

GREEN *Line*

GL73 / JUNE 1989 / 60p



The local election results:
news and analysis

Deep Ecology and green politics:
John Seed talks to GL

NATO's 40th birthday:
Why Turkish people aren't celebrating

Plus: rainforest news, Bristol Against the Poll Tax and Labour's defence review

GREEN Line

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Monthly magazine of
Green politics and lifestyle

GREEN LINE is published ten times a year, and is produced by a collective based in Oxford. Green Line appears thanks to the efforts of John French, Barry Maycock, Paula Casal, Graham Hooper, Tim Andrewes, Oliver Tickell 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

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Interested? Contact: Chesca, Rio Mazan Project, Development & Environment Centre, Norwich NR2 1AX. Tel: (0603) 611/610993

LIVE AND WORK in Paris. Someone who shares green ideas urgently needed to help look after 8yr old son in bi-lingual household. Single mum works, son at school, so lots of freetime. For more information phone M.C. on Paris (010 331) 39 73 84 60.

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The Green Party's Great Leap Forward?

COMMENT

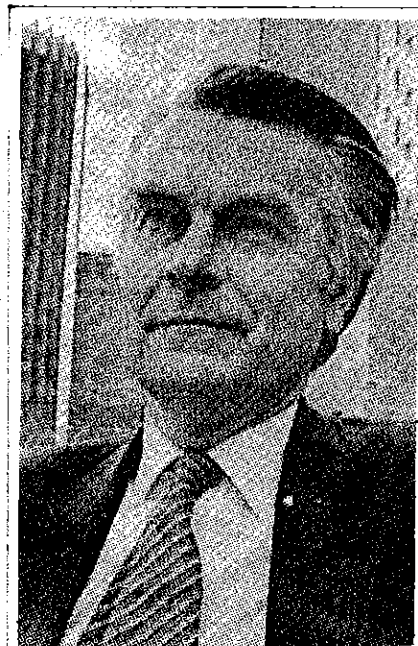
Last month's county council elections saw the Green Party emerge as a credible force in local politics. JERRY SPRING and ANDY GREEN spoke to some local party activists about the stories behind the results

ARE LAST MONTH'S County Election results the great leap forward that the greens have long been waiting for? There were 50% more candidates (646), and in four cornered contests (i.e. where the greens were up against the Tories, Labour and the centre) the vote was up by 250% to an average of 8.6%. Pity the Grauniad described it as increased by up to 8.6%. Of course, with the present electoral system, only 1 candidate got elected: Paul Taylor, a defecting Liberal councillor on the Isle of Wight. Additionally, some 37 candidates were placed second in three (or more) cornered seats and over 350 candidates got more than 5% in four cornered seats. Votes seemed to come to the greens from across the political spectrum as well as from new voters. It seems that the collapse of the alliance parties was also beneficial and greens beat democrats in about a 1/4 of four cornered contests and the SDP in 1/2. Labour, on the other hand were only defeated in 62 of 573 contests. In a strictly proportional electoral system the Green Party would have won about 300 out of 3,509 seats on offer.

One administrative detail: as usual there have been some problems getting results. John Matthissen, who is compiling the figures points out that "it is difficult to understand why some local parties try to keep good results secret when the party is committed to open government!" If your party hasn't got in touch then why not phone him on (0359) 40365?

On campaigning, local parties are clearly faced with an increasing logistical problem as the interest in green politics outstrips their ability to provide enough candidates, canvassers and support. However, in many areas, paper candidates were put up and amazingly often did very well. Conversely, some parties decided that such candidates were a discredited tactic of established parties and so concentrated

their efforts on a few properly supported candidates, most notably in South Bedfordshire, where only one ward was contested, producing 38% behind the Tories on 51%. Come the next local and national elections, some hard decisions will have to be made: on the one hand there is the expense and effort of standing full slates and so over stretching; and on the other hand, recent results show that people are desperate for a chance to vote green and so they shouldn't be denied that chance. Local parties are most likely to lose credibility in future elections if, having stood in a seat, they don't contest it the next time. That would seem too much like a cynical testing of the waters followed, where necessary, by withdrawal and isolation of the green voters in that seat. We can leave such tactics to the SDP.



Che Guavara

Generally, people seem not to be voting for greens because of some particular environmental issue (e.g. the Channel Tunnel & Link), but because of what greens stand for. Many people reported that no longer are they met with blank stares on the doorstep, or "Oh, you mean Greenpeace." Canvassers and stallholders are being approached by people eager to learn more, or to offer encouragement. Conversely, the other parties are becoming more intolerant, at least in private, as they see the green vote threatening to hold the balance of power in marginal seats. Publically, the greens are practically unanswerable: you can hardly say you're in favour of pollution and rainforest destruction. All parties have been rushing out Environmental Charters;

leak too seats and rusting aerosol cans are piling up in Council office bins all over the country. Yet still people want to vote green. Could that really mean that there is now a solid base of voters who are not just environmentalist green consumers, but want to see a radical alternative to capitalism in this country? As GL goes to press, we look forward to seeing the so-called environmentalism of the major parties hammered on the hustings for the opportunism, incompatible with their other policies, that it is.

Local lessons

Because the results were so impressive right across the country, it seems unfair to pick out just a few. However, the ones we do report on here illustrate some interesting trends and provide some ideas on campaigning.

In the Isle of Wight, there was no party till last August, so only two seats were contested with the aim of showing that greens are electable. With Paul Taylor's success (by one vote) and Val Adams good second place, this was proved a successful strategy. The presence of the greens completely changed the focus of the campaigning from previous elections towards environmental issues such as sea pollution. Greens had strong views to on the effect of rising house prices and speculative development on a low-wage economy, and are pushing for a council backed community bank to help small businesses with low interest loans.

Kent is another county where apparent prosperity hides much poverty. Here the greens did well (11.4% of votes cast, up 500% over 1985), contesting 38 of 99 county divisions plus 3 district council by-elections. Several candidates came second with over 20%: in Thanet, Sandwich, Birchington (a paper candidate, 150 votes behind Labour), Margate and in Canterbury. Five new local parties formed during the campaign; in Sevenoaks there was no party structure and still 16-19% of the vote went to the greens.

As Steve Mugeridge in Kent told us, there is an urgent need for more help and support in order for local parties to build on these successes. Where they have mounted awareness and political campaigns throughout the year, greens have done well: for example, in Dover and Deal over the marine pollution that seems to be causing skin problems for fishermen and women. Greens have been strong on other issues in Kent as well and any Nimbies who thought the Green Party was merely environmentalist soon learnt about its policies on peace and economics. The Chunnel didn't lead directly to green votes; in fact many Tory voters were

The Forces of Evil would be happy to see the South of England become one enormous suburb. Mile upon mile of unlovable housing estates punctuated here and there by slashes of motorway and the profound ugliness of sites of industrial selfishness.

The Garden of England is being concreted over to make a patio.

A clear example of this sould destroying progress is the cheap and tatty development of what should be one of Maidstone's biggest assets, its river frontage. Instead of running through the middle of the town, there is now an architecturally infantile and extremely nasty cluster of warehouse-type superstores.

Instead of gardens, restaurants, pubs, shops or other places of human interest which would bring more trade to the town in the long run, there is a wasteland.

We should be grateful that out of what remains of a sense of guilt in the hearts of the planners, a few square yards of restaurants, shops and living accommodation will be tacked on at the end of this development.

Ex-Python, **Graham Chapman**, penned this piece of sarcasm to a local Kent newspaper about corruption and property development.

Concorde Video & Film Council in Ipswich (0473) 726012 have a video of World in Action's excellent **The Planning Game**, an exposé of the planning process. Useful for local groups.

What is wrong? How can developments like these ever be approved by the councils we elect to look after our interests? Let me hypothesise: A hypothetical piece of countryside on the outskirts of a hypothetical town is idyllic. There are woodland walks with bluebells, wild anemones and white, scented violets. It is the home of rabbits, foxes, badgers, stoats and voles. A sparrowhawk hovers here and hunts. Green and lesser-spotted woodpeckers can be seen and heard while a hidden pond is host to the magnificent and rare kingfisher.

Unhappily this wild habitat is doomed. A hypothetical speculator who, in a hypothetically conflict-of-interest sort of a way, also happens to do work for the council and give hypothetical councillors hypothetical free dinner-dances all in the name of hypothetical charities, wants to build some light industrial premises and a car park.

The hypothetical idyllic habitat with its mute flora and fauna is no match in the council's hypothetical debating chamber for the fine sounding arguments of the hypothetical speculator and his short-sighted self-serving minions. The council is once again hypothetically obliged to act in a way which is in the short term interest of the property speculators, hypothetically referred to as the Forces of Evil, and not in the interest of the very people who elected them.

Happily, of course, this scenario is totally hypothetical because in real life any councillor is duty bound to have the long term interest of the public at heart.

disappointed that the Tory vote held up so well - it seems too many of them left it to their neighbours to make the protest vote. However, Steve feels that the tunnel and rail link "has become a catalyst for politicising the people of Kent about the identity of Kent. Local people can't afford to live where they were born," and even the better off are being materially affected by the overheating of the local economy and overloading of public services and transport, plus there is much concern over the Poll Tax. Again and again, he met people saying "I'm a lifelong Tory voter and I'm never voting Tory again." Activists from Labour, the Tories and especially the SLD, defected to the greens during the campaign. People in Kent are realising that what the greens are saying about the need for strong locally self-sufficient economies is right.

The highlight in **Devon** was the appearance of greens from nowhere in the east of the county to contest all seats and take 10.5% of the vote: in Ottery St Mary, Phil Foggett took 22% and second place as did Catherine Simmons in Torrington, while Alan Jackson got 40% in a straight fight with a Tory. In East Devon the greens benefitted from the collapse of the centre as well as the lack of marginal seats. Elsewhere, Devon candidates took

12%, and 9.1% in Exeter about 250% up on last time. Now, with a well-known Euro-candidate, Peter Christie (ex-mayor of Bideford) Devon greens are hoping to beat the alliance and they may well take second place ahead of Labour, whose candidate has not yet bothered to visit his constituency from his home in Manchester.

The Green Party in **Norfolk** greatly increased its presence in the rural divisions and stood a full slate in Norwich for the second time running. Results were up 200% to 9.2% across the county. Norfolk greens also have the distinction of being the only Green Party with control of a Council: Green independents in Blo'Norton Parish in South Suffolk hold 3 out of 5 seats. Although the vote doubled in some nominally contested divisions, results were particularly good where candidates campaigned throughout the year: both Dave Mansell and Denise Carlo in Norwich had produced regular ward newsletters and then canvassed and leafleted in the campaign. The Green Party is also officially involved in the local Anti-Poll Tax Union. In a fiercely contested city Denise Carlo got second place in Henderson ward. Labour became increasingly bitter about the greens, holding them responsible for the increased

Tory majority (on a reduced share of the vote) in the County Council. But, apart from being unproven, Labour activists had no answer to the green's suggestion that they support PR. Greens had plenty of issues to fight on, particularly the turning of Norfolk into a county of commuters, and the county's damaging "settlement hierarchy" policy on development that has led to over-concentration of industry and housing in a few areas and poverty in the rest. Dave Mansell reckons that the local party in Norwich should perhaps target more with the aim of actually taking a ward now they've "entered into the Norwich psyche", especially as the greens had the only sensible policies on the city's transport chaos. In the rural areas, the greens were able to stress the benefits of supporting small farmers and village economies which led to results like Geoff Leigh's 22.5% in Guildcross, Breckland and Steve Beckley's 17% in Smallburgh, North Norfolk. In the Euro-elections, Norfolk greens are setting themselves the target of not just holding their deposit, but of beating the SDP and Democrats.

In Tory dominated **Hereford and Worcestershire**, to highlight the cynicism of Labour's paper candidates, greens stood in only 18 of 76 divisions. All candidates were supported with leafletting, and the vote doubled to 14.5%. As elsewhere voters were much more responsive to the green message, and Chris Leonard and Jill Harvey both beat the SLD and Labour in four way contests. While all parties lost voters to the greens, there were plenty of Tories switching over the issue of water privatisation.

As in previous elections, there was a strong performance in **Avon** with 67 of 76 seats contested and 9% polled in 56 four cornered contests (10%+ in 20 of these). On 18 occasions greens beat one of the major parties, capitalising on the demise of the centre parties. In Bath itself, the vote doubled, for the second time running, to 11.7% and in Bristol West there was a stunning tripling to 14.4%. Greens have good policies on the traffic chaos in both cities and additionally in Bristol have campaigned on the issue of recycling and waste, much of which is carted, at great expense, all the way to Buckinghamshire for landfill.

The best result in **Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire** was the 18% won by Marcus Colchester of Survival International for the newly formed North Oxfordshire Green Party. In parts of Bucks (11% overall), greens got 20% in straight fights with Tories, which bodes well for the Euro Elections. It suggests Tory seats, along with those of the crumbocrats, are well worth targeting. In addition, greens tended to gain from Labour so long it wasn't a marginal Tory seat, which suggests generally that in safe Tory Euro-seats there'll be no incentive for "green" Labour voters to stay Labour and so the greens should benefit. In Oxfordshire leafletting and canvassing clearly brought votes, although local credibility was also

Green power: a force to be reckoned with

Potato supp



Yorkshire Evening Press

improved simply by standing throughout the county and allowing people to show their new awareness of green issues in the vote. However, in wards contested for the first time it appears vital to leaflet otherwise many people will simply be unaware that they can vote green until they get to the polling booth - with their mind already made up - or else may not turn out at all.

Green support increased dramatically on **Humberside** where in Hull a full slate of 23 candidates (12 women) gained an average of 6.5%. Four years ago, there were 4 candidates with an average of 0.5%. Labour victory is taken for granted in Hull where they hold 55 of 60 City Council seats, and turn-out was only 10-20%, but greens beat Democrats in 5 wards and Tories in 2. The local Green parties led a dynamic campaign, leafletting each ward, canvassing in solid Labour estates and gaining equal coverage on the local media. Party membership is increasing rapidly, a fact that older members attribute largely to recent decentralisation. In North Hull, membership went from 5 to over 100 in a year and 10% of green voters are ending up in the party. The party has forged close links with other green organisations and is recruiting many unilateralists. They have put the wind up Labour: the City Council have just announced a 'Green charter for Hull'; while Labour took the effort to produce leaflets on issues affecting each ward for the first time in years. Greens are now setting up a new pressure group 'Toxic Watch' to fight the growing incineration industry on the Humber estuary. After 1992 the estuary will be a major zone of importing toxic wastes from abroad, and more incineration plants are now being constructed.

