

# GREEN *Line*

GL70

MARCH  
1989

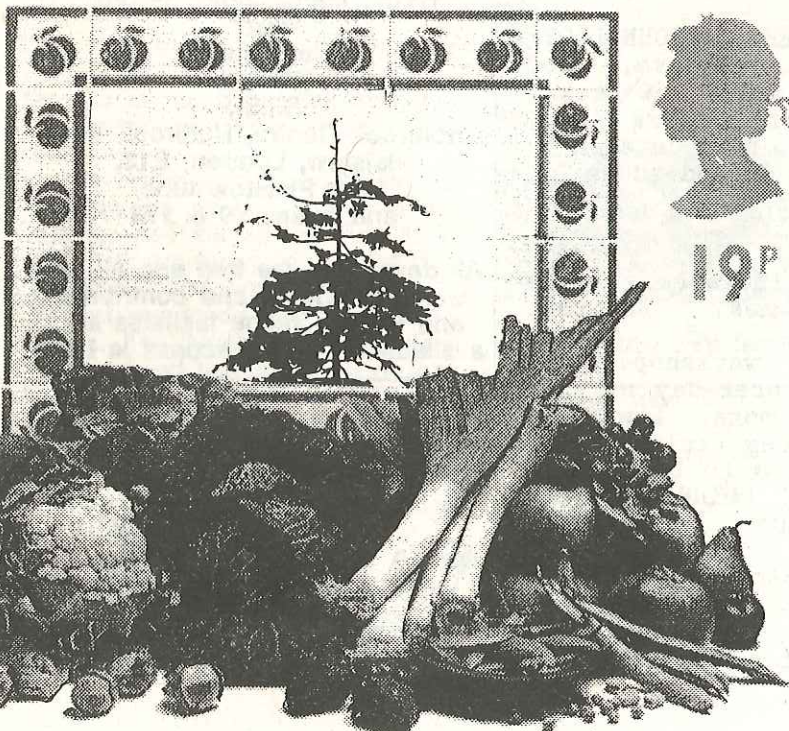
60p



FOOD AND FARMING YEAR 1989

Petra Kelly:  
political  
crisis in  
Die Grünen

The dangers  
of mixing  
myth and  
politics



FOOD AND FARMING YEAR 1989

Why greens  
must control  
MPs in the  
Green Party

The legacy  
of Europe  
in Peru



Britain's Green Monthly

# GREEN Line

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

Monthly magazine of  
Green politics and lifestyle

GREEN LINE is published ten times a year, and is produced by a collective based in Oxford. Green Line appears thanks to the efforts of Carole Guberman, Barry Maycock, Graham Hooper, 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.

### ENVELOPES

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

### BULK ORDERS

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

### ADVERTISING

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

### DEADLINES

The next issue is due out on APRIL 1ST 1989. We need all news, articles, small ads etc by 15th March 1989. In general all articles are read and discussed at a meeting of the collective in the middle of each month.

### SPECIAL OFFER! BACK ISSUES

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

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# Small Ads

5p/word

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

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

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

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

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**STICKERS** Colourful adhesive window transparencies; many varieties, rainbow, peace dove, mandalas etc. Available

wholesale or retail. Sae for catalogue to Earthcare, 33 Saddler St, Durham DH1 3NV

**BREAKING BLOCKS TO CREATIVITY** (17-19 March). This weekend is for anyone who feels that their creative spirit is dormant or blocked and wants to waken and free it. For details of this and other weekend events send S.A.E. to Lower Shaw Farm, Shaw, Swindon, Wilts (0793) 771080.

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

**RADICAL GREEN ECONOMICS** - how would it work in practice? Read David Simmons' book Economic Power for a critical analysis of monopoly capitalism and how it contributed to inequality in society. Send 2.80 (inc p&p) to Third Avenue Press, 5 Russell Rd, Northolt, Middlesex UB5 4QR

**ANARCHISTS and GREENS  
DAYSKOOLS at NELP**

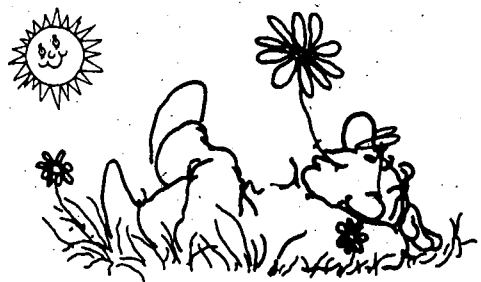
*Why?*  
to educate ourselves about anarchist and green issues.

*When?*  
Weds, March 22nd; 1-4pm.

*What?*  
Situationism.

*Where?*  
S.I.S.,  
Holbrook Centre, Holbrook Rd,  
Plaistow, London, E13.  
Near Plaistow tube  
and buses 69 & 173

All dayskools are free and all are welcome. Come and contribute and learn. Creche facilities are available. Disabled access is bad.



# Four ways to help you poison the North Sea



by *KINGSLEY EVANS*

Why should we want to?

The answer is simple: to kill fish. Fish are repulsive scaly things. They are also unemployable. Imagine actually being a fish: whenever you looked in the mirror you would see a horrible scaly unemployable fish staring back at you.

It doesn't bear thinking about.

Basically they want to be put out of their misery.

But that's not the worst thing.

The worst thing is that they reproduce EEEUUU! They do it underwater, with other fish. They think we don't know about it but I saw it on television once.

No, actually that was the sceond worst thing.

The worst thing is that they are trying to kill us off. You see, as far as fish are concerned, we humans are just another species. With so many species becoming extinct every day, they wouldn't lose any sleep over our dying out.

The way they are trying to finish us off is this:

They are dying out themselves in order to break the food chains and starve us. The fish in the Baltic Sea were the ring leaders and 98% of them are dead now.

We are facing a very serious threat. I for one say we should rise to the challenge and kill all the fish, seals (fish which are furry) and whales (big fish which sound like bagpipes).

The best way to do this is to poison the sea. The North Sea is an easy first target and here are a list of four things which you should allow to happen in order to continue killing the fish.

## 1: dump and burn toxic chemicals and pesticides

Although this occurs all over Europe, you will be proud to know that in Britain we are leading the field. We accept toxic wastes that no other

country is prepared to deal with and "dispose" of it. It is dumped in Wales, the North Sea, and other parts of Britain. Some of it is burned off an island called Scarborough. The clever bit with this is that although they are all legal to deal with, some wastes are converted to dioxins by the burning process.

If you feel enthusiastic about this method, you might try to find out the names of some of the companies responsible. They are very modest about fighting the fish menace, but if you can find and publicise their names the consumers can help by buying their products.

carcinogenic amines and sulphur that causes acid rain.

## 3: produce lots of sewage

Britain's sewage system has hardly improved since it was built in Victorian times and it is overloaded. The majority of beaches in Britain exceed EEC safety standards for sewage pollution. Swimming from these beaches can lead to all sorts of nastiness. But this is a small sacrifice to make when you consider raw sewage dissolving to form a culture for all sorts of germs - germs that could kill of seals for instance.

## 4: discharge radioactive nuclear waste

Although Britain has had numerous small accidents and small-scale leaks, we do not have a really fish-destroying Chernobyl-sized disaster to boast of yet. The amount of nuclear waste we "dispose" of is, however, heart-warming. Only 10% of it is ours. And a fair proportion of it has been cleverly left at the bottom of the sea waiting for its storage barrels to burst open.

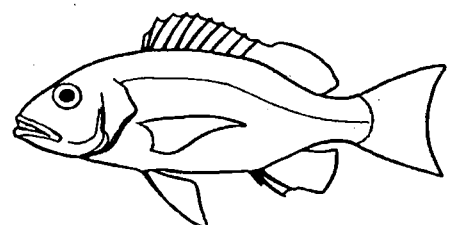
Remember: our goal is not far off.

The north sea is already dying. At the turn of the century a species died out every month. But now we have made great progress, and fifty species die out every twelve hours.

Subversive fish sympathisers may tell you that we should not kill other species because we need them. Don't listen to them. People need

each other too but that hasn't stopped us. Deep down, you know I am right.

I can't wait to see the looks on those fishes faces when they become extinct before we do.



## 2: use man-made fertilisers

Fertilisers drain into the rivers and end up in either lakes or the sea. In lakes, micro-organisms and plants use the nitrates and phosphates to rapidly multiply. This phenomenon is called "algal bloom". The good bit comes when the system runs out of oxygen and everything dies. Ha!Ha! A similar thing occurs in the sea - but unfortunately it assists the evil fish because the algae rot and produce

## FLUORO-CORRUPTION

IN 1982, NORSK Hydro Fertilisers of Immingham were faced with a serious toxic waste disposal problem. A decline in quality of raw material used in phosphate production coupled with the saturation of their dumping facility lead to a large excess of highly poisonous, corrosive, indestructable Hydrofluorosilicic Acid. At this time, by an extraordinary coincidence, members of the North Lincs. Health Authority decided to add to Lincs. water supplies hydrofluorosilicic acid which would "improve children's teeth".

NLHA, an unelected, semi-secret society of businessmen, vested interests and makeweights, persuaded the Anglian Water Authority to use public water supplies to facilitate the dumping; 300 000 of public money was spent on fluoridation machinery; and the AWA, acting in contravention of the 1945 Water Act, began to dump the acid into the water supply. Result: Norsk Hydro's potentially financially crippling problem solved - and with NHS money.

The fluoride waste dumping racket started in the late 1930s when the Aluminium Company of America commissioned a biochemist to find an outlet for its fluoride wastes. By a series of false and misleading statements, the biochemist, using his contacts in the various health boards, persuaded the relevant people that a dilution of 1 part per million would be beneficial to teeth. The fluoride bandwagon quickly ran over those scientists who been recommending a maximum of 0.1 ppm due to fluoride's extreme toxicity.

European fluoride waste producers and their agents in government, medicine and the media naturally latched on to this gift from across the Atlantic and soon the practice was implemented in most of Europe. The pay-off was not long coming: the National Health Federation of America, after studying 25 major cities, concluded: "fluoride, in the amounts added to public waters, causes cancer and/or increases the growth rates of cancer cells". The US Medical/ Dental Committee on Fluoridation Evaluation has found that the practice is "unsafe and can lead to serious chronic disease", and the Association of Americal Physicians and Surgeons have stated their opposition. US medical experts believe that as many as 35,000 US cancer deaths per year are linked to artificial fluoridation.

Fluoride is an enzyme poison in dilutions as low as 0.06 ppm. Dr. John Emsley, speaking on BBC TV said, "...our researches at King's College have shown us that fluoride has a method of interfering with DNA and other chemicals in the body through something called hydrogen bonding... it could be the cause of cancer". The UK cancer rate is now 1 in 3 and rising.

Confirmed fluoride poisoning effects include mouth ulcers, tiredness, kidney dysfunction, diarrhoea, joint pains, skin and eye problems, dental fluorosis and abdominal pains. Fluoride's ability to inhibit enzymes, including oxygen enzymes, by as much as 50%, may lead to suffocation: the nation with the highest incidence of cot death, Australia, is also the most fluoridated. Fluoridation was banned in Chile when the rate of infant deaths could no longer be ignored. UK cot deaths are now 1500 per year. Fluoridation has also now been banned in Austria, Denmark, France, Greece, Holland, Italy, Luxembourg, Spain, Switzerland, Sweden, West Germany, Yugoslavia as well as hundreds of cities in the USA. You can oppose this medical/commercial racket by not paying for poisoned water.

PATRICK RATTIGAN

## EX-MAYOR SUES WATER AUTHORITY CHAIRMAN

IN JANUARY, PETER Christie, former mayor of Bideford, Devon, sued the Chairman of South-West Water, for public nuisance, negligence and breach of contract, caused by the defendant's treatment of the mains water supply with aluminium sulphate, a known neurotoxin which has been shown to cause Alzheimer's Disease, Parkinsonism and renal dialysis encephalopathy. Peter Christie is suing South-West Water's Chairman for 100, partly to help cover the cost of buying in bottled water as an alternative to the treated tap water. He said in a press release, "Why should I pay water rates for something that's undrinkable and probably not even safe for cooking with? In our family we feel obliged to use bottled water for drinking and filtered water for cooking."

The outcome of the case isn't known as yet, but this looks like being an interesting test case. Could the same be done over fluoridation or other dodgy water treatments?

For more information contact: Peter Christie, 30 Lime Grove, Bideford, EX39 3JZ, 02372 73577(h) 0271 45291 X261(w), or Keith Court, Chairman, South West Water, Peninsular House, Rydon Lane, Exeter, EX2 7HR

## ALUMINIUM: HEAVY METAL

THE MISTAKE THAT led to Camelford's water supplies being contaminated with aluminium sulphate has heightened awareness of the dangers to the body's biochemistry. While most of us are healthy enough to deal with the little aluminium we take in, the sick, those on dialysis and the very young and old are especially vulnerable.

We are exposed to many sources of aluminium in our diet. The most obvious is in the water supply which, especially in the western half of Britain, can exceed EEC limits: in this month's Lancet a report confirms that people in Northumberland, Tyne and Wear, Durham, Devon and Cornwall, face a 50% greater risk of getting Alzheimer's disease if they don't take precautions.

But apart from local geology, high aluminium levels in water may be caused by acid rain (which leaches free aluminium out of the soil), and chemicals added by the water authority (e.g. to reduce water discoloration). Foods can contain aluminium, such as biscuits and cakes with the raising agent aluminium phosphate - identifiable as E541; the metal is even found in some baby milk powders. Repeat doses of drugs such as antacids and some aspirins could lead to increased intake of aluminium.

We mentioned the problems with aluminium pans in GL64. Normally you are protected by a layer of aluminium oxide that forms on the pan's surface. But if that layer is removed by strongly acidic foods (e.g. fruit) or washing with alkaline reagents, then pure aluminium underneath is exposed and can get into your food. Why not use ironware instead? Iron is more efficient for heating food, and it requires far greater amounts of energy to extract aluminium from bauxite ore than iron from iron ore.

## WOT!! TROTS AT GL?

Yes, we doubled recycled loo roll consumption here in Oxford recently as our local water board, gearing itself up for the rigours of the market-place, fed us all Cryptosporidiosis with our H2O. Cryptosporidiosis? As one wag had it: not a song from Mary Poppins - though just as likely to irritate your lower bowel.

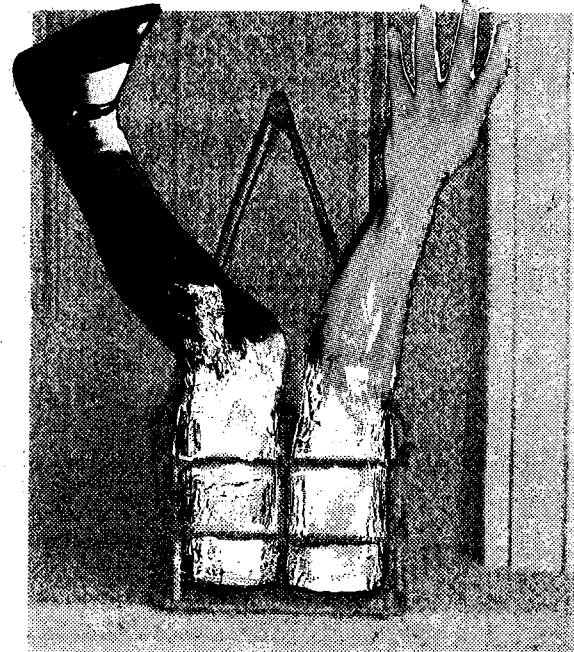
In fact we were warned cheerfully, if we were bored enough to be listening to Radio Oxford, to expect diarrhoea for 2 days - or 2 weeks! Well, at least victims would be recovered in time to go and buy their shares.

