

No 65 / SEPTEMBER 1988 / 60p

# GREEN *Line*



AUSTRALIA'S TRUE COLOURS

DIE GRUNEN IN PARLIAMENT

GROWTH OF ORGANIC EATING

THE ENERGY CHALLENGE TO GREENS

PLUS - INTERNATIONAL, PEACE AND ANIMAL NEWS

*Monthly magazine of Green Politics and Lifestyle*

Britain's Green Monthly

# GREEN Line

Green Line, 34 Cowley Rd, Oxford  
(0865) 724315

Monthly magazine of

Green politics and lifestyle

No 65 / SEPTEMBER / 60p

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

Cover design on aborigine flag by Jerry Spring

#### SUBSCRIPTIONS

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

#### BULK ORDERS

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

#### ADVERTISING

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

#### DEADLINES

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

#### SPECIAL OFFER! BACK ISSUES

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

PRINTED by Will Print

Dear reader,  
well here's Green Line with laser printing and an extra four pages - which we'll include when finance/material allows it. Because of the postage limits we can't send the enlarged mag in an envelope. If as a subscriber you still want the 24 page mag sent in an envelope, please add another £1 to your sub to cover the extra postage it involves.

## Small Ads

5p/word

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

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

**WHOLE NEW WAYS.** Imaginative vegan recipes using only ingredients that could be grown in the UK. 75p inc postage. The two booklets together £1.30 inc postage.

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

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

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

**GREEN DESERT TECHNOLOGY:** Spain, sun, purpose, good company; guests £60/week; working visitors (work 24hrs) £20-25/week; Full details £1 from Unit G, 22 Godesdone Rd, Cambridge CB5 8HR

**TIPIS** Handmade to the traditional Sioux design. Also 'Tipi Living', 40 pages illustrated. £2 inc p&p. Patrick & Co, Dove Workshops, Butleigh, Glastonbury, Somerset, BA6 8TL (0458) 50682

**THE ENCHROACHMENT** Part I, by Leo Baxendale. The narrative of an accumulating process of control; a dissection of the ideologies of Capitalism and Patriarchy. £5.50 post paid from Reaper Books, 11 Brockley Acres, Eastcombe, Stroud, Glos. GL6 7DU

**FESTIVAL LISTS** (free). Tree fairs, Green, folk, free festivals etc. Send S.A.E. to STONE, 45 Westwood Hill, London SE26 6NS

**LOWER SHAW FARM WEEKEND EVENTS** include house-building, making music, finding fungus, massage and relaxation, dance - plus a women's weekend and New Year celebration. Cost £30 per weekend inclusive of all meals (vegetarian), simple accommodation and workshops. We are a community of six adults and seven children with three acres and an old farmhouse on the edge of Swindon. SAE for details please to Lower Shaw Farm, Shaw, Swindon (0793) 771080.

**FANCY A FROLIC?** A chance to laugh, relax and meet new people at "Playing For the Fun of It" - A games weekend for grown-ups who are still children at heart at Monkton Wyld, Dorset, Sept 30th-Oct 2nd. Details: Rising Sap, 37 Cholmeley Rd, Reading, Berkshire RG1 3NQ

**NATIONAL GREEN STUDENT MAGAZINE.** Green Students have established over the last year an efficient network organisation. Part of this network is the publishing of a magazine three times a year. Its aims are to further stimulate the growth of the green student movement and provide a forum for different groups to link their previously separate concerns. It will combine news, events and

discussions. Articles are welcome on peace, environmental, feminist, green, Third World, education, employment, animal rights, labour, lesbian and gay rights, eco-socialist, lifestyle, international angles etc. The deadline for all information is 26th September. It's out 11th November. Send to Green Soc., Leeds University Union, PO N.Box 157, Leeds LS1 1UH.

**HELP NEEDED.** Do you know anyone who would or would you live, work and learn with a group of co-workers and adolescents with varied special needs? Pennine Community consists of 4 households, craft workshops, small farm and vegetable gardens. Write to Pennine Community, Boyne Hill House, Chaplathorpe, Wakefield WF4 3JH or phone (0924) 255281

**MONOLITH DISTRIBUTION,** mail order books and magazines. Subjects including, prehistory, stone circles, ley lines, UFOs, archeo-astronomy, pyramids, earth mysteries, festivals culture: 2 Baggrave View, Barsby, Leics. LE7 8RB

**PERMACULTURE PYRENEES:** volunteers wanted during September. Fabulous spot. Shareholders also wanted. For details send International Reply Coupon to Ferme La Garrigue, 11300 Festes Standre, France.

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

**PEOPLE WANTED** to join small community on organic farm. Keveral Farm, St Martin-by-Looe, Cornwall PL13 1PA

**HOUSING CO-OPS.** Advice wanted on how to set these up in cities. Thanks. Sarah, 10 Hillsborough Ave, Exeter EX4 6BW

**RUNE STAVES,** wooden, hand painted, 17x17x6mm (approximately). Elder Futhark (24 pieces) £9. Anglo-Saxon Futhark (33 pieces) £12. Younger Futhark (16 pieces) £6. Armanen Futhark (19 pieces) £7. P&P included. Delivery 14-28 days. If not delighted return within 14 days for refund. Cheques/POs only to: John Puxty, 24 Greenwood Crescent, Carnforth LA5 8AT

**FOR FREE DETAILS** of how Runes can introduce you to a greener way of living write enclosing SAE to John Puxty (GWL), 24 Greenwood Crescent, Carnforth LA5 8AT

**RECYCLED PAPER** for home or office use. Contact Greenscene co-op, Freepost, Exeter EX1 1AZ. Please enclose 2x13p stamps for samples.

## 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)



# NEWS COMMENT

## KENSINGTON BY-ELECTION SET TO RUN AND RUN

The Green Party scored its highest ever by-election result in Kensington on July 14th with 2.4% of the vote, up from 1.7% in the General Election. Despite a large drop in the turnout, the Greens increased their total votes to 572 - the only party to do so.

Kensington & Chelsea Green Party, with a relatively small membership, benefited from help by greens from other parts of London as well as volunteers from as far as Oxford, Bath and Huddersfield. They were able to canvass four wards completely, while exploring pockets of support in the other six. 30,000 election addresses were sent out by unaddressed Freepost, with a final drop of 10,000 'Good Morning' leaflets delivered the night before election day.

Campaign co-ordinator, Niki Kortvleyessey described press coverage as good: "We were consistently identified as the fifth major party and not lumped in with the lotsafun candidates." However, the media may have dropped one clanger on behalf of the eventual Conservative victor. According to the Representation of the People Act, interviews with any one candidate should be balanced by interviews with the others. The Green Party is currently taking Dudley Fishburn (Con.) to court over alleged breaches of the Act. If they are successful, a re-run must be held without the vaunted participation of Fishburn, although another Tory would be allowed to stand.

Fishburn's majority the first time around was under 1000 so in any re-run there would be enormous pressure to vote Labour in order to reverse the result. This might seem likely to hurt the Green vote but, given the pathetic SDPLibetc. Party performance, it may be other parties that get stung. Whatever, the right result in the courts will set a vital precedent in forcing the media to cover elections in an properly unbiased, informative manner.

