulster, based in Britain, at one point enjoyed the support of 71 MPs. The willingness of the Northern Ireland Government to contemplate some reforms, if only to ensure less outside interest in Northern Ireland, enflamed the worst elements of what we may call 'physical-force unionism', among them an initially insignificant bigot called Ian Paisley. Violent attacks upon Catholics developed which were responded to in kind, not least because of the active involvement of serving members of the RUC - so for Catholics little help from them could be expected.

This led to the sending of British troops into Northern Ireland in 1969, where they were initially welcomed as saviours by the Catholic community. This period did not last for more than about a year. The army took its

advice on policing from the RUC, a predominantly Protestant body. They also clearly sympathised, as one might expect, with the Unionist views of the dominant community. This came to be reflected in their deployment throughout the province. West Belfast today is a Catholic community surrounded by the tin forts of the British Army; Catholic communities attract the heaviest British army presence; Captain Michael Biggs, who left the Army on grounds of conscientious objection, told a conference I helped organise in June 1980 that the British Army was trained to treat Catholics as the "enemy". This, of course, amounts to a self-fulfilling prophecy. The polarisation of the province has intensified since 1969 and is reflected in the growth in support in elections for Sinn Fein and the Democratic Unionist Party of Ian Paisley.

Repressive legislation like the Emergency Provisions Act and the Prevention of Terrorism Act selects its victims almost exclusively from the Catholic communities(3,4,5). Harrassment of Catholics varies in direct relation to the Army's perception of support within a particular community for republicanism(6). Debate about the war in Ireland is stifled by Government-imposed censorship of the media in Britain and by the self-censorship of journalists who know that reputations are not to be made in taking up Northern Ireland. This censorship is so significant that has been the subject of a history(7).

### What now?

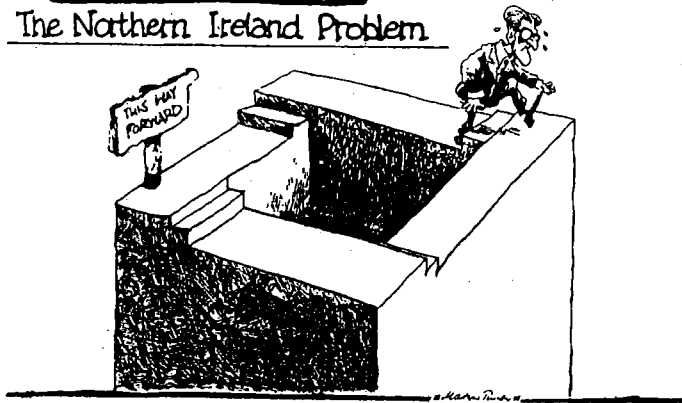
What contribution can greens make to ending this conflict? First, some examination of what Britain has done in Ireland is needed (see 2,1,8). History as taught in British schools does not generally provide critical accounts of British colonialism or sympathetic accounts of Catholicism. Before turning our minds to solutions which can be offered, there are a number of considerations worth dwelling upon.

Up to now, attempts to bridge the gap between the Irish and British nationalist elements in the Six Counties have generally failed: once the Peace People (the organisation started by Mairead Corrigan and Betty Williams in 1976) took up opposition to emergency legislation, they became a predominantly Catholic body; when it became clear that the Alliance Party was the most liberal of the Unionist parties, it lost most of its Catholic support. People in Northern Ireland are divided less by religion than by a line which runs from northern Donegal past Dundalk to the Irish Sea. British-based political parties are extremely small in the Six Counties since the area's history and politics are so different to that of Britain.

The most facile of reactions to the prospect of political change in the Six Counties is that it will lead to a "bloodbath". Over 2,500 people have died since the present conflict began in 1969, while this "bloodbath" was supposedly being avoided. The bloodbath theory is the best tool of Unionism since any change is threatened by their violent reaction. However, an investigation by Time Out in 1979 (9) revealed that the contingency plans of both republican and and unionist armed groups if Britain withdrew rapidly were based on protecting communities - not on taking offensive action. Any meaningful long-term solution has to include both immediate steps to change the nature of the current situation and long-term measures to change the attitudes which sustain conflict.

The Unionist veto on political change must be decisively rejected. The idea that Unionists must give their consent before political change can occur in Ireland is a very curious one. The Irish people did not consent and were not consulted about the partition Lloyd George perpetrated. According to opinion polls, a majority of people in Ireland want their country re-unified. A

The Northern Ireland Problem



majority of people in Britain since the mid-70s have believed Britain should leave Ireland. Northern Ireland is no more legitimate than Britain's presence in Hong Kong, the Soviet Union's presence in Afghanistan or America's presence in Grenada. People in Britain are not obliged to support the continuing link between Westminster and Northern Ireland. The Unionists of Northern Ireland have every right to freedom from fear, to peace, to security from violence. They have no right to demand the restoration of local government powers which they used since 1921 to practice discrimination against Catholics. Northern Ireland should never have been created: peace in Ireland will not be possible until it is un-created.

**Disarming the Unionist opposition**

Having said this, disparity between public services and laws between the Six Counties and the 26 counties of southern Ireland justifies a continuation of British resources and laws in the North for an indefinite period. The presence of independent human rights observers for a long period should be used to ensure that a progressive handover of responsibilities to Dublin and to local authorities is not accompanied by discrimination against any section of the community. Realistically, this means a lengthy period of joint administration of the area by Britain and Eire. This won't suit diehard republicans but might soften the unionist resistance to the imaginary threat of immediate, forced integration into southern Ireland.

The policing of the community is currently conducted exclusively by partisan forces. The RUC and the mainly part-time Ulster Defence Regiment are predominantly Protestant and have members with paramilitary connections. The British Army has been responsible for systematic harassment of Catholics and is in no way a neutral force. The family I stayed with in Turf Lodge were distinguished by their support for non-violent change and particularly by their support for the Association for Legal Justice - an NCCL-like body. Their house had been torn apart in searches, the dent of a rubber bullet fired through the window marked the front room and their telephone, like all those in the area, was frequently out of action. They also had had the less than delightful experience of having their telephone calls interrupted by the army to tell them their phone was being tapped. However, replacing the present forces with the Irish Gardai instead would hardly be a tactful step: a U.N. peace-keeping force would be better while the Irish Government recruited new Gardai from the population of Northern Ireland - including from the existing RUC. Immediate social and economic improvements could do much for unemployment and the restoration of bomb-scarred communities.

Many Unionists would prefer to see Northern Ireland remain an impoverished part of the U.K. There remains the very real possibility that some of them would fight to

maintain the union with the U.K. It has to be recognised that violence will probably continue in the province whether or not a solution or series of solutions is being applied. The British Army's view is interesting here: Lieutenant-Colonel Michael Dewar, a fan of Britain's role in Northern Ireland, says he believes the security forces can only reduce violence to a minimum(10). He regards a military victory against the IRA as highly unlikely, while support for them in the Catholic communities lasts. It is quite clear that the larger armed groups possessed by the Unionists are of far less concern to him, despite their role in sectarian killings.

Greens and others in Northern Ireland have a substantial role to play in creating a real political consensus in Northern Ireland. There are signs of hope in the way the trade union movement in Northern Ireland has tended to avoid the sectarian divide with more success than the political parties. It is notable how the Belfast Trades Council managed to pass a resolution on the hunger strikes. To the best of my knowledge, CND and FoE in the North have not been sectarian bodies. From these limited signs of hope, common interests in peace and rehabilitation of communities may be strengthened.

There is no reason why the Six Counties need have the same relationship with Dublin as the counties of the South. One possibility would be to remove the Unionist majority in the North by restoring Ulster to its original nine counties and then giving Ulster a high degree within Ireland. This could help to reduce Unionist antagonism to political change.

**Can we wait another 20 years?**

Thatcher and her acolytes favour "beating terrorism" over creating peace. The Thatcher regime thrives on its "strength" and "toughness" over violence. The utterly illegitimate Northern Ireland has, since 1969, provided ample evidence to show the futility of meeting violence with yet more violence. There reason to fear that the Government may make a showpiece of repression in Ireland, not just because of the new IRA campaign, but because the 20th anniversary of British troops going into Northern Ireland next August will focus considerable international attention on what Britain is doing there. The bipartisan approach of parties in Westminster has been eroded by the years of failure to secure peace through violence. Today, both Labour and the SLD favour Irish reunification and an end to much of the emergency legislation. It will be good to see the British Green Party adopting similar and better policies.

The prospect of commemorating 30 years of British troops in Northern Ireland is not one I wish to contemplate: 20 is quite bad enough. Since one could consider the occupation of Ireland by British forces actually goes back hundreds of years, then it is high time the peace movement in Britain did something to show that it believes peace is as appropriate to Ireland as it is to the peoples of the many other countries upon which the interest of the peace movement has rested.