The Green Party has only been organising in **North Yorkshire** for about 6 years and 28 out of 95 seats were contested with widely varying success. The best result was second place with 38% in a contest with Labour in Whitby. Greens have been closely involved in Whitby Against Nuclear Dumping, formed to block moves to use an abandoned mine at nearby Bowlby, and environmental concern was also heightened by the release of blood from an abattoir into Whitby harbour with predictably colourful results. The Democrat Mayor of Scarborough lost her seat, so she claimed, as a result of the green vote and according to Dick Richardson everyone at the count was "glaring daggers at the greens". The major parties are very worried at the way voters from all sides are defecting to the greens. For instance in Cleveland, where greens helped destroy the Democrats, Labour was kept out in Cambridge Road, Middlesborough by 30 votes - there was almost a fight at the count - with a green vote of 414. But Yorkshire Green Party activist Dick Richardson reckons greens should continue to stand on principle, and only consider standing down if Labour offers to

do so in another ward. In Cleveland, as in Humberside, there is a campaign against the incineration industry, STINC, in which the Cambridge Road candidate Alan Gilchrist is involved. There was a lot of sympathy for the Green Party's opposition to increased incineration, despite the implications for jobs in a depressed area. In York's university ward, Dunnington, the Green beat Labour into third place, and despite the closely fought contests in York, the green vote was still 9%, while in the rural areas there were several votes of 15-20%. Agricultural problems proved to be a vote winner for greens and the rural community was certainly not antagonistic to their policies. According to Alan Dunnett in York, the biggest difficulty for future campaigns is the sheer size of North Yorkshire. Dick Richardson is hoping for "amoebic progression" in the county, with local parties forming, growing and splitting so as to cover two areas more effectively. A case of divide and rule?

Finally, from **Wales** Alun Williams reports the collapse of the centre parties with the SLD being outpolled by greens in 11 of 17 contests and the SDP in 3 of 4. Overall, the Green Party polled 9% and more than the SDP in actual votes cast. The main successes were the defeat of Plaid Cymru in all three contests against them in South Glamorgan along with a doubling of the vote to 7% in a highly competitive area that includes Cardiff. In West Glamorgan the vote also doubled to 8.5% with Rob Bryant beating Labour in South Gower. In Dyfed, Roy Bowden and Pat Langford took 24% and 17% in two-way fights, and first-time candidates in Powys and Clwyd took 11% and 4% respectively. Alun Williams felt that the county elections affected the performance of the party in the Vale of Glamorgan by-election (2.03%) simply because of lack of resources and activists. Without the local elections, they would probably have beaten the SDP candidate. On the issue of compromises with other parties, an anti-barrage candidate in Cardiff (where the Taff estuary is under threat from marina development) was left without green opposition to maximise help the protest vote. Throughout Wales, greens appear to be reaping the just rewards of previous years of effort as people respond to the green agenda, and many local parties increased their memberships during the campaign. If enough people help in the Euro-campaign then deposits will be saved in all four constituencies. But it will be tougher than in most of England

The future is green!

So: impressive stories - and doubtless repeatable from virtually every other county. The Green Party is now a force in local elections, even if it is bound to suffer with the higher turnouts and party loyalties of parliamentary elections. Hopefully, the media will finally end its love affair with the SDP corpse and give due credit to Green Party results, not just their campaigns. Much remains to be done, as Chris Rose puts it: "It's vital that we are now able to cope with the massive increase in public interest [e.g. 150 new members a week], and the more deeply probing media work we will probably have to face." For all parties there's the task of relocating all those new voters and getting them out again this month. Within the party it would seem that there are bound to be increasingly important debates over the nature of the Green Party and "the problem of keeping the Green Party's character while being a national campaigning party", as one local activist put it, adding "Staying decentralist is vital". Another said: "The Green Party has got to come of age very quickly. We've got to think about becoming the third party in this country. Are we going to be self-indulgent, or do we want to see the values we believe in put into action?" We can leave that debate till after the Euro-celebrations. Meanwhile, to quote Chris Rose: "Congratulations everyone. We're sorry these results haven't had much national attention yet. They'll have more trouble overlooking our Euro figures..."

Thanks to CHRIS ROSE, JOHN MATTHISSEN and all the local activists who gave us their stories.

Green Party's average percentage of the vote in four or more cornered contests

Over 20% Isle of Wight (42.67%)
Over 10% Cleveland, Hereford & Worcs, Surrey, Dorset, Bedfordshire, Suffolk, Bucks and Leics.
Over 9% Kent, Devon, E.Sussex, Warwick, Avon & Cambs.
Over 8% Dyfed, Oxon, Norfolk and Cheshire.
Over 7% N.Yorks, Humberside, W.Glamorgan, Notts, Essex, S.Glamorgan and Durham.
Over 6% Northants, Berks, Herts, Hants, Northumberland and Wilts
Over 5% Lincs and Derbyshire

MILKING THE POOR

EVERY THREE MINUTES a baby dies as a result of unsafe bottle feeding. The vast majority of these deaths occur in developing countries, where the water used to make up the bottle milk is likely to be contaminated. So Nestle, and other companies who promote breast-milk substitutes in those countries are effectively committing murder on a grand scale.

A boycott of Nestle was started in the U.S. in 1977, and it later spread to ten countries, but the hard sell of baby milk continued. In 1981 WHO and UNICEF issued a code of practice prohibiting all promotion of breast-milk substitutes, although Nestle refused to accept it until 1984. It seemed as if the breakthrough had been made and the boycott then ceased.

However, five years on, the sales drive is still taking place, and babies are still dying. Nestle claims that the code allows them to keep giving free supplies of their baby-milk to hospitals, to be used for those who actually can't breast-feed. In practice, hospitals are flooded with free samples, which health-workers are encouraged to give to every mother and baby that leave the hospital. This gives the impression that it's good for the baby's health to bottle-feed it. If the mother uses the sample, and her breast-milk remains unused, she will probably cease to produce breast-milk, and the baby will be effectively "hooked" to the bottle until weaning.

With no prospect of Nestle improving the situation, the boycott was relaunched in March this year. Nescafe coffee is the main target, but there's good enough reason to avoid all their products. Please join the boycott, and tell other people about it; and hopefully Nestle will find that it's in their own interest, as well as that of their victims, to change their attitude.

CHRIS NELSON



For more information contact:

Patti Rundall or Gabrielle Palmer, BMAC (Baby Milk Action Coalition), 6 Regents Terrace, Cambridge, CB2 1AA. Tel:(0223) 464417 or 464420



STONEHENGE BATTLE

POLICE and legal harassment of travellers, festival goers and pagans goes on: as in previous years, landowners around Stonehenge, including English National Heritage and the National Trust, having sent letters to a number of travellers demanding that they keep off their land, have successfully taken out temporary injunctions, effectively forbidding them from going to Stonehenge from 15-22nd June every year until further notice. Normally, the landowners would be expected to come to court again to make the injunctions permanent but this has never happened because the temporary injunctions run through the solstice and so achieve their purpose. However, the landowners might take it further this year so as not to appear to be manipulating the court. At the hearings on 25th May the 25 people named had costs of £100 ordered

against them. The judge granted the injunctions for several reasons: against those who had been arrested for any reason last year; against "possible organisers" (of what, was not specified); and against "editorial advisors" (in order, presumably, to keep Festival Eye workers away).

Clearly, there seems to be little expectation of compromise from the landowners despite the efforts of the Stonehenge Campaign to get permission for a festival site near the stones. The campaign goes on however, with walks from several sites to Stonehenge (see Green Diary). Stonehenge Campaign is at 99 Torriano Ave, London NW5 2RX, tel: 01 264 7871. For further news, get hold of the annual **Festival Eye**, from 46 Wood St, Mitcham Junction, Surrey CR4 4JX. £1+25p p&p or £7.50 for 10 copies.

"GREEN" BATTERIES

RECENTLY, battery manufacturers have been introducing "green" batteries onto the market, such as Panasonic's "Green" rechargeables and Phillips' "Green Line" brand (should we sue them for using our name?). The main claim to these batteries' greenness is the fact that they do not contain cadmium and some of them are free of mercury as well. Cadmium and mercury are both used in several types of battery - e.g. nickel-cadmium rechargeable batteries - and both metals are highly toxic and capable of causing serious pollution problems if a lot of care isn't taken over their disposal.

With this in mind, the introduction of the new cadmium-free and mercury-free batteries is an improvement. However, even without toxic elements in them, batteries from a green point of view are not terribly sound. It can take as much as fifty times more energy to make a battery than the battery itself will provide in use; that's a pretty high level of wastage of energy which makes coal-fired and nuclear power stations seem quite efficient.

For those worried readers wondering how we can live without these ungreen but

seemingly hard-to-do-without power sources there is a glimmer of hope in the gradual growth in the number of human powered gadgets. Dynamo lights on push-bikes have been around some time, but, according to an article in Green Drum (No. 66, Spring 1989), there is now available a hand operated torch which derives its energy from a pumping action of the user's hand. Unfortunately, the article didn't mention who the manufacturer was or where one could get one of these torches, but no doubt more information about this neat invention will come to light.

REUTERS...

GL has just heard that Colonel Ghaddafi is demanding that all cook-chill food factories be opened up for international inspection or else the U.S. Sixth Fleet will sail round to Britain and launch a surgical strike against these evil centres of chemical warfare.

NETWORK by GRAHAM HOOPER

GREEN COLLEGE

A NEW educational venture, The Green College, is offering a number of courses this Summer including Thatcherism: a critical appraisal (2-9 JULY) and Environmental Politics and the Green Movement in Britain (30 JULY-6 AUGUST). Costing £145, they'll be based in Malvern. Details from *The Green College, Pickersleigh Court, Malvern, Worcs WR14 2ET, tel: (0865) 249020 or 01 674 0763*. Apart from establishing degree level courses, there are other activities going on now or planned. These include a series of weekly talks (starting in September) on green issues and a Sixth Form Conference on Environmental Politics (October).

YOUTH NVDA NETWORK

YOUTH Non-Violent Direct Action Network has taken off the ground since the YCND Conference in November last year. So far there's been a very successful day school back in April and a group were also present at the CND demo the following day in London. It's very difficult to get a network such as this off the ground. Any new members are welcome to join and any donations are gratefully received. For information write to:- *Youth NVDA Network c/o CND, 22-24 Underwood Street, London N1 7JG, 01 250 4010*. If you wish to join then include a return address.

VEGAN SOS

THE Vegan Society is urgently appealing for money following a recent worsening of their long-precarious financial position. Although they have become much more productive in their work over the years, that strong financial base that they need if they are to be truly effective continues to elude them.

Why not join (or rejoin) and actively support the Society's vital work? (An added advantage of being a member of the Vegan Society is that it helps you get vegan food when/if you end up in prison). They are also running a "Grand Cruelty-Free Draw", and would greatly welcome donations to their SOS appeal. *Contact: Vegan Society, 33-35 George Street, Oxford OX1 2AY, 0865 722166*.

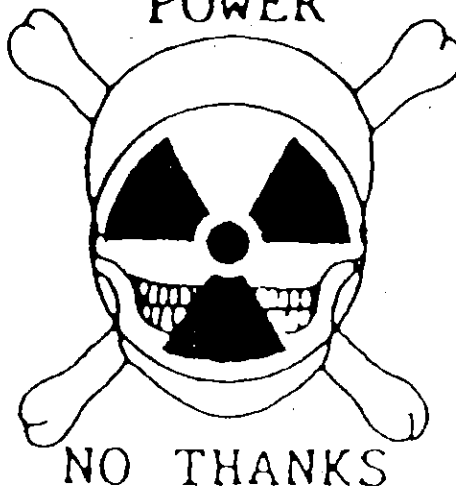
GREEN SPIRITUALITY

THE May-July issue of the Christian Ecology Group is out now, details from Judith Pritchard on (0684) 572630, 58 Quest Hills Rd, Malvern, Worcs. WR14 1RW. CEG will be holding a Supporters Action Day on 17th June at St Peters Church, Vere St, London W1 with speakers from CAFOD, WWF and the British Council of Churches who have all

HINKLEY BLOCKADE

ANTI-NUCLEAR groups and individuals are asked to support the blockade on Saturday 24th June at 10am. Despite overwhelming public opposition the government is expected to go ahead with Hinkley C, therefore the emphasis will be on direct action. People are asked to form themselves into affinity groups before their arrival and plan actions for Saturday and Friday too if they want. Please come self-sufficient (food, tents etc.)

NUKILLER POWER



There will be a meeting at 2pm on Friday 23rd at Otterhampton Village Hall, Combwich, Somerset; please come or send a representative from your group. It is hoped people will be able to camp nearby on Friday night. Please remember it is the government and CEBG we are fighting, not the local workers who presently have few employment options in the area. Information, leaflets and posters from: *BLAH c/o Box DAM, 37 Stokes Croft, Bristol BS2*.

DIRECTIONS: Take A39 from Bridgwater to Cannington. Turn right at the war memorial & take road to Hinkley Point. 1 mile up this road turn right to Combwich. Village hall is near the harbour front on the left hand side.

ORGANIC VALUE

According to the Soil Association, organic produce has about 20% less water because it hasn't been forced, which may make you feel better after paying premium prices for safe organic food.

RECYCLING NEWS

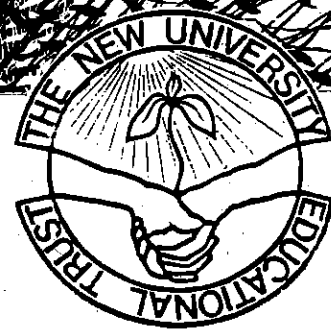
FOLLOWING last month's article on recycling in New York, several people have commented on a negative impact of America's large scale recycling programmes. Insufficient processing facilities exist to cope with the huge volumes of paper that are being reclaimed. Much of it is being exported to Britain where it is forcing prices down and undermining the viability of local projects.

BLEACHED PAPER: THE PAPER INDUSTRY REPLIES

THE issue of bleached paper, namely the threat of dioxin contamination in tampons, nappies and other paper sanitary products, as well as potential dioxin release from pulp mills, has hotted up, according to a report in the UK CEED Bulletin (Issue 23, May-June 1989). Following the recent concern by many people including the Women's Environmental Network, the Swedish Pulp and Paper Association have responded with a document "Is Bleaching Paper Dangerous?"

The document, apparently, consists of several interviews with Swedish scientists, including the Head of the Department of Environmental Chemistry at the Swedish Pulp and Paper Research Institute. The interviewees talk about the environmental friendliness of the paper industry, how the paper mills' track records are being improved, the sustainability of forestry, the recyclability of paper and even the development of a method of chemical processing - "low multiple chlorination" - that cuts down on the amount of chlorine used relative to the amount of wood pulp and does not produce dioxin.