TIM ANDREWES

## REALITY AS PORNOGRAPHY

It all started when Compassion in World Farming (CIWF) found that its first ever cinema ad, *Welcome to the Battery* had been banned by Rank hours before it was due to be shown in 19 cities around Britain - never mind the fact that cinema time was already paid for.

The X-rated ad shows scenes of hens in battery cages and goes on to turn the tables on the audience, ordering them to remain seated while they are caged and have their nails and teeth removed. It ends with a powerful exhortation to consumers to buy only free range eggs.

Douglas Thomas, head of Rank's Screen advertising and coincidentally also chairman of the Cinema Advertising Association's (CAA) Copy Committee, has variously stated "We consider the commercial detrimental to the entertainment value of cinema", and more candidly that the ad was stopped due to "concern at the amount of controversy it has created". This, incidentally, before the ad was ever shown, and after approval by both the CAA and the British Board of Censors.

The controversy, carefully orchestrated by the National Farmer's Union (NFU), has led Mr Douglas to concede that "the NFU has been very vocal", in spite of the NFU's denial of any direct representations. It is clear however that a far greater controversy has resulted from Rank's decision to ban the ad.

Threats of legal action from CIWF have brought about an extraordinary clampdown on freedom of speech in this country, as the Cinema Exhibitors Association (CEA) which is closely

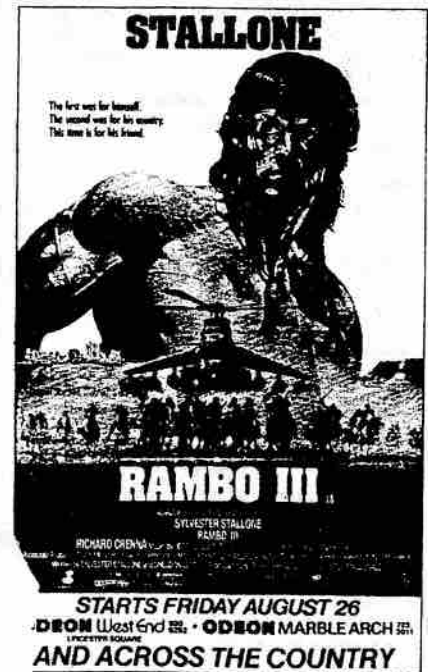


*Killing for capitalism*

connected with the CAA, has banned all cinema advertising by charities, pressure groups and campaigning

organisations.

This move, presumably taken both to remove CIWF's claims of unfair discrimination and to prevent a recurrence of any embarrassing conflict of commercial interests, was far more draconian than had been anticipated by CIWF's Campaign Director Carol McKenna, who had however feared a ban on ads that "might prove controversial".



*Killing for entertainment*

Other organisations that may be affected include Oxfam, Anti-Apartheid, the Samaritans, Greenpeace, NSPCC, the League against Cruel Sports, the RSPCA, and maybe even establishment campaigns such as those on AIDS and drug abuse. As Zoo Check's Will Travers said, "It is up to the Censors to decide what is acceptable on British screens. This means the commercial interests we are fighting have freedom to express their views but we do not."

But pressure from CIWF has now resulted in Rank being forced to honour its original contract, although "the ad will not be screened again". And in a dramatic move, Euro MP Glyn Ford is preparing to haul British Cinemas before the European Court of Human Rights. He claims the CEA is in breach of free speech provisions in the European Convention on Human Rights.

Meanwhile CIWF is launching a campaign for funds to advertise in independent cinemas - send your donations to Compassion in World Farming, 20 Lavant Street, Petersfield, Hampshire GU2 3EW.

OLIVER TICKELL

## GREEN DIARY

### SEPTEMBER

10th Conference on British countryside, Bristol. Tickets (£10) and details from Green Books, Ford House, Hartland, Bideford, Devon EX39 6EE

10th FoE Day of Action on Waste and Packaging. Contact your local group or FoE on 01-490-1555

10th Anti-Yuppie Day. Millwall Park, Isle of Dogs

12-18th Green Consumer Week. Details FoE, 26-8 Underwood St, London N1 7JQ

16-26th Children's Camp organised by the Skool Bus to share experiences, provide workshops etc. All facilities. Phone Richie Cotterill (08916) 736

17th Swindon Green Conference - Alternative Medicine. Friends Meeting House 10-5 £2/£1. Contact Bill Hughes 18 Goddard Ave, Swindon (0793) 22989 or Sue Birby (0793) 790430

17th Anti Orange March demo, Exeter. Info: Plymouth Anarchists, PO Box 105, Plymouth, Devon

18th FoE's Ark Day Walk from Natural History Museum at 1pm

22nd Autumn Equinox - Stonehenge

### OCTOBER

1st Liberation of Learning. Conference organised by Lib ED mag at Vaughan College, Leicester. Phone (0455) 209029

1-2nd 40 mile freedom Walk, Gamlingay to Leighton Buzzard against erosion of civil liberties of travellers, Free Festival goers, marchers, pickets and demos. 8 picnic stops. Send sae to Tony Quinn, Flat 3, 51 Waterloo Rd, Bedford MK40 39G

4th Hinkley Point Inquiry starts, see elsewhere for details. Call SHE (0278) 422632

8th Anarchist Book Fair in London, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square.

8th Traffic Calming workshop on setting up local campaigns. Details FoE

13-16th Green Party Conference, Southport

17th The Living Economy, speaker Paul Ekins. Friends Meeting House, Swindon. Contacts as above (17th Sept)



## LIVING GREEN

### PRO-BIKE POLICY

Since the 1970s the use of bicycles has increased dramatically; now there are about 15m bicycles in the UK and in 1983 and 1984 more new bikes were sold than cars. Yet despite the apparently widespread use of this cheap and ecological mode of transport, the country's transport policies generally fail to reflect or support cycling. Indeed, on Britain's roads cycling can even be hazardous as the high number of cycle accidents (286 killed, 5,300 reported seriously injured, 27,000 reported slightly injured in 1985) reflects.

FOE have proposed a cycling policy aimed at supporting and encouraging cycling in the 1990s, and this is set out in their policy pamphlet "Pro-Bike". In the pamphlet they outline the reasons for promoting cycling - less pollution, fuel conservation, health benefits, space saving, reduction in road building, and more - as well as mentioning the various factors, like road conditions and motorists' behavior, that discourage people from cycling. The cycling policies of the major political parties are also examined, and found seriously wanting.

FOE would like to see a doubling of cycle use by 1993 and would like to see "a climate created in which cycling is encouraged because of its inherent benefits, to society and the individual, not treated purely as an "accident problem". To achieve this increase in cycling, FOE have proposed, to quote from the pamphlet's summary:

A National Cycling Advisory Council to oversee the implementation of a radical cycling policy.

National and local Government investment of £1,000 m over five years, to be financed

from the savings such a policy would generate, and from the reallocation of existing resources.

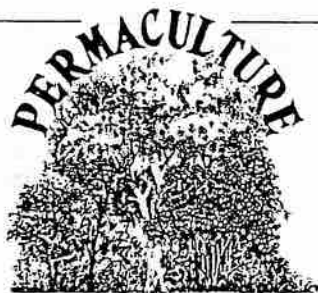
Planning for cyclists in all new developments and road building schemes, and in existing roads and residential areas. Incentives to cycle use, such as the payment of cycle mileage allowances and the provision of cycle parking at shops and offices.