It's going to be great after privatisation though: if this happens again we'll all be freed from the chains of nationalisation to go and buy our water anywhere. I'm thinking of Highlands spring nectar myself. At least that explains all these adverts with the ex-milk floats: they're obviously delivering water from far afield for those people tired of that passé piped stuff.

And even if you are still interested, new government regulations ain't going to let you find out how dirty your water is till 18 months after privatisation; and they're busy fighting the EEC over water cleanliness levels. Now what could be the reason for doing that?

All in all it's a pretty frightening prospect: if you boil your water you merely help boost the CEBG's profits ready for privatisation, and if you don't you'll be on your toilet with an attack of the runny Riddles till the anti-Thatcher majority get their electoral act together and the safety of our water is returned to saner stewardship. Till then, we'd all better help come up with a suitably snappy slogan for the soon to be "ten water and sewage businesses of England and Wales". How about "We're taking the piss"?

JERRY SPRING



will  
This is how much it cost

850 pints. That's how much water a family uses in a day.

Every day.

Those 850 pints cost you less than the price of two bottles of milk.

You don't even have to bring the water in from the front step.

Of course, you don't actually drink

all of the water that is delivered.

Although you could. Because it is of drinking quality.

You bathe in it. Shower in it.

Flush the toilet with it.

Wash your clothes in it. (An automatic washing machine

uses about 200 pints of water

every time it does a full load).

Yet it's always on tap.

Because this country has one of the most efficient and economical delivery systems of all.

And you don't have to

cancel it when you go away on holiday.



#### MARCH

- 4th-5th. FOE Earth Action Activists' Weekend, London. Details: FOE 01 490 1555.
- 6th. "Ecological Farming and Free Trade": talk by Richard Body MP. Friends' House Euston Road, London NW1. 2/1. Contact: 01 377 5696.
- 7th. International Children's Peace Council. Talk by founder. Charing Cross Hotel, London WC2. 6.30-8pm. Details: 01 839 4512.
- 8th. International Womens Day.
- 10th-12th. Green Student Network gathering at Newcastle Polytechnic. Details from 320 Old Durham Rd, Gateshead, Tyne & Wear NE8 4BQ
- 11th. "Dirty Diesels Day": FOE Day of Action. Contact: FOE 01 490 1555.
- 11th-16th. Loughborough Students CND's "Peace Week". Loughborough University, Ashby Drive, Loughborough, Leics. Events consist of: 11th. 2-6pm "Peace Gathering" - stalls, bands, bar etc.; 9pm disco; 12th. leafleting of campus, meet 2pm; 13th. 7.30pm, Bruce Kent speaking on CND's NATO campaign; 14th. 7.30pm, films "A Stupid Way of Doing Business" and "The War Game"; 15th. 6.30pm, disarmament workshop in the Hagger Hall; 16th. 12.30-2pm letter writing & petition signing at CND stall. Contact: Louis Stephen 0509 264026.
- 16th. Mass Lobby of Parliament for PR, freedom of information, no Poll Tax, devolution. Details: 01 673 0045.
- 18th. "Pathways to International Security": 5th Annual Conference of Professions for World Disarmament & Development. Royal Society of Medicine, 1 Wimpole Street, London W1. Speakers include Chris Patten, Susan George, Malcolm Harper (Director of UNA) & Victor Orlik (ed. Soviet Weekly). 10 Incl. coffee, lunch 10; concessions 6. Contact/bookings: Hugh Gordon, 1 North End, London NW3 7HH, 01 458 5316.
- 20th. "Changing the World's Trading System". Meeting at Friends' House, Euston Road, London NW1. 4-6pm. 2/1. Contact: 01 377 5696.
- 21st. Sharpville Day.
- 22nd. Situationist Dayskool. 1pm at Hut 038, Holbrook Centre, Holbrook Rd., London E13. Free (on 147 bus route; nearest tube Plaistow).
- 31st-April 2nd. Green Party's Spring Conference. Porchester Hall, Bayswater, Queensway, London W2. Theme: Europe and the Environment. Also discussion of policy for forthcoming European elections. Contact: Caroline Lucas, GP Press Officer, 01 675 6701.

#### APRIL

- 1st-9th. Central America Week. Theme: "Todes podemos hacer algo!" (We can all do something - quote from Oscar Romero).
- 1st. FOE Air Pollution Workshop. Contact 01 490 1555.
- 5th. "Spiritual Healing Today": talk by president of National Federation of Spiritual Healers. Charing Cross Hotel. 6.30pm. Details: 01 839 4512.
- 7th. World Health Day.
- 7th-9th. 5th Congress of European Greens, Paris. Themes include "Developing Superpower" & "1992". Write to 5eme Congres des Verts Europeens, 90 Rue Vergniaud, F-75013, Paris, France for details. Cost will be about 20 registration plus board and lodging.
- 29th. Advance warning of Northern Green Fair. Free stalls but space is short. Bookings/details from Green Soc. Leeds University S.U. PO Box 157, Woodhouse Lane, Leeds LS1.

THE WORLD BANK has been making much of its conversion towards environmental priorities in setting up its projects. For instance, we had been led to believe that a \$500m power sector loan to Brazil was being held up until Brazil dealt with the problems to be faced by at least 70,000 Amazonian Indians if their forests were flooded by hydroelectric dams.

However a World Bank official concerned with the loan has given away the real reason: that the Bank is concerned that ElectroBras, the state generating company, will use the money to rescue its disastrous nuclear power programme. At the moment a new plant Angra-3 stands half-built with the West German contractors, Siemens, threatening to claim \$180m in compensation if Brazil does not see the project through to completion.

But it is reckoned that the electricity from Angra-3 will cost 3.5 times as much as that from the Amazonian hydroelectric scheme. Antonio Pimenta-Neves of the World Bank's Latin American Division has said that "we want to make sure that no investment that is not least-cost is going to disturb the finances of the [power] sector. If the nuclear plants were outside ElectroBras we would not be concerned." So now we know: it is cost, rather than effect on the environment or local people, that exercises the minds of the World Bank technocrats, despite all the talk of how they'd seen the green light.

Needless to say, neither the nuclear nor the hydroelectric options are at all sensible. The Brazilian government intends to build over 100 dams and flood 16m acres of Amazonian forest by 2100 in pursuit of the Altamira/Xingu river basin hydroelectric schemes. Opposition to this is now worldwide. Recently, over 3000 Indian leaders from more than 20 nations met in Altamira, north-east Brazil in an unprecedented show of unity against the actions of the Brazilian government. They plan to blockade one of the dam sites until the World Bank drops the loan.

It has to be said that the precedents are not optimistic: at the moment, several hundred local people in Kedung Ombo, Java are having their homes flooded out by another World Bank dam project in Indonesia. They have refused to leave because the government has offered totally inadequate compensation to buy new land, and the land in the village to which they were to be moved is infertile. Given the genocidal record of Suharto's government (e.g. in East Timor) the student-led Solidarity Action Group for the Victims of Development in Kedung Ombo will have a hard task.

And that of course is where the World Bank has consistently abrogated its responsibilities and failed to put any meaningful pressure on governments to protect the rights of people affected by its projects. But to do so would be to admit that such projects have disastrous consequences for thousands of people and open the floodgates, as it were, for compensation demands.

The resistance organised at Altamira, however, does offer hope. For the first time, the indigenous tribes have united with groups like the rubber tappers and poor townspeople in Amazonia. If they can gain the support of the Brazilian Workers Party, currently torn between supporting industrialisation and defending the oppressed, then the next elections could at last bring some real change in official policy. In addition, concerted political action by Brazil's own indigenous population will stop President Sarney and his cronies hiding behind their spurious nationalist rhetoric and avoiding the real issues of the

grossly unequal distribution of land and wealth in Brazil.



There is plenty that can be done from Britain: the Altamira protest needs funds, which can be sent to FOE at 26-8 Underwood St, London N1; in addition banks such as Lloyds and Midlands are involved in co-financing the World Bank project, so boycott them, picket their bank branches and complain to Sir Kit McMahon, Chairman, Midland Bank PLC, Poultry, London EC2 and Sir Jeremy Morse, Chairman, Lloyds Bank PLC, 71 Lombard St, London EC3. And of course pressure must continue to be put on Western governments to alleviate the wider debt problems that are largely responsible for Brazil's drive to industrialise the Amazon in the first place.

\* THE MURDERERS of the leader of the Amazonian rubber tappers, Chico Mendes, were hired by local landowner Daril Alvez da Silva and his sons. If they are eventually brought to justice it will be the first time despite over 1000 killings of political, trade union and Indian activists in the Amazon since 1980. Chico Mendes had been fighting for an end to the feudal exploitation of rubber tappers by middlemen and the corrupt government Indian agency Funai. His struggle to save the forests that are the source of the tappers' livelihoods continues.

\* IMAGINE IF Mrs Thatcher were to abstain from the Electricity Privatisation Bill and Cecil Parkinson were to admit publicly that it was a mistake. This is exactly what has happened in Hungary where the Government has publicly admitted its stupidity in getting caught up in the Gabolovo/Nagymoros dam project (see GL65). Unfortunately, the Deputy PM, Peter Medgyessey has said that abandoning it would be more expensive (financially) than completing it.

\* THE NICARAGUAN Solidarity Campaign has formed an Environmental Network for Nicaragua (see also GL68). They are offering briefing papers on Nicaragua and Central America's environmental problems, a video for hire on the same subject as well as speakers on Nicaragua, the Brigades etc. Currently ENN is supporting, and seeking support for, the first international environmental conference to be held in a Third World country: the Fourth Biennial Congress on the Fate of the Earth in Managua, Nicaragua on June 5-9. Send see to ENN c/o NSC, 23 Bevisden St, London N1 6BH for more details.

more international news—>

# NETWORK

\* THE MALAYSIAN government's Forest Ordinance (see Green International GL64) that was designed to break the struggle by indigenous people in Sarawak to save their forests from loggers has claimed more victims. 128 Penan blockaders were arrested on January 24th and charged with violating Section 90b of the Act, with the likelihood of facing 2 year fines and US\$2,500 fines. The European Parliament passed a motion calling for a ban on Sarawak timber imports until the land rights issues have been settled. Unfortunately this has been ignored by the European Commissioners.

Complain to Mr A.J.Fairclough, DG-8, Overseas Development; Mr F.Andriessen, DG-1 External & Trade Policy; Mr A.Matutes, North South Relations; Mr Ripa di Meana, DG-11, Environment - all of these are at Commission of the European Communities, 200 Rue de le Roi, 1049 Brussels, Belgium. And write to Dato Mon Jamaluddin, Office of the High Commission of Malaysia, 45 Belgrave Square, London SW1X 8QT.



## LOCAL news...LOCAL news...LOCAL news...

### MONOLITHIC READING

ONE of the few sound enterprises to start up on the Small Capitalist - sorry! - Enterprise Allowance Scheme is Monolith Distribution, a mail order book service which aims to promote awareness of such subjects as prehistory, stone circles, archeo-astronomy, ley lines, UFOs, pyramids, unexplained mysteries, earth-power and awareness of a lifestyle and culture living in harmony with nature and ecology. There are even books about the New Age Travellers, various magazines and soon (touch wood) videos about Stonehenge 1987 and 1988.

If you are into these sorts of things, Monolith Distribution is worth checking out. A catalogue can be obtained from Monolith Distribution, c/o John Harrison, 2 Baggrave View, Barsby, Leicestershire LE7 8RB.

### RADICAL LESBIAN & GAY NETWORK

SINCE Clause 28 became law it seems there has been a decline in political lesbian and gay activity. We would like to make contact with lesbians and gay men who want to continue radical political activity and fight for lesbian and gay liberation.

We know that there are many lesbians and gay men fed up with boring respectable middle class campaigns, who don't like party politics, rhetoric or endless meetings and who see racism, sexism and class oppression and disability as central issues to changing society. Despite the many faults with "Stop the Clause", we heard of and met lots of lesbians and gays into creative ideas and actions. We would like to hear from lesbians and gay men (especially anarchists, greens and non party socialists and communists) who are interested in setting up a network, newsletters and campaigns.

If you're interested in this idea the write to Nik Walton, c/o 24 South Road, Hockley, Birmingham B19.

### WOMEN CYCLIST GROUP

A GROUP of women are doing something about sexual harrasment of women cyclists in London (see The Guardian 28.12.88). The group don't want to put women off cycling to work - especially as it is often safer than the trains, buses or pavements - but they do want to combat the sexual harrasment that does go on, and force the police to take complaints more seriously than they generally do at the moment. For more info, contact Sue Moore, 7 St Olive's Gardens, Walnut Tree Walk, Kennington, London SE11 6DR.

### GLASTONBURY '89 IS GO

THE Glastonbury festival, after a year's absence, is definitely ON this year, on 16th, 17th and 18th of June. Because of trouble over music licences the organiser Michael Eavis has decided to substantially reduce the pop/ rock emphasis and bring in a more theatre and dance oriented flavour including a strong feature of Third World music and performance. And to make things sweeter still, the commercial hard sell/ fast food market side of the festival is also to be reduced. Anyone who saw the crowds of small capitalists and mountains of litter at the '87 festival, would say that's no bad move at all.

This means that the Greenfield should become more significant this year, after steadily growing in importance as a feature of past festivals. There are some new faces on the Greenfield team this year with some new features planned, such as a Teepee circle, a healing circle, a kids area, saunas and showers, alternative energy, theatre, circus, workshops, food as well as the usual Green stuff.

Another new aspect to the festival will be a One Earth Arts Village as an attempt to break with the big stage rock show tradition. Visitors will be able to have a go at a range of activities from music through to fabric design and hut building. Spontaneity will be the aim. There will also be a political forum organised: more details later.

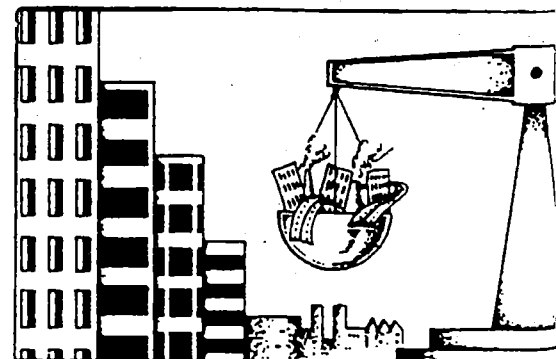
There are still features, acts, groups etc. yet to be booked and the organisers want to be contacted by anyone with something to offer to the Greenfield festivities. So if you've got something to contribute, even if it's arm and leg work, don't be shy.

Contacts:-  
Healers: Glennie Kindred, Walnut Cottage, Church Street, Stonesfield, Oxon;  
Stalls & food: Anne Waterhouse, Box 123, Salisbury, Wiltshire;  
One Earth Arts Village, The Dove Workshops, Butleigh, Glastonbury, Somerset BA6 8TL (0458) 50682 (people from non-English cultures who wish to teach, perform etc. are particularly asked to get in touch);  
Other enquiries: Nick Harrison, The Cobbles, 7 Angel Hill, Tiverton, Devon, (0884) 258135.

### ECOLOGICAL STUDIES II

WHAT do ecologists, city farmers, wildlife trusts, conservation volunteers, teachers, landscape architects, planners and friends of the earth have in common? They all studied at the Centre for Urban Studies.