WEN is unimpressed. Bernadette Vallely of WEN called the proposed low multiple chlorination treatment an "interim measure", and fellow WEN worker, Alison Costello, added that simply reducing the amount of chlorine used was not a solution. "...up to 1000 other organo chlorines are formed, two thirds of which we don't even know what they are. Dioxin can be formed from less toxic compounds as well. The only solution is to get rid of chlorine altogether." No safe level of dioxin has been established: in the US a concentration of one part per billion is listed as hazardous waste.



"GREEN? VEGETARIAN YOU MEAN!"

THIS is the title of the second National Vegetarian Convention, to be held at Liverpool University on 14th to 16th July, and reflects the theme of showing the links between Ethical Vegetarianism, Ecology and Third World issues.

Speakers will include Chris Davey of Action Aid, Chris Church of FOE and Carol Royle. There will also be workshops where the issues raised can be discussed. It is not all work though, as social events are also planned and there will be other opportunities there for relaxation. The total cost of the weekend is £69, including two nights accommodation and all meals. For more details and bookings contact *John Mitchell, 183 Foden Road, Great Barr, Birmingham B42 2EH, 021 357 9294, or, Paul Appleby, 57 Sharland Close, Grove, Wantage, Oxon. OX12 0AF, 02357 69425.*

EARTH FIRST! VIDEO

CONCORD Films' latest (as I write) title, "Earth First", is a film that highlights the plight of the rainforests. Set in Australia, it looks at a 70 square kilometre radius of rainforest, which is "all that there remains from an age when Australia was the centre of a mighty supercontinent called Gondwanaland, covered by magnificent emerald rainforest trees." The film also tells the story of the often everyday people who care about the rainforests, people who will go to great lengths to save them. According to the promotional leaflet, "as each few seconds pass 50 acres of the world's richest biological resource is stripped from the earth. "Earth First" is available for £40 (sale) or £10 (hire) plus p&p and VAT, from *Concord Video & Film Council Ltd., 201 Felixtowe Road, Ipswich, Suffolk IP3 9BJ, 0473 726012/715754.*

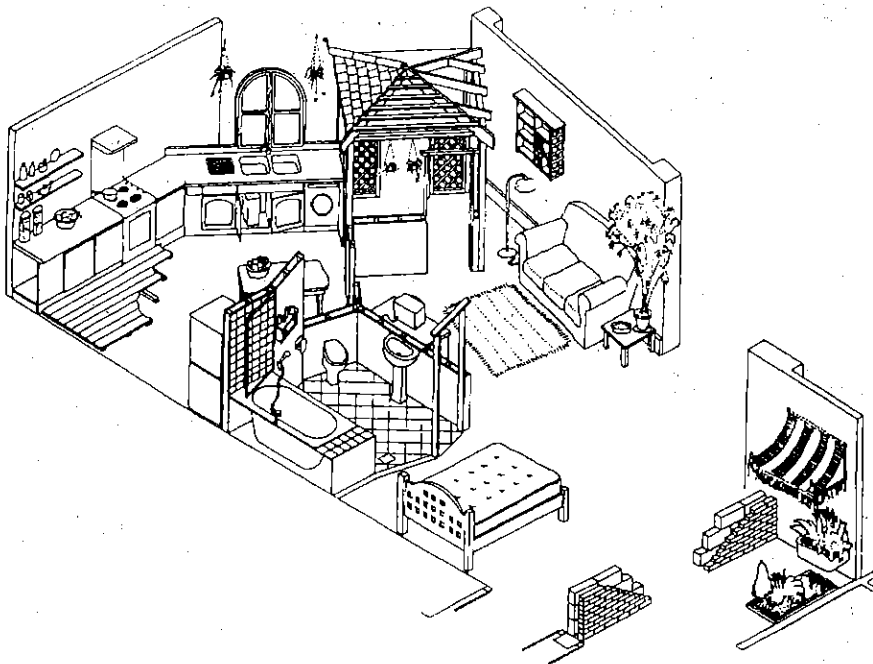
SKILLS & KNOWLEDGE SHARING WEEK

WANNA go to a Skills & Knowledge Sharing Week? (August 5th-11th), £2 a day unwaged. £3.50 a day waged (proof required). Kids and low waged negotiable. It's a bargain. Three meals a day. Make up the rest yourself.

Face painting with green economics. Juggling with dialectical materialism. Digging drop pits with existential philosophy. Rock and Poll Tax. Swim naked in a sea of confused ideas. Mend your bicycle puncture with a tube od Gestalt therapy. Set up a Hundred Onion Peeling Worker's Co-Operative. Fly a kite on a tangential curve. What's up Yogi? Let the kids run a riot of colour. Warm up your soggy socks with fiery music making. Let you consensuality loose. Chop up the evening meal with your incisive wit. Wonder off into the woulds and shoulds and whys. Laze in the warmth of the solar power ideas generator. Massage your ego. Wash up your own political persuasions. To frisbee or not to frisbee. Intents conversation. Dance yourself silly and back again. The historical relevance of anarchist toilet arrangements. Go to a camp meeting and come back alive. Registrare. Instigate. Participate. Gettinglate. Play your guitar at football. Knit poetry. Let sleeping bags lie. Sweet dreams are made of this.

Organised by the Radical Routes Network (formerly New University). For details write *SKSW c/o 24 South Road, Hockley, Birmingham B18, 021 551 1679.*

Be there... or be somewhere!



HOME SWEET HOME

THE WOMEN'S Environmental Network are going on tour this Summer with a Green House filled with ecologically sound products. The aim is to show that a green home doesn't have to be expensive even though it is energy efficient, organic, health and waste conscious, and uses natural products. See it at the London Ecology Centre in Covent Garden from June 1st, then at Olympia, London on July 8th and 13th, followed by a nationwide tour including Norwich on August 19-20th. There's a magazine (cost: £1) to go with it, which you can get with other details from *WEN, 287 City Rd, London EC1V 1LA, tel: 01 490 2511.*

ALICE MILLER SERIES

A series about the author Alice Miller will be shown on Channel Four in June, and GL reader Gerry Platt has drawn our attention to it as it may well have some important things to say to greens. To quote from Gerry's letter:-

"Alice Miller, in her books "The Drama of the Child" and "For Their Own Good" (both Virago), offers her psychoanalytic insight. Greed and materialism are not innate human traits, they are a result of our stunted growth. Alice Miller offers an understanding of this process which is both challenging and liberating, the implications are far-reaching. Her work is extremely readable."

HOLIDAYS AT THE MALVERN

THE Malvern is a study centre and bed & breakfast guest house in Swansea, run by a women's co-operative, and offers holidays and holiday courses for women. Bed and breakfast prices are £10-£11 per night for individuals and £8-£10 per person for groups: a three course vegetarian evening meal costs £4.50 (reduced price £4). Courses include "Traces of Matriarchal Culture in South Wales" (9th-23rd July), German for Beginners and 'Not Quite' Beginners" (13th-20th August) and "Handmade Papermaking" (20th-27th August); course prices about £100-£150 per person per week. For further details about the Malvern and its course programme, contact *The Malvern, 1 Malvern Terrace, Swansea SA2 0BE, 0792 653164.*

NETWORK

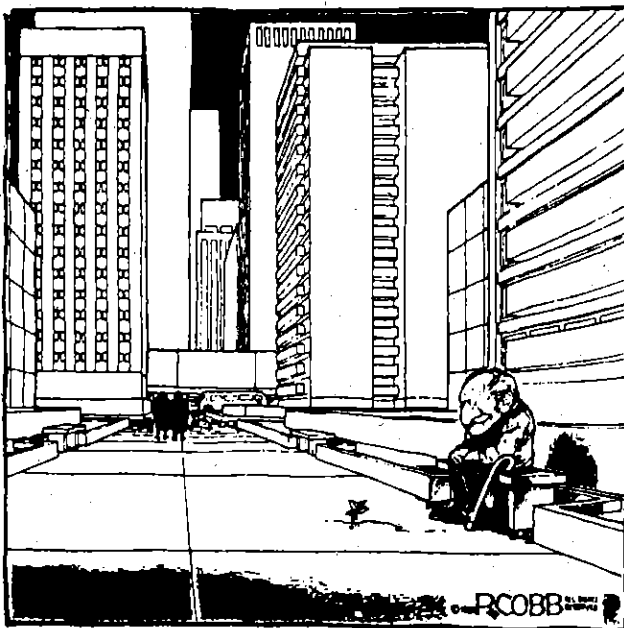
LEEDS GREENS FIGHT TO SAVE KIRKSTALL VALLEY

MOST PEOPLE MIGHT be forgiven for thinking Leeds a city of motorway intersections, shopping malls, urban squalor and the decayed remains of closed down industries. But it is fast becoming the new service industry centre of the north. Development of water front sites abound, "yuppie" values are creeping in, and the city already boasts four shiny highrise centres, with more planned. But there is another side to Leeds: from the Yorkshire moorland to the north, a lovely forgotten valley cuts a green wedge through Leeds' most densely populated, working class districts, to a point just one mile from the city centre.

The importance of the Kirkstall Valley was recognised when Prince Charles presented the Leeds European Year of the Environment Group with an EYE Award for their plans to create a nature reserve there. David Bellamy made a programme about the valley's rich wildlife, which includes kingfishers, sedge warblers, roe deer, badgers and other urban rarities. The site also has its historical interest: the first sheep to be sent to Australia were sent from here and intact sixteenth century mills grace the landscape. The valley is also rich agricultural land (73% of it grade I), and much of it is divided into allotments for local people.

It is hardly the place one would expect to be turned into a complex of dual carriageways, business parks, superstore retail centres and 10,000 car parking lots. But this is exactly what is planned by the Leeds Development Corporation (LDC), specially formed by the government to side-step local development controls, in conjunction with developers Mountleigh Northern Properties. The plans run counter to policies accepted by the DoE and Leeds City Council, which originally accepted the EYE nature reserve plans. But the city council has now created its own Leeds City Development Corporation (LCDC), not to institute developments under democratic control from local people, but to cash in on the development bonanza offered by Kirkstall Valley.

The plans surfaced in September when the Kirkstall Community



Association was holding a meeting in a local pub. A surprise guest entered the pub with a large brown paper envelope, containing secret documents from Mountleigh, LDC and LCDC. The Kirkstall Valley Campaign was formed to resist these proposals. The first task was to inform local people of the plans and to get a feeling of their opinions. Over 90% of people consulted came out resolutely against the plans; they were outraged not just by the plans but by the undemocratic "back door" way in which the developers were proceeding. An alternative development plan was put forward with the backing of local communities: this involves setting up a nature reserve in the pristine central part of the valley and keeping the allotments, while permitting small scale retail development on the site of abandoned shops to the north and workshops for local people on the site of a disused power station in the south. Transport policy in the valley would be based on foot and cycle paths, and motor access would only be from the main roads that skirt the valley on both sides.

The future of the valley is very much in the balance, as no final decisions have been made. But the Kirkstall Valley Campaign has scored one major success: the bulldozers were originally due in this spring, but no action is expected until next year at the earliest. In the meanwhile, alliances are being formed among local Labour and Green activists, city councillors and local Labour MP

John Battle. But it is not only these plans that are being challenged, it is the entire development strategy on which Leeds is embarked. People are starting to take a new look at the future Leeds which is being modelled for them by growth and industry minded planners - and they are rejecting it. They want to decide the future for themselves. Viva Leeds' Green Revolution!

ADRIAN WRIGHT

The Kirkstall Valley Campaign is at:

12 Eden Crescent, Leeds LS4 2TW. It is well in debt and could use any help you might send its way.

TOO CHEAP TO METER

SO BNFL have got an award for their efforts at selling us nuclear power, and congratulations to them too: could you sell poison as well as they have? It culminated in a recent two-page spread with all our present fears highlighted in the first dramatic woodcut and a second, arcadian vision topped with a nuclear power plant in the second. What the ad didn't explain, but implied, was exactly how nuclear power would solve problems such as car exhaust pollution and methane emissions from paddy fields! Still it's nice to see they have solved the problem of getting electricity out without power pylons and clearly, by plonking their power station, Everest C, on top of a hill, they're no longer worried about the problems of water cooling.

Meanwhile, recently leaked documents reveal Walter Marshall admitting, among other gems, that "we did not anticipate the public's alarm about [radioactive] leakages from Sellafield". Thus it would seem, as you probably suspected all along anyway, that if the CEBG and BNFL can get away with risking our health then that's O.K. so long as we don't find out. And when we do, you just turn to the advertising industry to tell us that black is white in a campaign too cheap to meter.

Lord Belstead defending the Official Secrets Bill: "A public interest defence would do untold damage to the public interest."

GREEN DIARY

JUNE

7th. Barnet Animal Rights Group. Meet every 1st wednesday of the month at 8pm at Quaker Meeting House, Alexandrs Grove, North Finchley. More details from PO Box 76, Barnet, Herts. EN4 9AW.

12th. Meeting of The Business Network. Talk by Manfred Max-Neef, "barefoot economist" from Chile. Institute for Complementary Medicine, 21 Portland Place, London WC1. 6pm. £3 members/£8 non-members; £7 for vegetarian dinner afterwards. Contact: Marilyn Rose 01 435 5000.

13th. WEN Meeting with Gabrielle Palmer on Breastfeeding and the Environment at 7pm, London Ecology Centre. Details from 01 490 2511. Creche provided.

14th. Human Needs and In-Depth Problem Perception. Workshop with Chile's renowned "barefoot economist", Manfred Max-Neef. Opportunity to learn from Manfred's work on developing anew economics which more truly reflects human and ecological needs and how to satisfy them. £75: subsidies available where necessary & more wealthy participants who could contribute towards subsidising others less affluent are asked to do so. More details: Marilyn Rose 01 435 5000.

15th. Tibet Under Chinese Occupation: a Vanishing Culture?, Threats to the Environment. Talks with slides. First public meeting of the Swindon branch of the Tibet Support Group. 7.15pm at North Wilts. Centre for the Curriculum, Drove Rd., Swindon. All welcome. Contact: Swindon 763891.

15th. European Elections. Time to vote Green, spoil your ballot paper, agitate over the mirage of "electoral choice", or whatever...

16th-18th. Glastonbury Festival. Features include the French "Archaos" chainsaw circus and possibly - if the wild rumours are to be believed - the Grateful Dead.

16th-25th. Stonehenge People's Free Festival. Details: Stonehenge Campaign, 99 Torriano Ave., London NW5 2RX, 01 648 5228, or your local FIN/festivals information.