1. D.G. Boyce - Englishmen and Irish Troubles: British Public Opinion and the Making of Irish Policy 1918-1922 (Jonathon Cape, 1972)
2. F.S.L. Lyons - Ireland Since the Famine (Fontana, 1973)
3. Peace People - The (Temporary) Emergency Provisions Act: Time for a Change (Peace People, 1980)
4. Peter Taylor - Beating the Terrorists? (Penguin, 1980)
5. Catherine Scorer, Sarah Spencer & Patricia Hewitt - The New Prevention of Terrorism Act: the Case for Repeal (NCCL, 1985)
6. Patsy McArdle - The Secret War (Mercier Press, 1984)
7. Liz Curtis - Ireland: The Propaganda War (Pluto, 1984)
8. Edmund Curtis - A History of Ireland (Methuen, 1950)
9. TIME OUT - 11th August 1979
10. Lt-Col Michael Dewar - The British Army in Northern Ireland (Arms & Armour Press, 1985)



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This month, GL has news of two countries struggling to overcome the social, economic and ecological effects of war and natural disaster compounded by hypocritical international indifference. In both countries, a profound awareness of the importance of environmental issues is emerging as a result of the traumatic experiences of their people.

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# Vietnam: after the fire

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26 million bomb craters are one legacy of the war, displacing 3 billion cubic metres of vital topsoil.

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**"Our purpose is a limited one. We seek only to permit self-determination by the people of South Vietnam."**

United States President Lyndon B. Johnson

**MORE BOMBS WERE** dropped on Vietnam by the Americans than were used in the whole of the Second World War: half a ton of high explosive for every Vietnamese man, woman and child: over a million people killed. Just imagine what effect such devastation would have on this country, physically and mentally. Then add onto that the 70 million litres of toxic pesticides poured onto Vietnam's forests and people during Operation Ranch Hand; the land physically torn up by teams of bulldozers; the lingering wreckage of unexploded bombs; unused and leaking drums of pesticides; monstrous still-births and the continuing U.S. economic and diplomatic vendetta against the Vietnamese people...

The surprising thing is that during Channel 4's gripping documentary, 'Vietnam: After the Fire', there was not more visible anger. But as General Vo Nguyen Giap said: "only the American military are our enemy. They never cared at all about human beings, life or property. They tried to kill everything, destroy everything and bomb everything. They treated the whole environment with contempt."

As the programme showed, there are some legacies of the American visitation that will only slowly if ever be erased. Children develop into twisted, emaciated human vegetables because their parents lived or fought in the forests or mangroves poisoned by the dioxin in Agent Orange. Every pregnancy in these areas is a time of forboding, happily followed in most cases by intense relief.

The mangrove swamps of the Mekong Delta were almost totally destroyed. It will take perhaps 50 years for them to recover and only if the Vietnamese are able to divert enough resources to push the process along. In the meantime, the ecosystem lies destroyed, with the fish and the birds gone and the rich river silt washed uselessly into the sea, no longer held by the roots of the mangroves.

Vietnam's land is pock-marked with 26 million bomb craters which compacted and, without expensive earth-moving machinery, made useless 3 billion cubic metres of soil. Ever since the war, labourers have been doing what they can by hand, but this task will never be completed.

The forests that were defoliated and ploughed up have turned into charred savannah of 'American Grass' and denuded hillsides. Once this has happened it is extremely difficult to return to the original ecosystem: the soil becomes acid, reintroduced forest species are out-competed by the grasses, and top soil is washed away in seasonal floods. Vietnam's forests are also the country's sponge; soaking up and gradually releasing the water needed to irrigate the rice paddies. Without the forest, the rain comes and goes in one short seasonal torrent.

## Striving to overcome the past

However, the Vietnamese are fighting back. On a tiny budget they have developed unique tropical forest tree nurseries: after early failures, they learnt how to plant different species of plant and tree in sequence, eventually allowing the biggest dipterocarps to be successfully grown. Hopefully this will provide a sustainable hardwood industry for the future. All school children learn and practice tree planting. In 1987, over 500 million trees were planted on area of 160,000 hectares. By 2000, 1.5 million hectares of hillsides will be replanted and 200,000 hectares of damaged forest rehabilitated. Perhaps because of the outside world's pathetic meanness, Vietnam's replanting efforts are among the most cost-effective in the world.



**Farmer Dang Van Vang (above) crippled for life after setting off an old bomb in his fields. Like thousands of other Vietnamese peasants he couldn't escape this legacy of the war despite the efforts of teams of bomb detectors (right).**

The experience of Vietnamese farmers since the war is being used to develop the best programme for recovering damaged agricultural land. Over several seasons the land can regain its fertility through the use of a series of different crops. Where fish populations were wiped out by pesticides, farmers are being trained to develop fishponds in the bomb craters with the long-term aim of restocking the rivers.

Farmers are being encouraged to replant the mangrove swamps and in some less damaged areas fish have been restocked and the wood sustainably harvested for charcoal, but in the Mekong Delta, scene of the heaviest defoliation, the task is so huge that the army has been brought in to replant every mangrove tree by hand.

As much as possible of the thousands of tons of war debris is being recycled through the country's foundries - shell cases become reinforcing rods for the reconstruction of bridges and buildings: truly swords into ploughshares. But it is, and will remain, dangerous work. Farmers continue to be blown up by unexploded bombs as they work in their fields.

#### **Cultures of awareness**

It should be noted that more forest has been lost since the war than during it as a result of demand for wood for national reconstruction, fuel, and through slash-and-burn agriculture. Vietnam's population has grown too to about 60 million. Presently, 40% of the country is considered wasteland, and all the remaining areas of natural forest could be gone by 2000. Professor Vo Quy, one of the founders of Vietnam's environmental programme, is not unaware of the rapidly approaching crises of land availability, fuel and water shortages and pollution. And critical too of the country's bureaucracy: "Red tape should not stand in the way of a nation's survival." It is a pity that Channel 4's programme glossed over these negative forces working against the conservationists.

However it is true nevertheless that war has caused the Vietnamese government to become committed to environmental protection in a way that governments in countries like Brazil, feted by the World Bank and the international community, have miserably failed to - General Giap again: "Right after the war I didn't realise the importance of conservation, but now I see that

without environmental recovery, Vietnam cannot have economic recovery; the two are inseparable."

Channel 4 should be congratulated for covering Vietnam as they did. It's a pity that such a programme will have been seen by so few people. It ought to be given space on the TV news instead of the usual three-legged-dog-saves-granny rubbish. It would make people aware of just what that country and its people went through in their opposition to imperialism. I wonder how long we'll have to wait to for the full story of what has been done to the land's ecology and the people's health in Afghanistan, Iraq, Iran, Ethiopia, Somalia, Mozambique...

**JERRY SPRING**



**Prof. Vo Quy among the wreckage of poisoned mangroves in one of Vietnam's 'Agent Orange Museums'.**

# CONSERVEMOSLAS!



"Let's Conserve Them!" Sea Turtle conservation posters appear throughout Nicaragua

## The hurricane

But now Nicaragua has to deal with the effects of Hurricane Joan. Environmental experts have described the hurricane, which devastated much of the Atlantic coast in October, as the worst ecological disaster in Nicaraguan history - including the 1972 earthquake which flattened Managua, previous severe floods and the volcanic eruptions of the last century. The damage will be irreparable: the 180 mph winds flattened 15,000sqkm of tropical rainforest, with the cost estimated at US\$1.5bn in lost forestry resources alone; the torrential rains which accompanied the hurricane stripped hundreds of thousands of acres of their fertile topsoil, and covered similar amounts of land with so much sand and mud that they are equally damaged as far as farming goes. This means, among other things, lower yields in crops (including vital export crops), erosion problems and the alteration of the entire ecosystem in the affected areas.

The secondary, long-term effects of this sudden and massive deforestation cannot be measured so easily. Many animal species, including the famed armadillo as well as rodents and primates, have lost their habitat; the rich genetic diversity of the tropical rainforest is seriously threatened.

The loosened topsoil has caused a massive silting up of the river beds and Bluefields Bay. The port of El Bluff, which was being dredged as a deep-water port on the Caribbean coast, has seen all this effort brought to nought. An aerial eyewitness account of the area a few days after the hurricane hit reported: "from horizon to horizon, all you can see is a light brown colour - a combination of mud and vegetation, with rivers still in flood, choked by debris." The towns of Bluefields and Rama, and off-shore Corn Island, have been totally destroyed with 300,000 people, about 10% of Nicaragua's population, being made homeless. Photographs of the region are reminiscent of Hiroshima.

DIRENA officials believe that there may be some benefits to emerge from apparent disaster. Hurricane Joan has drawn attention to past planning errors which can now be rectified or avoided in the future. For instance, Bluefields will have to be rebuilt according to ecological principles since no one can rule out the possibility of future hurricanes. Infact the disaster has made a great impact upon the environmental awareness of the Nicaraguan people, giving "a better understanding of the value of our natural resources."