So if you want to study the city geographically, biologically, sociologically, ecologically then the Centre for Urban Ecology has training courses for you. Write to them at The Birmingham Settlement, 318



## PASSING KINGS CROSS?

For the latest books and mags on ecology, anarchism, animal lib, gay and peace, pop into Housmans, 5 Caledonian Road, London N1 9DX, 01-837 4473 (we also do mail order)



## WHY IS SIR WALTER LOOKING SO SMUG..?

...BECAUSE Scottish anti-nuke group SCRAM is facing a financial crisis, of tiny proportions compared to the dosh thrown around by the opposition but enough for them to go bust. They currently need to raise 6000, without which they will have to close down depriving the anti-nuke movement of an excellent magazine, the invaluable information in the SCRAM archives as well as putting SCRAM's three workers out of a job.



After 13 years of campaigning SCRAM have become victims of their own success. More and more people are turning to them for information that they can't get elsewhere and this is putting up their bills for printing, stationary and phone calls.

So if you don't want the anti-nuke movement to lose one of its best groups, dig deep in your pocket or Swiss account and send a generous contribution to SCRAM, 11 Forth Street, Edinburgh EH1 3LE.

## GREENHOUSE INFO

A LEAFLET from the Movement for Compassionate Living (47 Highlands Road, Leatherhead Surrey KT22 8NQ) - which promotes an ecological vegan lifestyle - advocates large-scale planting of trees as an aid to reducing CO2 levels as well as for a resource (food, energy, materials). Researchers at the US Energy Department estimate that "New forests covering 7 million sq km could absorb all the release of CO2 from the burning of fossil fuels." This area is about the size of the USA without Alaska. However MCL point out that "This area... may seem impossibly large to appropriate for new forests until it is realised that 30 million sq km worldwide are at present used for deliberately bred livestock who also eat a large proportion of the crops from the 15 million square km of crop land."

Like all green plants, trees absorb CO2 for photosynthesis, while farm livestock give out CO2 and methane (an important greenhouse gas). Now an American power company has

agreed to plant 52 million trees in Guatemala to absorb the amount of CO2 that will enter the atmosphere from a new power station that is being built in Virginia.

## WORKING FOR A BETTER WORLD

A WORLDWIDE initiative dedicated to the United Nations "Global Co-operation for a Better World" has been chugging along, with creative group workshops in eighty countries in schools, youth centres, hospitals, businesses, prisons and homes for the elderly trying to decide what kind of future they would like. Over the next two years, Global Co-operation wants to collect the ideas and experience of as many people as possible into a Bank of Ideas which will contribute towards the formation of a "Global Vision" by 1990. Contact Maureen Goodman, Global Co-operation for a Better World, 28 Baker St, London W1M 4DF, tel: 01 487 4634, for more info on how you can help.

## FARM SALMON DUMPED

TWO MAJOR fish farm operators, McConnell Salmon and Unilever's Marine Harvest, have dumped large numbers of dead salmon from their farms in pits near Loch Sunart on the Scottish west coast, following an outbreak of a salmon disease, furunculosis. One report suggests that liquid from the pits has leaked into the loch, possibly breaching the 1974 Control of Pollution Act. The pits may also contravene Scottish Office guidelines that diseased fish should be buried away from water courses. Local residents have complained of the stench of the decaying fish. Water authorities are to investigate McConnell Salmon's pits, and the company will also look into the dumping claims. Is this to be a foretaste of things to come (see also Network GL68) from this new and expanding factory farming industry?

radioactive caesium in Cumbria, especially around Ravenglass. This time, however, the caesium - which can be related, like a fingerprint, to its source - was not from Chernobyl, but from Sellafield.

MAFF tried to discredit these findings and bent the ears of the local NFU (who, to their credit, didn't listen). It makes one wonder what they've got to hide if an aerial radiation survey was done over the whole country: Cecil Parkinson certainly won't want embarrassing revelations spoiling the privatisation of nuclear power. However, there's still hope, as the government has recently agreed to fund a survey - though it's not clear yet what its scope will be. Better late than never?

## CLEAN, SOFT, WHITE... DANGEROUS

SOME PAPER sanitary products including sanitary towels, tampons and disposable nappies have been found to contain quantities of dioxins, residues from bleaching the wood pulp with chlorine during paper manufacture (The rest of the dioxin is washed out into the environment). 87% of Britain's imported pulp is bleached with chlorine. Dioxin (Tetrachlorodibenzodioxin or TCDD) is known to be one of the most dangerous chemicals ever produced: even the minutest quantities causes cancer and birth defects in animals. What effect would the dioxins present in sanitary wear have on the women or children wearing them?

In Sweden, consumers, once aware of the risk to their health, have, with the Swedish government, demanded dioxin-free products: today 95% of sanitary wear is creamy coloured and dioxin-free.

The Women's Environmental Network is campaigning for paper products, and especially sanitary products, to be made without chlorine bleaching. Some manufacturers have already agreed to change to the oxygen gas bleaching process and WEN are urging consumers to write to as yet unconverted U.K. manufacturers. WEN have also published a report: The Sanitary Protection Scandal. For more details of their campaign, contact WEN, 287 City Road, London EC1V 1LA, 01 490 2511.

--> News on CFCs overleaf -->

## HIDDEN RADIATION

SOME GOOD news has come out of a January Scottish Eye documentary on C4 about radiation levels in Scotland and the North of England. Following the Chernobyl blow-out, the British government made an unconvincing mess of monitoring radiation levels in food, people and the environment. In Sweden the whole country was mapped by aerial survey to find the contaminated areas. In Britain we now have the inadequate RIMNET, a system of fixed monitoring points dotted around the countryside. It can't provide the detailed, nationwide data that should have been available to health advisors after Chernobyl.

Meanwhile, Scottish university team had been applying in vain to MAFF to fund an aerial survey like Sweden's. In the end Scottish Eye commissioned a survey, and were rewarded with some alarming results: radioactive Caesium isotope levels in parts of the Scottish Highlands were 15-30 times higher than government figures. The Caesium is very persistent in grass and easily finds its way up the food chain into people.

Probably the government has been playing down the dangers and disputing the need for an aerial survey because, apart from saving money, they don't want to be exposed as incompetent. But, more sinisterly, the survey also found higher than expected levels of

## THE MIDLANDS

Summer Lane, Birmingham B19 3RL for a prospectus.

Meanwhile at Warwick there's a series of open lectures including Environmental Conflicts and Planning, Food Resources, The Sociology of Developing Countries and the Politics of Developing Areas. These courses last a year from each October and cost 38 a year or 19 a term. Contact Kay Rainsley on Coventry 523523 Ext. 2552



## CFCs: MORE TO DO

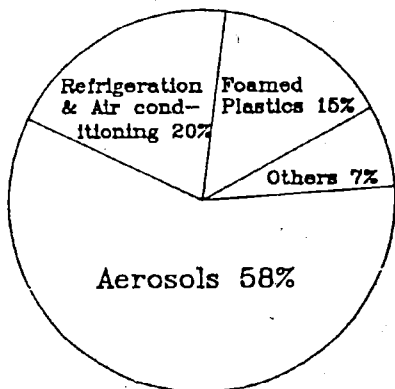
FOE's VICTORIES over the CFC manufacturers regarding aerosols, food packaging etc. are history. Now, FOE are turning their non-violent artillery on the increasing use of CFCs in buildings (for insulating foams and air conditioning), launching a Special Report "Safe as Houses?" In January, Britain's top 100 construction companies, top 50 architects, and major manufacturers and distributors each received a copy of the report and "Use of CFCs in Buildings" an authoritative review of the technical questions. There are alternatives to CFCs for most insulation applications in UK buildings. FOE will campaign for:

\* an immediate halt to all new uses and to expansion of markets abroad of CFC-containing materials.

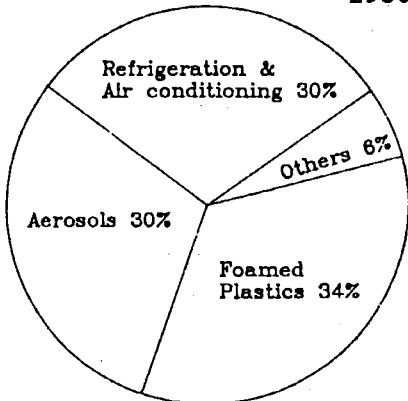
\* the immediate introduction of non-CFC insulating materials where technically suitable alternatives are available.

\* leakage detection equipment and training of refrigeration engineers in techniques which reduce wastage of CFCs from air conditioning and an immediate end to the use of fully halogenated CFCs for air conditioning.

\* Government legislation to ensure effective implementation of these measures.



1976  
World demand CFC11 & CFC12



The CFCs have been widely used due to their excellent thermal insulation properties. Some alternative blowing agents pose problems: HCFC 22 still damages the ozone layer - although less so - and is only recommended for restricted use, while some other "ozone friendly" substitutes such as HFC 134a may not be "greenhouse friendly". Increasing use of HCFC 22 is already causing concern over its greenhouse effect. These reports and more details about the campaign are available from Fiona Wier 01 490 0340 or Liz Parratt 01 490 1555.

## PEACE NEWS



### PEACE DIARY

**MAR 18: Time for Change - New Thinking in Foreign and Defence Policy.** Day conference organised by Sussex Alliance for Nuclear Disarmament. Speakers include Bruce Kent! 9.30am - 4pm brighthelm Centre, North Rd, Brighton. Details: Eileen Daffern (0273 681181).

**MAR 18: Pathways to International Security.** Conference at the Royal Society of Medicine, Wimpole Street, London. The conference will explore the interactions of Disarmament, of Third World Development, and of Conservation in a wider concept of Security and the Peace Process. Further information from: Dr Hugh Gordon, 1 North End, London NW3 7HH. Tel: 01.458 5316.

**APR 1: Peace Tax Campaign 1989 Conference,** Ruskin College, Walton Street, Oxford. More info from Phil Rimmer or Lorna Richardson at the PTC office: 1a Hollybush Place, London, E2 9QX (Tel: 01.739 5088).  
**APR 1-9: Central America Week.** Details: 82 Margaret St, London W1N 8LH (01 631 5173)

### DOVE TERROR SHOCK!!

IF PEOPLE think APA are too violent then they'll be really worried about what's been going on in Wiltshire recently. The police have charged a Cruise-watcher under their shiny new Public Order Act for "displaying a sign representing a dove within in sight of a person likely to be caused harassment, alarm or distress thereby." The unfortunate victims of this insane extremism were of course the drivers of the Cruise missile transporters.

It would seem therefore that either we'd better hide all those right-on badges we wear before we get accused of causing people to faint in our local High St or else that all the menacing hordes of evil red Russians have to do is stride through NATO's Eastern front holding peace doves up in front of their faces for the assembled military forces protecting goodness and capitalism to collapse.

Which one is more worrying to you?

## IF I HAD A HAMMER...

"SO WE took our small courage and our small household hammers in hand. And on September 9th 1980 we entered the General Electric Re-entry Division plant in King of Prussia, Pennsylvania. It was, I need not add, a watershed hour for our lives...and who knows, perhaps also for the lives of others."

These are the words of Dan Berrigan, who took part in the very first Plowshares action in which the 'Plowshares Eight' hammered on two nuclear warhead nose cones, and poured blood on documents. Other actions have followed, taking their inspiration from the Biblical prophecy to 'beat swords into ploughshares'; accepting full responsibility for their actions, Plowshares campaigners have peacefully awaited arrest following each act.

Some of them have received huge prison sentences. Fr. Carl Kabat was given 18 years for his part in a 'Silo Pruning Hooks' action, in which a jackhammer and air compressor were used to damage the silo cover lid of a Minuteman II missile. Helen Woodson, who took part in the same action, is serving 17 years, having had her sentence increased after escaping, quite openly, from prison in order to protest against the nuclear arms race, pollution of the environment, and prison conditions for women. In all, there have been 30 Plowshares and other related actions, mostly in the US, though also in Europe and in Australia - but not, interestingly enough, so far in this country.

In an attempt to explore the possibility of a Plowshares movement in Britain, a Swords Into Plowshares gathering took place in London on

## OUT OF NATO... INTO

AS NATO approaches its 40th birthday, pressure is mounting for alternatives to the Cold War and the military alliances which have played a central role in it. NATO's biggest birthday may well be the beginning of its demise.

April 4th, 1989, marks the 40th anniversary of the signing of the North Atlantic Treaty, through which NATO was formed, and the Campaign for Non-Alignment is marking the anniversary with a major conference in London, calling for an end to NATO and the Cold War.

A young organisation, the CNA was formed in the aftermath of the US bombing of Libya by British-based F-16 bombers. The campaign's priority is the development of a new British foreign policy, outside all military alliances, most importantly NATO.

A host of international peace and development organisations are expected to attend the conference, which will be the main anti-birthday taking place in Western Europe. Some of the best-known names in the Western European peace movement have been invited, including Petra Kelly from the West German Greens, and Paco Penas from Spain's huge anti-NATO movement. There



February 18th, with discussions and workshops on Ploughshares philosophy and tactics. There were many problems to look at, and questions to tackle: for example, could such a movement develop in this country? What kind of actions could take place? What support and preparation would be needed? How would the authorities respond?

For those who (like myself) find some of the Ploughshares Christian imagery and language (literally) meaningless, there have been other related actions that have been inspired by secular ideals, most notably the 'White Rose' action of Katya Komisaruk, who entered an airforce base in Southern California and damaged the NAVSTAR mainframe computer in June 1987; she has subsequently been sentenced to five years imprisonment for sabotage and destruction of government property.

"Because we want peace with half a heart, half a life and will," Dan Berrigan has said, "the war-making continues. Because the making of war is total - but the making of peace by our cowardice is partial."

To which Stephen Hancock, who helped organise the London gathering, has responded:

"It's true, our commitment is so often so partial, so part-time, whilst thousands of people, many young men still in their teens, give their hours, days, lives to the cause of war, willingly, unwillingly, frightened, regimented. In this country of ours the war apparatus IS so secretive - you have to look for the machinery, search out each cog, and still they look clean, machine-like, only vaguely connected with death. The thread which runs from dead bodies in Iran is

is remarkably presentable at the Defense Export Service Organisation, Soho square, London.



*"and they shall beat their swords into plowshares,  
and their spears into pruning hooks;  
nation shall not lift up sword against nation,  
neither shall they learn war anymore."*

ISAIAH 2:4



*The nuclear threat which gives deathly weight to the brinkmanship and carve-ups of international politicking, which lies poised for total third world war or even limited nuclear exchange in the third world, is scarcely visible through the windows of the MoD buildings in Whitehall. Even if you go to Upper Heyford and see the F-111s ready on the quick-response compound it can still take quite an effort of the imagination to realise their true purpose. These planes of the family air-shows, the television documentaries, the beloved, protective military, bombed people to pieces in Libya. We haven't seen anything yet.*

*And so our lives absorb this and*

*more. We glimpse horrors. We respond. We reflect. We tire. We vow todo more. And sometimes we find ourselves asking: where next? Where next with nonviolent action? How creative can we be? What sources can we draw inspiration from? What actions can reflect a sense of increased commitment?"*

This successful gathering went a long way towards answering these questions: it also encouraged me to hope that a British Ploughshares Movement (alongside groups such as SCANN, APA, etc, in their very different ways) can help galvanise a peace movement currently entrenched in its own stale orthodoxies and routines. As CND begins to contract into a lobbying group, perhaps along the lines of FoE, an opportunity arises for the creation of a looser, less centralised movement, similar to those in other countries, and made up (in E.P.Thompson's words) of "diverse tendencies and voices, sinking their differences in a large common issue.." Although there would be "confusions and frictions within it,..the movement gains the authenticity of open argument."