Measures to lower vehicle speeds, introduce random breath testing, improve the driving test and instruction, improve road safety education, reduce the burden of road building, and to fully integrate cycling into overall transport policies.

Illegal parking in cycle lanes remains a problem... for some!



There have been welcome measures and changes in favour of cyclists, introduced by some local and regional councils, but there is still very much work to be done before cycling becomes a more pleasurable and less hazardous travel option. To anyone campaigning for a better deal for cyclists, Pro-Bike will make a very useful read and an essential tool in persuading local and national Government into some meaningful and appropriate action.



## Design for a Sustainable Future

PERMACULTURE DESIGN COURSE  
17th Sept to 2nd Oct 1988  
at Venton Mill, Totnes, Devon

Full bodied design course for all interested in design principles which enable us to develop re-generative land and community projects, now.

Hosted at Venton Mill, site of British Isles Permaculture Institute. Visible experiments with Fukuoka style cereals, Hart like forest gardens and much more.

Fee, all in £150. Details from BIPI, 8 Hunters Moon, TOTNES TQ9 6JT. Tel 0803 867546 or 865115.

### MAKING YOUR OWN COMPOST

Starting your own compost box may seem a little daunting but there's not much to it providing you've got some kind of garden space to put it in. Even if you can't use it yourself, you'll be able to sell it or give it away, with the satisfaction of having put back something from what you've been consuming. So, for those of you who've been missing Channel 4's organic gardening series, *All Muck and Magic* here's some sound advice from the excellent mag Green Umbrella on compost:

Start now. You have the alternative of making a compost pit or bin in some sheltered corner: the standing bin is less backbreaking. Knock or wire up a box 3-4ft square, with no base - compost must rest on earth. If in wood use slatted sides (your compost must have air), if in wire fix round strong stakes. A light lid or piece of old carpet will prevent leaching away all the goodness within your heap.

The rest depends largely on the bucket outside the kitchen door. Add to the usual veggie waste broken up old plants, stale potting compost, bean husks, grass clippings (as long as not treated), most leaves, straw, some shredded paper, waste hair, bits of woollen rag, weeds, even carpet sweepings.

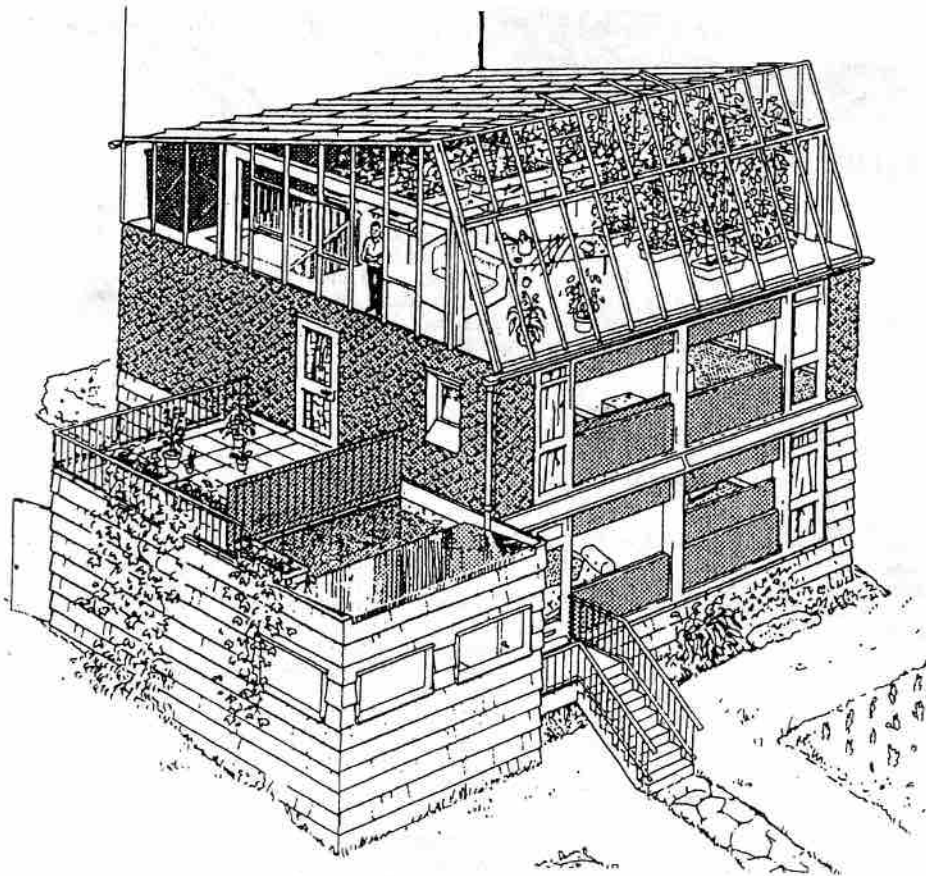
Do NOT throw in hedge clippings, cabbage stalks, obviously diseased plants, nor the leaves of evergreens, rose, fruit trees, ash, elder, chestnut, sycamore or conifer needles. These will be best left to dry out and then burn them with other garden rubbish and shovel their ashes onto your growing heap. As a rule of thumb, avoid using anything woody or stubborn: whatever has once lived naturally, is slight in weight and soft in texture is all grist to the mill.

Work as far as you can in layers, with strata of earth or ash in between, and try to turn over once a month, adding water in dryish spells. You will be surprised at the heat generated within the heap, and the clumps of social worms embedded there - leave them alone. With patience you'll end up with fine, crumbly, Weetabix-like compost made of little else but what you've been recycling from your own kitchen. Now you can use it, sell it, donate it...

### APPLE VARIETY

Fancy growing an apple tree? Philip House, Botley, Hants. can supply grafted trees with three different varieties of fruit that give edible apples from October till May.





## SOLAR VILLAGE AT RHAYADER

A "solar village" of about 90 houses looks set to be constructed at Rhayader in Mid-Wales. The village is intended to set an example that ordinary people can enjoy life and earn a living without plundering the Earth. The project has already received an award for Appropriate Technology from the Institute for Social Inventions.

The village has been designed and developed by David Huw Stephens, a consultant building scientist, who has been working on ecologically sound building and living through his company Practical Alternatives. Stephens claims that it would cost the country less to build new solar houses than to upgrade existing ones and build nuclear power stations to heat them. The houses' design in the solar village is

described in a booklet "The Survivor House".

The Survivor House is based on a steel frame, can be built easily from a kit and allows a number of options in internal arrangement. The design features a rooftop greenhouse, rainwater collection and storage for use in the house, solar panels for hot water and construction for passive solar energy gain. Costs of topping-up heating are calculated to be about £30 per house per season, compared with about £300 for a similar sized house built to the 1985 Building Regulation standard. Construction should be beginning around now.

The booklet *The Survivor House*, an interesting read for AT enthusiasts and architects and builders alike, is available from David Huw Stephens, Victoria House, Bridge Street, Rhayader, Wales LD6 5AG, price £4.95

## FROM PLANTING TREES...

Two nifty ideas from Richard St George, writing in *Resurgence*. Given the treatment being meted out to trees by our activities he suggests starting a new tradition of planting a tree to celebrate the birth of a child.

"This tree would be planted in ground set aside for such birth trees and the tree marked with the new child's name. We might even germinate the seedling on discovery of the pregnancy and plant it out at birth. The child would grow up with this tree and would identify with it in a special way. The child would soon begin to view other trees as someone else's birth tree and eventually encompass all trees with the same respect."