17th. Christian Ecology Group, supporters action day in-St Peters Church, Vere St, London. Write to D.Wetherick, 65 Eden St, Cambridge, CB1 1EL.

17th. London to Stonehenge Bikers Run. Meet Chiswick Roundabout, noon.

17th-18th. Leamington Festival of International Understanding & Peace. Pump Room Gardens, Leamington Spa, Warks. Details: Choyous Choy 0789 292052.

17-18th. National Socialist Conference, Sheffield Octagon Centre. £8/£4. Details from Will 01 281 6225. Workshops on environment and green politics. Stalls and fringe meetings can be booked.

19th. Glastonbury to Stonehenge Bikers Run. Main site exit, noon.

19th. Meeting of The Business Network. Talk by Norman Myers, leading British environmental consultant. Institute for Complementary Medicine, 21 Portland Place, London WC1; 6pm. £3 members, £8 non-members; veggie dinner afterwards, £7. Contact: Marilyn Rose 01 435 5000.

21st. Summer Solstice.

24th. West London Green Fair. Turnham Green, Chiswick. 10am-5pm. Contact: Isolda Nally 01 969 9990 (day), 01 747 8022 (eve).

25th. Movement for Compassionate Living. Annual Garden Party at 47 Highlands Road, Leatherhead, Surrey. As well as being a social event, it's a good chance to see an organic garden run on vegan principles.

26th. Aboriginal Land Rights. Video with speaker at 7.30 at Veganomics Restaurant, 312-314 Lewisham Road, London SE13.

26th.-JUL 2nd. Green Gathering. Gloversbridge Farm, Grigg Lane, Headcorn, Maidstone, Kent. £8.

28th. "Last Wednesday": regular monthly meeting of London Vegans. 6.30 at Millman Street Community Rooms, 50 Millman Street, London WC1

JULY

3rd. Life Before Profit. monthly meeting at Veganomics Restaurant, 312-314 Lewisham Rd., London SE13. See also June 5th.

5th. A Message From the Forest People of Brazil. Special meeting of the Business Network: talk by Liz Hosken & Edward Posey. Institute for Complementary Medicine, 21 Portland Place, London WC1; 6pm. £3 members, £8 non-members. Contact: Marilyn Rose 01 435 5000.

6th. WEN Seminar - Details from 01 490 2511

8th-9th. In Search of the Sacred: in Landscape, architecture and place. Weekend conference organized by the Wrekin Trust. Venue: Zoological Society, Regents Park, London. £48 (Members £43).

9th-23rd. Traces of Matriarchal Culture in South Wales. Holiday course for women at The Malvern, 1 Malvern Terrace, Swansea SA2 0BE. £280/£260 (group reduction). Tutors: Monica Sjoö & Christel Gebel. Details: 0792 653164.

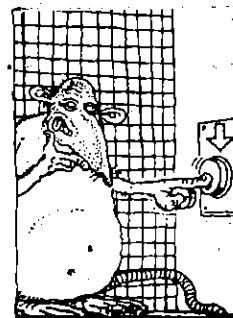
10th. Ecofeminism. Talk by Bernadette Vallely of WEN, St James Church, Picadilly, London, 7pm.

10th. Teddy Goldsmith, pioneer of Britain's Green Movement, talks to the Business Network. Institute for Complementary Medicine, 21 Portland Place, London WC1; 6pm. £3 members, £8 non-members; £7 for veggie dinner afterwards. Contact: Marilyn Rose 01 435 5000.



SAY YOU WILL, NEIL, SAY YOU WILL!

THERE COULD hardly have been a more sickening spectacle than the sight of politicians and journalists clamouring for Neil Kinnock to admit his willingness to 'press the button'. The terms of reference have indeed changed: as far as political leaders were concerned people used to ask the question: can we allow this lunatic near the button? Now the question is asked of Neil: 'is he man enough to press the thing?' A willingness to destroy the world is now the ultimate test of political machismo. David Steel finds the whole issue a bore: 'I found it obnoxious myself to have to say 'yes' and thus be branded a potential mass-murderer, but without that the whole credibility of deterrence disappears and the expenditure is rendered unjustified'. What a yawn, this button-pressing business! David Owen has no such qualms or queasiness, indeed he visibly inflates at the whole challenge.



See Steve Bell in The Guardian (22-27.5.89) for the definitive view of Kinnockism.

If Bryan Gould's view is anything to go by ("The purpose of retaining a deterrent is not to use it, or even to threaten to use it") Labour now believes that it to be essential for the button to exist, so as never to be pressed. Mrs Thatcher has always taken this sort of argument a step further: that the absence of a button is a positive inducement to nuclear devastation. All in all it has been a momentous month for Labour: having shed the useless baggage of unilateralism Neil Kinnock has similarly cast off 'socialism' like a ragged old coat. Capitalism, he said, 'is the system we live in and we have got to make it work more efficiently, more fairly and more successfully.' At one time Labour used to pretend to be socialist in opposition and then sell out when it got into power: now it has stopped even pretending any more...

For those who have not read the Labour Party Policy Review Group's defence document, we here include an abbreviated version.

"Defense of our islands, even at the cost of their complete annihilation, is an essential component of any sane foreign policy. In this respect the Labour Party is proud of its past record. It was Labour who took the secret decision to build the first British nuclear bomb; it was Labour who first accepted US nuclear bases; it was Labour who played a key role in the establishment of NATO. More recently it was Labour whose policy decisions led to the installation of Cruise missiles; and Labour who 'spoke for Britain' and denounced Tory weakness at the time of the Falklands invasion. It is the Tories, the party of appeasement in the 1930s, who merely follow where we lead. After all, to achieve peace it is necessary to prepare for war; and peace is, in any case (as Clausewitz observed) war by other means.

"In the grim days of the early 80s it was Labour who bore the brunt of the worsening Cold (and not so Cold) War and threatened to succumb to the Evil Empire (of Tony Benn, the Hard Left, CND, etc). But now things are rapidly changing, and they are changing in a way that things often can when they change: that is to say, rapidly. The advent of Gorbachov (along with three successive election defeats) has led to a re-appraisal of our position. It took a man of vision, President Reagan, to respond to Gorbachov's vision of peace; and now the torch has passed to a worthy successor, the visionary George Bush. It is Mrs Thatcher who is out of step with these heirs of Christ and Gandhi. It is clear to us that if the USA and the Soviet Union are cutting back on armaments then so should we (I mean, we're short of cash as well).

"Britain is no longer a first rate imperial power. But we can still be a second rate one, and for that we need loadsaweapons, both for ourselves and in conjunction with our NATO allies. However we look forward to a time when NATO and the Warsaw Pact have been dissolved, when salmon sing in the streets, Labour has won an election, the lemonade springs and the bluebird sings in the Big Rock Candy Mountain. To this end Labour will take part in all the many negotiations currently going on. There will continue to be even more negotiations in the future, and all sorts of proposals will be on various agendas. Labour intends to participate fully in all this chatter.

"NATO modernisation must be opposed: but if it goes ahead Labour will oppose deployment, and if deployment goes ahead we will be very annoyed. We do not believe in Flexible Response (except with respect to party policy). We believe in a policy of NO FIRST USE of nuclear weapons by NATO, though if our NATO

partners disagreed we would be very pissed off. In addition we believe in NO FIRST USE of our independent weaponry, though if the USA overrode us we wouldn't be afraid to express our irritation (if we get the chance). We are a bit sceptical about 'deterrence', nor do we entirely believe in our 'independence' in these matters, nor in the US nuclear 'umbrella'. However for the foreseeable future we need to retain the independent deterrent, the US nuclear bases, the US umbrella, the button, 40 years of peace and the Russian Threat. If we do not have these things we cannot negotiate them away and we cannot take part in negotiations to get rid of them if we do not have them to get rid of.

"Our policy on Trident is equally clear and decisive. If Labour had won the last election we would have cancelled the Trident programme as wasteful, unnecessary, and likely to provoke World War III. Unfortunately we lost, and since we're stuck with the things we might as well keep them, because it would be just as expensive to cancel them. The fate of the planet is a small price to pay for financial and electoral expediency. However we would cancel the fourth Trident submarine and use the spare cash to build a hunter-killer submarine of the sort that proved so effective in the Falklands War. Other savings could go towards our armaments industry and our strict 'Buy British' policy. It would be a proud day indeed when we can produce a missile with all its components entirely of British manufacture.

"For ten years the Tories have picked holes in our defense policies; for ten years they have remained in power and denied us the spoils of office; for six years our party leader has framed his sentences in units of three. There will be those who will accuse us of producing a shoddy and evasive policy; there will be those who will accuse us of selling out; there are those who are sick to the back teeth with all this vacuous waffle. But we have hawked this wretched piece of paper round various Western capitals, and we have been patted condescendingly upon the head: this has convinced us that we are on the right lines. It is not the document itself that is important but its symbolic significance within the context of our policy review, which gives a clear signal that a future Labour government will play its full part in the community of unscrupulous capitalist powers. 'Unilateralism' was the last aspect of a policy that pointed in a different direction; we want to make it clear to the world of international finance that labour will manage capitalism effectively in this country should She Herself be put in a strait-jacket, or ascend to the Great Capitalist in the sky in Whom we all believe. So - up yours, Ron Todd!"

(If you think this is a distortion, read the original).

PEACE DIARY

JUNE 3: Newcastle Peace Fair. 11-4pm, Guildhall, High St, Newcastle-under Lyme, Staffs. Details: (0782) 624888

JUNE 4: Disarm the Seas Picnic. 2.30 pm on Blundell Sands. Details: Vi or George 051 928 6738

JUNE 10: Dorset Peace Council Auction. Goods needed urgently. Contact: Charlie Radcliffe (0308) 23659

JUNE 10: Yorkshire & Humberside Regional Council. Speakers on grassroots international links. Contact: John Brierley (0422) 883927

JUNE 24: Being Realistic about Success and Failure. National Dayschool on training for group development. 10-4pm at 54 Allison St, Birmingham 5. Details: Janet Bloomfield 021 643 4617.

JUNE 25: Demonstration in Paris and other activities marking both the second centenary of the French Revolution and 40th anniversary of the Declaration of Human Rights. Contact: Appel des Cents, 67 Rue de L'Aqueduc 75010 Paris.

JUNE 25: The Great Yorkshire International Peace Race. Details from Chris Butler, 41 Birklands Rd, Shipley, West Yorks.(0274) 591779

JULY 6-9: 1989 Convention for European Nuclear Disarmament, Vitoria-Gasteiz Spain. Themes: The global dimensions of peace, and Disarmament for development. Info, registration etc. contact 8th END Convention c/ Virgin de los Peligros, 10-2' Izda 28013 Madrid, Spain. Fax 010.34.1.532.3209



* Cruise convoys still leave Greenham for Salisbury Plain every month, still harassed by Cruisewatch and the women from Greenham Peace Camp. During the summer Cruise launchers will have trained on the Plain for the 50th time (there will be some kind of Cruisewatch 'celebration' to mark this event!)

* As from MAY 26th PEACE NEWS is back every fortnight to cover the campaigns of all those working for a society free from violence. Peace News has certainly been eagerly awaited, and will hopefully reflect the continuing vitality of the peace movement at grassroots level. Contact Peace News at 8 Elm Avenue, Nottingham NG3 4GF.

JOHN SEED, deep ecologist and rainforest activist, is currently touring the world giving talks on rainforest and indigenous peoples and holding workshops known as The Council of All Beings. He spoke to GL about them, deep ecology and its relation to politics.

I STARTED OUT writing a lot about Deep Ecology in the early 1980s, not liking the feeling that in my political work I was fighting one kind of forest fire after another and never getting round to the root causes of things - the spiritual and psychological problems of western modern human beings being so alienated from nature. I saw Deep Ecology as being a philosophy that addressed these deeper questions. Then I did some workshops with a woman called Joanna Macy when she came to Australia - she does workshops in Despair and Empowerment. I actually think a lot of people are quite in despair and have secretly agreed to commit suicide at this point; have secretly agreed that it's going to be too hard for us to make the changes needed, and it's not worth it; life just isn't good enough. When you say to people: "If you use that spray-can this is what it does..." and they know it, but they go on doing it anyway, I can only say that once someone knows that what they're doing is destroying, not only the rest of the earth, but even their own species, and if they go on doing it, then there's just something suicidal about it and it implies that there isn't enough value for them; that life isn't worth enough to be worth that effort to say: I'm going to change.

In her work, Joanna Macey has found that people are afraid to get in touch with their feelings about very important issues like nuclear warfare. She suggests there are taboos on looking at these things; that we're afraid to look within ourselves because we fear we would be crushed if we really allowed these feelings to come out. But what she finds all the time in her workshops is that when people start to allow themselves to feel these things and to share the feelings they have then, far from being crushed, they become tremendously empowered. A lot of energy, it seems, is wasted pushing away some of the most important realities of our time and that it is this conflict that paralyses us. Typically, at the end of her workshops, there's a revitalisation of people's commitment. So I got together with her after one workshop to develop something as experiential as that, but with a biocentric bias because I saw hers as being somewhat human-centred.

Why should people who are already aware of, and angry about ecological issues need to go to deep ecology workshops

Well I'm in touch with all these things myself and I would do it every weekend just for myself. I do a lot of things besides these workshops. My favourite activity is non-violent direct action, and any time I get to engage in that I'll do it. But I do find myself renewed and nurtured by ritual work. However, the



Illustration: Dailan Pugh

Thinking

point about the Council of All Beings is that you're not trying to graft a set of ideas on top of people, but just inviting them to re-experience things that are totally within our power as human beings to experience. For instance, native and other people commonly experience their identity as extending into nature - it's only us that have any problem with it at all. I find the idea that I am part of nature, I'm not separate from it, I'm not different from it, I'm not alienated or isolated from it to be an incredibly mystical thought. If the world is miraculous enough for stones to turn themselves eventually into trees and humans and animals and I'm part of that then self-esteem takes on a different meaning.

What do you mean by extending identity into nature?

I believe that there's a constant interpenetration between human nature and the nature out there; that the sense of separation that we have is culturally conditioned, and that we can put an end to it. Our culture has short-changed us and given us a really shrunken sense of self. There're these vast cycles of nature including the cycle of air, the hydrological cycle, the soil cycle... and I believe the reason we can pollute the soil and the water and the air is that we don't experience them as being part of ourselves, we're alienated from them. But it is possible to experience things in that way, and when we do it no longer requires a sacrifice to stop doing certain things



Deeply

- any more than if you suddenly realise that your hand's on a hot stove there's no sacrifice in pulling it away, but if you're anaesthetised so that you don't experience it as being part of you then you can leave it there and damage yourself severely. What we've experienced in the workshops is that a lot of the material desires drop away because if you can experience a lot of joy from nature and if you can feel yourself replenished and renewed just by being in nature then you just don't need all of that substitute behaviour; to dig nature up and turn it into something else in order to give it value.