Within the context of a campaign that is gradually opening up and developing into such a movement, a British Ploughshares Movement could well prove to be one of the more inspiring developments of 1989: perhaps to bring us nearer to our own 'watershed hour'.

BARRY MAYCOCK  
(special thanks to Stephen Hancock)

Contact: Swords Into Ploughshares,  
c/o Stephen Hancock, 230 South  
Villas, London W1. Tel: 01.485 7770.

## THE WORLD!

will also be American activists, and ex-CIA agents and ex-NATO generals to report on the Alliance from the inside.

On Friday, March 31st, Tony Benn will address the conference's opening rally, alongside CND Vice-Chair Marjorie Thompson, and a number of European speakers.

Saturday, 1st April will see a range of experts and campaigners revealing the full story of NATO's history, behind the official propaganda. There will be both plenary sessions and workshops to discover NATO's hidden secrets as well as the secret of how to successfully campaign against it.

Reflecting its global concerns, the CNA has invited Pacific and Filipino campaigners, as well as Latin American victims of US interventionism, to speak at the conference. There will also be a session on international debt.

The conference will be held at Hammersmith Town Hall, King Street, London W6, and is open to all. Further details can be obtained from the Campaign for Non-Alignment (Secretary Jeremy Corbyn MP), The Red Rose Centre, 129 Seven Sisters Road, London N7 7QS. Tel: 01 263 9450

## BREAK THE CHAIN AT CAPENHURST!

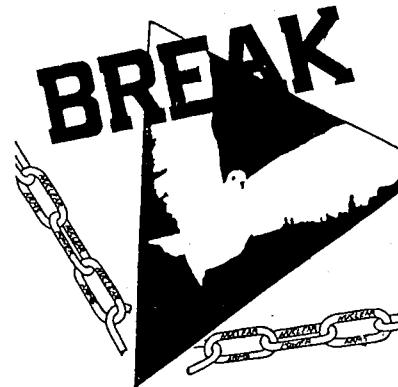
THIS DEMONSTRATION has been called for April 22nd to mark the anniversary of Chernobyl, with the emphatic message: never again! Capenhurst Watch, an extended affinity group that co-ordinates most activities at the plant, has organised it to protest against the fact that BNFL Capenhurst is an integral link in the nuclear chain.

So far, the following events have been planned to mark this national Day of Action:

**Friday, April 21st 7.00pm:** meeting in the local hall for those intending to take part or support the chain; 10.30pm: all night vigils at both gates for anyone interested.

**Saturday, April 22nd, 12.00 noon:** well-known speakers, bands, etc. The suggested NVDA action is for groups of people throughout the day to chain themselves to the fence around the plant; legal advice will be available. Groups wanting to take part in other forms of NVDA are cordially invited;

**3.30pm:** a gathering together of everybody still awake, alive, or unarrested, at the main gate.



## THE NUCLEAR CHAIN

Please write for an action pack, or information generally, to Capenhurst watch, Merseyside CND, 24 Hardman Street, Liverpool L1 9AX. Donations also welcome towards 900 costs of the demonstration.

# Thinking green in Peru

OLIVER TICKELL reports on the environmental crisis of European "civilisation" in South America

CONSIDERING THE PROBLEMS with which Peru is currently grappling, it is hardly surprising that Green politics and thought are not the current vogue. Chronic malnutrition, prices doubling or more every month, growing unemployment, and a resilient terrorist movement that can only draw strength from the inevitable popular discontent - all these conspire to make day-to-day survival the overriding concern for the great majority of people: not just the slum dwellers and impoverished campesinos of the highlands, but even middle class Peruvians, holding down regular jobs with big companies or nationalised industries, whose salaries are worth an eighth as much as when set 3 months ago.

But in spite of this, there is a growing number of Peruvians who realise that the scale of Peru's ecological crisis rivals the economic crisis, and greatly exceeds it in long term consequences for the country and its people. The movement is still very much one of the educated middle classes, but includes influential groups such as journalists who are able to put their views across effectively to a largely unconverted public. And there is certainly plenty for them to be concerned about.

Fine-netted Soviet fishing fleets trawl Peru's rich Pacific waters in a kind of debt-for-nature swap gone wrong, while giant fishmeal factories render mile after mile of coastline uninhabitable with their pollution and appalling stench. Rivers run red with mud washed from the now treeless and overgrazed highlands and whole hillsides are stripped bare of soil to reveal the bedrock. The inhabitants of the highlands, displaced by ecological catastrophe and pressure of population, are encouraged by the government to settle the jungle, Peru's last frontier, that makes up 2/3 of its land area - and repeat the process of environmental destruction.

In many parts of Peru, the dry season air pollution rivals Los Angeles or Mexico City in intensity, but the sources of the smoke are the countless fires lit up by campesinos to clear pasture for their cattle or to clear steep hillside "chaccras", clearings for cultivation. The government is actually giving subsidies to clear steep cloud forest for use as pasture, although huge areas of former cloud forest have already been turned into eroded semi-desert by this process. The rainfall pattern in many regions has changed: becoming colder and drier; the dry season far more acute without the forest to hold and recycle moisture. This in turn makes it easier to burn off the forest that remains. Clouds cling to the still forested hilltops, but those that have been cleared are cloudless, baked in the harsh tropical sun.

In the lowland rainforest region, "la selva", the biggest danger is not from the small cultivator, but from speculators clearing millions of acres for cattle ranches, commercial loggers systematically degrading similarly huge areas, and the armies of "mineros", sifting the river and forest sands for gold with the help of mercury, all of which is released into the environment and food chain. Hunting is also a big problem near centres of population, and many species of parrot and macaw, in heavy demand from the collectors of Europe, America and Japan, are now nearly extinct.

The dreadful equation now facing Peru is that as the montane cloud forest and the lowland forest is cleared, so the water transport mechanisms, which carry water all the way from the Atlantic Ocean across the Amazon to the

mighty ridge of the Andes, are being destroyed. The only possible outcome is that the highlands will become yet drier, colder, and less hospitable for nature, people and crops. Already the rainy season is less predictable, with the rain arriving later, leaving earlier, and falling more patchily on the mountains and valleys. This will increase pressure on the highland people that still make up the greatest part of Peru's population to migrate to more fertile lands.

Of course, there are solutions to the current crisis. One is to take steps to overcome the incredible inefficiency of highland campesino agriculture. For example, the endless subdivision of plots has meant that many farmers spend three times as much time walking between plots as actually farming them. Due to the infertility of soil, long fallow years are the rule - but during this time the land will be overgrazed, eroded, and the animal dung not allowed to replenish the soil, but collected for burning due to the often total absence of trees. New agricultural methods, supported by committed extension work, could work wonders, particularly in the altiplano - high plain - regions where, in famine years, children are sold as slaves to work in rich households in Lima, unwanted babies are left out to die on cold nights, and old people starve themselves to death to leave food for their children.

Unfortunately the government has shown little interest in supporting such initiatives. President Alan Garcia's honeyed tongue may have wooed the hearts of right-on third world activists abroad, but in Peru patience with his rhetoric of unfulfilled promises is starting to wear distinctly thin. The real problem of Peru is one of a shocking mismanagement of its still rich natural resources - in the past at the hands of foreign invaders, interested in gold and silver to the exclusion of everything else, more recently by other colonial powers during the guano boom, the saltpetre boom, the rubber boom, the copper boom - one boom after another that has left an elite of creole administrators and foreign corporations rolling in money while the country sinks more deeply into debt.

The present government is no exception to this rule, seeking to find a way out of the crisis by accelerating resource exploitation, never mind the long term cost of the destruction. But even I was surprised to see a photograph in the leading paper *El Comercio* of the present government line up - in a country in which only 10% of the country is of pure Spanish origin, those 10% make up 100% of the government. The bulk of the population that are of pure Indian origin are simply not represented. Small wonder that their interests do not figure in the government's plans and policies.

One thing to bear in mind about Peru: it was the heart of the great Inca empire of Tahuantinsuyo, in which everyone received enough food to eat, and which has left among its monuments whole mountainsides of agricultural terraces complete with their irrigation systems, many of them in full working order to this day. The Incas believed that the fertility of their fields depended on the fertility of the natural forests around, which consequently received complete protection. The now barren slopes were still green and forested, the dried out terraces producing rich crops throughout the year, just five centuries ago. The conquistadors had no respect for any of this, and cut down huge swathes of forest to feed their fires, ovens, kilns and furnaces, and to make way for their cattle, sheep and pigs. The ecological crisis in Peru that is now coming to a head has been going on for four and half centuries, ever since the first Europeans arrived on Peru's northern coast to destroy one of the world's greatest and greenest ever civilizations.



In GL67 we had an interview with Jutta Ditfurth, an activist from the fundi or linke faction of Die Grunen, the West German Green Party. This month we reprint an interview from the magazine Living Marxism with PETRA KELLY offering a perspective that both supports and contrasts with Jutta Ditfurth's analysis of the West German green movement's current situation. There are clear lessons for green parties and the wider movements in other countries that are already represented in councils and parliaments, or hope to be: once you have power, can you avoid being corrupted by it?

# Can Die Grünen survive the experience of power?



*THE DECEMBER PARTY conference in Karlsruhe seemed to confirm that the Greens are in very bad shape, consumed by internal conflict with little sense of direction or purpose. I wonder, is this still the kind of party you had in mind when you helped found the Greens 10 years ago?*

No. It's very depressing, because we have moved very far away from my idea of an 'anti-party party', which was meant to be a movement, like Greenpeace. We have become terribly bureaucratic. We have enormous inter-personal problems - a whole number of people simply don't even communicate any more - and we've become very intolerant.

I imagined we'd be a party of internationalism and solidarity, a party that can look beyond its own little patch. But now I get very angry when I see, just to give one example, how stingy we are with our money. We are the richest Green party in the world. But all we do with the money is distribute it to our own voters and groups we associate with, instead of using more of it for international campaigns and solidarity. We have become a party with all the bad features parties usually display - including financial scandals, a credibility crisis and an inability to resolve problems in a constructive way. This is really not the kind of party I wanted us to be.

## RADICAL ECOLOGISTS (FUNDIS)

Include Petra Kelly, Rudolf Bahro, Manfred Zieran.  
Basic concepts: spiritual, consciousness changes vital for material changes.  
Anti-industrialists, anti-capitalists, for a cultural revolution.  
See themselves as part of the social movements.  
Working class not seen as revolutionary agent.  
Question the state's monopoly of violence.  
Reject the form and content of present parliamentary system.  
Participation in institutions to make them ungovernable.  
Against political alliances.  
For urgent closure of all nuclear power stations and polluting factories.  
Lack an overall economic programme except for Bahro's communal projects for self-sustainability.  
Unilateral disarmers, anti-NATO, pro civil defence.  
Great concern for Third World, want North-South relationship to change.  
Fund factions: religious and humanistic.  
Origins: mysterious.

*Why do you think things have turned out this way?*

The problem is that we managed to unite a whole lot of different people and interests under one roof - and, thank God, we've survived under this roof. But as soon as we began to become very influential and gained eight or ten percent at the polls, an internal power-struggle began. I think these conflicts are boring and useless, because if you want to build up a movement to challenge the establishment, you can't keep on having arguments about who's got the power in the party.

The problem is that all these different interests which make up the Greens share the same goal, but there are big differences about how to get there. There is a strong oppositionist trend, to which I belong - a radical, feminist, anti-militarist opposition - and then there is the opposite end which says we must come to terms with the Social Democratic Party (SPD) and make compromises. In between, there are many who want both - they say, if the SPD turns green one day, then we can come together, but in the meantime let's keep our options open. So many divergent ideas about the way forward can destroy the party if each one insists that only they are right.

*Doesn't this suggest that the whole green project might be flawed; that a "rainbow coalition" made up of diverse interests and standpoints just doesn't work?*

That's a possibility. But that would be very sad. If the Green Party breaks up then we can never build up such a coalition again. Let's imagine half the party says "We can't

stand it any more. Let's join the SPD" and the other half says "We've had enough. We'll go back to our grassroots initiatives and little groups" - then the whole experiment of a radical parliamentary opposition will be finished.

Maybe you're right. Maybe these interests and strategies can't be reconciled. But then the big question is: what will happen in the federal elections in 1991? Will Oskar Lafontaine or Bjorn Engholm [hopefuls for the SPD presidency] pick up our votes? If the Greens fall under five percent, I don't think we'll be able to recover.

But I'd never say the Greens haven't got a future. Internationally they have a very big future - in Austria, in Ireland, in Australia, New Zealand or in the Third World for example. But I can't guarantee that the German Green Party will stay. Sometimes, when I'm abroad, it's embarrassing to me, how much faith people have in the German Green Party. We get so much credit and people are so enthused about us that I often feel I have to tell them to be a little bit more sober.

*Do you see any way to resolve your crisis?*

We've got to change the way we constitute our leadership. You can't have one wing in control like it was up to now. We had a fundamentalist party leadership and a realo-controlled parliamentary fraction. That was a kind of balance; but obviously it doesn't work because the party doesn't feel represented by the parliamentary wing and vice versa - and in the middle you get a whole lot of members who just don't understand what's going on and become very apathetic.

To be frank, we are experiencing a serious decline in membership. In my constituency, Freising, we now have only five or six people. There used to be 70 or 80. In Nurnberg, which is still my party branch, we used to get 9-10% of the vote, including at the last federal elections. In the latest mayoral elections the Greens slumped to 3% in a local election where the SPD had a very poor candidate. Obviously that shows a very big loss of confidence. Even with local issues, where we're usually pretty good, and with a female candidate, we slumped. That's pretty frightening.

## ECOSOCIALISTS (FUNDIS)

Include Thomas Eberman, Rainer Tram, Jurgen Reents. The 'Hamburg group'.  
 Basic concepts: material changes necessary for spiritual, consciousness changes; people as creative beings.  
 Species survival before class struggle.  
 Marxist analysis of capitalism as cause of overexploitation of resources, Third World problems and imperialism.  
 Party as product of the social movements.  
 Combine extra-parliamentary activities and Parliament to create consensus. Parliament, being controlled by the military lobby, industry and finance, can't bring radical reforms and can only ratify what is achieved in the street.  
 Preference for socialist production for need rather than the market (use value rather than exchange value).  
 Closing of all nuclear power stations, pollution clean-up.  
 Feminist.  
 Initiatives against new systems of social control (e.g. national census, I.D. cards)  
 Links with unions, for reduction in unemployment, radical reduction in working hours, worker self-management, community control of key industries, fostering alternative production and alternatives to waged labour.  
 Anti-NATO no alliances with SPD, but models of tolerance at local level to defeat conservatives on specific issues supported by Greens.  
 Origins: Leninist, Marxist, Maoist parties and BUS (the non-dogmatic and grassroot democratic socialist non-Marxist group).

*So if you had the chance to start again with the Greens, what would you differently?*

One thing is, we could have saved ourselves a lot of trouble if we'd never introduced this idea of rotating MPs. I was always against it because you can't just hand over the work to new people after two years if you've got a

four-year parliamentary cycle. That really gave us a lot of trouble. But as you know, we've abandoned rotation in the meantime.

## ECOFEMINISTS

Includes Fundis-feminist (Petra-Kelly, Antje Vollmer), ecofeminist (Verena Krieger, Ulla Kelpo), RealpolitikerInnen (Waltraud Schoppe, Marita Haibach).