The Nicaraguan government has appealed to environmental organisations to send experts to help assess

the nature and scale of the damage and advise on remedial measures. The Hope of the Earth Congress, which is scheduled for June 1989 in Managua, has now aken on additional importance as a way of appealing to the international environmental community. In addition to this, the environmentalists in Nicaragua hope that their scientific criteria will now be built in to the future economic development of the country.

Emergency aid is flowing into the country, but certainly not on the scale that is needed. The British Government, which initially gave an insulting £10,000; was pressured into increasing this to £250,000. The U.S. Government has refused to give any assistance at all. What is more, Contra attacks have increased during the past month since the hurricane, when national efforts are all being concentrated on reconstruction.

Recent visitors to Nicaragua report that the national efforts to prepare for the hurricane were very effective and undoubtedly kept the number of deaths to a minimum, with the wholesale evacuation of several communities to safer areas. Mobilization of the population in clearing-up and repair work have also amazed observers. However, there is still a desparate shortage of necessary supplies. Financial support is what is needed now. Nicaragua, already brought to its knees economically by the policies of the U.S. Government, still has the political will to stand up and survive.

When asked if he would appeal to the U.S. for financial help, President Daniel Ortega replied that the greatest help the U.S. could give would be to stop all aggression and let Nicaragua live in peace.

## Pure hypocrisy

It is instructive to compare the response to this natural disaster with the earthquake of 1972, which destroyed the centre of Nicaragua's capital, Managua. On that occasion, U.S. aid to rebuild the city came pouring in. But the city never was rebuilt. Somoza pocketed the money and even stooped so low as to sell donated emergency blood supplies for personal profit.

Diana Melrose's excellent booklet on Nicaragua, *The Threat of a Good Example?* (Oxfam, £2.50) showed that the British Government has ignored its own overseas aid criteria with regard to Nicaragua: that aid should be targeted on poorer countries - in 1983 Costa Rica, GNP 1.5 times Nicaragua, got 40 times as much aid; that aid should go where the country is "likely to be supportive of aid efforts" (U.K.ODA, 1984) - in 1983 Honduras got 100 times the aid for Nicaragua per head of population despite the fact that the British Charge d'Affaires conceded that Nicaragua had a "very impressive record on social development" and an "amazing" one in comparison with El Salvador and Honduras.

Infact of course, the real reason for this hypocrisy is political antipathy to the Sandinistas. Yet one thing is certain: any aid sent by you or the government in 1989 will actually reach the people it was meant for. It already is.

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*If you can offer money, materials or help then please contact the Nicaraguan Solidarity Campaign, who are still running the Nicaragua Must Survive Hurricane Appeal, at 23 Bevedere St, London N1 6BH, tel: 01-253-2464.*

*Why not organise a local solidarity group? NSC will give advice and support on establishing it.*

*In addition to the Coffee Brigades there are now Environmental Brigades due to be sent in May and July 1989. Write to NSC Brigades for details.*

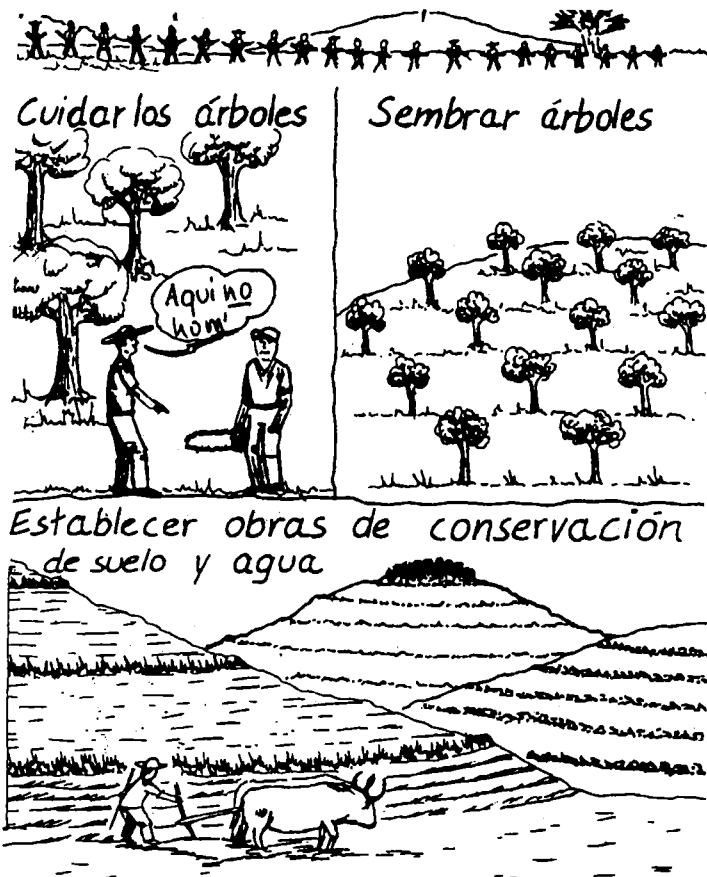
*Finally, there is a newly formed Environmental Network for Nicaragua c/o NSC. Again, write for more info.*

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In our second report, SHEILA AMOO-GOTTFRIED looks at Nicaragua as it deals with the twin crises of the recent hurricane and the Contra war.

# Hurricane Reagan Hurricane Joan



IRENA educational pamphlet: top right box "To take care of trees", top left box "To plant trees", bottom box "To cultivate in ways which conserve soil and water". "Not here, hombre!" says the Sandinista to the man with the chainsaw.

THE NICARAGUAN PEOPLE are not strangers to disaster. This has been reality for them for decades. In 1979 the Sandinistas broke with the past. The corrupt and tyrannical Somoza regime was overthrown in an attempt to gain dignity and justice for three million Nicaraguans. The revolution aimed to meet the basic needs of the whole population, and to develop the economy in a rational and ecologically sustainable way.

The legacy of environmental destruction during the previous decades helps to explain the Sandinista's uniquely enlightened commitment to environmental protection. Nicaragua had been the helpless dependent victim of external vested interests. Transnational companies and a greedy local elite dictated that large tracts of land be turned over, first to coffee cultivation, then cotton and finally beef to meet the growing demands of the U.S. market. Natural resources were stripped for whatever fast profits they could provide.

Each wave of large-scale production pushed the peasants off their traditional food-growing land further into the more mountainous, inaccessible and less fertile rainforest areas, where they were forced into a pattern of slash-and-burn agriculture as their plots rapidly became exhausted. In the decade before 1979, 30% of Nicaragua's tropical rainforest disappeared. The pine forests of the north were systematically clear-felled by U.S.-owned timber companies with no policy of replanting logged areas.

Therefore in 1979, the first ministry established by the Nicaraguan government was IRENA, the Institute for Natural Resources and the Environment, whose brief was to try and repair the damage. Nicaragua's forests, mines and aquatic resources were immediately nationalised and the extraction of natural resources by foreign companies was forbidden. Schemes for forest management and reforestation, watershed rehabilitation and soil erosion management, water purification and pollution control were all begun. The grave problems caused by pesticide pollution were tackled and research done into safer biological insecticides. IRENA began an inventory of the rich heritage of flora and fauna, protecting endangered species like the green turtle. IRENA has now been integrated into the Department of Agriculture as DIRENA.

The policies of other ministries were also indispensable to IRENA's work. Agrarian reform laws, giving peasants a right to land, helped stem irrational deforestation. The literacy campaign meant that IRENA's advice to farmers on how best to conserve the soil, fight forest fires, be careful of pesticides etc. could be understood by the majority. Good environmental practices were also a subject in the school curriculum. The search for alternative forms of energy was especially important, since firewood is still the most widely used fuel.

However, Nicaragua's bold attempt to improve the quality of life of its people in many areas - health, education, the right to land - as well as a life which could be sustained in a well-managed environment, has been a 'threat' which the U.S. could not tolerate. Eight years of military, economic and political aggression have succeeded in wreaking economic havoc in this small country. Over half the national budget has been required for defence.

Many projects only continue with technical assistance and financial help from the international community. Others have had to be abandoned. Nicaragua's proposed national park programme, sponsored by UNESCO, was put on hold, because park rangers and environmentalists have been targeted and murdered by the Contra. Forest fires have been started deliberately in reforested areas, and tree nurseries and seed beds destroyed. As Lorenzo Cardinal, a senior IRENA official says: "The war is our biggest environmental problem."

As the EEC accelerates towards economic unity, TIM ANDREWES, prospective Green Party candidate for Oxford & Bucks in next year's European Elections, looks behind the glitter of the government's propaganda campaign to reveal the ominous consequences of a Single European Market.

# Unleashing the Euro beast



THE COMPLETION OF the Single European Market, set for 31st December 1992, is for many people the fulfillment of an internationalist dream: the abolition of frontier controls between EEC member states will allow their citizens to travel freely across borders; the free exchange of the goods and services of EEC countries will give every consumer the opportunity to choose from the vast range of goods produced in Western Europe; and the gradual creation of a 'European' government that transcends petty national concerns will be able to pursue the greater good of the international community.