Part of the Council of All Beings, which is really corny, is that people go out and hug a tree for an hour. And no one's ever hugged a tree for an hour. I'd never done it until I said in the group that they were all going to hug a tree for an hour and then I had to do it too. I've done it six times since then and it's really amazing: you learn something when you hug a tree for an hour. I don't know what you would learn - it might just be that this is the most ridiculous thing ever. But all that I can say is that until you've tried it you won't know. But what you might experience is the *being* of that tree: that the tree is descended from a seed that came from a tree from a seed from a tree that stretches back with a lifeline exactly as long as your own. I found that by validating this experience and by adding, by will, to this experience I can move, I'm actually moving, towards a love relationship with

nature.

And so the thing that I like about humans is what we share with the rest of nature, rather than the things that we've been led to believe are so special about ourselves.

But isn't the fact that you're able to sit here and talk and hold CABs, isn't that what is special about humans?

No, no. It's what's *different* about humans. For me, the decomposing bacteria are marvellous. Human beings may have this consciousness and so on, but decomposing bacteria can take the detritus of things decaying and turn it into new life. Now that's a useful thing to do. But what use are human beings? What are we actually doing here? Perhaps we're here to witness the glories of nature, that that's our role. Well alright! That's not a bad thing to do, but you can't compare it to the decomposing bacteria. A biocentric view of things just doesn't see the miracle in our having this swelling we have in the front of our forehead - it's a bit of a trouble maker. I feel that our chances of survival are definitely increased by taking a biocentric perspective.

If we believe that our human intelligence is the height of everything then we'll behave in a certain way. If we understand that our human intelligence evolved within the rainforests for 130 million years before a few million years ago coming out onto the plains - that our psyche isn't some freak thing - then we can believe that consciousness, psychology, spirit, all of these things are inherent in much more than just ourselves. If we allow ourselves to look at the universe in this way the universe will respond. If we love nature then we can even feel nature loving us back. If we hug a tree we might suddenly discover that we mean it; we might suddenly discover that it's possible to have a feeling towards a tree which is different, but which is just like a feeling for a human being. People obviously have no trouble doing this with animals. But how far can we extend our ethic? How far can we extend our compassion and our tolerance and our love?

Philosophy / Politics

How does Deep Ecology relate to political action? It doesn't seem to offer any kind of political philosophy?

Well I feel it's a question of how often do you feel in danger of burning out and what are the motives for the actions that you do. I've noticed that in the peace movement particularly, and among environmentalists too, people get pretty nine-to-five and then they'll suddenly disappear. So whatever it was that was motivating and nurturing them has gone. Now I also know that it's possible for people to work just as hard and just as long hours, but because they don't feel any sense of sacrificing something to do it, because it's their joy to do it, then it has a different result. From that point of view, if deep ecology's good for activists psychologically, then that's obviously a very positive thing to happen.

On the other level of political action, the Council of All Beings often comes up with really interesting suggestions, and the final sessions are always devoted to how to integrate these ideas into our lives: how we are going to change our actions. Now, if people experience these suggestions as an idea they hadn't

BERNADETTE VALLELY is a founder of the Women's Environmental Network and took part in one of John Seed's Council of All Beings in Bristol earlier this year. She talked to GL about how this new experience affected her as a full time environmental activist.

"I know the seas are polluted, the air is getting more and more polluted, the food that we eat is destroying our bodies and that we're clearly poisoning ourselves. It was something I was always aware of, but it was on a very intellectual level. To actually feel it is very painful, incredibly painful." Nevertheless for her it is an essential process: "The only way we're going to sort out these environmental problems is if people really understand in their heart what's going on; if their stomach and their heart and their own sense tells them that what's happening is immoral. It's about time we started to feel the pain we are imposing on animals, birds, whales, insects, cutting down trees... The real awfulness of that has to come home to some of us to make us understand how bad it really is. We are part of nature; we can't pretend we're not - and the more and more that men try and pretend that we're separated, the more and more mess we're getting into."

In the workshop itself, John uses three processes. The first, remembering, involves re-experiencing as a role play the whole process of creation and evolution from the start of the universe onwards. "Towards the end of the remembering, when we got closer to apes and humans, I felt very disturbed, partly because of what was going on in terms of the gender differences in the room because men were acting in one way and women were most definitely acting in another way. Men, probably without realising or perhaps totally realising, were acting very aggressively and very macho. They were the first to do the buying and selling. They were the first to fight. They were the first

to be aggressive to somebody else in the room. That for me was quite frightening."

In the second part, mourning, people choose animals, parts of the landscape, elements of the human spirit, that have been made extinct, or are in danger of extinction. For Bernadette it was a very difficult experience: "I cried for four hours when I did the mourning. We went through a list of all the animal species that are not just endangered but are also extinct. And when we got to the whales that really made me feel sick. I felt physically sick. And I just cried and cried and cried. I didn't feel better until the end of the thing. It wasn't a pleasant experience. There's no getting away from it."

The final part, the Council of all Beings, is another role play where everyone choose to be an animal, or plant or whatever, and say what that thing would feel about the state of the world. One of John Seed's favourite stories was about a Council that suggested humans should drop the broad spectrum weapons like nuclear missiles in favour of those that only killed humans so as to spare the rest of the planet. In addition it was thought that the process of making such a move might encourage the compassion and awareness needed to bring peace between humans and so remove the need for any weapons of mass destruction in the first place.

In the Bristol seminar "we were all as animals, and we talked through the council as animals. I was an eagle. There was a point when your mask fell away and you felt you had to do something as a human being and you went into the middle. And then somebody suggested at the end of it that we pretend to be human beings and go out and convert the rest of the world. That was quite interesting."

And in the weeks following the workshop the benefits are still there: "It renewed everything that I'd thought about what I'm doing and it gave me a lot of strength.

And it meant that I decided at that point that I was going to dedicate everything that I do to it. Some of the things that John says I particularly like: 'the miracle of creation' - rocks to biology to scales to fish. It makes me think; yes, we are pretty amazing, we've done all of these things, so we can save ourselves. It gives me a strength of power. If we need to achieve something for WEN, I feel I achieve it through letting go of most of the things. We're always in constant need of money, but the more I worry about it the less I get it. And the less I worry about it the more money comes. That sounds so distant from a Deep Ecology weekend, but in actual fact it's not, because what we try and get a strength and power from something else."

Not everyone at the Bristol workshop felt the same though: "There were people there who said they don't give a toss about the environment - even after that whole process they said they wouldn't do anything. I think they were there to remind us that a lot of people on this planet won't do anything about it."

For Bernadette the experience of feeling was crucial and cathartic: "Well that's what it's about: it's about feeling and sensing. It might be painful at first - but then birth is painful."

WOMEN'S ENVIRONMENTAL NETWORK is based at 287 City Rd, London EC1V 1LA. There are local groups starting in Keighley, Southend, Chelmsford, Bridgewater, Brecon and Stirling. International links have been established with networks in Zimbabwe, Sudan, Nicaragua, USA, Canada, Poland, Australia, Jordan and the Philippines. Contact WEN at 287 City Rd, London EC1V 1LA, tel: 01 490 2511 for more information about their activities and to get the newsletter.

had before then that's fine. But if they do believe that it was the voice of nature that was speaking; that human beings are connected with nature and we can actually allow nature to speak through us in a way that's not just our human personality, then there's a tremendous sense of empowerment. If we can have this kind of experience then we just don't get fooled into questions of compromise: that there's the environment but there's the economy; the way newspapers act as if environment is just another pressure group like pensioners or students or something like that, instead of being the biological fabric out of which everything grows, and on which everything depends.

It makes you pretty hard-line really. For instance, I don't feel that the idea of the conservation of natural resources has any chance of having the power that's going to be needed. For me there's something so shallow about people seeing the world as being composed of human beings and resources for those

human beings and that therefore we have to treat those resources wisely so that future generations of human beings can have resources too. If that's as far as you've been able to go in terms of your understanding of nature and understanding of the relationship between yourself as a human being and nature then you're not going to be able to have the strength to act.

But there does seem to be this enormous political vacuum in the middle of Deep Ecology, into which have stepped people like Dave Forman [see GL59 & 60] with their views on population issues. Surely you've got to offer some picture of what kind of society you are envisaging?

I agree. But I don't think that you can find any particular political position that is necessarily shared by all Deep Ecologists and no philosophy as such is going to save us - it's only our actions that are going to save us. I feel Deep Ecology doesn't involve any kind of quietism where people stop doing their

political things and I don't see that the fact that it doesn't immediately lead to a particular political stance matters. If there is any 'party stance' then it would be that of Arne Naess and George Sessions, and they take pretty moderate positions on starving Ethiopians or human population or anything; they're quite humanitarian; they're not misanthropes.

As I understand the world, human beings should be far reduced in population: this has to be done in a humane fashion because it won't work any other way. You let people starve to death in Ethiopia and they'll know the bark off every tree. Moreover, each Ethiopian only consumes 1/50th of each American. Consumption is a much bigger problem than population - I agree with all of these things. You couldn't save Ethiopia by letting Ethiopians starve: you've got to solve social injustice. Without social justice... no ecology. For instance, I quite like what Bookchin writes, although I think that he's still coming from an anthropocentric position. I don't actually think that there's any disagreement except that he's focusing on a certain area and that Deep Ecologists...

...I think there is a fundamental disagreement: that Murray Bookchin is probably anthropocentric but he thinks that that's a perfectly natural thing to be.

But the fact that Deep Ecologists aim at being biocentric doesn't mean that they would necessarily disagree with the social programmes that Murray Bookchin recommends. It's just that they subsume that into a larger world view. I'm still out there fighting for the rainforests and the ozone and so on. In fact I feel I'm doing it a lot more effectively than I used to before because I'm grounded in something true.

Consciousness / economics

I guess it's a question of what you think is symptom and cause. In Brazil for example you could say that nothing's going to happen until there's a revolutionary change in consciousness. But to me all that needs to happen in Brazil for a dramatic effect is for there to be land reform so that all the people who don't have land have land, and that would immediately draw off immense amounts of pressure on Amazonia.

Oh definitely. I agree, and I'd go further and say that if we can stop the World Bank and the various aid programmes from funding this destruction this would be a very useful thing to do - it would buy a lot of time.

You say we can't do that without the change in consciousness...

No, no. I'm saying we can, but I'm saying it's not enough: that doing those things is all very well, but the things that we have to solve simultaneously include the relationship between men and women, the relationship between the rich and the poor within each country and between the rich countries and the poor countries. This has been the agenda for thousands of years and we haven't done it yet. We're going to have to come up with something far, far stronger than anything we've done before, and for me, Deep Ecology is about as close as I can get to it.

But is it really false consciousness that leads people to pollute the earth? For instance when I went to Australia, the farmers were in despair because they didn't like to treat animals badly and run factory

farms. But all the farmers who refused to went out of business: they are economically forced to act cruelly or unecologically. It's not that they have a false consciousness but that the capitalist system punishes the good people and only benefits the people who are cruel, the ones who exploit because they have to reduce costs to have prices that are competitive in the market. I don't think that these farmers will solve their problems by crawling around pretending to be crocodiles.

Yes, I hear you. I don't have anything more to say. If you don't see any value in what I've put so far, that's fine. I also work from a political point of view; writing articles about the rainforests, lobbying governments to stop the World Bank, trying to create networks both on the computer and through the printed word so that we're capable of working in an effective political way between different continents and different countries. I'm perfectly at home with what you say. But I want to say, there's more to it than that. If you don't agree, or if you don't believe it, or if you don't want it, that's fine. We can work together on the bits that we do agree about. I'm not saying we have to not do these other things because we believe something different. What I'm saying is that the understanding I get... I don't know how to get this across - I can sing a song...

...my problem is with your insistence that the cause is the false consciousness.

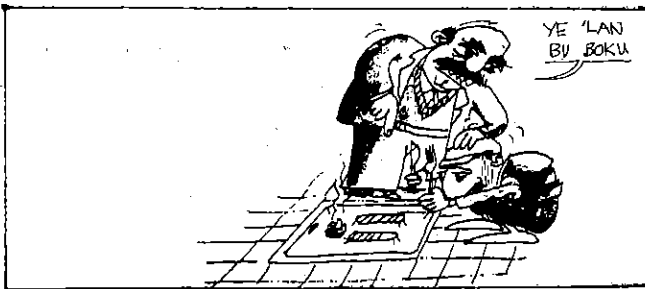
But that's my experience. That's how I experience it. And you experience it differently. I also believe that it's more a dialectical thing where false consciousness leads to certain institutions and those institutions alienate people and their consciousness becomes false. It means that *as well as working politically, as well as working to change the institutions, as well as working to change the economic pressures that force farmers to do these things, we also have to look at the fact that people in our society are capable of treating animals in a way that would have been unthinkable in other times; that there's something about our consciousness that allows this to take place.* If someone said to you "O.K., you're going to go out of business unless you start eating human flesh", do you go out of business or do you eat human flesh? So there are certain things we do, and there are certain things that we don't do. The question is where we draw the line on the things that we're prepared to do to stay in business, the things we're prepared to do in order not to cause people to look at us like we're weird. There's plenty of room for people doing the middle-of-the-road negotiating and compromise, but there's plenty of room for people out there, way out in the wilderness on the very left-wing of things, just pulling away at it and strengthening the hand of the moderates. I'm not saying that Deep Ecology is the only thing that can make you an environmental extremist, but I'm saying that it's one really good way to make them. And I believe that environmental extremists are what we need now.

JOHN SEED is director of Rainforest Information Centre, PO Box 368, Lismore, NSW 2480 Australia. He has co-authored *Thinking Like a Mountain: Towards a Council of All Beings* (New Society Publishers).

In the midst of NATO's fortieth birthday celebrations it is instructive to consider what it's like for the people of one of NATO's frontline states. We reproduce here a bulletin on the political and social effects of NATO membership on Turkey, produced by the Committee for the Defence of Democratic Rights in Turkey. It reveals the truth behind the fine sounding words of NATO's founding charter.

How NATO stuffs Turkey

KUTU KUTU / Salih MEMECAN



"Go on, eat this shit!"



"Stop... [says P.M. Turgut Ozal] My dear colleague, this isn't the right way to behave. We must become more European, more modern."



"Go on, eat this shit!"