For those of us for whom it's already too late he suggests having a tree planted on a graves - it beats a lump of marble at any rate.

## ...TO JUNKING MAIL

Post is increasing by 20% a year, much of it being mailing shots and apparently there's only a 1% response rate to junk mail, which

represents an awful lot of wasted paper. However you can write to the Mailing Preference Service (Freeport 22, London, W1E 7EZ) saying you don't want to receive unsolicited mail. Then you send back a letter to the mailers - don't bother with a stamp, then they'll pay - threatening to take up the matter with the Consumer Association, MPS and Data Protection Ombudsman.

This, we are told, should work wonders.

## PLASTIC OR PAPER?

The eternal question: which bags to use. Research in W. Germany shows that plastic bags actually require less energy to make and that less pollution is produced during their manufacture than paper bags. It's not clear whether they followed the whole chain bag to the oil wells though.

## FOCUS ON ZOO CHECK

ZOOS MAY at first seem one of the milder forms of animal abuse, yet for the animals they involve at the least imprisonment for life - sometimes in solitary confinement - and often they are little short of torture. Zoo Check was formed in 1984 following public concern over the death of the elephant Pole Pole in London Zoo. She was killed after "losing the will to live" and had been in solitary confinement for two years.

In 1986 Zoo Check commissioned an independent report on polar bears in British and Irish zoos. It found that cub mortality was twice that in the wild and 60% of the bears showed stereotypical behaviour (i.e. repeated, meaningless movements characteristic of animals that are neurotic.) The National Federation of Zoos responded by threatening the career of the scientist involved and have refused to co-operate with Zoo Check. They would not allow them to film inside any of the zoos they control when Zoo Check made a TV documentary. Clearly they have a lot to hide.

Supporters of zoos argue that they help conserve endangered species, but the only true form of conservation is protection of wildlife habitats, otherwise animals in zoos will be merely 'museum pieces'. Zoo Check helped start the Tsavo Rhino Sanctuary in Kenya in 1985, which is now home to seven endangered black rhino, and another is planned for Zambia.

At present Zoo Check is sponsoring independent surveys into British Dolphinariums and conditions for captive great apes and elephants. It is also compiling a European Survey of Zoos and a schools' handbook.

Contact them at ZCCT, Cherry Tree Cottage, Coldharbour, Surrey RH5 6AH



## DEFINING GREENNESS

### A DICTIONARY OF GREEN IDEAS



Amid the plethora of new green books hitting the shops this year is John Button's *A Dictionary of Green Ideas* (Routledge). The dictionary is a brave venture given that definitions of greenness are still very much up for grabs, and, sometimes irritatingly, you may disagree with the author's emphases or interpretations of particular theories or movements. However, the book is packed with references to people you've never heard of and there's a copious bibliography of sources at the back as well - making it an invitation to explore what green people are thinking for yourself. And that, at a time when we're still grappling with what green ideology should consist of, makes *The Dictionary* a valuable addition to the bookcase.

## GREEN VIDEOS

Concorde Videos have their 1988 list out of ecology programmes. It includes many recent documentaries. Write to 201 Felixstowe Rd, Ipswich, Suffolk IP39 9BJ for the catalogue.

## MEDIKILL FRAUD

With the NHS's fortieth birthday this year it seems more than appropriate for some hard looks at whether it, and indeed modern medicine in general, is really delivering the goods of a healthier public. Already the Natural Medicines Society has published stern criticism of today's allopathic medicine (see GL63) and P Rattigan's pamphlet 'An Apple a Day... The Threat from Orthodox Medicine' is another brickbat against the establishment.

Rattigan lays into modern medicine and the pharmaceutical industry that dominates it, looking at vaccination, cancer, antibiotics, flouride (did you know that flouridisation programmes are a neat way for aluminium and fertilizer producers to get rid of their flouride wastes?), AIDS (and possible links with

## CFC BATTLE MOVES ON

FoE have successfully forced manufacturers to start phasing out CFCs in aerosols and now look to be winning on foam food packaging. The lesson seem to be that major business can be forced to radically change their stance on pollution if the threat of nationwide boycott campaigns is real.

However, there are the problems still, that many of the products are totally superfluous anyway, regardless of how they're made and that alternatives to CFCs have their own toxic effects on users and the environment - and of course will need more animal testing.

FoE plan to move on to the use of CFCs and even more damaging Halons in insulation, metal cleaning, electronics and refrigeration. Contact them on 01 490 1555 for details on latest clean producer lists, blacklists etc.

## WHAT D'YOU THINK?

Namaste Greens of New England, USA, are producing a film called 'To Party for Life' about activism in the States and want people to send them European views and feelings about the USA and the green movement. Write to Box 578, Barnstead NH 03225 USA

## KNOW YOUR SLUDGE

Recently published by FoE is *The A-Z of Local Pollution: An FoE Action Guide*. Various types of pollution are listed along with other technical terms you might need to know, the organisations to approach if your neighbourhood is being polluted, and so on. Easy to read through, a useful guide to the basic facts. FoE also have a *Farm Waste Campaigners Manual* aimed at local groups monitoring damage to waterways etc. in the country. Contact FoE on 01-490 1555

## SKOOL'S OUT FOR SUMMER

The Skool Bus project is organising a summer camp on 16-26th Sept at Richard's Castle in Shropshire (£10/£5). Mostly it will be devoted to workshops for the children and discussion

on alternative schooling including a planning meeting on the Skool Bus Route, resources and finances this Winter.

Contact Richie Cotterill at Hopyard, Turnastone, Vowchurch nr. Hereford (098 16) 736



vaccination and antibiotics), and vivisection. He backs his arguments up with quotes from assorted medical commentators and critics, including not a few doctors.

His contention is that orthodox medicine is not just ineffective, but that it is a threat that has "wrecked the health of every nation is has infiltrated. The USA, front-runner of the modern medicine worshippers and financiers, has been reduced to around 25th in the world table of life-expectancy.

Unfortunately, whilst 'An Apple a Day...' exposes some nasty truths about our wonderful modern medicine, it is not well written. It gives the impression more of prejudicial diatribe than reasoned argument with a pinch of conspiracy theory added for extra flavour. When telling the

awful truth about one of society's more sacred cows one has to be careful to put a clear, well-researched and credible case to a sceptical public.

At 50p a go, it's okay as a quick read for someone suspicious of modern medicine. However, for more convincing criticisms of the medical establishment one could do well to read 'The Health Crisis' by C Thompson & D MacEoin (reviewed in GL63) or look for works by Ivan Illich, Robert Mendelson, and other medical critics at your local green bookshop of library.

'An Apple a Day...' is available from Nemesis, 294 West Parade, Lincoln LN1 1NB for 50p. Cheques to Cancer Truth.

NETWORK compiled by GRAHAM HOOPER



## ARK DAY WALK

FoE are promoting a sponsored walk from the Natural History Museum to Whitestone Pond, Hampstead on London's highest point to a reconstruction of Noah's ark. The walk starts at 1pm on September 18th. Opportunities for silly costumes are unbounded and money raised will go towards saving the rainforests. Do we hope for sunny weather or rain??? Sponsorship forms and more details from FoE, 26-8 Underwood St, London N1 7JQ



## SCHUMACHER LECTURES

The theme for this year's Schumacher Lectures (organized by the Schumacher Society) is "Inner Ecology: Outer Ecology". To quote from the Lectures' promotional literature: "This is the age of wholeness. Dualism of matter and mind, inner and outer, spiritual and material is coming to an end. Unity and interrelatedness of all things will be revealed by four great thinkers at this year's Schumacher Lectures in Bristol."