Other enticements are laid before the eyes of the British public: government advertisements declare that Europe will be "open for business"; an opportunity for industry to expand its markets and increase its profits. And for the workers, Labour politicians and trade unionists point to better conditions in the factories of many European countries and hold out the promise of 'European Harmonisation' as a means of improving domestic standards in Britain. Indeed, the EEC is now seen by many on the Left as a means of by-passing Mrs Thatcher's monopoly on political power at home and imposing socialism on Britain via Brussels. Environmentalists are also hopeful that greater European integration will force Nicholas Ridley to submit to the higher standards of pollution control and regulation set by the European Commission.

The ease with which the British public has been won over to passive acceptance or, in some cases, active enthusiasm for the concept of 1992 has been a masterpiece in public relations by the European Commission and the Department of Trade and Industry. To date, there has been no meaningful debate about the consequences of the Single European Market, and the electorate has certainly not been consulted over a policy with far-reaching consequences for our welfare and quality of life. The real motives for the Single Market have not been made clear to the public at large, and the consequences have been either hidden or played down. Furthermore, opposition politicians have wilfully neglected to challenge the acquiescent consensus surrounding 1992 and must accept a large share of the blame for the unleashing of an already vicious and inhumane industrial machine that will wreak poverty and destruction throughout much of Western Europe in the next decade.

## Politics versus economics

At the heart of the 1992 ideology is free market economics: by removing barriers to trade and deregulating the industrial sector, it is argued, industrial efficiency and competitiveness will be enhanced, and the standard of living for the population will rise. As such, this political philosophy is one hundred percent Thatcherite: no British politician could call it by any other name. And yet, despite the failure of ten years of Thatcherism in this country to bring about prosperity for all, despite its obvious preference for profit at the expense of compassion and its inability to meet even the basic needs of the poor, both the Democrats and - incredibly - the Labour Party are resolutely in favour of 1992. What they have so despised and hated at home, they now wish to foist on the rest of Western Europe and entrench more firmly in Britain.

In fact, the European Commission's blueprint for 1992 goes even further than Mrs Thatcher in its espousal of the free market. To ensure 'fair competition' between member states, directives have been laid down for the abolition of public procurement policies, whereby local councils, nationalised companies and government departments use their purchasing power to provide contracts for local businesses or ailing industries. From 1992, all such contracts will have to be put out to competitive tender: an education authority, ordering

books and pens for its schools, will have to advertise throughout the EEC for the tender and will have to buy the cheapest goods produced, for example, by poorly-paid immigrant workers in Germany, rather than goods from the local stationers previously reliant on such contracts for their economic survival. Studies on public procurement in Sheffield have demonstrated the huge beneficial effects on local employment of these policies. Their restriction by the EEC will severely curtail the power of elected representatives to intervene constructively in the local economy.

The European Commission now has its eye on state subsidies for industry, also seen as a barrier to the free market. Should these subsidies be eliminated, governments will find it impossible to give economic aid to ailing industries or invest in those which are deemed to be of social benefit. The Single European Market does not therefore merely entail the removal of purely physical barriers to trade. It has implications over a wide range of government policies, and in particular restricts intervention in the economy. This tacit, built-in recognition of the supremacy of free trade signifies nothing less than the subordination of democratic sovereignty and political power to the unpredictable whims of market forces.

### Tax dodging

As if this loss of sovereignty were not enough, the completion of the Single Market will also have an important impact on the taxation policies of member states. The aim of 'harmonising' VAT rates and excise duties will, if achieved, impose substantial changes on governments' tax regimes. In Britain, for example, VAT would be imposed on children's clothes, food, water and transport to bring us into line with other countries. In Denmark, where the government is committed to reducing alcohol consumption through the use of hefty excise duties, this admirable social policy will have to be abandoned as alcohol taxes are reduced to average European levels.

Furthermore, the freedom of the internal market will allow companies to relocate to countries where tax regimes are more favourable. Unit Trust companies in London, for example, are calling for the government to exempt them from corporation tax before 1992, or they will be forced to move to Luxembourg, where there are lower taxes, in order to remain competitive with European Unit Trusts. The implications of this are that, after 1992, if governments wish to retain their native businesses and encourage others to locate there, they will have to reduce tax levels to that of the lowest of EEC member states. This reduction to the 'Lowest Common Denominator' could apply just as easily to income and other taxes, and by depriving governments of revenue, will leave less scope for the pursuit of social policies for which the taxes are generally raised in the first place. Again, political objectives will have to be subordinated to market forces, and to such an extent that the SNP's Govan slogan "Scottish Independence Within Europe" will become a contradiction in terms.

The ability of industries to relocate to other EEC countries without adversely affecting the size of their markets is undoubtedly the most serious potential danger of the Single European Market. In the highly competitive atmosphere of post-1992 Europe, companies will be under enormous pressure to cut costs, usually in ways detrimental to the well-being of both people and the environment. Wages will be kept to the minimum, and where possible labour will be replaced by automation, thereby adding to unemployment. Levels of health and safety in the workplace will be lowered - the British government already sees our factory legislation as another unnecessary restrictive practice of the sixties. And

industries will be forced to forego expensive measures to control pollution abatement.

In order to save on all these costs, companies will be tempted to move to those countries with more lenient regulations: already, chemical companies are moving out of West Germany and into Belgium and Italy, where pollution controls are laxer and profits can consequently be increased by up to 60%. German trade unions also fear that large manufacturing concerns will relocate to Spain, where wage levels are much lower, due to the Socialist government's income policy.

### The destruction of a caring culture

Seen in this way, 1992 stands in direct contradiction to environmental protection and workers' rights. In the struggle by companies for profitability, and by governments to retain a solid industrial base, free market economics will trample over higher standards in the workplace and the environment. The Thatcher government's latest proposals to limit trade union power should thus be viewed as part of the preparations for 1992, where any strike will be an unaffordable luxury. And other EEC states may well be forced into clamping down on their workers' rights to stay competitive and attract industry.

One solution to this problem would be for the EEC to set common standards for all member states. Such hope is totally misplaced, however, for although minimum standards are being set, they bear no relation to the needs of workers: on factory noise levels, for example, a limit of 90 decibels was agreed, a level which Britain's Health and Safety Commission has shown to cause serious deafness in 40-50% of workers. Although both workplace and environmental standards are higher in many other EEC countries than in Britain, the Single European Act of 1985 specifically excludes these areas from the majority-voting mechanism of the Council of Ministers. Any common standards on these issues require unanimity, and Mrs Thatcher's government has already made clear that it is not prepared to accept such restrictions on the free market.

It is becoming increasingly clear that the 'Free Market' will in fact be a rigged market, rigged in favour of those companies large enough to relocate and exploit national discrepancies in tax levels and industrial regulation. For interventionist, progressive governments, for the population and the ecology of Western Europe, the 'Free' market will actually lead to their enslavement by economic forces and competitive pressures that ultimately run in opposition to human welfare and the protection of an already over-burdened environment. The saga of Ford and Dundee, when union leaders suffered the humiliation of a trip to Detroit to beg Ford to locate in Scotland, may well come to be seen as the first of a series of Eurovision Job Contests, in which workers and local communities will forego their rights and dignity for the sake of crumbs from the multinationals' table.

In an environment of unfettered market forces, those who survive and prosper will be the most ruthless and the least compassionate. A successful nation will be one motivated by greed and materialism, with the ability to suppress compassionate feelings for the fellow humans they must impoverish. The culture of competitiveness and selfishness is already being instilled by the Thatcherites with the under-privileged treated as scroungers and education increasingly industry- and money-oriented. Baker's new tests for children at seven, eleven and thirteen will teach the new generation from an early age to compete with each other and concentrate on their own, individual advancement.

The doctrine of Free Trade is a policy for the strong. Its heyday in Britain was under Queen Victoria, when British industry led the world and dominated its markets.



At that time, our industrial dominance was achieved at the expense of vast human suffering, exploitation of workers, environmental degradation, neglect of the poor and the devastation of vast areas of what is now the Third World. Today, with the return of Victorian economic doctrines, we see the revival of the Victorian values which must of necessity underpin them. All the

main parties of opposition have chosen to support this economic system, which is ruthlessly exploiting both people and the planet. The challenge for Greens is to stop this slide backwards and to reject a culture that elevates profit before human and ecological well-being. The first step on this path must be to oppose the completion of the Single European Market.