Westernisation for the Turkish Worker
Cartoon from weekly magazine *Nokta*

FOLLOWING SEVERAL PREVIOUS attempts, Turkey was admitted to NATO in February 1952 at the height of the Cold War along with Greece. Several important factors led to this: from NATO's point of view, Turkish membership suited US global interests. With its strategic location (in the Middle East and on the USSR border) and massive, albeit ramshackle, army, Turkey offered a great opportunity to strengthen the policy of encircling the Soviet Bloc. It also put NATO in a better position to "protect" the vitally important oil fields of the Middle East. From Turkey's point of view, the aim was to turn Turkey into an integral part of the West and extend its influence in the region by becoming NATO's local gendarme (a reversal of Ataturk's non-aligned foreign policy). If the price of this support and access to world markets was to become an unsinkable aircraft carrier for NATO then the Menderes regime was happy to pay it. For the Turkish army, NATO membership was seen as a way of getting their hands on the latest military hardware, and thousands of Turks were sent to die in the Korean war to prove that Turkey "deserved" to join. As part of a policy of "Europeanisation", Turkey followed NATO membership by joining the OECD and the Council of Europe, and quickly applied for associate status with the EEC in 1959.

After 1952, NATO established one command centre (Command SE) in Izmir and another (Command East) in Ankara, and under cover of the NATO umbrella the US established several large military bases in the country along with the installation of Jupiter nuclear missiles.

NATO and the three coups

In 1962, the increasingly authoritarian Menderes regime was overthrown by an army coup (one of whose leaders, Inonu, has since become a leader of the democratic left) and Menderes, along with three members of his cabinet, were hanged for their "mistakes". This didn't trouble NATO, and by the time of the Cuban missile crisis and the bargaining away of the Jupiter missiles, the US had already installed tactical nuclear weapons. Although Turkish soldiers are supposed to fire them, basically they remain US weapons. During the sixties, Turkey, like other countries, saw the rise of anti-NATO and anti-US feeling. The first serious agitation for Turkey to pull out of NATO developed, and there were massive and violent demonstrations against the presence of the US Sixth Fleet in Turkish ports.

NATO again remained silent in 1971 when Turkey's NATO army staged another coup - this time with a strongly fascist character. At the same time, Ankara was pursuing an aggressive regional policy that culminated in the 1974 invasion of northern Cyprus. Again NATO, while supposedly the guarantor of Cypriot independence, had no compunction about using the crisis to strengthen its bases on the theoretically neutral island. Sanctions against Turkey were shortlived. As has been shown by recent Turkish history, NATO in the end will always put its "strategic interests" above any consideration of the behaviour of regimes in Turkey.

This is graphically illustrated by events leading up to the 1980 fascist military coup. After the "loss" of Iran following the overthrow of the Shah in 1979.

Turkey became even more important for the US - and thus automatically NATO. US listening and surveillance bases directed at the USSR were moved to Turkey. At the same time, Turkey itself was tottering on the brink of civil war and revolution as democratic and revolutionary forces fought bloody battles with fascist terrorists while the authoritarian Turkish state crumbled.

In this period, what disturbed NATO was not the fascist gunmen costing 20 lives a week, but that the workers' and revolutionary movements "might take Turkey out of the West"! The response of Turkey's allies was not to help the democratic forces but to call for a military strongman to restore "order". During a seminar for NATO Chiefs of Staff at that time, the Turkish representative, Lt Gen. Sureyya Yuksel, turned to Alexander Haig (then Supreme Commander Europe) and boasted that despite pressure from the Turkish government, the army had "detained many trade unionists and left-wingers" and refused to release them. Haig's response? "I say well done. That's the way to do it and that's the way to stability."

fascist state, NATO stood by its main interest of keeping Turkey in the alliance no matter what the cost was for human rights or democracy. Turks were just as expendable now as they had been in Korea.

In fact, the period of the junta (1980-1983/4) saw relations with NATO, apart from Greece, improve and Turkey received a massive influx of military aid. While carefully improving relations with the USSR, the Turkish regime modernised a number of airfields in the East such as Mus, Batman and Yuksekova to enhance NATO's ability to intervene (far beyond its original remit) in the Middle East should the need arise. In 1983 a civilian government was installed, headed by a favourite son of the IMF and World Bank, Turgut Ozal.

The friendly alliance

Despite noisy demands for more military aid, Turkey continues to thrive on its unique position as the only NATO country enjoying a bilateral comprehensive military aid and defence treaty (known as DECA) with the US. Its privileged position within NATO was

"Safeguard freedom, common heritage and civilisation of their peoples founded on the principles of democracy, individual liberty and the rule of law."

From the Founding Declaration of NATO

For almost a year, the top brass of the Turkish army laid their plans for a coup which would save Turkish big business and establish a new order. There is overwhelming evidence that NATO headquarters was well aware, and approved of what was being planned. NATO officials visiting Turkey began to ignore even the courtesy of paying their respects to the civilian government in Ankara, and instead dealt purely with the country's military leaders. All Turkey's NATO allies, especially the US, began to insist that Turkey solve its economic problems through an austerity programme and privatisation of the massive state sector. The message was loud and clear: a "strong" regime capable of forcing the poorest workers of Turkey to accept a further drastic cut in living standards was necessary. This was a view shared by Turkish business interests.

On the day of the coup, delegates at a NATO Council lined up to congratulate Ambassador Osman Olcay. A member of the British delegation admitted; "After all this waiting, I'm afraid at one stage you had us worried about whether you chaps had forgotten about the whole thing." As a final insult to NATO's charter, the coup was carried out under cover of a NATO exercise named "Anvil Express".

Several NATO countries, including Denmark, Belgium and of course Greece, took a strong line against the coup. Institutions such as the European Parliament and the Council of Europe also protested. But the military in NATO generally gave approval and supported the post-12th September fascist junta. NATO was untroubled by the following reign of terror when all political parties were closed down, strikes banned, thousands of trade unionists, intellectuals, students and peace campaigners were rounded up, tortured, and many brought before military courts and sentenced to death or long imprisonment. As the junta set about building a underlined in 1988 when the new NATO Secretary

General, former West German Defence Minister Woerner, visited Turkey. He lavished praise on Turkey's commitment to NATO and made no reference to human rights and torture. His main theme was that other NATO allies must do more to support Turkey with military aid (already over \$500m in 1988 from the US alone).

Since the coming to power of Papandreou and PASOK in Greece (a country which has also seen its share of NATO-supported military dictatorships), NATO has used differences with Turkey to blackmail Greece. PASOK commitments to close US bases and curb NATO activities have been watered down in the face of quite blatant threats that NATO will not "protect" Greece if Turkey decides to resolve simmering Aegean disputes by force. In the 1970s, Turkey established a special military force known as the Aegean Army outside NATO command structures and facing Greece. This led the Greek government to see Turkey as far more than a threat than any imagined Warsaw Pact attack. Turkey on the other hand has repeatedly accused Greece of being "a major threat to NATO" and has used this to demand even more military aid from the alliance.

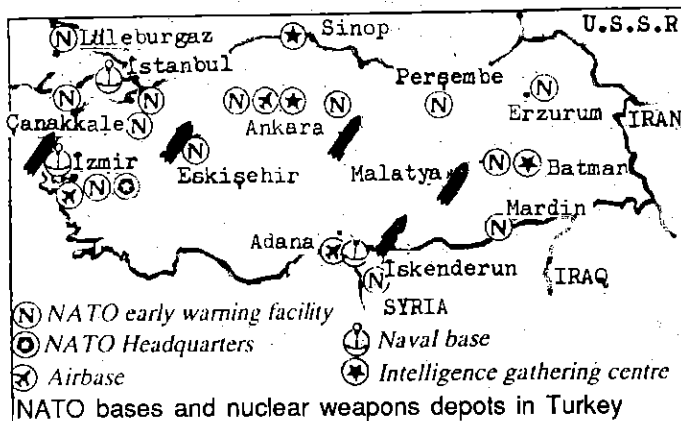
NATO has in the past refused to give any assurances of protection to Greece against possible attack by Turkey. This has led Greece to try and join the more 'select' West European Union (WEU) whose members guarantee to come to each other's aid in the event of attack by a non-member, and Turkey has responded by also applying to join. It is interesting to note that these two countries are the only NATO member states who are not already in the WEU.

Today NATO has to an extent supported moves to improve relations between Greece and Turkey, though because the dispute is damaging NATO's military strategy rather than for reasons of peace: the two countries are vetoing the development of NATO installations on each other's territory; and the Aegean

dispute almost sank the Conventional Stability Talks between NATO and the Warsaw Pact. Furthermore, by playing the two countries off against each other in order to maintain the loyalty of both, NATO has caused an arms build-up in the Eastern Mediterranean and Aegean accompanied by periodic bouts of tension verging on war. NATO's role has not helped peace in this tense region of the world.

There is one area of Turkey's military policy which is hardly discussed at all and remains shrouded in secrecy: the question of nuclear weapons on Turkish soil. Officially, the Turkish regime admits to having nuclear howitzers and nuclear mines. In addition the US has extensive stockpiles of nuclear weapons of various types in depots all over Turkey. NATO will neither confirm or deny that short-range nuclear missiles are based near the Soviet border.

Today, NATO is putting pressure on Turkey to take on "additional nuclear obligations". Ankara on the other hand insists that it will only accept an upgrading of existing weapons. The reason for this disagreement is that the Turkish government is chiefly interested in modernising its conventional forces. For the regime in Turkey, the 'Soviet threat' has long



been a convenient myth for blackmailing its Western allies or trying to divert the population at home from internal problems. But in reality, the main perceived threat for the regime are its own people, and its main external ambitions require a modern conventional army. This has led Turkey adopting a negative stance at East-West talks on conventional force reductions, its position being that force reductions are fine as long as they do not include Turkey.

NATO, Turkey and democracy

Looking at the history of Turkey's membership of NATO, there is no evidence that the alliance has made any serious attempt to really encourage even the most minimal forms of Western democracy in that country. Indeed, NATO on several occasions has not hesitated in the interests of its greater strategic interests to actively encourage or connive at the destruction of what little democracy there has been in Turkey. Especially since NATO adopted the strategy of flexible response in the mid 1950s, Turkey has been seen as a valuable buffer in the advent of war. Or, to put it more bluntly, a more favourable battleground than central Europe.

Turkey's vast conscript army is seen as useful potential cannon fodder in a Western Europe of declining population. In a NATO report for the US

Congress at the end of 1988 an explicit call was made for Turkish troops to be deployed in Western Europe. Worse, in a recent NATO wargame, "Wintex-Climex", testing nuclear war plans, Turkey got a NATO bomb dropped on it as it had been invaded by the Soviets. As *Der Spiegel* commented: "advocates of modernisation have come to recognise that, for American strategy, the sole function of short-range nuclear weapons evidently lies in their ability to limit any war to Europe." That's the kind of 'alliance' Turkey, and ourselves, are in.

Turkish regimes can trample on human rights with impunity in the knowledge that as long as Turkey remains a loyal bulwark of the West, NATO, and especially the US, will turn a blind eye. This is particularly so for Turkey's 9-10 million Kurds, denied any measure of self-determination and even the right to learn their own language.

Turkey's membership of NATO is not just a concern of the peoples of Turkey. NATO arguments that some restrictions on human rights and freedoms are necessary in Turkey because of its sensitive strategic position sets a dangerous precedent. Such an argument could be used as an excuse to stomp on democratic rights in many other NATO countries, particularly those that might dare to call for the removal of US military bases. The symbiotic relationship between oppression and NATO in Turkey works two ways: on the one hand NATO tends to favour strong, extremely right-wing regimes which will loyally carry out NATO policy; on the other hand regimes in Turkey use their strategic position as a form of blackmail to mute criticism of their human rights position by NATO countries.

The limited easing of some aspects of repression in Turkey recently has not been due to any pressure by the NATO military structure, but rather by a combination of protest measures of democratic opinion in Europe and the rising democratic struggle by the peoples of Turkey themselves. As a result of these heroic efforts, the government has reluctantly been forced to retreat.

Today, Turkey remains a country where at least 15,000 people are in prison for their political beliefs; where the government can proudly claim that "only" 32 people have been tortured to death in a year; where newspapers get banned regularly and journalists jailed for expressing views considered "dangerous" and "subversive" by the state; a country still governed by a penal code modelled on that of Mussolini's Italy. This country is considered a fit member of an alliance whose founding document claims its members aim is to "Safeguard freedom, common heritage and civilisation of their peoples founded on the principles of democracy, individual liberty and the rule of law."

Turkey's membership of NATO is bad for Turkish people and bad for world peace. The peoples of Turkey should have the right to democratically decide whether they want to be part of such a military bloc. The CDDRT's view is that for the sake of democracy, world peace and a decent future for the peoples of Turkey, Turkey should leave NATO.

To get CDDRT's (Committee for the Defence of Democratic Rights in Turkey) *Turkey Newsletter*, write to CDDRT, 84 Balls Pond Rd, London N1 4AJ (£3 sub, or affiliate for £6 a year). Tel: 01 254 0387.



WIPING OUT THE JUNGLE

READERS MAY ALREADY have heard of the Scott Paper Company's plans in West Papua, Indonesia: in association with Indonesia's Astra conglomerate, owned by the family of its president, General Suharto, it intends to replace an area of pristine rainforest half the size of Wales with a eucalyptus plantation. The plantation will spell cultural death for the 25,000 hunter/gathering Auyu and Mappi people of the forest. Scott maintains they will benefit from employment on the US\$654 million "Integrated Timber Estate Pulp and Chip Plant", though government documents indicate that transmigrant labour from Java is to be used.

There are now several such projects in the area, following the near exhaustion of timber supplies in Indonesian Borneo (Kalimantan), just across the border from Sarawak, Malaysia (most of which went to supplying the world with plywood). The Indonesian government is explicitly pro-development, and maintains a policy of assimilating tribal people into the national mainstream, by force if necessary. There is no recognition of tribal peoples' land rights, and Scott has echoed this position, having studiously avoided making any such recognition itself. The tribal people themselves are highly resentful of the project, having at no point been consulted. Their traditional institutions are still strong, but no wider scale resistance is likely to emerge under Indonesia's strong-arm military government, which maintains an active police presence in every village or settlement.

Under pressure from Jakarta based environmental groups, Scott has agreed to introduce a social dimension into its 3 year environmental impact study. However it is thought that the decision to proceed has already been made - no great study is needed to assess the devastating impact, both social and environmental, of the project. Already a test camp has been set up with an 80Ha experimental plot, and government approval for the project has been granted. The government itself "donated" the land to the project.