Concept of Man: negative (warrior, dominant)

Male domination precedes class domination.

Denounce triple exploitation and oppression of women:

of their work (household and educational)

of their sexuality and reproductive capacity

of their mind (dependence on the male).

Relate oppression of women to oppression of nature with which they identify themselves.

Pro 50% jobs and studies opportunities for women, equal share of household and waged work.

Divided on issue of political alliances.

The other problem I see is that our programme, which I still consider correct and necessary, was not really absorbed by the membership. Take the question of non-violence. To me, non-violence doesn't mean being passive or that you don't do anything dangerous. What it means is not to harm anyone. If that's understood, then you've got a clear philosophy which helps you organise better and more activities. What makes me sad is that many greens say "We're a non-violent party" - but if you ask how many of them have still got court proceedings, how many are still involved in civil disobedience, you find it's fewer and fewer. It feels odd when my colleagues in the parliamentary faction complain "Oh God, she's got another court case!" It's like it's become a nuisance that I still do these things.

Things have calmed down in a very negative way. We've stopped being unpredictable. That's very bad because our job is to intervene in all sorts of situations and be unpredictable to the establishment. But now we have a situation where a Hans-Jochen Vogel [SDP leader] can say "I can talk with Otto Schily or Joschka Fischer [leading realos] because they're predictable". We now have an internal division because our opponents can divide us into predictable and unpredictable, responsible and irresponsible, good or bad Greens. That's not right.

You can see the same problem with women's rights. First, we had this enormous solidarity among women in the Green Party. Every one them, from the farm women to the feminists, shared one goal: more women into politics and more competence. Now we've got a division on the abortion question. This isn't new, but it's worse now than ever before. You've got women who say "Abortion rights is our main concern. We must get the abortion laws abolished." Then you get other women, who've got a moral problem with abortion, but who do want essentially the same things: a self-determined future, good contraception and so on.

So now the women have divided into mothers and feminists. It's very sad because now women are the majority in the parliamentary faction - but we're divided into political wings.

*I would say that shows that women in the Green Party have obvious political differences: some are conservative; others regard abortion rights as a key issue. I don't see how these differences can be reconciled.*

But there isn't really any substantial divergence. The dissension arises only because some women say "I want to fight for abortion" while others, rightly, argue "O.K. but I also want to fight for other things: more family planning clinics, more assistance for women with social problems and so on". Then the other side says, "No, I only want the abortion laws abolished". That's an abstract, sterile dispute.



*It's difficult to think of any issue on which the Green Party still has a consensus. You seem divided on almost every one: NATO, nuclear power, violence, abortion, defence - to name just a few. What would you say were the really substantial questions that divide the different wings of the party?*

One is the question of the state. Some say the state is all bad, others like Otto Schily have a very moderate view of the state. I'd say I'm in the middle. The state does a lot of negative things, but it also guarantees rights - otherwise we wouldn't be here in Bonn. We make use of these rights and I think we should learn to use them much better. For example, I think our constitution isn't bad. It offers a lot of scope for resistance. But of course it's not enough to say "We've got a nice democracy" - we must develop and improve it.

Another question is nuclear energy. Now, after the accident at Biblis became publicised, Joschka Fischer said we must get rid of nuclear power. Six months ago he still argued it would take ten years to make the transition from nuclear to other energy sources. That really made me furious, because to me there was never any question that, if we got into office, we'd shut down the power stations more or less straight away. When Joschka said that, I thought "if this goes on, what am I doing here?"

Another problem we have is economic policy. There is a lack of clarity here because some argue strongly in favour of the market and consumption, while others say the market is bad. The problem is they can't show a 'third way'. We got stuck in our economic programme because we all say we want a third way between capitalism and state socialism. But this third form doesn't yet exist anywhere. There's no model we can cling to. So here too, we've got a problem which is constantly used to fuel the faction fight in the party.

It didn't use to be like this at all. If you look back to our Saarbrücken Programme and the 1984 Europe Manifesto, we had a consensus: get out of nuclear energy, get out of NATO, for social defence. Then Otto Schily got up and said he wanted to stay in NATO. In fact he went round with me in the European elections and argued for getting out of NATO. But he's changed since he's moved towards the SPD. It shocks me how quickly this happened. During the NATO referendum campaign in Spain in 1986 I was there and argued for our anti-NATO position. When I got back I found my colleague Otto Schily arguing in favour of Spain's NATO membership in the Bundestag defence committee. I just threw my hands up. Sometimes I feel like I'm in a different party.

These things happen because the programme gets subordinated to tactics. If you want to come to an arrangement with the SPD and you want Lafontaine to accept us, then you make these kinds of compromises. But I don't think this method will work. I think if there's going to be a new coalition it will be an SPD-Free Democratic Party coalition. Nobody will come looking for the Greens.

### ECOLIBERALS (REALOS)

Include Thomas Schmidt, Winfried Kretschman and Ernst Hopllscheck (who is now with the Liberals).  
 Basic concepts: liberal individualism.  
 Anti-ecosocialist, pro capitalism, pro free market with minimal ecological reforms.  
 Decentralist.  
 Qualified support for NATO.  
 For alliances with any party.  
 Against 'models of tolerance' (see Ecosocialists).  
 Belief in use of system to make reforms.

*The Green Party set out, as you formulated in your book Um Hoffnung Kämpfen with the ambitious goal of changing the structures of society...  
 ...maybe they've changed us.*

*Or maybe they've proved to be more resilient than you thought and not susceptible to your methods of trying to change things?*

We've always said we want to be loyal to the grassroots. My impression is many of my colleagues don't see things this way anymore. They don't use the opportunities that being a parliamentary party gives you to help the movement. You can do a lot with the privilege of information, the connections, the money that you get for being in the Bundestag - like I do, for example, with my campaign for children with cancer. But many people don't use this machine the way I hoped it would be used. There's this attitude that this is parliament and that, out there, is the street. People don't see that we have to act together with the others outside. In the beginning, in 1979, when we got here, there was incredible enthusiasm. Now there's total apathy.

*I suppose you'd regard it as a bit unkind if I said all that the Greens have achieved is that others have taken up your issues, particularly on the environment.*

A bit unkind indeed and not true. Of course other parties have literally copied parts of our programme. But they don't implement them. They only do it cosmetically. On the other hand, if you take the example of the SPD adopting quotas for women at their party conference last year, these things can make you cry. The Greens were the first to introduce and argue for positive action for women. But now the SPD act as if they invented it. That hurts a bit.

### REALPOLITIKER (REALOS) Realist politicians

Include Otto Schily, W.Schoppe, Daniel Cohn-Bendit, Joschka Fischer.  
 Basic concepts: pragmatism.  
 Control the parliamentary faction; little contact with social movements.  
 Positive view of formal democracy, existing institutions and police; pro reform of existing institutions.  
 No alternatives to state's monopoly of violence.  
 For political alliances.  
 Differing degrees of doubt on NATO.  
 Support a semi-planned, mixed economy capitalism; minimal Basic Income scheme; against structural changes; against centralisation.  
 Don't believe socialism is feasible.  
 Pessimistic on possibility of change and of a nuclear-free Germany.  
 Social problems not primary; industrialism a primary problem.

But there are quite a few successes. Take agriculture, for example, where a Mr Kiechle [Conservative minister of agriculture] has taken up almost all our criticisms of agricultural policy. Now he also says that the biological way is the only way forward, and that we need to protect the small farmer and so on. We did a lot of theoretical work on this issue and it paid off. If you look at the agricultural committee documents, you will see that many of our ideas - like creating smaller, more manageable units - have been adopted. Of course, it's still a long struggle, but a lot of our ideas have been taken on board.

Secondly, we've taken up issues that no other parliament in the world has ever debated like we do here: sexuality, women's refuges, violence, disarmament. In a recent session of the defence committee, even Egon Bahr [SPD defence spokesperson] said that the Greens had introduced a whole new dimension to the debate - a moral dimension. Before we got here, you never had debates about whether people had the right to kill or become mass murderers. Human rights issues, which were never debated before - about Tibet, Sri Lanka, Chile - have been the subject of open discussion. We have information that no one else, including the foreign ministry, has access to, because we have direct contact with ordinary people and with movements abroad. This has made a big difference. We've initiated hearings on topics like Mozambique, Afghanistan and Nicaragua. Such things are now debated in a much more informed and open way, for example in the SPD. What's sad is that,

when the Greens act as pioneers and initiate such things, everyone soon forgets that it was us who started it.

So, if you ask, have the others taken over our ideas, I'd say they just copy them and use them. Take the SPD, which has done a lot of publicity work to give the impression that it's now backing the peace movement. If you look at what's really going on, that's something quite different. The peace movement is watering down its politics, just so the SPD joins in. That makes me angry because if you have demands, you mustn't water them down just to suit the SPD.

Sometimes I get frightened that, if we don't break apart, maybe we'll wind up having two or three ministers in a Lafontaine or Engholm cabinet and that the Greens will have become a nice reformist FDP - a junior partner of the SPD which helps the SPD get in the saddle, but has no influence of its own. That's just as bad as if the party broke up.

## OTHER GROUPS

### ANTHROPOSOPHISTS

Include Otto Schilly, Heidt.

Follow Steiner's ideas on socialism for economic life, democracy for legal and state life, freedom and individualism for spiritual life.

### LIBERAL SOCIALISTS

Seek third path between socialism and capitalism.

Follow Silvio Gesell's ideas on a "Citizen's Initiative in favour of social justice, fulfilling work, healthy environment, freedom and peace".

### GREY PANTHERS

For third age rights, formal links and cooperation with the Greens on social politics.

### ANIMAL LIBERATIONISTS

ANARCHISTS & URBAN INDIANS

GAYS & PEDERASTS

*To conclude, what's your response to the Karlsruhe conference?*

A lot was destroyed there, particularly human, personal relations. The debate was incredibly aggressive. Someone even said, "If I had a gun, I'd shoot you". Of course, you could say: aren't we a wonderful open party, where things like that can be said in public. But a lot of friendships have broken down; people who worked together for decades can't stand each other any more. In the end it was a war.

I was shocked by the debate on the European elections. It was extremely shallow: there was virtually no criticism of the EEC or the internal market; the emergence of Europe as a new superpower was barely touched on. And I was very disappointed by the candidates: hardly any good, committed European specialists were prepared to run. It was not at all like 1979 or 1984, when everybody was dying for the chance. Now people are tired and apathetic because they're fed up with the struggle in the party.

This interview first appeared in the February issue of Living Marxism which regularly covers green issues from a left perspective. You can get it in newsagents (1.50) or by subscription (15 for 12 issues) from Junius Publications Ltd, BCM JPLtd, London WC1N 3XX, or phone 01 729 3771 for more details.

*The notes on the party groupings were translated by P.Casal from Jorge Flechmann's essay on Die Grunen to be published in the Spanish magazine Mientras Tanto.*

Responding to Mike Simon's article in GL65 - on the betrayal of Die Grunen policies by their own ministers in Hesse - David Leaver wrote (Letters, GL67): "Can any GL reader explain why this has happened? Surely this is more important than any other question? I for one am not going to beaver away for my local Green Party ever again when, at the end of the day, our work is going to be hijacked. Can any GL reader tell me why the German disaster won't be repeated here?"

# Towards a green method of politics: five questions for the Green Party

Now MARK KINZLEY takes up that question, of how to make MPs obey the wishes of the grassroots of a party. Given the experience of Die Grunen, he argues it is more urgent to deal with the question of how easily agreed policies can get changed by parliamentarians than spending time elaborating policies themselves. Mark therefore poses five questions for the Green Party to answer if it is to create a truly green *method* of parliamentary politics in order to remain distinct from the other parties' pseudo-environmentalism.



WHILE IN COALITION in the State of Hesse in West Germany, Die Grunen party member Joschka Fischer, while Minister for Environment and Energy, organised the export and dumping of toxic wastes in Austria and East Germany. In government, the Hesse greens approved cuts in teachers' jobs; failed to oppose laws introduced against Turkish immigrants; and agreed to stop their opposition to a nuclear reprocessing plant. Yet they had only recently fought an election on the basis of opposing these very issues.

The question of how this reversal of party policy could have occurred is of fundamental importance. I also believe that attempts to answer it will repay unexpected dividends because it is no longer enough to be merely 'The Green Party': as the main parties genuinely go a pale shade of green, the Green Party must immediately move forward into a deeper shade of green. This will require a more radical expression of green ideas.

Specifically, the problem facing the Green Party is that the main parties are assimilating green policies in such a way that the status quo is not challenged. The Green Party therefore must sharpen up the challenge that green policies present to the status quo, and in such a way that they cannot be assimilated in a piecemeal way. The main parties could then be dismissively referred to as merely 'environmentalist'. For example, the Green Party can emphasise that from now on it is not enough to reduce pollution; now it matters whether you do this in an authoritarian or libertarian way.

The question of what happened in Hesse, and why it wouldn't happen here, may also give us the answer to how the Green Party can re-express the green message. In both cases the answer may well be that it isn't simply what you do, but how you do it; not enough to solve green issues, they must be solved in a green manner. Environmentalism and green consumerism have shown the potential for solving many green issues without challenging the status quo. But the only real challenge to the status quo comes from green methods of solving green issues.

The methods of politics can end up frustrating radicalism and deflecting radical energies back into support for the status quo, as witness West Germany where a parliamentary fraction of green MPs is closely involved with, and entangled in, the machinery of central government, and may end up thoroughly committed to it. Green MPs get used to thinking realistically in terms of what is achievable after compromise. In the process they

may have become mere environmentalist legislators, who no longer challenge a centralised society. Thus the fundamental difference between the Green Party and the others is thrown away and becomes merely a difference of degree on some issues.

The alternative is to participate in party politics with our eyes open and with limited objectives, remembering that the main forces of change will come from the green movement outside parliament. By contrast, to participate only as opportunists, taking advantage of the political process merely to publicise the green paradigm and using what power is achieved in a hung parliament merely to throw sand in the cogwheels of the economy is to slow change. An attitude of self-restraint is needed when tempted by power and influence to become assimilated into the existing system, with all its injustice, unsustainability and centralisation.

Self-restraint towards power, as well as greed, is one of the main messages of green consciousness. This self-restraint can be institutionalised in the structure of the Green Party whereas a drive towards centralisation in the party in the name of efficiency and the pursuit of power is the thin end of the wedge leading to assimilation as environmentalists. The latter would entail the sacrifice of any distinct meaning to the name 'Green Party'. How then could we refer to the other parties dismissively as environmentalists?

Self-restraint and non-commitment towards the existing system may be institutionalised in the party by decentralising its structures wherever possible (see GL63): for example, regional parties can change to independent parties as in Scotland; local parties could control their financial contribution to the central party by creating local associate memberships and setting their own capitation rates. By controlling their own purse strings, local parties would institutionalise their autonomy; power in the party would be retained at the base and so could not be hijacked by the parliamentarians; and local parties could always bring the centre to heel by financial pressure.

But people will only create such decentralist structures if they have a cynical and opportunist attitude to politics. It is important to be in politics with eyes open as to the limitations of political power. For this reason, it is worth taking David Leaver's question very seriously. Therefore I have elaborated it, broken it up into five questions, and presented it again for serious consideration - and as a challenge:

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### Question One: How can members ensure that party officials and MPs represent their views?