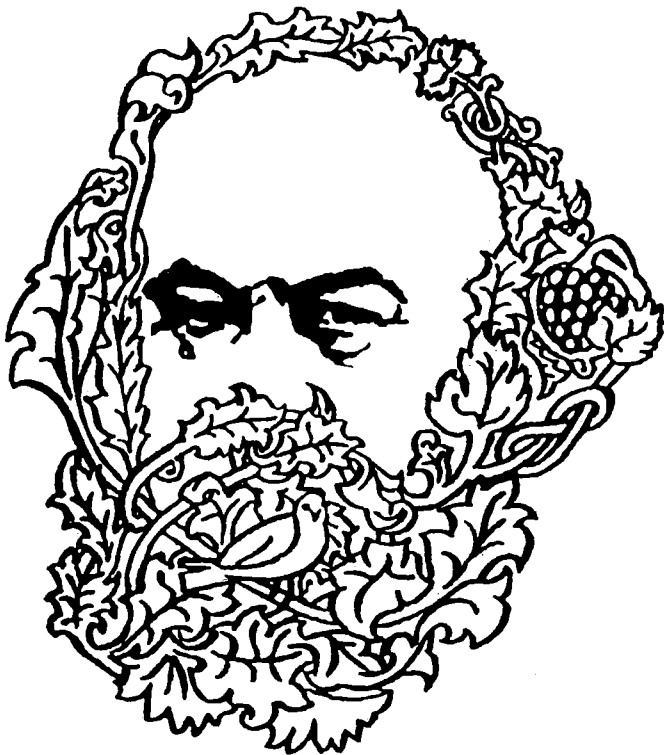
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In GL64, Tim Cooper argued that Liberals should be the true allies of greens. This month PAULA CASAL-RIBAS criticises Cooper's comments on Marxism, questioning the idea that Liberal traditions can help greens.

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## Why Marxism is more use to greens than Liberalism

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TIM COOPER'S ARTICLE on Liberalism and the greens appears merely to have been an attempt to add a thin layer of trendy green paint to an outdated ideology. It actually creates more confusion than light, and, particularly where he discusses Marxism, much of Cooper's argument is either inconsistent or plain wrong.

### Material errors

A number of problems stem from the fact that he seriously muddles the concept of 'materialism'. He fails to distinguish between materialism as a *philosophy*, and *psychological* materialism (a pattern of behaviour, or a feature of somebody's personality). By missing this crucial distinction he is able to make a number of unfair criticisms of Marxism such as the general implication that Historical Materialism (a theory of History) leads to psychological materialism in people's own lifestyles. He needs to provide some evidence before we should believe that Marxism and greed are synonyms.

For instance, Cooper claims that socialists believe that "increased consumption of goods and services, even beyond the the basic needs of life, brings greater human fulfillment" (para 8). This is very ironic given that critics generally see socialism as leading to an equality of poverty (now we have rich and poor, under socialism we shall all be poor). It is also incorrect.

Marxism aims for a development and realization of an individual's talents and potential. The "center of Marxism is a specific conception of the good life as one of active self-realization, rather than passive consumption...self realization is superior to consumption both on welfarish and on non-welfarish grounds" (Jon Elster, *Self-Realisation in Work and Politics: The Marxist Conception of The Good Life*). Indeed, the idea that freedom can be reduced to freedom to consume is more in tune with liberalism, and it is a conception that Marxists have criticised because the defence of such liberties becomes in practice the defence of the privileges of a minority: he who can afford to can choose.

Marx saw the links between the exploitation of nature and the exploitation of people as well as the way in which pollution affects the worse off more dramatically. He researched and denounced the poisonous additives (like potash and sand) in English 'half-price' bread, which the working class consumed, not being able to afford bourgeois' whole price (and whole-flour) bread.

Then there is Cooper's bizarre statement that socialists "constantly appeal to people's instincts of greed" (last para.) when it is more generally claimed that socialism is doomed to fail precisely because it *doesn't* appeal to greed, but rather to solidarity, equality and justice. A central theme of this year's Labour Party conference was an attack on greed and selfishness. But words from politicians never meant much to me. Cooper quotes them all the time; they are as vague as he needs.

Cooper is equally wrong in claiming that "socialism, being essentially materialistic, sees no need to liberate rich people" (para 10). Marx saw that "the possessing classes and the class of the proletariat present pictures of the same human self-estrangement" (*The Holly Family*). Since then, Marxists have gone on to develop far subtler

distinctions between different kinds of alienation in different social classes. (See G.A.Cohen's *Bourgeois and Proletarians*). To suggest that we are all equally - and in the same way - 'unfree' under the present system is analytically useless as well as inaccurate. And, Cooper, Liberals don't do it anyway.

At a number of points there are alarming failures of logical consistency. Firstly, he excuses differences between Liberals and greens as mere fall-out of the fact that liberalism arose under different historical circumstances, but does not justify socialism on the same grounds. Rather, he dismisses Marxism because Marx failed to foresee the future contradiction between capitalism and nature. Even disregarding the fact that Marxism has developed a little since Marx's day, Cooper does not say why Marx's living in the past in principle makes Marx and socialism obsolete but J.S.Mill's living in the past doesn't do the same to Mill and liberalism.

Secondly, Cooper takes up the idea of some greens that they are neither left nor right but up front. He uses this to claim that Marxism, lying as it does on the 'old' political spectrum, is therefore of no relevance to greens, but seems not to realise that the same must equally apply to liberalism on this argument. He needs to find some evidence that liberalism is of greater relevance to greens than Marxism. Unfortunately, if he analysed the historical links, shared campaigns, collaboration and parliamentary alliances of greens, liberals and socialists (e.g. in W. Germany and Spain) he would rapidly find that greens have had far closer links with the political left than with liberals. But then there is little appeal to facts in his article when he discusses the left.

#### Tim comes out of the materialist closet

It seems that Cooper is aware of the danger of being regarded as a political opportunist out to steal votes from the greens for the Liberals, although he has the confidence to suggest that the greening of the Liberals means "there might be no need for a Green Party". It is worth noting that this unprincipled, mercantile style of politics is something that most greens have rejected from the start (see Petra Kelly's *Fighting for Hope*).

To avoid his appeal to greens sounding too much like a political emergency exit found at the last moment, Cooper takes us on a (brief) journey into liberal history. But he only manages to quote J.S.Mill (1884) and a briefly held motion on sustainable economic growth (1979) before arriving back at the present. Yet by 1979, to give one well-known example, greens, socialists and communists in West Germany had already been reading Wolfgang Harrich's *Kommunismus ohne Wachstum?* (*Communism without Growth?*) for four years, and its Spanish translation sold out in 1978.

The same is true too of Cooper's attempt to claim 'holism' for liberalism, in that he appears ignorant of the fact that holism has been part of Marxist discussion since its Hegelian beginnings and that Marxism, unlike liberalism, has traditionally defended a holistic view. In *Methodological individualism: Definition and Reduction* May Brodbeck writes: "Culturally, holism is intimately connected with hostility to the liberal political individualism of the western tradition. Individualists, in their turn, have been generally said to encourage *laissez faire* in economics and anarchy in politics". (See also W.H.Dray *Holism and Individualism in History and Social Science*). Maybe, as Galbraith said (*The Guardian*, 15-10-88) Liberals should stop stealing issues and ideas from other parties and show that if it wasn't for them capitalism would't have survived.

Failing to find much in liberal history, Cooper then seeks to claim some well-known faces for liberalism. He quotes R.Bahro (para 8) as an expert on socialism and yet suggests that Bahro knows so little about socialism as

to be wrong when he says he is a socialist himself. Whatever disagreements Bahro has had with old-fashioned Marxism, he is still clearly of the political Left.

Cooper is also incorrect in portraying E.F.Schumacher as an enemy of socialism because he wants to change the world through "all kinds of mental culture" (par 1). Small is Beautiful's emphasis is actually on *size* - which is a property of *things* (i.e. technology) which are part of our *material* culture. To suggest changing society's structure by changing technology (infrastructure) is perfectly in tune with Historical Materialism, as is rejecting nuclear energy, not only for its dangers, but for the way it will shape society's structure and legal and state institutions. (See G.A.Cohen, *Karl Marx's Theory of History: A Defence*, especially. pp.343 and 353).

Elsewhere, in the original article in *Into the Twenty-First Century* (Ed.) F.Dodds, Cooper writes (p.122) that "if people are to be liberated and fulfilled, they must first be empowered, and for this the prerequisites are social justice and political devolution. Justice demands equality of opportunity, which in turn demands a radical redistribution of wealth; true justice cannot prevail in a society in which privilege can be purchased and passed on between generations. Access to resources, including land, financial capital and education and training facilities, is also essential and ought to be provided equitably to people of different backgrounds." This seems to be copied from a socialist speech. Perhaps Cooper should consider leaving the Liberals rather than encouraging greens to join them.

#### Liberals, Tories and Greens

Cooper tries to show the links between greens and liberalism and hide those between greens and socialism. However, he is understandably coy about the links between liberalism and conservative capitalism. He claims that liberalism is essential to avoid eco-authoritarianism. Apart from the fact that green politics cannot be reduced to "at best a misguided framework in which, for example, ants might be accorded equal rights with humans" (para 5), Cooper doesn't say why greens should become authoritarian, nor why liberalism is the only radical alternative. In fact, past experience tells us that liberalism acts as a brake on radical change rather than as an ally.