Allegations are just surfacing that Scott was offered a similar concession of degraded (logged over) forest for its eucalyptus plantation in Kalimantan, but refused it, in order to be able to finance the plantation with the sales of timber from virgin forest. Contrary to Scott's claims of using "state of the art

anti-pollution technology" it is now emerging that they may intend to use the notorious "Kraft Mill" for its pulp processing. This type of mill, environmentally unacceptable in Western countries, emits large volumes of heavy effluent including dioxins and other toxic organochlorines. This effluent would be carried down river to other communities who now use the water for drinking, fishing washing and irrigation. It would then poison the coastal mangrove swamps, currently rich fishing grounds for shrimp and crabs, and the breeding site for many commercially important fish species.

Survival International



To help resist this appalling project, you can write to: *Philip E Lippincott, Chief Executive Officer, Scott Paper Company, 1 Scott Plaza, Philadelphia PA 19113, USA*, politely expressing your views on the subject. And why not ask about a report in the Times of Papua New Guinea that they are planning a similar project there?

Scott (who have recently acquired the British Bowater group), are a major presence in the British market, with such brands as *Andrex* toilet rolls. If the problems are not resolved soon, Scott could face a major consumer boycott.

CONSERVATION NEWS

FIRST THAILAND announced a ban on all logging in an attempt to save its remaining forests. Although reduced to about 20% of their original extent, these forests are still some of the most important for wildlife in SE Asia. Critics say that Thailand will now just import timber, shifting the deforestation elsewhere. But at least the move focus attention on the fate of the forests elsewhere in the region.

For example the Philippines, having banned the export of logs in 1986, and gone on to ban the export of lumber in March 1989, is now under pressure to follow Thailand and enact a complete logging ban. A selective logging ban was

just defeated in the Senate; according to the conservationist *Haribon* Foundation, this was not an altogether bad thing, as it would give enormous power to the Department of Environment and Natural Resources. Instead, they prefer to promote a 13 point programme which would recognise tribal people's land rights, re-employ laid-off logging workers in conservation activities, and set up a national network of parks and wildlife reserves.

Across the world in Guatemala, 44 new conservation areas have been created, 6 existing reserves have had their boundaries legalised, and President Cerezo has signed an order creating the "Mayan Biosphere Reserve", a 2.5 million Ha area of the Peten forest which incorporates the Tikal National Park. According to the Rainforest Action Network, these actions were the result not only of conservationist sentiments in Guatemala, but also by hundreds of letters from their members to members of Guatemala's National Commission on the Environment. 15% of Guatemala's territory now receives legal protection.

The Rainforest Action Network is at 300 Broadway #28, San Francisco, CA 94133. Foreign airmail subscriptions are \$20 per year.

SARAWAK - THE FIGHT CONTINUES

MARCUS COLCHESTER, Survival International's Research Coordinator, has just returned from a fact finding mission to Sarawak in Malaysian Borneo. He talked to Oliver Tickell about it.

The good news is that 42 Kayan tribesmen have just been unconditionally discharged from Court. They were arrested for "wrongful restraint" (erecting barricades on logging tracks) and for "illegal occupation of state land", an ultimate irony as the land in question was their own traditional forest. The prosecution withdrew charges just before trial. This must have been to avoid a the possibility of a highly embarrassing judgement - a Not Guilty verdict on the second count would confirm the tribals' right to their land. On his release, Kayan leader (and Sahabat Alam Malaysia president) Harrison Ngau said, "Its rather like running in a race where even when you win you find someone else has taken the trophy".

122 Penan and 6 Kelabit tribesmen arrested between November and January are still facing charges under the 1987 Forest Amendment Act. This law effectively says you can't stop logging whether it's your land or not, so a Guilty verdict seems certain, with penalties of M\$ 6000 and 2 years in jail. The only

possible challenge here is to the legality of the law itself: by refusing people the right to defend their own property, it may be both unconstitutional and in violation of international law. It is believed that the case will be fought on this basis, promising lengthy and expensive legal proceedings. In a further legal move with wide implications, a Kayan group now intends to launch a civil suit against some of the companies logging their forests, charging that this is violating their native customary rights. If successful, virtually every other native community in Sarawak could bring a similar suit, effectively blocking the loggers from further activity. A detailed evaluation of the legal position carried out by Survival International indicates their case is a very strong one.

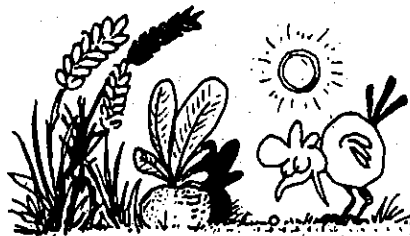


But the overall picture is by no means rosy. The Upper Baram region has now been leased out for logging, and major roads are under construction to the Kalabit highlands and on to the Indonesian border. 70% of the loggable forest estate has now been leased out, and 30% has already gone. At the present rate of logging, 325,000 Ha per year, there are an estimated 7-12 years' logging left before timber resources are exhausted, and the basis of the tribal peoples' way of life destroyed. The situation could begin to resemble that of neighbouring Sabah, where the destruction is much more advanced and the resistance of the indigenous people has largely been broken. Reports have emerged of timber blockades in Sabah, but information is hard to come by. For the most part, the damage there has already been done, and a new plantation economy is under way.

What emerges in Sarawak is that the main obstacles to the loggers are now legal, the physical blockades having themselves been crushed by the rule of an unjust and possibly illegal law. The legal moves being embarked upon by Sahabat Alam Malaysia and other organisations are enormously expensive, and need our financial support to have a chance of succeeding. **Survival International** (310 Edgware Road, London W2 1DY) and **Friends of the Earth** (26-28 Underwood St, London N1 7JQ) are running appeals for funds for this purpose - cheques to be made out to the SI or FoE Sarawak Appeal



ANIMAL NEWS



Support SARP!

An open letter from Gari Allen

SARP (Support Animal Rights Prisoners) has received criticism in the past for excluding (and later including) prisoners from its list who, under police questioning, have given names of other AR activists, leading to their arrests. In order to formulate a policy on this SARP would welcome opinions: e.g. reasons why such prisoners should or should not be excluded. Meanwhile the following statement has been received from Gari Allen, currently serving a two and a half year prison sentence in the cause of AR.

"This is a simple message to all those that know me or those who have been writing to me. There has been a lot of hot air blowing about just lately as to whether SARP should put prisoners' names on their lists who have been known to grass on others. I understand how people feel about this, but I don't or can't see the point in people slagging off SARP. Surely it's up to the individual whether someone writes to a prisoner or not. We all have a choice: by all means write to the person who has grassed on their friends and let them know what you think. SARP is there to help, not just prisoners, but also innocent members of their families.

"Ask yourself this: 'When was the last time I helped to support SARP? What did I do when SARP's office was raided by Scotland Yard?' The fact that that a raid took place at all shows how worried the system really is. People should be concerned as to why! SARP is an entirely voluntary group, so how come after supporting prisoners for the last 6-7 years they are still living on a shoestring existence. It's obvious to me and sad to see people's lack of support. Gone are the days when there were benefit gigs week in week out. It's not a trend anymore, yet going to prison is a reality, we are inside not for self gain or rape or

* Though five members of the steering group of the RSPCA Members' Watchdog were expelled from the RSPCA in November last year, Watchdog continues its struggle to work for change within the society. There is a real need for a vigilant membership within the ranks of the RSPCA to press for more radical policies and a true democratic structure for the society. In furtherance of its aims Watchdog is recommending support for the following four candidates in the forthcoming RSPCA Council elections: Celia Hammond, Joanna Mason, Beryl Spence, Robin Webb. RSPCA's AGM will take place on Saturday June 24th, 11am QEII Conference Centre, Westminster, London. Contact Watchdog at 44 Kingsley Road, Horley, Surrey RH6 8RH.

mugging old people, we're in for Animal Liberation! It's because of this cruel and insensitive society that we break the law. Nobody likes doing Direct Action (if they do then there must be something wrong with them spiritually!)

I can always remember a few years back when there was a 'Cruelty Free' Exhibition at Islington Town Hall and people were asked not to give out SARP leaflets. Someone then said, 'Give us all your leaflets and we'll hand them out for you'. They were found strewn all over the area a couple of hours later, not in the hall but where the rubbish bins were! Back to the present moment in time: how many people will be going to the Cruelty Free Festival in Kensington? And will there be any stalls supporting SARP, or come to think of it, supporting direct action? Sadly, the answer is a big NO! Yet how many of the national groups have ridden on the backs of the ALF in the past? Quite a few.

As this is (unfortunately) my second prison sentence for animal liberation, I suppose I must be the next in line for selling out, and instead of eating, breathing and shifting animal liberation like I do, 24 hours a day, will be sitting in an office 9-5, Monday-Friday, earning £10-£15,000 per annum. Well, sorry to disappoint you, BUAV, LACS, NAVS, etc, I'm going to carry on supporting direct action, and I'll never ever forget that it was a voluntary organisation that has supported me and my family, namely SARP.

Please support them. You may never know when it's you that'll need their help.

Yours for human and animal liberation,

Gari Allen
W62615, HM Prison, Morton Hall,
Swinderby, Lincs. LN6 9PS
SARP, BCM Box 5911, London WC1N
3XX Tel: 01 888 2482

* The current attitudes and policies within the BUAV, particularly with respect to trade union rights, are causing widespread concern. The latest news is that Darren Cruice, a Merchandise Dispatch Clerk who spoke in support of his trade unionised colleagues at a recent BUAV contacts weekend, has been dismissed without any warning or right of appeal solely because he had the courage to speak out. Things are clearly going from bad to worse; anyone concerned about democracy within the BUAV, the apparent rejection of its abolitionist stance, its implicit promotion of the dairy industry, or its vicious persecution of trade union members within its staff should contact: *Concerned Members of the BUAV, c/o Mac Daly, Wolfson College, Oxford OX2 6UD.*

* The League Against Cruel Sports is launching a new campaign to gain extra protection for badgers. The Badgers Act 1973 is supposed to provide protection for the badger, but unfortunately its sett is not protected, and foxhunters can still legally dig into a badger sett in pursuit of a hunted fox. As many as 10,000 badgers a year are illegally killed by terrier men who dig into the sett and send in their dogs.

The League is seeking new legislation that will protect badger setts from damage and will also allow the courts not only to confiscate the dogs of convicted badger diggers but to ban them from having custody of a dog. The League is drawing up a petition, and will be lobbying parliament; it also urges campaigners to monitor known badger setts with local

further expansion to swell the coffers of the construction mafia and the animal abuse industries: such an expansion will almost certainly mean an extension of the three vivisection labs already in existence.

Please keep up the pressure over this and write to Councillor Thurwell, Planning Committee, Westminster City Council, City Hall Westminster, London SW1.

(Information from Terry MacManus)

Transplanting animal rights

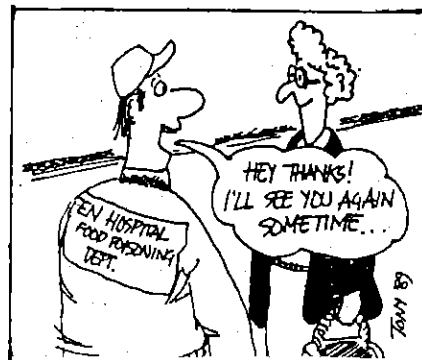
ARC PRINT, with Steve Beddard's *Transplants*, have made another significant incursion into the 'cure industry' following James Crawford's *Kill Or Cure* which Arc brought out last year. Whereas Crawford's book examined the role of the vast drug empires of the pharmaceutical companies, Beddard takes a sceptical look at the very different world of transplant surgery, in both humans and animals. His book reviews the dire history of transplants, looks at the misleading role of animal experimentation, and argues for disease prevention as against damaging and ruinous 'cures'. All in all this is a useful Introduction to the subject of transplant surgery, which awaits a fuller treatment, and an appropriately ruthless chronicler.

If I have one problem with the book's approach, it is that the three sections - on animal experimentation, human transplant surgery, and disease prevention - hang somewhat loosely alongside one another; though these issues are closely interlinked, the exact nature of these links needs to be explored.

Issuing as it does from an animal rights publisher, and containing some shocking pictures of animal (not human) transplant surgery, the book has an anti-vivisection (not anti-transplant) message, and is an example of a growing trend towards a more oblique approach to animal abuse: a particular madness of the modern world is examined, and then explored to reveal the animal testing that underlies it. My own preference, however, especially for an animal rights publisher, is to grasp the nettle and tackle animal abuse head on, as it were, rather than to proceed by indirection. Good animal rights books after all are so rare, and books on campaigning (such as Arc's first and best book, *Against All Odds*) even rarer. I await, with some eagerness, future Arc publications - hopefully on animal rights.

BARRY MAYCOCK

AgScene No195



ANIMAL EVENTS

JUNE 15: Living Without Cruelty evening at Wigston Fields Football Club, Windsor Avenue, South Wigston. 8-10pm. Details: Leicester Animal Aid (0533 600402)

JUNE 16-18: The Third Living Without Cruelty jamboree at Kensington Town Hall, London. Friday 11-8pm, Saturday/ Sunday 10.30-8pm. Contact: 7 Castle Street, Tonbridge, Kent TN9 1PH. Tel: (0732) 364546.

JUNE 17: National Anti-Angling Day: Campaign for the Abolition of Angling, PO Box 130, Sevenoaks, Kent TN14 5NR.

JUNE 24: RSPCA AGM. 11am QEII Conference Centre, Westminster, London.

JUNE 25: Movement for Compassionate Living. Open Day/Garden Party. Details from 47 Highlands Road, Leatherhead, Surrey. KT22 8NQ.

JULY 1: Great British Meatout Rally. Albert Square, Manchester.

JULY 15: National Day of Action Against the Poultry Trade. Details: Co-ordinating Animal - Welfare (0272) 776261

badger protection groups - details can be obtained from the League (83-87 Union Street, London SE1 1SG, 01 403 6155/407 0979)

The problem of appealing to the good nature of the government is that the Ministry of Agriculture itself is engaged in a massive badger slaughter programme! Thousands of badgers have been gassed and trapped by MAFF operatives in the last 14 years because the Ministry believes this will prevent the spread of bovine tuberculosis in cattle. Though the gassing programme has been stopped, badgers are now trapped in cages and shot on land where cattle suffer from the disease. The whole policy has been completely discredited, though it continues to cost an estimated £2 million each year.