The speakers shall be the "imaginal psychologist" James Hillman, speaking on "Soul and Society"; the American poet Robert Bly, on "News of the Universe"; poet Kathleen Raine, on "Outer World as Inner World", and, James Lovelock, on "Science of the Earth".

The Lectures shall be held on Sat. 5th November, from 10am to 5pm, at Clifton Cathedral, Clifton Park, Bristol. Tickets cost £10 each, obtainable from the Schumacher Society, Ford House, Hartland, Bideford, Devon EX39 6EE, or in person from Greenleaf Bookshop, 82 Colston Street, Bristol BS1. Best to book in advance to ensure a place.

## NESTLE'S DAIRY CRUNCH...

Multinational food, 'food', companies have plenty of cheek. Nestle's seem to have learnt little morality from their last skirmishes over dumping baby milk powder in Third World maternity wards. Apparently they and others are at it again despite WHO and UNICEF reports that come out unequivocally against such practices. The dangers of contaminated water supply, and the tying of mother and baby to an expensive product rather than breast

## HOT AIR... HOT SEAS

Following the seminal agreement on CFCs, signed in Montreal last year, scientists and policy makers met in Toronto recently to argue about global warming - the greenhouse effect. What came out were two truths - firstly, that we have to act now, merely to buy time since change of some sort is already inevitable due to existing pollution, and secondly, that there is a high degree of uncertainty (and therefore great risk) as to the eventual effects of warming on climate, sea levels and agriculture.

Basically, the temperature gradient between the poles and the equator which drives the earth's weather system is changing with the possibility of quite sudden effects on the world's main agricultural areas. You can just imagine the political destabilisation if the USA suddenly lost it's grain belt.

The participants agreed, not without argument, that we've got to reduce CO2 emissions (the CEEB produces 1% of them) by 20% before 2005 as a first step. "Humanity is conducting an enormous, unintended, globally pervasive

experiment whose ultimate consequences could be second only to global nuclear war."

The scientists also expressed fear about a cocktail of other pollutants being dumped into the atmosphere like arsenic, lead, zinc, mercury, chromium, cadmium and aluminium. The Mediterranean receives 10 times the quantity of such chemicals from the air as from the rivers. And on land plants which we're supposed to eat are beginning to take up dangerously high levels of these poisons.

A Greenpeace spokesman was discussing on the radio recently the virus that is currently wiping out Europe's seal population. He pointed out the view of an increasing number of scientists that the virus was just the final trigger and that the seals were succumbing in such numbers only because their immune systems had already been critically damaged by the pollutants poured into the North and Baltic Seas. What, he asked, made us think that the same couldn't happen to Europe's human population?

## MAYDAY 88

A national co-ordinating group is being set up to unite local groups of claimants, students and workers independently of any political party and with a commitment to direct action. To get involved in the network contact Mayday 88, c/o PNSLU, Prince of Wales Rd, London NW5

## ORANGE MARCH

It's not just Australia which is having dubious celebrations. The Queen will be lending a hand to the William of Orange jamboree at Brixham and Exeter this month. In Exeter there'll be an Orange Order march on Sept 17th which, along with its own right-wing and masonic associations, is also attracting the concerted support of the NF, who'll be sending down supporters. We hear a lot about Sinn Fein and the IRA yet their equivalents are allowed to take over a town for the day. However, there'll be a counter demonstration organised by anti-fascists and anarchists groups.

## ENTERPRISE PARTY?

Despite the slogans about helping small businesses, the government seems about to put a stop to an important source of capital for co-operatives. Greenscene Co-op in Exeter is to be the last to be able to get non-members to invest in it through 'Common Ownership Securities', which doesn't help people wanting to put their money where their ethics is. Complain to your MP.

feeding, are well documented. So check whose chocolate you're buying

## ...COCA-COLONISATION

In similar vein, Coca-Cola marketing managers have been eyeing up the Chinese as European consumption of their sugary rubbish reaches saturation point. The Chinese currently consume only a fifth of the sugar we in Britain do. No doubt Coca-Cola will get a monopoly on private dentistry while they're at it. Ah, the wonders of the market...

## NUKES AGAINST WAVES

The British economy's Michael Fish, Nigel Lawson, confidently shut down wave-power research when at the Department of Industry in 1982 for not being a commercially viable prospect. Now of course, there are two companies in Norway using the discarded technology to produce electricity at 3-8p a unit. Several contracts with Indonesian and Pacific island states have been negotiated. Recently the government has admitted its stupidity and supplied a pittance to start up the British research again.

They'll be keen though to see that wave-power doesn't get a fair hearing at the Hinkley Point Inquiry. It's looking increasingly likely that the CEEB will not have to answer questions about alternatives to nuclear power. Stephen Slater, a leading researcher in wave power, has said there is "clear documentary evidence" that civil servants in the DoE have distorted evidence to discredit alternative energy. Many DoE officials are drawn from and return to the nuclear industry - hardly likely then to produce the most neutral advice on the demise of nuclear power.

## GREENS IN N. IRELAND

The Northern Ireland Green Party, like other parties there, is feeling decidedly isolated and is looking for the Spring Party Conference to be held in Northern Ireland for once. Perhaps it could be an opportunity to get the Eire party and other national parties involved as well. The Northern Ireland party is putting up a slate of 26 candidates for the local elections as well as an MEP candidate. To learn more phone Malcolm Samuel (026 583) 2301





## GREEN MOVEMENTS IN JAPAN

MUCH OF WHAT we hear about from Japan is bad news: they still hunt whales, their multinationals rip out great chunks of south East Asia's rainforests, there is a thriving trade in CITES listed species of animals and plants, education still glosses over Japanese imperialism. The rapid industrial growth since the war has brought with it the usual ecological problems. Japan burns 7% of the world's fossil fuels, and although it controls sulphur emissions fairly tightly, it still pumps out over 4% of the world's CO<sub>2</sub> emissions. It produces fully 10% of the world's CFCs. Japan takes a quarter of all small logs.

Recently the government went so far as to produce a White Paper recognising Japan's responsibilities for the present ecological problems. But there isn't any general pressure on the government to act from the Japanese people in general. Apparently, only 26% of people (as opposed to 42% in Western Europe) are worried about the extinction of species. Japan is too a very conformist society and those who have taken more direct action have been hunted down even more vigorously than in Europe.

Nevertheless, the Green Movement is growing in Japan and news has come our way of two Green organisations that have started up in recent years.

The Japan Green Federation, a federation of Green organisations and individuals, was founded in the aftermath of the First Convention for Protecting the Life of the Earth at Hakuba Village, Nagano, Japan, in October 1984. The JGF seeks to criticise the current humanistic world view, encourage changes in lifestyles, as well as political and economic change. The movement appears to be quite broadly based, working on many green issues in many areas of society. There have been campaigns against nuclear power, pollution of drinking water, MacDonalds and vivisection (in co-operation with anti-vivisection organisations), to name a few areas. One Green Federation project is a Green Farm which uses no cattle, avoids the killing of insects and worms and attempts at "natural farming living together with every living thing".