Marx, along with his liberal contemporaries Mill and Torqueville recognised that capitalism was incompatible with universal democracy. Their present co-existence as 'liberal democracy' was only achieved by heavily diluting democracy whilst changing capitalism only slightly. And that is how it will be today: undiluted, greens present a potentially serious threat to capitalists, but heavily diluted - for instance with liberalism - they can be accommodated with, indeed ensure the survival of, a modified eco-capitalism. Greens are understandably fearful of their project being turned into a tool of the major parties. As Noam Chomsky has said of the U.S. elections: it doesn't matter who wins if the structure remains the same. Little difference lies for greens between Bush disasters and Dukakis disasters when compared to the world they want to see.

The differences between liberalism and conservatism are minimized by Cooper when he expresses his desire to attract green Conservatives and that the main difference between liberalism and Thatcherism is a different view on the environment (*Into the 21st Century*, p. 125). This not only sounds like eco-Thatcherism, but it is completely inconsistent with the radical holistic and green perspective he claims to have.

As a Liberal he believes that demand determines production; so he says that greens, to achieve their ends,

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## Three books for change

### THE RACE FOR RICHES.

Jeremy Seabrook  
(Green Print) £4.95

MY FIRST IMPRESSIONS of this book were very favourable. Jeremy Seabrook writes well and he writes passionately. His denunciation of the rich warmed the cockles of my heart. Good hot-blooded stuff. It is also very encouraging to see a book coming out under a green banner that gets to grips with poverty, racism and the many exploitations of people.

The Race for Riches is really a collection of essays that are insights into the lives of people at the bottom of the heap. It convincingly illustrates how money subjugates people, and how the lives of the poorest people are devastated by choices made by the rich in pursuit of yet more money. Seabrook has a clear transnational perspective and the section of the book called 'the making of the transnational working class' is for me the best and most interesting.

Taken as a whole, however, this book doesn't live up to its initial promise. Its strengths are in the descriptions that take us into other people's lives - a valuable exercise in itself. Its weakness is in its analysis. I found myself asking "how do the perspectives of the people in this book fit into green politics?" I was looking forward to Chapter Five, 'Green Politics and the Poor', but found it lacking. The main message seemed to be that "the most urgent task is to show how and why the poor would be the chief beneficiaries of green policies." But the statement was left just like that, without showing how and why.

I would have preferred the author to have left out some of the descriptions of human misery - there were more than enough to make the point - and to have explained more clearly and at greater length, just how green politics is relevant to the people he is writing about. It is however, a well written and angry book that will no doubt give a jolt to the comfortably-off people who read it. Will it give much hope to any poor people who read it? Try it and see.

CHRIS SAVORY

### CORPORATE KILLING: BHOPALS WILL HAPPEN.

Tara Jones £9.95

**FORGOTTEN BHOPAL?** This book will remind you of the world's worst chemical disaster: up to ten thousand dead and two more dying each fortnight even today, half a million blinded, crippled, and living with little or no compensation. Not a thing they can forget. Nor should we - ever.

Written pseudonymously and from a committed hazards activist position, Corporate Killing systematically exposes Union Carbide's hypocritical attempts to evade responsibility for the lives destroyed. It exposes the racism and elitism intrinsic to multinationals. It gives testimony to the way the Indian government exploited Bhopal victims for political capital, fed them platitudes and eventually shut them up by force when their demonstrations said that this wasn't enough. And Tara Jones calls for action: you'll never buy another EverReady battery again!

Corporate Killing is not just about Bhopal and Union Carbide's responsibility. The bottom line is that toxic capital is global, that "we all live in Bhopal". All chemical giants present similar threats to communities where their plants are situated, and all communities affected are likely to receive the same short shrift from the technocrats as the people of Bhopal. Jones' comments are not academic: the Bhopals nearest you are identified; the bungles over safety and the leaks that have already occurred listed. Again, resistance is called for and methods outlined.

Writing from a hazards perspective, Jones does not dwell too much on broader Green ideas. But there are snippets worth quoting: "Capitalism has always advanced by destroying the natural world", "the same process of integrating Indian agriculture into the world market... displaced the rural people who came to live in the shanty towns across the road from the killer plant", and, "in this case science was not neutral" (when has technocracy ever been?).

This failure to deal more directly with Green thought is a weakness of the book. Whilst focussing on the consequences of toxic production on the workers and nearby communities, Jones does not really analyse the consequences for the Earth from the production of non-biodegradable plastics or pesticides, or real alternatives to such production. Still, one shouldn't condemn an author for not writing about cheese when the subject is chalk. Despite the high price (over £27 for the hardback!), this book is worth buying for reference, if not exactly a light read.

P.N.ROGERS

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should deliver leaflets discouraging consumers from buying certain products. Liberals want a modified capitalism. Green capitalism is a modified capitalism. But then Cooper adds he does not support it because "a green society and a capitalist system ...are far from being compatible". In saying this he declares it impossible to be both green and liberal and makes his whole article absolutely pointless.

Furthermore, he admits that Liberals lack ideas; that they re-adopted pro-growth policies to ally with the SDP; that they are unlikely to offer an inspiring program; and that if they don't adopt green policies - which he says is

"most likely"- then they will just offer "the liberty of self-destruction". And he still wants greens to come and join what *he* describes as a horrible party!

"The task of clarifying ...is urgent" declares our confused author at one point. It is a pity that he so manifestly failed himself. It is perfectly true that criticisms can be made of Marxism from a green perspective but Cooper appears not to be sufficiently well-informed to make them. Instead he falls back on misrepresentation and basic contradiction. It only increases the suspicion that he is involved in a tacky vote-grabbing exercise to save the Liberals from the political dustbin at the expense of the greens.

# but they don't all take us forward.

**GAIA PEACE ATLAS.**  
Ed. Frank Barnaby  
(Pan Books) £10.95

THIS BOOK IS a successor to the best-selling Gaia Atlas of Planet Management. It presents, as the blurb says, "the options for peace and a sustainable future in authoritative and hard-hitting graphic style". Unfortunately, the words of the text itself are about as hard-hitting as a barrage of cotton wool. It is dispiriting to note, as in so many green publications of late, how quickly fresh insights have ossified into dead platitudes - which remain no less platitudinous for all their unceasing repetition.

At first glance, the Gaia Peace Atlas looks like an ideal Christmas present - abundantly illustrated, colourful, attractively packaged. It could no doubt be dismissed as yet another green coffee-table book, but its sincerity and seriousness of purpose (let alone its bulk) demand a serious response.

Far from being bland, the book is in fact extremely difficult to read; designed less for the critical intelligence than for the tired or lazy eye, skimming over the pages in an idle moment. The layout is a problem: the main text is confined to the left-hand column at the side of each double page, while the rest is taken up with illustrations and boxed paragraphs which merely repeat, often word for word, the substance of the text. This is of course the whole point: instead of taking us to the heart of the problems, the text circles around them.

So what is the purpose of such a book? Surely not to educate - the actual information is scattered and perfunctory. On the contrary, its purpose is to reassure. The times are bleak, but the darkest hour is the one before the dawn: the first sign of light, apparently, being the INF Treaty! Before we reach such hopeful bits as this however, there is much doom and gloom: tales of environmental catastrophe, the arms race, imminent nuclear devastation. The authors are modern millenarians; prophets of an apocalypse that may be only 15 years away; "5,000 springtimes in the heart of Gaia".

Such a dire situation would seem to require drastic solutions (perhaps, God forbid, the occasional revolution), but none are forthcoming. Instead we are offered, in the short term, a certain amount of tinkering with existing

structures, as if the death machine simply needed a bit of deft repair. Worse, the 'cure' is even more of the same disease, solutions that would worsen the mess: a strengthened U.N, a 'code of conduct' for transnational corporations, more international policing and the Rule of Law.

Under the shadow of this 'planet management', the grassroots are reduced to the familiar role of lobbying the powerful and attending to the state of their own souls. In the meantime, the poor can be fed on 'spirituality', even if their stomachs are empty, while the rich can pursue their own version of self-help: helping themselves to the fruits of exploitation



The committee (or 'think tank') who concocted this book reach some of these strange conclusions by failing to get to grips with the underlying economic determinants, the relations of production. Nor is it explained historically how we arrived at this awful state in the first place. The 'history' on offer is vacuous and impressionistic: most of the time it seems to begin in 1945, or even the 1960s. There is very little mention of a barbaric capitalist system that involves 'the war of all against all'; instead we are mainly urged, as in the concluding sentence of the book, to get technology under control. But this is a slight of hand, as Russell Jacoby explained in *Social Amnesia*, which "shifts attention away from the social-economic structure to supposedly neutral territory, as if today no-one controls technology. Such an analysis permits enough pathos to creep in to make an enthusiasm for capitalism... acceptable to those who rightly think that something is seriously wrong."

In the end it is 'human nature' that comes under scrutiny; the human condition rather than inhuman conditions; the mad behaviour of 'people' as if 'humanity' (whether

black or white, man or woman, exploited or exploiter) where one homogeneous mass, susceptible to a little 'conflict resolution'. Hence the tone of moral exhortation, the boredom of a Sunday sermon. In a world that is up for sale, one that has been stripped of its magic and 'despiritualised', we are urged to warm up the last remaining fragments of the 'spirit'.