Contact: *Brenda Charlesworth, Dartmoor Badgers Protection League, Riverside Cottage, Poundsgate, Devon TQ13 7NV.*

* Extravagant proposals to expand London zoo over ten precious and beautiful acres of Regents Park, at a cost of £25 million, have recently been put before Westminster City Council - which thankfully is somewhat sceptical about the whole project. Certain wilder proposals (e.g. a plan for an Ark light flotilla along the Regents Canal) have been shelved due to an increasingly impressive campaign against the plans. Meanwhile London Zoo still intends to redevelop the established 36 acres of the zoo before tackling the extra 10 acres. The Zoo is an obscene enough place as it is without any

Animal News compiled by BARRY MAYCOCK



ON THE WALL...

DEREK WALL makes an essential point. The Green Party is "naive about power", while some on the traditional left recognise the need to confront or deal with the power structures of society. A fusion of the two is just what sustainable politics needs.

However, we do need to cut the dogma and look for workable politics, and repeated reference to Marxism is simply more dogma. Ted Trainer may think that "Marxism is essential for a satisfactory diagnosis of our ills" but what does Marxism actually have to offer? A critique of 19th century capitalism, some questionable economic theories and a claim to be scientific. But one thing it has not provided is a credible alternative structure for society in contrast to people like Robert Owen or the Mondragon co-ops, the Briarpatch scheme in San Francisco and the small business economies of Scandinavia.

Social change in Britain and America has tended to be somewhat patchy, with successful local initiatives but no coherent policy. Meanwhile, Mrs Thatcher has kindly shown us that power is wielded by big government on behalf of big business. Our alternative system needs to be just the opposite - decentralised government, working for the people in a small business economy. This is exactly what they have in Scandinavian countries: among the most liberal, environmentally concerned in Europe. Couldn't we learn something from them?

David Simmons
5 Russell Rd
Northolt, Middx

...OFF THE WALL

A PRIME example of "Red-Green dogma" seems to be Derek Wall's letter in GL72. "Greens are naive about power [and] about how we reach a sustainable society". Is that so? It strikes me as being a bit of a generalisation. Some greens, many greens, perhaps most greens. But to say "greens" generally is to hide the fact that

there are greens, including many who were in at the start, who know damn well what problems we face, and they have been telling people about it for decades. For some reason, the debate, at least as seen in GL over the past year, ignores them unless they are giving us the latest Marxist line [Isn't this too a bit of a "generalisation"? What about John Seed in this issue, Petra Kelly in GL70, Paddy Ashdown in GL69 and Tim Cooper in GL66? - Eds]. This effectively stifles the development of an actual green way forward.

Can we get rid of the dogma that the only choice is green Marxism, or green Liberal reformism? All we seem to be headed for is a mess of irrelevant half-baked social theory: not one, and not the other. When you get down to it, Marxism is not compatible with green thought. Not because it cannot teach us anything, but because practically it can only show us how not to do it.

The point about the slogan "neither left nor right" is not that we are oh-so-original (we're not saying that much politically or economically that hasn't been said before), but that both left and right are inaccurate and effectively bankrupt. And in practical terms too, we will get nowhere by saying to people: "Well greens are sort of left-wing, but please don't be put off by that. We're O.K. really..." because that's the way to a soft landing straight into the previous chapter of history.

Niall MacGhille Sheathanaich
50 Vatisker
Back, Lewis

A MORRIS WITHOUT WHEELS

LIKE A number of pseudo-greens, Brian Morris (GL72) delights in sniping at the Green Party, yet he seems unable, or unwilling, to offer any valid alternative to the existence of a green party. After years of trying to green the 'main' parties, it is obvious, with Neil Kinnock turning his back on the nuclear disarmament movement, that they are still not green. Of course, one can argue that the greening of politics is not important, but this is a hollow argument based at least partially on the "I'm alright Jack" response to problems. Some people who claim to be green are not 100% so and are using the green bandwagon to further their own political ends.

Brian's article was long on sneers and the kind of semantic gobbledeook that earns A's from college lecturers, but gets the user an entirely different response from people out in the real world. It contained very little that had even the slightest hint of practicality. But if people start talking practically then they might be called upon to actually do something instead of writing articles designed to impress us lesser mortals with their intellectual prowess. While the Green Party is just one part of the wider green movement, it is no less important for that.

Martin Scholes
5 Beacon Flats
Wellington, Telford

ONE MORE ANSWER FOR THE GREEN PARTY

IN TWO More Questions for the Green Party (GL72), Tim Andrewes raises the question of the green vote splitting the opposition vote, thereby helping Thatcher get in for a fourth term in the next general election. What some GP members in Birmingham want, and hopefully this idea will spread, is for a pact to be made with the greens, the Democrats and Labour - as suggested by Tim in his article. The Democrats are already talking with Labour (they don't seem to have noticed the greens yet!) and they also support Proportional Representation (PR).

I've spoken to local Labour supporters and activist who also agree. The only obstacle to this therefore is Neil Kinnock. However, the GP would only cooperate with Labour and the Democrats on the understanding that it would be only for a short-lived coalition government existing only to bring in PR.

I think this is the only way we'll get PR and get rid of Thatcherism.

Ankaret Harmer
28 Springfield Rd
Birmingham

THE VIEW FROM ALPHA CENTURI

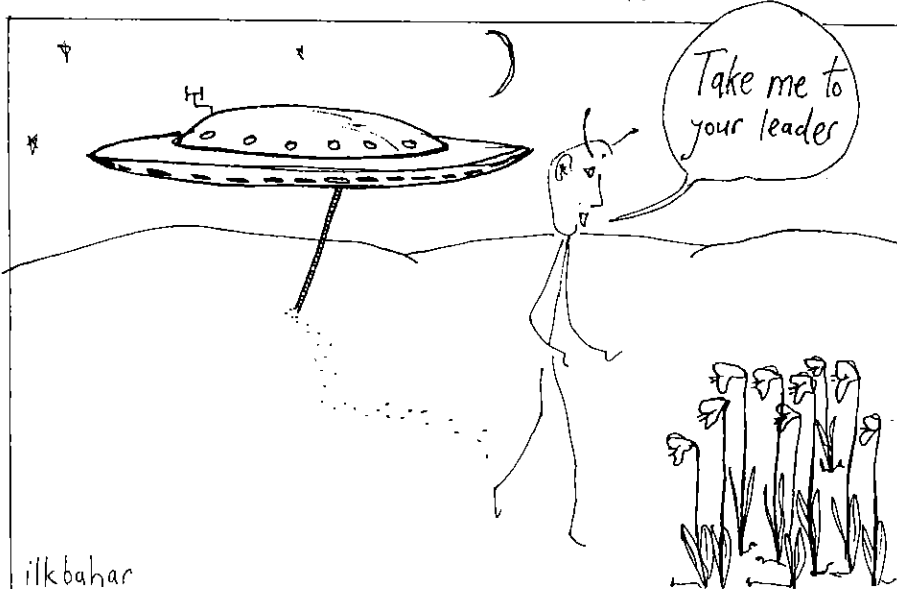
THE PERSONAL nature of Steve Dawe's attack on my recent book, *Green Parties: an international guide*, (GL71) comes as a bit of a shock. Until I read his letter, I believed Steve and I to have a good working relationship based on mutual respect. However, I wish to correct its inaccuracies, rather than its tone.

I'm not sure how Steve understood that Jonathon Porritt was the answer to all the Green Party's problems from what I wrote. Indeed, both to his face and behind his back, I have frequently argued that we would regret putting all our eggs in the Porritt basket, and in a letter to GP Council at the time of the Maingreen affair, I made a similar point.

It is also worth pointing out that the people Steve calls an "elite, secret group of long-time party hacks" or "militant green

because I did not feel the development was, in itself, particularly interesting or had made a significant impact (yet) on the party. Time will tell if I was right or wrong in that decision.

However, Steve's most serious mistake is to assume that the book was written without a lot of help and consultation. Every chapter was read and commented on by colleagues in the appropriate country, and I have been fortunate enough to have travelled a fair bit myself. For several countries, 'genuine' political scientists and/or journalists specialising in green politics looked over drafts. In the understanding that you cannot please all of the people all of the time, and accepting that any mistakes were mine alone, I nevertheless went to considerable trouble to balance accuracy with a personal "non-academic" approach.



conservatives" include most of the party's past Chairs and many national office holders. Their only crime was concern about the aimlessness of the party at a time when preparation for success should have been a top priority. In fact, it is interesting, several years on, to compare the contribution of the Maingreens to the green movement with the contribution of those individuals who hacked them down with a diligence that would have brought cheers from Joseph Stalin.

As the chapter on the British Green Party was one of the first to be written, the development of Green Voice and Socialist Greens had not yet started. I decided not to include them in the final revisions before publication

I am particularly amused by Steve's remark implying that living in Lyon makes me ineligible to comment on green politics in the UK or elsewhere. I was born in Aberdeen which is, in fact, slightly further away from London than is Lyon. Does this mean that anyone living outside the London-just south of Aberdeen radius cannot be taken seriously as far as the UK Green Party is concerned? I think Steve should clarify what he means - his membership of the decentralist faction of the party may have to be called into question, not to mention his commitment to a Europe of regions.

Sara Parkin
Lyon, FRANCE

IRELAND: TOWARDS AN ANGLO-CELTIC FEDERATION

NICE TO see Northern Ireland being discussed (GL68 & 69). Some parts of Belfast and towns along the border do have ethnic problems slightly more severe than those of North Wales, Brixton, Toxteth and Southend. Some aspects of local government in Derry and Belfast were sectarian, but when we had local government here, people generally voted in quite radical and go-ahead councillors. Now that we have the best form of proportional representation, we elect councillors who have control over emptying the bins while virtually everything else is controlled by civil servants.

I regard Ulster as a region that has always had strong links with the Hebrides, Central Lowlands, Galloway, Connaught and Leinster. While nationalists are fond of saying that Ireland is an island, transport across the Irish sea has long meant that dialects, economies and gene-pools of Islay, Donegal, Antrim and Galloway have far more in common than has Ulster with Munster or the Mull of Kintyre with Skye.

We need many levels of democracy from world and European parliaments through one to serve these islands, that might be called the Anglo-Celtic federation and have a capital in Liverpool or Anglesey, down towards the street. Taking power from Washington, Brussels, Dublin and London will be unpopular with people in those places, but an Anglo-Celtic Federation could be a very popular option in Western and Northern Britain and in Ulster (which should certainly include Donegal and possibly five or six other pieces of Scotland and the republic too).

Malcolm Samuel
Coleraine, NI

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)

How Bristol is fighting the Poll Tax



A report from the Bristol Federation of Anti-Poll Tax Unions, by ROBIN CLAPP, Press Officer, Avon Federation APTUs.

THE DESIRE TO express solidarity and assist the hundreds of thousands of Scottish working men and women who are organising around a campaign of mass non-payment, and the realisation that at a figure of £397 per person, enormous numbers of Bristolians would be unable to pay or thrown into deeper poverty, have been the twin factors in the setting up of a Bristol-wide Federation of Anti-Poll Tax Unions, now boasting the affiliation of 19 local groups.

Since November, when the first union was established following a meeting attended by over 100 local people on a West Bristol estate, local activists have studiously avoided the temptation of creating a central umbrella body, which would sound nice but in reality be a phantom army, and have instead persevered with the task of creating groups on all of the major council estates in the city. Only now have we formed a federation and this for the purposes of co-ordination only.

If mass non-payment is to become a reality then Poll Tax Unions have to be rooted in local soil. My own group, Windmill Hill, has just recorded its 150th member. We meet every fortnight and have an attendance of 30-40. The aim is to have street coordinators and a thriving network of genuinely local activists who can develop the campaign over the next few months. Last Saturday we organised a stall in the local shopping centre and collected 1,100 signatures against the tax.

Of course, it would be a mistake to think

that signatures can stop the Poll Tax: what they represent is a desire to get involved and a determination to stop the erosion of living standards. Already, some parts of Bristol are decked out with 'No Poll Tax here' posters, and seasoned activists have been shocked by the seriousness and eagerness of new people to become involved. If we stop and think about it then it really is not so surprising: working people have had a gutsfull and now with further privatisation beckoning and mortgage interest rates rising steeply, the Poll Tax represents the end of the line.

One of the features of the campaign has been the involvement of large numbers of women. We have sought to extend this by organising daytime meetings in the community rooms of Council high-rise blocks, and daytime canvassing also proves very fruitful along with weekday stalls in shopping precincts.

The campaign provides ample scope for initiative. In addition to stalls in shopping centres, we have organised lobbies of local Tory headquarters, and on 10th of June will be demonstrating in the city centre against registration. We realise that a campaign around non-registration is not feasible, but nevertheless feel that a public protest linked to obstruction of the registration process, can provide useful publicity and therefore prepare us for the main battle, that of mass non-payment.

Poll Tax: together we'll crack it

The conspiracy of silence in the press around the issue in Scotland makes it vitally necessary for us to build links and publicise the fact that mass non-payment has already become a reality. For instance, a confidential document produced by the Lothians Regional Council indicates that 500,000 out of a potential paying public of 650,000 have not yet paid one penny. Only 40% of those eligible to claim rebate have applied to do so far - a sure sign that the other 60% have no intention of paying in any case. Nor should this surprise us: vast numbers of people are already behind with rent, mortgages and rates. Why should they suddenly be able to find the money to pay Tory tax?

We have exploited this information in Bristol and are now seeking to twin with individual APTUs in the Scottish Federation. We sent a coachload of supporters to the magnificent demonstration in Glasgow on March 18th. Now we intend to invite the Chair of the Scottish Federation, Tommy Sheridan, to address a mass rally in the city during July. With the mood that exists, there is no way that the audience will be less than 1,000.

Finally on the question of involvement of the trades unions, especially those charged with the task of collecting Poll Tax: our experience is that the campaign on the estates is intimately bound up with the campaign to persuade NALGO not to collect. Local authority workers live on the estates; they pay rates and are generally low paid. Through contacts we have met on the estates, the argument are being taken back into the unions. One of our members has already spoken to a MSF branch meeting at Rolls Royce, following an invitation from a poll tax activist in the local union. A transcript of her speech has been subsequently distributed to 2,000 trade unionists.

Non-collection will become a living reality when local authority workers feel the power of millions behind them. The anti-Poll Tax Unions provide a remarkable glue which can link the organised working class with all those disenfranchised and long-suffering people in our society.

We have a duty to open the second front in England and Wales. This campaign is a marathon rather than a sprint. But our victory is assured if we tap the anger which undoubtedly exists against the Poll Tax. This legislation epitomises all that is rotten in capitalist society. We demand its unequivocal repeal of this profit system which rewards the idle and persecutes the weak. Our people have suffered for too long. Now a chance exists to give the Tories a bloody nose. In Scotland as they burn the pay books they chant "burn it or bin it and that's the way we'll win it!"

It sounds fine to me.