Party officials are the most active members in the management of the Party and they are more knowledgeable than other members about Party procedures. Since it is often the confident people who become officials, they are amongst the most articulate at Party Conferences. There are many familiar faces among the officials, who remain active for years, attending Conference after Conference, whereas among the other members who go, there is a greater turnover. Thus there is at least the potential for some officials to act in combination; to steer the Party in its own best interests, as they see it. But would officials as a group have their own view of the Party's 'best interests'? At the Malvern '86 Conference, the Party Organisation Working Group presented its resolution to centralise the administration of the Party. It was instructive to see official after official rise to support the proposal, including all the most prominent members.

In that classic book Political Parties (republished by Collier Books, New York 1962) Robert Michels analysed where the interests of party officials lie. He found that officials have always tended, as a body, to consolidate their position. The reasons are various: the natural desire to

ensure that their views prevail for the good of the Party; that their responsibilities are extended; that their life-task is secure because the Party is kept on a stable conservative course. Michels considers the resources at the disposal of officials. They have: superior knowledge which they can present to win their case; control over the means of communication with the members; and political skills, such as greater oratorical powers, dedication to organising and skill at phrasing resolutions to their advantage.

If this is true of party officials throughout history, how much more so of MPs, who: "largely escape the supervision of the rank and file of the party, and even the control of its executive committee. Their dependence on the party is but indirect, for their power is derived from the electoral masses. "The leaders naturally endeavour to apply in the life of the parties the manoeuvres they have learned in Parliament. The parliamentarians are past masters in the art of controlling meetings, of applying and interpreting rules, of proposing motions at opportune moments. In a word, they are skilled in avoiding discussion of controversial points."

## Question Two: What will restrain MPs from compromising policy beyond a certain point?

Logically there is a point where compromise goes so far that the status quo is no longer opposed at all. Radical parties seem under relentless pressure to cross that point. Might MPs cross this line that is so hard to detect? They must maximise their votes by concerning themselves not with their reliable voters, but with their possible voters, the sympathisers. To avoid alarming them, policies are watered down.

In addition, whilst it is necessary to compromise in negotiation if power is to be achieved in coalition with a larger party, who is to separate in the motives of MPs, the objective calculation of a worthwhile trade from the hunger for importance, resulting in too great a compromise?

Above all, it is the eventual aim of the greens to demolish the central tier of government. But the diminution of government means the diminution of MPs. Their interest, as a group, does not lie in destroying the institution on which their influence is based. Also, if they were to genuinely threaten the state, the state would bring its full powers against them and make their party illegal. Therefore their goal will be co-existence not radicalism, for the sake of the perpetuation of their party and themselves.

We need only look at Die Grunen to see the pressure to compromise to the point of co-existence. For Rudolf Bahro that point was crossed in 1984, when he wrote in Building the Green Movement (GMP):

"We have already reached the stage where our parliamentary group is putting forward proposals for reducing the military budget instead of total rejection. We are concerned for the wilting branches of industry, we

defend the steel works. We are not for a halt to all experiments on animals, but for a few restrictions. We consider it important for the farmers to send a bit more German grain to their cattle... No wonder the more radical campaigns against animal experiments and the nuclear state are beginning to say that the Greens don't make mistakes, they are the mistake... We are participating in nothing more than a pseudo-ecological overhaul of the 'German Model'. Maybe we'll still manage to save part of the German forests, that is, things which reassure the population, so that we can still preserve here a model which is in fact insupportable for humanity as a whole."

In 1988, under pressure from the MPs, the agenda for compromise has crept even further. The Daily Telegraph (18.6.88) summed up the process:

"The Fundis want the party to remain true to its traditions - withdrawal from NATO, an immediate shutdown of nuclear reactors and a socialist economic system. They claim their opponents are betraying the ideals. The Realos fear that this is a recipe for electoral disaster, and wish to revamp the party's policies to appeal to ambitious young professionals and other social groups."

Increasingly we hear talk of the Realos ditching the Fundis altogether. It would certainly be a logical step since the Realos not only hold the parliamentary seats but can guarantee success by broadening their electoral appeal. On their own, the Fundis would fall below the 5% hurdle for parliamentary representation because they are interested in radicalism first and votes second.

## Question Three: How can the effects of power on MPs be counteracted?

Importance in the media and positions of influence can be corrupting. Amongst the weaknesses that politicians succumb to, we can list love of fame, addiction to playing

the political game for its own sake, and the desire to control and to get one's own way. How can the greens counteract this?

## Question Four: How are MPs to be made to represent the voters?

The 'representative system' is the method on which Green Parties depend. But what if that system is fundamentally flawed so that voters lack any means to force their 'representatives' to represent their views? Then we would say with Michels:

"The democratic system is reduced to the right of the masses, at stated intervals, to choose masters."

It is hard to see how, by a system of choosing masters, greens could achieve their aim of self-government by the people.

Firstly, the people are said to make their own MPs representative by voting. This vote is meant to reduce a person's wishes on everything - from agriculture, through foreign policy to education - to a single 'Yes' or 'No'. But this is so meaningless as to prevent people from communicating their wishes on specific issues to their 'representatives'. Moreover, except at the actual second when the voter is making an X, no decision-making is exercised at all, so that in the long years between these seconds people can't make known their wishes on a daily

basis. Who then is making the daily decisions which the 'representatives' represent?

Secondly, the will of even a single individual can't in reality be transferred to another, since the second person has his or her own interests, both as an individual and as a member of a party. Thus one person cannot be relied on, merely on trust, to represent another.

And thirdly, the will of the people collectively cannot be transferred, nor even has any meaning as a concept. The will is an attribute of an individual, not of some mythical collective being with a single mind. If five people vote one way, three another and two another, there is no one collective will. Since there is no collective will, how can it be said that the collectivity governs itself through 'representatives'?

As voters, the people exercise a choice, but it is a choice only between masters. Self-government is not an option. How is self-government to be created by means of the selection of masters?

## Question Five: How can the danger of authoritarian environmentalism be countered?

Radical parties have shown in the past that they often end up supporting the status quo. The green programme has plenty of scope for this possibility: legislation on pollution, taxation on energy, restrictions on land use... By an extension of the powers of central government, the status quo can repress the symptoms of the disease. If minority

Green Party MPs fell prey to the process of co-existence with the State, they would defend their share in it by lending support to, or even initiating, purely environmentalist policies. That this is at least a possibility is undeniable - what then will make it impossible?



The search for myth and religion, especially the idea of "Mother Earth" as goddess, has always been part of the green movement, and is being steadily inserted into green politics both in the USA and Europe, for example through the work of Charlene Spretnak. However, JANET BIEHL argues firstly that the anthropological evidence on which the attraction of goddess worship is based is flawed at best and that secondly there are serious philosophical and practical problems with mixing myth and political action. The dangers of theocratic government are, with the Salman Rushdie affair, plain to see.

## Separating fact and fiction in the Green Goddess myth



THE ALTERNATIVE POLITICAL movements of the 1980s were profoundly shaped in reaction against "old-style" radical politics. Quite rightly, they rejected the central-committee authoritarianism and the rigid ideological party lines of Marxism. But now the green movement is confronted with the possibility of a new kind of authoritarianism and a new kind of party line: the authority of religion, and the party line of religious orthodoxy.

In alternative political movements, spirituality developed out of a realistic understanding that changes in consciousness were necessary for social transformation; otherwise a revolution could simply perpetuate the sexist, racist, homophobic, and other hierarchies of the old rotten society. To many, spirituality seemed an appropriate way to cultivate a peaceful, nonhierarchical consciousness. Some found participation in alternative religious rituals to be a personal support for their work. "Women's spirituality... replenishes and sustains us in our struggle" wrote Charlene Spretnak several years ago,[1] and there is no argument with this observation.

But since then, spirituality has been catapulted out of the personal and into the political. The second part of Spretnak's sentence ran, "More than being just a tool to aid us while we fight for a better life, it is a key to the better life" - and this marks the point at which spirituality becomes a problem in political movements: when providing for members' spiritual needs gets incorporated into the core of the political agenda and practice. It is as if a group of people were to maintain that because people have great personal needs for love and sex, the satisfaction of which supports their political activities, the green movement should provide greens with love and sex as a "key to a better life". In that case, the green movement would stop being a political movement and could come to resemble a dating service.

By the same token, when a political organisation ministers inordinately to its members' spiritual needs, it runs the risk of becoming a religious congregation and diluting its political orientation. Spirituality, like love, sex and psychotherapy, is largely a matter of personal concern, whereas a political movement, while it should certainly be concerned with the psychological well-being of its supporters, does not exist primarily to minister to their personal needs. Rather its members voluntarily agree to work on behalf of a larger political idea.

But this is changing today. With the view that religion is the "key to a better life", the green movement is now being asked to seek a "sustainable religion" (in Spretnak's phrase) as part of its agenda, while those who are not spiritual are generously assured that "a green culture would allow plenty of space" for them.[2] Who, one may reasonably ask, is doing the "allowing"? Why must political activists be "allowed" their space in an ostensibly political movement? Is the "key to a better life" becoming a new dogma, perhaps even as disquieting as the one we abandoned?

### The Goddess Version of History

In its deceptively antihierarchical credo (in Spretnak's words: "The Goddess... is not an authority figure; She is, among other things, a symbol of harmony and oneness among humans, animals and nature" [3]), goddess worship's "key to a better life" is a dubious version of prehistory. In this version, Neolithic societies were egalitarian, peaceful, matrilineal - and worshipped a nature goddess.

Now there is every reason to believe that early societies were egalitarian, organic and peaceful, and were probably matrilineal, based on archaeology and evolutionary anthropology. But goddess-promoters maintain that these social arrangements went hand in hand with reverence for a Great Goddess and perhaps were even caused by goddess worship. The heavy assumption is that the

peacefulness and equality could be recovered if we once again revered the earth as a goddess. Using almost exclusively mythological evidence - which is shaky at best - such fantasies are running amok in the idyllic glades of present-day goddess worship.[4]

Minoan Crete is supposed to have epitomised a sensuous, free, gender-equal, nature-loving paradise, complete with a queen (a monarch) priestesses (hierarchical) and goddesses (supernatural). However, the evidence on which the excavator of Knossos, Sir Arthur Evans, built his theories is shaky. For example, particular room was designated as the "Queen's Megaron" merely because one of the stone seats it contained was lower and wider than the others - which says something about Evans' sexist Victorian prejudices.[5] And the famous, supposedly great "Snake Goddess" of Crete is, by Evans' own admission, a reassembly of fragments from several figures. It is not clear either why this figure should be regarded as of a goddess rather than of a mere mortal woman.

There is also no reason to suppose that the goddess, if she existed at all, was a nature goddess. There simply was no concept of nature per se in prehistory for a goddess to be identified with, let alone one that could teach the people "a sophisticated understanding of our inter-relatedness with Nature and her cycles"[6]: the realms of nature and humanity were not distinguished until Hellenic times.

The idea that barbarian Indo-European tribes from the Eurasian steppes," as Sprenak puts it, "desacralized the earth... brought a sky god, a warrior cult, and patriarchal social order"[7] is fantasy: the term Indo-European refers to a family of languages not to an ethnic or cultural group; often both conquering and conquered peoples worshipped sky and sun Gods; hierarchy and patriarchy (e.g. in priesthoods and monarchies) were also well established in places like Egypt when the Eurasians arrived; finally Sprenak's theory can't explain how hierarchies, political and class elites, centralised states patriarchy and warfare could have developed in societies unaffected by the Eurasians, such as the Chinese or Aztecs.[8]

Nor is goddess worship free of hierarchy in its own right. Priestesses abound: according to the literature of the goddess-promoters, as far back as the Neolithic and Chalcolithic eras; to Catal Huyuk in Anatolia and predynastic Egypt; priestesses were common throughout the ancient Near East.[9] Finally, much as we would like to accept Starhawk's view that "the independent spirit of Witchcraft is very much akin to many of the ideals of the [United States'] Founding Fathers: for example, freedom of speech and worship, decentralised government, and the rights of the individual rather than the divine right of kings,"[10] the fact is that goddess worship has historically been used by rulers to try and legitimise political tyranny, rather than by those who wished to corrode it.

### Goddesses and Women's Status

The issue of the relationship of goddess worship to social and political hierarchies raises a larger question about the relation of myth to social and political realities in general. Does myth shape social reality? Many in the ecology and ecofeminist movements seem to think it does. Lynn White's famous article[11] traced the causes of ecodisaster to the Christian religion. For feminist Carol P. Christ, "religious symbols shape a cultural ethos, defining the deepest values of a society and the persons within it." [12] For her, the sex of the deity worshipped by a culture seems to directly affect gender relations in that culture: "Religions centred on the worship of a male God... legitimate the political and social authority of fathers and sons in the institutions of society."

All of this is the rankest historical idealism, which it took Western societies centuries to overcome. Furthermore,

the anthropological record reveals no pattern of correspondence between goddess worship and high social and political status for women to support Christ's theory: in many cases goddess worship corresponds more properly to low status for women.[13] Under these circumstances, it is hard to imagine how goddess worship could be empowering for women, as goddess-promoters claim it is.

The religion of Burma, Theravada Buddhism, has no goddess at all. Yet Burmese women somehow manage to be among the world's most liberated; "they hold a power that is awesome to behold," with social, legal and political freedoms that at least equal those of men.[14] Chinese Buddhism, by contrast, does have a female deity of great importance, Kwan Yin. Yet China is the epitome of a patriarchal society. Nor has intense worship of the Virgin of Guadalupe, the great, revered mother goddess and Mexican national symbol done much for Mexican women.[15] In short, the sex of the deity a culture worships appears to have very little to do with the gender relations in the culture itself.



### Myth and reality

Actually, the relationship of myth to reality is never simple, least of all between the sexes. According to feminist anthropologists Sherry Ortner and Harriet Whitehead, "The field of gender studies has been plagued with the so-called 'myth and reality' problem - the problem that cultural gender notions rarely accurately reflect male-female relations, men's and women's activities and men's and women's contributions in any given society." [16] We certainly shouldn't assume that if we begin worshipping a goddess then the situation of women will improve.

Yet many in the ecology and ecofeminist movement seem to think that merely changing our myths from "bad" ones to "good" ones will change our social realities. Starhawk, an otherwise astute political thinker, is explicitly trying to create a politics of myth-changing to this end: "True social change can only come about when the myths and symbols of our culture are themselves changed", and according to Carol P. Christ, "Symbol systems cannot simply be rejected, they must be replaced." [17]

Charlene Sprenak appears to take this notion to the extreme. A veritable religious determinist, in her version of history, religion is the primary factor shaping social reality. Sprenak identifies "the largest mobilized force trying to defeat us" as "patriarchal religion" [18] - not capitalism, not the nation-state. "We could urge that ecological wisdom regarding God's creation be incorporated in Sunday school as well as in sermons and prayers." But, quite simply, the ecological disaster does not arise from strictly religious causes; nor will a transformation of myths end it. Reality is not determined by myths, and capitalism and the nation-state do not obey the homilies of Sunday school teachers.

The politics of myth is based on an appeal to our intuitions and emotions, to the mythopoeic sensibility. These aspects of ourselves are incapable of distinguishing between symbol and symbolised, between dream and reality, between appearance and the authentic world - both natural and social. To the mythopoeic sensibility, write H. and H.A. Frankfort, "whatever is capable of affecting mind, feeling or will has thereby established its undoubted reality. There is, for instance, no reason why dreams should be considered less real than impressions received while one is awake." [19]

This inability to make the necessary distinction between the mythic and the real makes myth potentially very dangerous in political life, either as an organising tool or as a "key to a better life". According to political theorist George Sorel (a favourite bedtime author for Mussolini) the content of myth is not subject to rational discussion (unlike utopias in which possibilities for the future are logically drawn out of present conditions and are discussable) because myths do not come from rationality. Since they are nondiscursive, their contents cannot be argued or refuted, nor their political implications drawn out. We cannot say that belief in the goddess, for example, will result in an egalitarian society: neither arguable nor knowable, the future that a specific myth holds out for political life is arbitrary - a wild card.