Not only that, but there is the arduous task of keeping our leaders on the straight and narrow; 'peacemakers' (p.150) such as Kissinger, whose expressed purpose was to "bomb Cambodia back into the Stone Age", Sadat, instigator of the Yom Kippur War and Begin, who initiated the bloodbath in Lebanon - the latter inglorious pair being also recipients of the Nobel 'Peace' Prize. The book's last voice is that of Ronald Reagan, whose enthusiasm for "economic freedom" is unconcealed. He makes it clear that it is not 'people' that are to be freed, but capital, so that it can get on with its dirty work without hindrance. Other 'voices' are provided by various worthies (e.g. Archbishop of York), the modern equivalents of the "peace windbags" that Marx scorned so much over a century ago.

However, there are also islands in this sea of platitudes, most notably the brief contributions of Galtung and Bahro. The former gives a salutary reminder that nature isn't at all benign; that "there is a limit to the organic analogy. Nature is also a brutal place where the strong often devour the weak". Bahro is sceptical of all this spray-on spirituality which he sees as the "individualistic private enjoyment of more or less 'alternative' members of the affluent society, who have not even assumed responsibility for themselves." He rightly scorns spirituality, therapy etc. as "commercially motivated weekend culture", but then recommends a "deeper" spirituality, for himself and a community of like-minded people, of "male and female" collaborators. I suspect that when these enlightened ones re-enter the earth's atmosphere they will find all the intractable problems no less intractable for all their 'enlightenment'.

So what is the fate of a book such as this? David Bellamy provides a hint in his suggestion that the Atlas of Planet Management would take its place in "boardrooms and on committee room tables". This is precisely its fate: part of the baggage of the Caring Capitalist. The Gaia Peace Atlas too could end up in the anterooms of power, to be thumbed through by its victims as they await their sentences of execution.

**BARRY MAYCOCK**





## OPPOSING VIEWS

AM I THE only GL reader who was worried by 'Autonomous Peace Action's Sunday Outing at Upper Heyford' (GL67)? Apparently, the APA are so concerned to promote peace and non-violence that they "stoned the police" and in future wish to "know the law if we can't fight off cops trying to arrest us".

For some time I too have found the prospect of yet another peace march to fill me with apathy, and have felt frustrated by the lack of consequence of such passivity. While trudging round Molesworth, my thoughts kept turning to actions which would more directly highlight my concerns.

How violently confronting the police could achieve this is beyond me. I can't help but question the motivations of such action. If I wasn't committed to the cause (and most people in the country clearly aren't) I could easily be alienated from it.

I would also like to question the politics of Jutta Dittfurth, the speaker of Die Grunene interviewed in GL67. She referred to her wish for the rgeens to move radically leftwards and criticised those not explicitly opposing capitalism. Her alternative though, was not given. Is she arguing for nationalising the means of production and for subjecting industry and enterprise to bureaucratic state direction, according to social and economic criteria? If not, surely she is arguing for new values to be given priority in our lives and for the system to be reformed, or for ecocapitalism as she puts it.

To me her arguments seem to be another example of how unhelpful the vision of those stuck in a left-right view of politics can be to the task of creating a green future.

David Mansell  
46 Beatrice Rd  
Norwich



## ATTEMPTED MURDER AT YELLOW GATE:

*A statement from Yellow Gate, Greenham Women's Peace Camp*

ON MIDNIGHT 15/16 November 1988, a Cruise missile convoy left USAF Greenham Common, violating the spirit of the INF treaty. Convoy drivers threw a 6ft pointed iron stake at women protesting nonviolently at the roadside in full view of MoD and Thames Valley police. They also jettisoned a further five 3ft iron stakes which were collected and taken back into the base by MoD police. This is the latest and worst in a long series of incidents of police violence against us. Police later refused to take complaints.

Yellow Gate Greenham Common women have been increasingly undermined and vilified by the mainstream 'peace movement' since we made a clear non-aligned, anti-racist stand in June/July 87. This has opened the floodgates for police and MoD violence against us. Our demands are: that the mainstream 'peace movement' take responsibility for their part in this violence, and take immediate steps to stop it; that there is an immediate end to the violence against us; that there is an end to the Cruise convoy dispersals from Greenham Common; that the money spent (at least £75,000) on each convoy dispersed be returned to this country's and the world's poorest; that there is an immediate stop to the illegal military misuse of Greenham Common.

On 10-11 DECEMBER 1988, Yellow Gate Greenham Women invite women to Yellow Gate for workshops and an exhibition to mark the ninth anniversary of the decision to site Cruise Missiles in Europe. The weekend is a call to Struggle, for Black and white women to re-define WAR; to work against ALL WAR for Justice.

For the past year in addition to maintaining our commitment to Non-Alignment, Women's Autonomy and Non-Violence, Yellow Gate has been publicly committed to Anti-Racism. These commitments continue. We need to meet with Black and white women in Struggle, who are doing this work. It is important that women commit themselves to taking Non-Violent Direct Action beyond December 10th and 11th.

Yellow Gate always needs donations. Please send directly to *Yellow Gate, Greenham Common Women's Peace Camp, Outside the Main Gate, USAF Greenham Common, near Newbury, Berks RG14 7AS.*



Green Peace News...



## 100m DOLLAR ORGASMS

THEODORE TAYLOR was one of the youngsters who joined the Masonic Manhattan A-bomb project shortly after the end of WWII in 1947. Interviewed for the BBC science program Antennae, he recalled those happy days:

"It was exciting in every way you could imagine. Getting the answers was intoxicating. We were perpetually high. My ego went in orbit and I had a sense, not only of excitement over all this, but of personal power over events of global significance. Things got to be my bomb, my way of initiating bombs, my this, my that..."

Taylor was appearing to confess to a change of heart having had his fun. He now believes a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty is essential to stop the development of the next generation of missiles (e.g. ground penetrating, silo-busting bombs, Star Wars nuclear lasers).

Unfortunately for optimists, the programme interviewed the current generation of squeaky clean pubescent bomb designers at Livermore:

"It is one of the few areas of applied physics where one individual physicist can have profound effects on world politics"

"The weapons designer really is sitting at the top of a pyramid. It's just a tremendous amount of responsibility and importance and power. And it's a good feeling".

By the time these people get to have their second thoughts, we'll have space weapons, 'war winning' first strike missiles, along with all the dangers that go with them...

## CHRISTIANITY AND ECOLOGY

MY ATTENTION has been drawn to the article in GL65, Australia - the bitter legacy. As secretary of the Christian Ecology Group (CEG) my name appears as a referent for the CEG publication of a recent speech by the the archbishop of Canterbury.

Yes, we would wholeheartedly agree that Christian concern for the environment has hitherto been, and largely remains, an appendage. That is why CEG exists - to attempt to rectify this state of affairs. Dr. Runcie's address can hopefully be seen as a harbinger of better things ahead. It was a measured attempt by a good and liberal man in an unenviable role to create awareness of the major issue of our survival. Thanks to the selective nature of the press coverage, both religious and secular, an avalanche of concern has not ensued. I can however assure GL readers that Christian concern for the fate of the planet is gaining momentum. Ten years ago nothing; now a spate of learned publications on creation theology paralleled by active campaigning by the

religion and conservation network of the WWF and the organisers of One World Week. The latter, held annually, affords an opportunity for greens to team up at a local level with environmentally concerned Christians.

Regarding the aborigines - and by association, other tribal peoples - we in CEG are not unaware of the situation and find it as abhorrent as do other greens. CEG emerged from the ambience of the Green (then Eco) Party in 1981, and its core of founding supporters remain both unshakably Christian and ineradicably green.

To respect tribal myths is one matter; to attempt to recreate similar myths under today's conditions is, I believe, inappropriate since no myth is consciously created. And what earthly use anyway is a nature goddess if one is living in a damp house in the city with a fractious child and quarrelling with ones partner? The Genesis myth arose at a post-primitive time when people has acquired a degree of sophistication through familiarity with earthly city life. And what a superb myth it is with its perception of the loss of childhood innocence. We are still munching away at the apple of good/evil. As the Scottish poet Edwin Muir wrote:

*One foot in Eden still, I stand  
And look across the other land  
The world's great day is growing late  
Yet strange these fields that we have  
planted*

*So long with crops of love and hate  
Time's handiworks by time are haunted  
And nothing now can separate  
The corn and tares compactly grown.  
The armorial weed in stillness bound  
About the stalk; these are our own.  
Evil and good stand thick around  
In the fields of charity and sin  
Where we shall lead our harvest in.*

The world's great day is growing late indeed and perhaps we have passed the point of no return. Perhaps not. Who knows? Who better than greens are aware of the inescapable corruption which enmeshes us at every turn whether one reflects on the implications of keeping cats, drinking tea or having one's clothes dry-cleaned? The Christian faith assumes a backcloth of guilt. But guilt is a futile emotion unless it fulfills its purpose of creating in us a new vision and then getting on with it.