In 1986 the JGF fought in the national election: they are hoping to join forces with the Japan Green Party to contest the 1989 national

election together.

Also active in Japan is Green Peace Japan, founded in June 1987. They "seek for peace for all creatures as well as humans. We think that human beings are not the master of all creatures, but only one of them. Therefore, we have the responsibility to preserve the ecological harmony and stability of the earth". In outlook they are very much an animal rights organisation as well as an environmental and anti-war one, quite radical.

## みどりの新聞

JAPAN GREEN FEDERATION

*GL is now receiving the JGF newsletter. Is there a reader out there who could translate/summarise it for us???*

## DAMMED HUNGARY

A year ago (GL55), Niki Kortvelyessy reported on the proposed damming and canalisation of the Danube on the Hungarian-Czechoslovakian border. Since then an official report from Bratislava has severely criticised the project for the ecological damage it will do, probably reducing fish harvests from 440.7 to 112.9 million tonnes. The government has apparently known of these predictions for 7 years yet still maintains that the project is sound.

Within Hungary an ecological group called *Duna Kor* (Danube Circle) has succeeded in surviving government suppression and is now growing in strength. They have been pointing out the possible effects on Hungary's water supply, a massive underground reservoir lying beneath a proposed reservoir.

Shortly, the government will have to decide whether to go on with the project as, due to a lack of foresight, it faces pressure from all sides.

Both the Czechoslovakian and Austrian governments are threatening to claim damages for lost investment if Budapest pulls out. One feels more sorry for the psychological damage cancellation will do to the Czechoslovak Chief Engineer who has said "This is technology without limits. Politics must be subordinated to this technology and in this we have succeeded."

Threats are particularly sick coming from the Austrian government which took up the project to avoid environmentally controversial power schemes at home.

There may well be concerted blockades by Austrian and Hungarian greens this month. It could turn out to be a hot Autumn.



## SANE ESSAYS ON MADNESS

**FUTURES:** Essays by scientists on the nuclear arms race.

Scientists Against Nuclear Arms (SANA),  
9 Poland St, London W1V 3DG.

AS RONALD Reagan prepares to step into the dustbin of history, it is clear that one tawdry era has ended, and a new one has not yet begun. The outlines of the post-INF world have not taken shape with any clarity; and before they do we have a brief opportunity to assess the past and consider the future. *Futures*, a new publication from SANA, does just that: it consists of a collection of essays by leading scientists and people involved in peace studies, who discuss current aspects of the nuclear arms race.

The first essay by Owen Greene gives a useful and detailed account of the INF Treaty, and deplores its various loopholes and shortcomings, the most scandalous of which is the fact that there is no obligation to destroy the actual nuclear warheads of the banned missiles. They have to be withdrawn, but the fissile material or components can be reused, or 'repackaged'. The section on 'dismantling and inspection procedures' is especially fascinating: inspectors of the opposing superpower can watch while missiles are cut into pieces, "crushed, flattened or destroyed by explosive demolition." An entertaining task, surely!

Greene goes on: "As an exception to the [described] procedures, during the first six months of the agreement each side can eliminate up to 100 INF missiles by launching them into outer space(!)...A further 15 missiles, 15 launch canisters, and 15 launchers can be used as museum exhibits and other static displays". Can you make a space for a launch canister in your local craft museum? The world of nuclear weapons is so mad that only the blackest of black comedy could ever do justice to it.

Wildier and madder still is the whole idea of 'Star Wars', scathingly reviewed by Martin Rees in the second essay in this book. SDI was Reagan's brainchild (sic), unveiled to an astonished world five years ago in a speech which is referred to here as the 'ramblings of a sentimental idealist.' The ideas of sentimental, rambling old Ron have fortunately proved to be completely unrealisable, along the lines of comedian Will Rogers' old joke about his solution to the World War 2 U-boat menace: 'drain the Atlantic!' When asked how this could be done, he replied "we have technicians, don't we?" It's your problem, not mine!

The third essay in the book, by Peter Smith, discusses non-provocative defence and the new concept of 'discriminate deterrence' whose main aim seems to be to "force the Russians to make enormous long-term investments in their air defence systems." So weapons exist, not in any sense to function or to deter, but simply to involve vast sums of money, and thus to 'manage Soviet decline', to break their economy.

Lastly Scilla Elworthy deals with the role of scientists in nuclear policy; far from being innocent tools of the politicians and the military, they often take the lead. A remark by mad scientist Edward Teller is quoted: "It is preferable not to ask military people what they want but rather to push scientific research to its limits. Military needs will follow."

This is altogether an interesting book, though surely overpriced (£4.00) for its 53



## PEACE DIARY

SEPTEMBER: Nukewatch is monitoring Burghfield, that sinister place, in September. More CND groups are needed to sponsor shifts. For more information on Nukewatch or the Burghfield Watch write to Margo Sweeney, c/o CND, 22/24 Underwood St, London N1 7JG >

SEPT 2-4: Make Burghfield visible! Weekend Peace Camp outside Mearings Gate. Contact Leslie Wilson or Barbara Dorrity (0734 482551).  
SEPT 3: Scottish CND Annual Conference, 10am - 5.30pm at Mayfield Centre, Stirling. Details: 041.331 2878.

SEPT 4: CND bike ride along a 40-mile scenic route, a wild and unspoilt terrain, from South London (Blackheath) to Tunbridge Wells. Entry forms, information packs and sponsor forms from CND.

SEPT 7: Day of Destruction of War Toys in all countries of the world. Followed by Peace Toy Fortnight, 7th-23rd September. Details: Children and War Project, c/o Peace Pledge Union, 6 Endsleigh St, London WC1 (01.387 5501). If we're in the business of burning toys, what about Monopoly?

SEPT 15-18: Disarm the Seas. Sixth Annual Conference of the North Atlantic Network in Glasgow. Details: NAN 88, Scottish CND, 420 Sauchiehall St, Glasgow G2 3JD, Scotland (041.332 5750).

SEPT 18: Noah's ark in Hampstead! Contact FoE.

SEPT 25: Bradford School of Peace Studies weekend seminar on Disarmament Prospects after the Summit. Organised by Dr Paul Rogers (Tel. 0274 733466 x 8452).

SEPT 25: USAF Greenham opens the base for Air Show. Greenham Women are planning to make the occasion memorable. Details: Indra, Blue Gate.

OCT 15: CND's Autumn Campaign will focus on the theme 'No New Nuclear Weapons.' There will be an extensive public information campaign, and actions are planned at Faslane, Upper Heyford, and Portsmouth.

## INF - PLEASD BUT SCEPTICAL

THE PEACE movement confronts a paradox with respect to the INF Treaty: on the one hand the agreement will not (unfortunately) mean a decisive reversal of the nuclear arms race, nor will it mark any fundamental change in superpower relations; yet at the same time the treaty does fulfil a central political demand that the peace movement has put forward, as its principle focus, since 1979. Likewise two contradictory attitudes to the treaty can be detected within the peace movement: it is welcomed as a great step forward, and on the other hand as a pragmatic (even cynical) manoeuvre by two superpowers adjusting to new political realities. These two viewpoints can uneasily co-exist: 'pleasd but sceptical' seems to be the general attitude, as reflected in the theme of CND's Autumn campaign, 'no new nuclear weapons'. This strikes a modest, even uncontroversial note, a far cry from a call for the removal of US bases, or for a nuclear-free Britain. Yet this position is itself a trap: the scepticism can only go so far, because the treaty has to be praised as a vindication of peace movement policies and tactics over the past 10 years. In support of this line its unexpected allies are the Soviet and East European establishments, as against the insistence by Western governments that their 'tough line', and 'hard bargaining' brought the Soviets to the negotiating table.