### Myth as manipulation

Sorel believed that the primary consideration for the use of myths in politics is not their content, or their truth or falsity, but their effectiveness or ineffectiveness - that is, their aliveness or deadness; whether they "resonate", in current argot. The usual content of a myth is therefore not only unknowable, it is ultimately irrelevant! It is ultimately irrelevant whether a certain myth is about a male deity or a female deity, about hierarchy or nonhierarchy. What matters is the very fact that a myth - a sheer fiction - is being used for political purposes at all.

At a time when people are increasingly attempting to meet their personal needs in political movements, they are extremely vulnerable to manipulation; at a time when community and intimacy are increasingly difficult to find and sustain, but are objects of overwhelming longing, it is extremely dangerous to hold out to people a nonhierarchical, communitarian myth of a loving mother earth. Even the most well-intentioned priestess must address goddess-communicants not on the level of their political citizenship, but on the level of their emotional needs. She must divest them of their rationality ("imagine you're a tree" is a common ritual injunction) and implicitly ask them to follow her into the irrational and arbitrary future that myth offers. Myth in turn becomes reified and objectified, despite its falsity, and acquires a dangerously commanding status over the individual's sense of reality and political awareness. And because it appeals to the irrational, myth opens the door in the green movement to the dark side of ecological politics of which the Germans are now so wary - and to a new Dark Age that the U.S.A. seems to be fast approaching.

Goddess worship is less a cause for hope than a symptom of malaise. We live in a society in which the manipulation of myths, the production and consumption of images, is the dominant activity. It is a consumerist "society of the spectacle", obsessed with appearances, in which all myths are essentially 'pseudoevents.' In this context, the goddess is just another image, marketed and packaged for a consumer society. No wonder an air of superficiality pervades goddess-worship.

But goddess worship is more pernicious than most images because it threatens to turn ecological politics into symbolic, easily digestible pabulum for popular consumption. It is no accident that books on the goddess tend to be written at a sixth-grade level. Ecological politics becomes a

consumer item, commodified by the goddess myth. Goddess worship merges alternative politics with the society of the spectacle, making alternative politics potentially as cheap and manipulative as mainstream politics.

Especially in our present society - a society glutted with myths and tinsel images - we must seriously question the use of myth in alternative political movements. Myth cannot fight myth. Ruling classes have always encouraged confusions between illusion and reality in underclasses. The fact is that whether a goddess was worshipped in prehistory or not, she was an illusion then, and she is an illusion now. In an age of manipulation and the tyranny of myth, it is rejecting all deities that is our redemption, not the believing in them.

We must restore to the ecology movement a realistic - not illusory - view of nature, and a political - not religious - view of politics. We must not ask our political movement to simply serve our emotional and sensuous needs, important as these may be, for the price may be the loss of rational political activity and a healthy naturalism that brings us into real communication with nature. The "key to a better life" in a political movement must remain political and ecological. Ecological politics depends on a firm sense of self and a firm sense of the difference between illusion and reality. An ecological movement that indulges our fantasies and renders us captive to spectacularised and commodified societies will eventually deprive us of our freedom as individuals and as social beings.

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The full version of this article first appeared in the Green Program Project's bulletin Green Perspectives #7 available from PO Box 111, Burlington, Vermont, VT 05402, USA. Send \$9 for six issues. Green Perspectives is also a useful source of information on the philosophical and political debate currently being carried on between deep and social ecologists in the States.





## Towards a green myth

The Politics of Hope  
T. Blackwell & J. Seabrook  
(Faber & Faber) 4.95

HISTORIANS OF THE future may well designate 1988 as the year when Hope was reborn, when humans first began to draw back from the abyss of planetary destruction. Nothing could symbolise this new mood better than the joint efforts of the superpowers to suspend their Cold War long enough to break the polar ice in order to rescue several of our kindred, the whales. Such gestures have been complemented by a most encouraging gesture indeed - the burgeoning of autonomous mass movements of greens in a number of east European countries, including the Baltic States and the Ukraine. How long before we see effective organisational co-operation between eco-campaigners from both sides of the East-West divide at a grassroots level?

In Britain, all the main political parties now at least pay lip service to green sentiments. We may question their sincerity, be sceptical of their motives and scoff at the transparent opportunism of leaders such as Thatcher and Kinnock, but this should not stop us rejoicing that the political establishment has at last been forced to take up such concerns. Of course, whether these politicians are up to the task of really getting to grips with the appalling problems which beset us is questionable, particularly since they are still wedded to the myth of limitless industrial expansion and its corollary, an ever-escalating level of consumption.

Appropriately enough, Trevor Blackwell and Jeremy Seabrook's encouraging little book appeared at the end of a year which saw the rebirth of a cautious mood of optimism. The first author is a sociologist, the second has provided, through his articles in the Guardian, an informed and sensitive critique of the ills of Thatcherism over the last few years. Both are Englishmen in their forties, of working class origin, with a background in the Labour tradition.

They begin by chronicling their growing disillusionment with the Britain

in which they grew up in the years after the Second World War. In a highly personalised account they describe how they gradually became aware that in spite of the increased prosperity, the state welfare provision and the educational opportunities open to them, they had a nagging sense that something was terribly wrong with the Brave New World, whose foundations were laid by the 1945 Labour government. However, only very slowly were they able to put their finger on why they felt such an inner emptiness and lack of fulfillment. They express it most eloquently in passages such as "Our ever-rising standards of material consumption [were] a species of cannibalism, for we are eating up the very substance of the world's poor."

They had never doubted that capitalism was a callous and rapacious system; an engine of pitiless exploitation and oppression. All the more reason to be appalled, therefore, firstly by its ability to continually renew itself, and secondly, by the spectacle of Labourism being seduced into enthusiastic espousal of it. They castigate Labour for being ready to credit capitalist development with being a progressive force and wonder how even a reformed version of a system based on "the pillaging of the planet on one hand, and the gutting of the individual human being on the other" could ever provide a humane social alternative.

### Mythological politics

The novel feature of their critique is that they treat capitalism and Labourism not as purely secular ideologies but as world views heavily dependent on the values normally associated with religions. Money, and the kaleidoscope of allurements that it can purchase, they liken to a sort of objectivised form of Grace. It provides the means to achieve a spurious transcendence of the "mundane" (signifying, ironically enough, although the authors don't make this connection, the Earth or *mundus*), thanks in no small measure to "the extensive iconography of transfiguration" created by the advertising industry. This phrase reminds me of the graphic descriptive cadences of one of the earliest and most intelligent analysts of consumerist culture, the German critic Walter Benjamin (1870-1940), to whose way of seeing the world the authors often seem so indebted.

It is precisely because capitalism is a "material religion"; because it has devoured those modes of experience formerly associated exclusively with things spiritual; because it lays claim to be a "total reality", that any effective response to its hegemony must be founded on similar principles, albeit

embodying a very different content. Socialism too, with its crusades, pilgrimages, broad church, union chapels and calls for sacrifice, has its own peculiar religiosity. But it is a faith that is fast losing its appeal. This is because people no longer believe the myth which animates it.

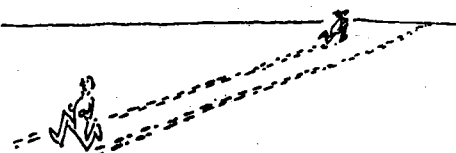
Yet, in spite of this, say Trevor and Jeremy, the basic moral righteousness of the socialist idea is far from dead. Myths, they insist, do not die - they merely find new vehicles through which to summon adherents. Hence socialism can be reformulated to become the lifeblood of a green myth (and there is a lot to be said for this, I think) was always socialistic from its very inception. Quite clearly, the widespread adoption of a green myth is for the authors a precondition of saving our threatened planet.

Many of these sentiments echo my own feelings. I can readily agree with the broad outlines of this analysis as well as the need for an *enspiriting* of green politics. I can even (albeit not without certain reservations and, it must be admitted, some fears) share their view that the struggle must take on a millenarian dimension if we are to prevent a worldwide catastrophe.

But, if anything, I don't think the authors go far enough: they refrain from sketching out any version of a green community with the barely credible plea that any description of it would look threadbare when set against the dazzling and beguiling imagery touted by consumerism. Their failure to incorporate the insights of feminism, which have been so instrumental in this area, appears as a glaring omission; the more so since they give some space to describing what gay liberation meant for them.

Despite these reservations, I believe that this book goes a long way in the right direction. Yes, green politics, if it is to live up to the potential which it has for helping to save our planet, does need to be informed by a *mythos*. But it requires something else as well, which may be regarded as its counterpart: a *cultus* - that is, a ritual form by means of which people can act out their vision of Paradise, of the Dreamtime, in dramatic fashion in tune with the seasons of the year. By such means could the human community make the centrepiece of its existence the expression of its heartfelt devotion to the living Earth, to Gaia and all her creatures, to the fructifying Waters, to the life-sustaining Fire in the sky and to the clear fresh Air which is nothing less than the Breath of Life.

VAL REMY





## STRAY DOG PROBLEM

"WHEN THE government killed the dog licence, they left us to kill the dogs." This was the message on a recent advertisement placed in various national newspapers by the RSPCA. Spread across two pages, it showed a huge pile of stray dogs that had had to be destroyed, linking their unnecessary deaths to the government decision to abandon the dog licence. The RSPCA has urged members and supporters to put pressure on the government so that proper means of registration and control can be introduced, with a realistic dog licence fee to help pay for dog warden services.

Other organisations echo this concern over the 1,000 unwanted dogs that are destroyed in Britain every day, and the half million or so that roam the streets, a number likely to increase when the RSPCA ceases to put down animals after 1996. The association of District Councils also wants a self-financing dog registration scheme to pay for dog wardens, street cleaning, and public education; the British Veterinary Association has made similar demands. There is also concern over toxocarasis, a disease which can bring sight impairment and loss, and has been contracted by thousands of people (usually small children) via infected dog and cat waste. What is usually called 'a problem' is assuming the dimensions of 'a crisis'.

But prevention is still better than cure, and the RSPCA Members Watchdog (along with other groups) has dissented from this approach, believing that it would make much more sense to create subsidised and low cost spay and neuter clinics, and make sure that less unwanted pets are born in the first place. Alex Neilson of SARN (Scottish Animal Rights Network) has added his voice, in the following statement on the 'stray dog problem':

"THE MOST neglected animal welfare problem in the UK is undoubtedly the stray dog population. There are only two ways of controlling animal populations. You either increase the death rate, or decrease the birth rate. The latter is obviously preferable. Under non-controlled conditions an unsprayed female dog can have up to

4,400 offspring in just a seven year period!

A report in "Pet Animals and Society" suggests that we destroy 700,000 pet animals annually. The tragedy is that we could easily avoid this yearly slaughter by establishing 'Comprehensive Animal Control Programmes' which contain low-cost spaying and neutering clinics. It's more humane and effective to stop animals from breeding, than it is to kill their unwanted offspring. It can be very expensive to sterilise a dog, and vets claim that a large proportion of their living comes from this operation. So they are among the main opponents of low-cost operations.

In 1976 the Department of the Environment's "Report of the Working Party of Dogs" acknowledged the seriousness of uncontrolled breeding and stray animal populations. They suggested that upwards of one million animals are destroyed each year. They made a number of recommendations to rectify the situation; including the transfer of responsibility from police to local authorities; an increase of the licence fee; local authorities given the discretionary powers to subsidise from the licence revenue the establishment of spaying and neutering clinics; tougher laws; and that local authorities consider setting up Dog Warden Schemes.

None of the working parties recommendations were implemented, and successive governments have failed to do anything to alleviate this problem. The present government intend to abolish the dog licence altogether.

Prior to such clinics being establishment in Los Angeles and Vancouver, the dog problem was out of control. Like present day Britain they relied on destruction to solve their crisis. When the Los Angeles clinic opened in 1971 they were destroying 110,835 animals a year. Now they destroy 52,218 animals a year, a reduction of 53%. Similarly when Vancouver's clinic opened in 1976 they destroyed 80,000 animals annually. Now they destroy 8,936, a reduction of 88%.

Comprehensive animal control programmes with their low-cost spay/neuter clinics are the only effective and humane way to deal with this problem. But how long will it be before the UK catches up with North America?"

Contact: ALEX NEILSON, S.A.R.N. (Scottish Animal Rights Network, 121 West Regent Street, Glasgow G2 2SD); RSPCA Members Watchdog, 44 Kingsley Road, Horley, Surrey RH6 8RH

\* DON'T FORGET! Primate Action Day, April 15th. Every local animal rights group has been asked to participate. Primate Action was

launched in April 1988, and this day of action will mark its first anniversary. On this day a march has been organised through South London to the Institute of Psychiatry; meet 11.30 am at the Geraldine Mary Harmsworth Park, Lambeth Road. Details from SLAA, P.O.Box 594, London SW9 8QG.



\* SEA SHEPHERD is intensifying its campaign to stop the killing of dolphins by the tuna industry: a tuna boycott has already been launched. But in addition Sea Shepherd is sailing out to confront the tuna fleets, to document the atrocities and interfere with the slaughter by preventing the entrapment of dolphins and by releasing trapped dolphins from the nets.

Sea Shepherd is also concerned with a company called Marine Animal Productions (MAP) which captures dolphins along the gulf coast of the US. Sea Shepherd is planning directly with the capture attempts by MAP to prevent them from taking dolphins from the wild. Unfortunately, US government agencies are defending MAP and its sister companies because they provide the US Department of Defense with a steady supply of dolphins for military purposes.

As has been reported in the national press, the Japanese are NOT POPULAR at the moment with the marine conservationists of the world. Not content with slaughtering their 'scientific' quota of 300 Minke Whales, they are killing thousands of dolphins round the fishing bays of their home islands. Also they are purchasing, from unscrupulous Australian fishermen, dolphin fins to use as an aphrodisiac.

Sea Shepherd UK is planning a series of land based campaigns and demonstrations; people who wish to get involved can contact Sea Shepherd UK, PO Box 5, Ashford, Middlesex TW15 2PY. Tel: (0784) 254846.

\* ON OUR 'Prisoners of Conscience' page in GL69 we made a (rare for us?) mistake: obviously the drink and the drugs are taking their toll. David Barr has in fact been released: GARI ALLEN (W62615) is still imprisoned, at HM Prison, New Road, Featherstone, Wolverhampton, WV10 7PU.

--> more news next page -->

\* MEAT OUT!: The 'animal year' rolls round, soon to be as full of anniversaries as the 'peace year', as predictable and as ritualistic. How many 'days of action' can we cram into one year?



## PACIFISTS OR PASSIVISTS

DAVID MANSELL (Letters, GL68) should question the motivations of the CND bureaucracy before questioning those of APA at Upper Heyford (GL66). It is they, not APA, that whipped up such apathy in the peace movement that the dead bequeathed more than the living to CND last year!

National CND is not the grassroots mass movement it was in the early '80s: it has changed into an established lobby group. David may be concerned about influencing public opinion, but the cabal of peace careerists and academics now running the bureaucracy are more interested in how to influence Parliament. Such people aren't interested in the street enthusiasm that built CND. For them, a member is just someone who pays their subs and buys their yuppie designer goods from the CND sales catalogue.