Judith Pritchard  
Christian Ecology Group

## FUNDAMENTAL REALISM

IN HIS EXCELLENT article (GL66), Tim Cooper points out the close connection between green thinking and the more far-sighted end of the Democrats. However, he then makes two remarkable suggestions.

First, he suggests a Litmus Test for the new party: if by the end of 1989 the Democrats have adopted sustainable economics, non-nuclear defence, a low energy strategy and organic agriculture then the Green Party should join the Democrats; if the Democrats fail this test then greens in the Democrats should leave and join the Green Party.

This suggestion is preposterous. If all of us greens in the former Alliance parties had followed Tim's advice in say 1984 then the Democrats would not now have the green tinges so clearly identified in the article: the greening of the party is not achieved by "wait and see". It is achieved by sheer hard work and persistence.

For example, the process of getting a low energy strategy adopted by the SDP started long ago. In 1985, Robert Hutchinson (of the Low Energy Group) and myself (then Chair of SDP Greens) persuaded the SDP's Tawney Society to joint sponsor a Low Energy Strategy Seminar. We got people like Michael Flood and the Alliance Energy Spokesman, Malcolm Bruce, to speak. The seminar went well. With more funds and activists (such as yourself, Tim), we could have published a pamphlet and inched the debate forward in the Alliance. But as it was, we failed to do this.

If we are to get the Democrats to adopt a low energy strategy then,

starting from today, the process is something like this:

(1) get the ideas down and published within the party; (2) initiate a debate at a party conference - this requires organisation; (3) get greens onto the required policy committee - this requires credibility. You will not get on simply by being "interested". We need people who know their subject; (4) write articles and get them published in internal party rags - to do this you need to strike up personal relationships with editors, phone them up, check and check again.

The point is Tim, that none of this is going to get done if you sit on the outside waiting for it to happen.

The other half of your suggestion, that if the Democrats pass your test then the Green Party should pack up and join us, is equally preposterous. The Green Party serves a vital purpose. It is the anchor, the source, the uncompromised bedrock of green politics. The division of activists into "fundis" and "realos" in West Germany is not an either/or division - it shows that there are two distinct roles, both of which are vital. The fundis must hold the line and keep it pure. The realos (like green Democrats) must try to get bits of the green agenda adopted wherever they work.

Without the beacon provided by the Green Party, green Democrats could easily lose their way, and having achieved your four point programme, could even think they had won.

No Tim. We need fundis to shine the light, and realos to work the system. You have got to decide what you are. Splashing around in no-mans land is no programme here.

Mike Bell



## SOMETHING FISHY

AT THIS YEAR'S FoE Conference, Havant FoE put forward a motion calling for FoE not to work with anglers as angling is considered a blood sport. The motion would have got passed, had time allowed, but unfortunately we didn't get a look in.

Therefore, those of you who support our motion, and feel strongly about FoE's working with anglers, please write in your letters of objection and send them to Andrew Lees, Water and Toxics Dept., FoE, 26-28 Underwood St, London N1 7JQ.

Oh by the way, good to see GL's presence at this year's FoE Conference. Well done!

Chris Tomlinson  
Havant FoE Co-ordinator  
174 Middle Parkway  
Leigh Park, Havant  
Hants

# Don't forget Prisoners of Conscience!

THE ANNUAL Xmas/Yule Jamboree, with everyone on the outside busily celebrating, is a painful and distressing time for prisoners. All the more reason for expressions of support and solidarity, letters, cards, etc, to show that they are not forgotten. All letters to prisoners are opened and censored, so nothing should be written that could jeopardise future political activity, legal action or someone's freedom.

AS FAR AS peace prisoners are concerned, lists can be obtained from W.R.I. at 55 Dawes St, London SE17 1EL; there will be a Prisoners for Peace Day on December 1st.

One of the longest serving prisoners is HELEN WOODSON. Four years ago she was sent to jail for her part in a Ploughshares action. With three others (the Silo Pruning Hooks 4), she entered a Minuteman 11 missile site near Kansas City in November 1984. They used jackhammers and an air compressor to damage the concrete lid of the missile silo. Held in preventive detention as a 'threat to the community', the four were eventually convicted of destroying government property, conspiracy, intent to damage the national defence and trespass. Their sentences, ranging from 8 to 17 years, are the worst against any Ploughshares activists. Helen is not due to be released till 11th November 2001.

Messages of support to Helen Woodson, 03231-045, Federal Women's Prison, Alderson, West Virginia, USA.

Since the first Ploughshares action over eight years ago, when the 'Ploughshares Eight' entered a General Electric Plant in Pennsylvania USA and hammered on two of the nose cones of Mark 12A nuclear warheads, there have been nearly 30 other such actions throughout the world, though none have so far taken place in Britain. Equipment disarmed has included nose-cones, helicopters, missile-launchers, rail-tracks, missile silos, and computer systems. Sentence have ranged from suspended to 18 years.

A gathering has been called for Saturday February 18th 1989 open to anyone in Britain (and elsewhere) interested in finding more about the

Ploughshares movement, and exploring its possibility in Britain. For further information and a registration form, contact Swords into Ploughshares c/o 69c DeLaune Street, Kennington, London SE17.

On June 2 1987 KATYA KOMISARUK disarmed the NAVSTAR First Strike system. She destroyed circuit boards from the computer, and damaged the dish used to communicate with the satellite network. On January 11, 1988, she was sentenced to 5 years in prison for these acts. Her defence, based on the Nuremberg Principles forbidding preparations for aggressive war, was not permitted in court.

Contact the White Rose Support Group, c/o Milan Rai, Youth CND, 22/24 Underwood St, London N1 7JQ.

IN THIS COUNTRY there are many innocent prisoners of the Irish war, currently being waged by the British state against the nationalist community. The most famous examples are the Birmingham Six (Richard McIlkenny, William Power, Patrick Hill, Hugh Callaghan, Gerry Hunter, John Walker), the Guildford Four (Paul Hill, Paddy Armstrong, Gerry Conlon, and Carole Richardson), and the Maguire Seven.

The campaign for the release of the Birmingham Six can be contacted via Birmingham Trades Union Council, 7 Frederick St, Birmingham B1 3HE (Tel. 021.236 8323).

For further information on the Guildford Four and the Maguire Seven, contact: 131 Eastgate Building, St Johns Way, Archway, London N19.

As far as animal rights prisoners goes, there is RONNIE LEE, VO2682, HM Prison, Long Lartin, South Littleton, Evesham, Worcs, WR11 5TZ. Ronnie was sentenced at Sheffield Crown Court in Feb 87 to 10 years imprisonment for conspiracy to cause damage and arson, and conspiracy to incite others to cause damage. The charges arose out of his involvement in running the ALF Supporters Group and being the ALF Press Officer. GEOFF SHEPPARD, V50730, is at HM Prison, Heathfield Road, Wandsworth, London, SW18 3HS; ANDREW CLARKE, V50557, at HM Highpoint Prison, Stradishall,

Newmarket, Suffolk, CB8 9YG. Andrew and Geoff were sentenced at the Old Bailey on 17th June 1988. Geoff was sentenced to 4 years 4 months, Andrew to 3 and a half years. They were both found guilty of conspiring to cause damage by arson to Debenhams department stores in Luton, Romford and Harrow in July 1987, which caused over £9 million damage.

DAVID BARR, 152/88, C-1/34, HM Prison, Shotts, Canthill Road, Lanarkshire, ML7 4LF, was sentenced in March 1988 to 3 years imprisonment. He was found guilty of planting an inoperative incendiary device in Jenners department store in Edinburgh (they sell fur coats). He was also found guilty of conspiring to further the aims of the ALF by criminal means, by placing stickers threatening contamination on animal tested cosmetics.

GARI ALLEN has been released. Please contact S.A.R.P. BCM Box 5911, London, WC1 3XX, Tel 01.888 2482.

Let's also not forget three young men, described by Amnesty International as political prisoners, who have begun life sentences at Wormwood Scrubs, convicted of the murder of PC Blakelock in the Broadwater Farm riots. WINSTON SILCOTT, MARK BRAITHWAITE and ENGIN RAGHIP were convicted on flimsy and contradictory evidence, assaulted in police custody (see The New Statesman & Society 18-11-88), they are innocent victims of the racism of the British state, seeking vengeance on the Black community for Blakelock's murder.

Please express your solidarity by writing to them at Wormwood Scrubs, Ducane Rd, Shepherds Bush, London W12 0AE. Winston's number is B74053, Mark's B78956 and Engin's B78270. In addition there is a Broadwater Farm Defence Campaign who would welcome your support (e.g. financially). Phone them on 01-885-3752 for more info.

On Sunday 11th December there will be a picket outside Wormwoods Scrubs at 4p.m. It marks the eve of the hearing as to whether the three men will be allowed to appeal. Their MPs will visit them and after speak to the picket. Why not be there? More details from B.F.D.C.