Thus the western peace movements may well be courted by the Soviet authorities as a deliberate act of policy; perhaps as Gorbachev becomes more and more acceptable to the West, so too will the peace movement which, no longer any sort of political threat, will be patronised and praised. This process carries its own dangers, and has led to splits within END

## CRUISE RESISTANCE

Just to keep in the new spirit of INF, a Cruise convoy went out at the end of August. That'll show those Russkies, eh? The military couldn't even wait till the first inspection period expired. The missiles at Molesworth are due to be removed in autumn, but some missiles could stay at Greenham for another three years.

The Cruise Resistance meeting in Oxford on July 16 felt that the Resistance Network in its present form has largely served its purpose. The network has been very valuable in helping to coordinate actions around Cruise, but now that Cruise is going, future actions will naturally focus on other issues. There has been a proposal to widen the network's focus to all US bases. Ideas can be sent to a NEW CR address: 23 Northumberland Rd, Southampton SO2 0EJ.

CruiseWatch will probably remain in being as long as any missiles stay, but there are bound to be changes as some people move on to other things.

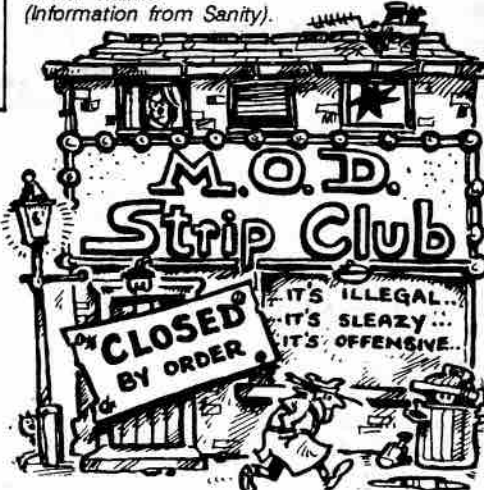
(Information from Southern Resister).

## STRIP-SEARCHING AWARD

LEGAL HISTORY was made in July when Stella Mann-Cairns, a Greenham Common peace protestor, won £2,001 damages plus £6,000 in costs at Newbury County Court. Ms Mann-Cairns had filed a claim on the grounds of assault after a strip-search when arrested by MoD police at Greenham Common in 1983.

The award was the first of its kind against the MoD police, civilian police or customs officials, and it could prove to be a precedent if the 750 other victims of strip-searches decide to make similar claims.

(Information from Sanity).



which revolve round this crucial question: to what extent do we deal with the 'official' peace committees from the Eastern bloc, or do we make links exclusively with the independent peace groups? This in turn reflects a deeper rift concerning the kind of politics the peace movement should be pursuing: does it engage with governments and mainstream political processes in order to exert the maximum leverage? Or should it bypass such processes altogether and concentrate on building a genuine 'detente from below'? The obvious answer is that it can actually do both, as long as it does not confuse short-term with long-term aims: it can endeavour to influence the political process while in the long term help build organisations and alliances that can subvert and dismantle the existing nuclear states. What it must not do is become a creature of the INF Treaty (merely reacting to disarmament negotiations), in the same way as it tended to be a creature of the Cruise and Pershing deployments.

BARRY MAYCOCK

## IF...

In *Slaughterhouse Five* by Kurt Vonnegut, Barr Pilgrim sits down in front of his television set and becomes "slightly unstuck in time". He watches a World War airforce movie which run backwards. It's a wonderful passage:

"American planes, full of holes and wounded men and corpses took off backwards from an airfield in England. Over France, a few German fighter planes flew at them backwards, sucked bullets and shell fragments from some of the planes and crewmen. They did the same for wrecked American bombers on the ground, and those planes flew up backwards to join the formation.

"The formation flew backwards over a German city that was in flames. The bombers opened their bomb bay doors, exerted a miraculous magneticism which shrunk the fires, gathered them into cylindrical steel containers, and lifted the containers into the bellies of the planes. The containers were stored neatly in racks. The Germans below had miraculous devices of their own, which were long steel tubes. They used them to suck more fragments from the crewmen and the planes. But there were still a few wounded Americans, and some of the bombers were in bad repair. Over France though, German fighters came up again, made everything and everybody as good as new.

"When the bombers got back to their base, the steel cylinders were taken from the racks and shipped back to the United States of America, where factories were operating day and night, dismantling the cylinders, separating the dangerous contents into minerals. Touchingly, it was mainly women who did this work. The minerals were then shipped to specialists in remote areas. It was their business to put them into the ground, to hide them cleverly, so they would never hurt anybody again.

"The American fliers turned in their uniforms, became high school kids."

Thanks to Green Umbrella, local green, peace animal rights mag for East London. Write t them at 30 Bathurst Rd, Ilford, Essex IG1 4L for more info.

This Summer has seen several international meetings on the world's disappearing rainforests. OLIVER TICKELL reports on what's been going on and suggests some reading on the subject.

## A tale of two conferences

BY A PERVERSE CHANCE, two important rainforest conferences coincided at the end of June. These were the Oxford Forestry Institute's conference on "The Future of the Tropical Rainforest", and the ITTO (International Tropical Timber Organisation) annual conference in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

What was particularly gratifying about the Oxford conference was the range of delegates from a variety of organisations, not all directly associated with conservation, who rallied around the Friends of the Earth call for the reformation of timber production and importation policies. The key was "sustainability" - we should move rapidly towards the definition and establishment of sustainably managed forests, backed up by a labelling system right through to the consumer who can then make an informed choice between destroying or preserving rainforests when buying tropical timber. This even received the support of World Bank delegate John Spears, to the confoundment of the timber trade representatives whose position (business as usual, lets not rock the boat) became increasingly isolated as the conference progressed.