As a member of CND, I have more important things to give than my giro. As an anarchist, I agree with APA that as the State's *raison d'être* is to maintain a monopoly of violence in this society, it will not surrender it just because some sweet lobbyist asks nicely. Politics *is* about power, and the most powerful veto the peace movement has is direct action against the Warfare State. APA is trying to rekindle the activism of the early 80s by force of example. It is for you, David, and other grassroots peace activists to participate in developing this veto.

Given the peace subculture's taboo against violence, APA were certainly undiplomatic in stoning the police. They don't know how the internal mechanics of the Warfare State and the peace movement work. Just as you must relearn the basics of direct action, so you can teach APA the basics of non-violence. Dialogue usually works better than raining down comfy right-on platitudes from a great height.

Similarly, by censoring GL'S account of APA's actions as a "glorification of violence" (Letters, GL69), Graham Allen demonstrates the doctrinaire confusions running through the current civil disobedience movement.

It is strangely appropriate that Graham should bowdlerise a past reactionary statement (he meant "fighting for peace is like *fucking* for virginity") because in the Vietnam War this attitude was also used to contain and control dissent. Direct and symbolic action are both methods of exercising power in an attempt to direct the decision-making process. The question is how these methods work, not which "glorifies violence".

Whilst direct action *may* provoke confrontations, the Gandhian civil disobedience Graham and Kathleen Jannaway (Letters, GL69) apparently favour has such confrontation intrinsic

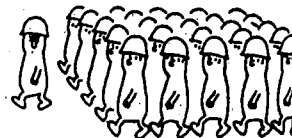
to it. Gandhians consciously seek to provoke State violence against themselves to publicise and win sympathy and win sympathy for their cause. At Heyford, women lay passively on the runway as uniformed males dragged them, arrested them, and subjected them to the sanitised violence of the judicial system. Does Kathleen really want still to see women being treated as passive victims in her future non-violent world? And how can such a world be reached if we are forced to rely on the discretion of the media, police and courts who will have no place in it?

Does Graham think these assaults on the women were their fault, just as APA's allegedly "placed those who came in, and for peace, in danger from disgruntled police"? The same arguments were used by passivists to prevent direct actionists tearing up rail tracks leading out of the Concord Naval Weapons Station; the same tracks on which Brian Willson lost his legs on whilst blockading an arms train. I'm not going to condemn Willson for adopting passive tactics, but when will Graham condemn the violence intrinsic in the police/military state he hasn't apparently appreciated as vociferously as he does APA?

Graham accuses APA of "parasitising" the demo. Yet those CND bureaucrats who actually briefed stewards to "deal with them" and who condemned someone who monitored police communications for "discrediting the demo by using illegal equipment" admit the demo was "not a success" or "could have been more of a success". If you regard the demo's function as nothing but a letter to your MP writ large then policing and centralising control over it is acceptable. But such attitudes are dissipating the energies of the peace movement and increasing its dependency on an intrinsically violent system. Given this, centralists and peace careerists have no proprietary rights over a demo they may have organised.

Censuring GL to starve APA of the oxygen of publicity will do nothing to deter them, just as media blackouts on CND did nothing to deter them. The peace movement seems happy enough to compromise with the police and military: so why not APA, whose ends at least are ours? If you don't like their methods, best discuss more effective tactics with them as other members of the peace movement are already doing. Ignoring them will just reinforce their stereotypical view of CNDers as "passivist Guardian-readers" and increase prospects of "disruption" at future demos.

P.N.Rogers  
Box ZZ, 34 Cowley Rd  
Oxford



The Great British

# Meat Out

18 March  
89



SATURDAY 18th MARCH is the date of the 2nd Great British MeatOut Campaign, organised by Animal Aid and other groups, which will focus on the advantages of a meat-free diet, and encourage people to avoid meat for one day at least. Sponsorship forms, etc, can be obtained from: 7 Castle Street, Tonbridge, Kent TN9 1BH (0732 364546).

On FRIDAY 17th MARCH there will be a MeatOut Gala Evening for the rich (tickets cost 30) at the Cafe Royal, Regent Street, London. Those of us who can't afford it can press our faces against the windows, and gaze in at the 'celebrities' and the glitter.

There will be MeatOut activities at Covent Garden Piazza, and a MeatOut event at Albert Square, Manchester, SATURDAY 18th. Contact the Vegetarian Society on 061.928 0793.

\* ANIMAL RIGHTS AND WRONGS: An exhibition of photocopy-based artworks concerning all aspects of animal rights will take place from MARCH 21st - APRIL 18th, at 'Community Copyart', 41 Culross Buildings, Battlebridge Road, Kings Cross, London. NW1 2TH. (01.833 4417)

\* PLAMIL HALF-MARATHON: April 8th for vegetarians and vegans. Who will win this year? Perhaps a fruitarian will slip through and beat the lot, and wipe the smiles from a few faces. Details from Plamil Foods, Bowles Well Gardens, Folkestone, Kent.

\* THE ISSUE of growth hormones in beef, banned by the EEC, has led to an international crisis, with the US in turn initiating trade sanctions. This question of hormones has been regarded as a test of US virility, like the occasional swipe against Libya. The US has also responded by telling the EEC to clean up its own backyard; it refuses to accept any meat imported from the UK because of the filthiness of our slaughterhouses, which are also condemned by the EEC. A meat trade spokesman has said: "We are going to carry on putting shit on our meat until the housewife objects." Roger Woodis in the NSS wrote a poem on the subject:

God made the British butcher  
For a mystery and a sign,  
That carnivores might praise the Lord  
When they sit down to dine;  
And whether roasted, grilled or stewed,  
Or skewered on a spit,  
They thank Him for their daily meat  
When they are eating shit.

This just about sums it up, really.

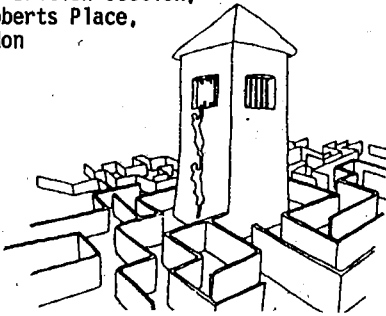


## WHAT IS A PRISONER OF CONSCIENCE?

AT AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL we were somewhat concerned at your heading, Prisoners of Conscience, on page 24 of GL68. Of course readers of GL should be writing on behalf of prisoners. However, A.I. writes regularly to governments about prisoners of conscience. This is a term which we define quite technically - prisoners of conscience are people who are convicted because of their race, religion, nationality, ethnic origin, sex or political beliefs, and have not used or advocated violence. A.I. ask governments to release such prisoners immediately. We also act on behalf of all political prisoners - asking that they should be given a fair and speedy trial. Amnesty also works on behalf of prisoners who we fear are suffering torture or cruel, inhumane and degrading treatment. We call upon governments to stop this, and we oppose the death penalty and executions in all circumstances.

Clearly, the prisoners listed under Prisoners of Conscience in GL68 fall into a much wider bracket than this rather narrow definition. I am concerned that a loose use of the term Prisoners of Conscience could cause confusion and some difficulties. I am also concerned that your description of three people convicted after the Broadwater Farm trials, Winston Silcott, Mark Braithwaite and Engin Raghip, although mentioning A.I., went much further than us in analysing the reasons for their imprisonment. Of course, everyone is entitled to their own interpretation of the situation. However, I would be grateful if you would separate this from information about our reports in future.

Marie Staunton,  
A.I. British Section,  
5 Roberts Place,  
London



## DISCUSSING DISCUSSIONS

BECAUSE THE GREEN movement is so heterogeneous, both clarifying debates and a will to unity are necessary. Debates (not divisions) are necessary to dispel misunderstandings and to reach agreement. Those who responded in GL69 to my article in GL68 must agree, otherwise they would not have written letters to make their points; to correct something they saw as being wrong. This of course was the same reason I had to reply to Tim Cooper's article (GL66). However, I cannot see where the disagreement is between what I said and what the people who replied claim, since they have not corrected a single sentence of my article but rather have criticised something I was not doing. This confusion perhaps occurred because GL gave the article a more pretentious title, "Why Marxism is of More Use to Greens than Liberalism", than what I, more modestly, had intended to call simply "Reply to Cooper". My aim was merely to correct what I thought was inaccurate, confusing and misleading.

I agree with Colin Kirby and Steve Dawe that we should learn from the past and from the disastrous consequences of the divisions of the traditional left, but we should also learn from the green experience, for example in West Germany, where greens could have been more successful if it wasn't for the internal divisions. This makes more sense to me than Colin's suggestion of learning from the Church. After all, the Church stopped debating its Jewish origins (and many other things) and - I feel entitled to add, since he insists this is the right example and that "the analogy can be taken further" - became a powerful corrupt and patriarchal organization which, instead of having open debates, expelled and burnt all the people who disagreed. It seems particularly ironic at a time of international concern over religious rejection of criticism and dissent (e.g. Jews, Rushdie). We should learn from his example but certainly not follow it.

Since it is a fact that people in the green movement come from very different social backgrounds and classes, from different philosophical, ideological and cultural traditions, it is unrealistic to think that all these different people are going to agree automatically merely because it is politically expedient to. Steve is right

that I was concerned with the theoretical and the philosophical rather than with the existing politics of two parties, but I never claimed to be doing something else and I don't see why one ought only talk about existing politics: what is wrong with thinking about the philosophical problems themselves that do exist and are (see Petra Kelly interview in this issue) the root of other problems. It's curious that Steve should write that he believes one should not correct some philosophical inaccuracies because it would make some greens leave the movement, and yet he is the author of an article on one of the most sensitive and delicate problems, namely Northern Ireland (GL68).

It is also a fact that many people intellectually acquainted with or emotionally close to socialism, communism or Marxism are members of the green movement. This means that they have become aware of the importance of certain problems, that they have made the movement bigger and that there is a lot to learn from each other's insights and mistakes. Under these circumstances, I don't think that the right thing to do is to discredit their traditions as a whole by writing a confusing, inaccurate and contradictory article. Rather one should point out to them what is incompatible with green politics and/or wrong and should be corrected.

Since there are things, as I admitted, in left-wing thought that are at odds with the green movement, there is no need to invent them, and thus distract us from an interesting debate. Had Tim Cooper said that Mill or Galbraith were merely stupid greedy and evil, I would have also protested, since, contrary to David's assertion, I was not defending mere "isms" to "pull people apart", which is something I do not desire to do. We are already very few for the tasks we want to fulfill.

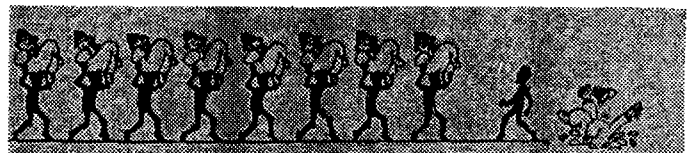
I agree with David that "the writings of radical thinkers should be read and discussed", which is more than what I had claimed (that you should not dismiss something without reading it first and that you should not label an "ism" in order to dismiss it out of hand). In view of this, I assume he does not really believe - against all the historical evidence on the importance of his ideas - that Marx was just another "white European male". He may not have had more value as a man than his neighbour, but he did say a few more things on economics, politics and philosophy than that 'other white man' - whose analysis of capitalism nobody knows and which therefore cannot be discussed anyway. David finishes his letter by saying that we should mirror the justice we defend, which should also include a just assessment of this white European male.

## WHITHER GL...?

I HAD TO agree with Steve Long (Letters, GL69) that a little bit more humour can go a long way to help the green cause in the face of the Icy Thatcher and her minions. But after reading the rest of that issue, I came round to thinking that it wouldn't be necessary to deliberately make articles more witty - the appearance of an unprecedented number of typing errors has already done the job! Not that I'm complaining though - the extremely unfortunate misspelling of Mr. Walker in the piece about the Tipi Villagers (page 5) had me in a severe state of mirth for about ten minutes!

Getting back to the general direction of GL, I feel that it has about the right balance between 'the heart' and 'the head' on green issues, although the occasional siren call of the ardent socialists for greens to join them does cause a bit of irritation. But then that demonstrates the welcome breadth of opinion expressed in GL: after all, I probably wouldn't read it if I agreed with everything.

Jim Abbott  
45 Collingwood Rd  
Witham  
Essex





I must also say to Colin that I did not do the same thing as Cooper: I did not dismiss the Liberals, but merely corrected what I saw as unfair. Surely there is nothing intellectually unpleasant or ungreen in being fair, theoretically correct and concerned with intellectual honesty, which is, as I see it, my job? Regarding the Liberals, it was Tim Cooper himself who said pretty unattractive things about them. It is they themselves who claim to want a modified capitalism.

But I have no desire to engage in a childish discussion on what he said and what I said. What is important is to acknowledge that disagreements within the green movement are unavoidable and, as David says, our problems can only be solved by discussion, which as long as it is permitted should not bring division but knowledge, understanding and clarity to provide the concrete, global and unified program we need so much.

Don't you agree?

Paula Casal  
45 Henry Rd,  
Oxford

## DON'T REGISTER YOUR PROTEST

BARRY MAYCOCK IS wrong to dismiss the campaign against registration for the Poll Tax as "in the nature of a preliminary skirmish". It is the crucial point at which the struggle against this tax will be won or lost. Once the register is completed, the government has cast-iron methods of extracting the tax. They can deduct it directly from your benefit, from wages paid by an employer, from student grants and so on. If any of these options are not available, the bailiffs and debt collectors are all prepared for the increase in their business that will come with the tax. In other words, it will be virtually impossible not to pay once the register is there.

Not only that, but it is a grievous tactical error not to block registration with civil disobedience or obstructive behaviour within the law. The government has already been able to claim 99% success for the Scottish registration. And although this is probably an exaggeration, it is the case that the main Scottish opposition has concentrated on not paying rather than not registering. The result is this propaganda coup for the government.

The poll tax is the first issue for many years that the government has offered where wide-scale civil obstruction will actually be able to prevent them achieving their ends. It is an issue which unites us across the political spectrum. It will be a tragedy if we allow the Labour policy of compliance to wreck a real opportunity of harming the Thatcher government.

For these reasons, it should be a priority for every green to get involved in an alliance to build this strategy of making the Poll Tax unworkable. The reason why there is a fine for non-registration is because the government realises it is the weak point. If we comply with this, we comply with the right to vote being attached to ability to pay. As such, it will be the gravest blow yet to democracy, such as it is, since it was established in this country. Failure to defend the right to vote in this case will lead to further attacks in the future. The Labour Party and the other opposition parties must be told that if they do not stop this the survival of free elections with the right to vote for all will be further eroded. So far,

only the Green Party and the SNP have realised this.

Tim Brennan,  
47 Bartholomew St West,  
Exeter

BARRY MAYCOCK WRITES:

Actually, Tim, I tend to agree with you! It's just that the anti-poll tax campaign continues to focus overwhelmingly on the issue of payment, with Labour dissidents,

the Green Party, Committee of 100 and so on, urging people to register. In this respect, my article was more descriptive than prescriptive; looking at what has happened and is likely to happen, rather than at what ought to happen. Ideally, there shouldn't be any "preliminary skirmishes"; at the very least, an effective anti-registration campaign would act as a powerful "drag-anchor" impeding the whole Poll Tax process. The question is: is such a campaign now likely?



FOOD AND FARMING YEAR 1989



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