An early cheer was roused when the British Ambassador to the UN in his opening remarks praised preservers of the rainforest as "right and romantic" and denounced its destroyers as "wrong and repulsive" (cf 1066 and All That). He got onto a stickier wicket in his praise of the Tropical Forestry Action Plan, the 'establishment' plan to save the rainforests which has been widely denounced by NGOs as being likely to lead instead to accelerated rainforest destruction. Even the protagonists of the TFAP were so busy apologising for it than one wondered how much confidence they had in it themselves. Its central problems are:

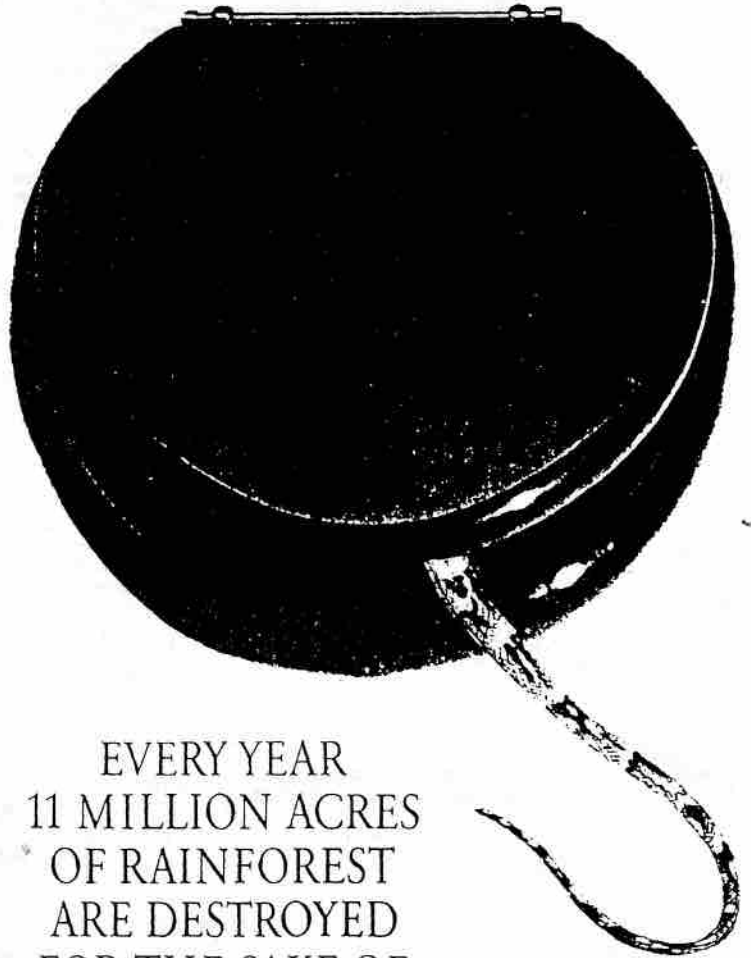
- the total exclusion of NGOs in its formulation
- its emphasis on industrial and timber production
- the fact that all money provided under it is as loans to be repaid with interest, leading to increased exploitation
- its total failure to criticise sponsoring organisations (FAO, WRI, UNDP, World Bank), as ever having had anything to do with rainforest destruction
- its 'blame the victim' approach of putting the responsibility for rainforest destruction on the tropical poor.

It is clear that in order to meet its stated objectives the TFAP needs to be completely reformulated - trying to rope in NGOs at this stage cannot do anything but put a bottom-up veneer on the top-down World Bank approach which has already worked so much destruction.

The main points that emerged were that the forests should be managed for local people and their needs, not for industry and its needs. The best forest managers are the tribal people who have already successfully managed the forests in this way for thousands of years. Any definition of sustainable forest management must incorporate the rights of tribal peoples, absolute ecological reserves, and an understanding that the products of the forest are manifold - fruits, fodder, medicinal plants, climatic stability, water retention and recycling, genetic resources, soil retention - not just timber.

All in all, this was a valuable forum which has brought implementation of FoE's objectives a few steps closer. FoE is no longer at daggers drawn with the Timber Trades Federation. Rather they are working together to

seek ways of implementing a labelling system for sustainably produced timbers. And the sympathetic statements from the World Bank can only increase the credibility of conservationist ideas among the international "great and good".



EVERY YEAR  
11 MILLION ACRES  
OF RAINFOREST  
ARE DESTROYED  
FOR THE SAKE OF  
CONVENIENCE.

### On the other hand...

The ITTO conference was quite a different occasion, in which NGO resources were very limited and rather dominated by WWF pushing its narrower, reserve based conservation strategy. But it nevertheless provided an opportunity for FoE and other environmental NGOs to establish a greater presence and sense of credibility. Following this, FoE will be consulting regularly with the ODA (Overseas Development Administration) and the DTI (Dept of Trade and Industry), responsible for British representation at the ITTO. Furthermore the question of sustainable forest management is firmly on the agenda for next year's conference, with a resolution to formulate and promote guidelines for forest management for discussion there.

It is worth noting that the ODA is becoming increasingly aware of the need for action in tropical forestry, and is now supporting the WWF Korup project in Cameroon, its extension over the frontier into Nigeria's Oban Park, Cameroon's Limbe Botanic Gardens as a centre for conservation of genetic diversity, inventory & management plans for Ghana's forest reserves, natural forest management in Sierra Leone, forest regeneration in Brazil and fire control in Indonesia. Tell your MP that you support these initiatives but the scale of the crisis is such that we should be doing much more still.



## Some Books on the Rainforests

With the upsurge in interest in Tropical Rainforests, it is hardly surprising that a number of books on the subject have recently appeared. These provide an excellent opportunity for people to expand their awareness of the wonders of the rainforest and of the threats they face.

An excellent review of the harsh realities of the situation is contained in The Ecologist special issue **Save the Forests: Save the Planet**. A series of articles from radical ecologists around the world dispel many popular myths including those peddled under the guise of the "Tropical Forestry Action Plan". The real causes of tropical forest destruction are clearly explained as are its appalling consequences. (Vol 17, No 4/5 1987, available from the Ecologist, Worthyvale Manor Farm, Camelford, Cornwall PL32 9TT. Tel 0480 212711. Cover price \$5, discounts available).

An excellent book in the "wonders of the rainforest" department is Andrew Mitchell's book **The Enchanted Canopy**, now available in softback from Fontana. The main message of this book is that 99% of the rainforest ecosystem is between 30 and 40 metres above the ground, where it has hitherto remained practically unexplored. The rainforest canopy is the richest and most inaccessible biotic frontier - as well as the most endangered. The fabulous beauty of the canopy is portrayed in a wealth of colour photographs, and the text is fascinating in its own right, not just as an accompaniment to the pictures. I would recommend this book even more highly were it not that the publishers were too mean to send me a review copy.

Another book in this department is **Tropical Rainforest in South East Asia - A Pictorial Journey**. I have not yet had time to read it, but a quick flick through is enough to convince me to do so in due course. Written by Australian born conservationist and educationalist Ken Rubeli, it not only contains 400 colour photographs showing the diversity and beauty of the S.E. Asian rainforests, but also argues convincingly for their

preservation. The book, which took 7 years in the making, covers the forests of peninsular Malaysia, Borneo, Sumatra and Southern Thailand, but is representative of the area as a whole. Published by Tropical Press SDN. BHD., 29 Jalan Riong, 59100 Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, this book is not widely available in this country. But do order it direct, or put pressure on your local libraries and bookshops to keep copies. ISBN 967-73-0013-X.

One of the rainforest classics is Catherine Caulfield's **In the Rainforest**, published by Picador at \$3.95. I found this a profoundly depressing book which I could only read in short bursts before resuming a more cheerful occupation. Not even any pictures to relieve the gloom of endless stories of greed, stupidity and destruction. This book explores all of the major themes of rainforest destruction in well researched detail. But I just wish it offered a few rays of hope... (ISBN 0-330-29173-4).

And that is precisely what I like about **Saving the Tropical Forests**, by Judith Gradwohl and Russell Greenburg. Rather than bemoaning deforestation and its gruesome consequences, they investigate successful projects in tropical countries around the world which are helping to **Forestry Action Plan**, put forward by FAO, UNDP, WRI and the World Bank, seeking to place the blame for tropical deforestation on the tropical poor (blame the victim!), and to present themselves as having the solution. Both short and long versions of the TFAP are available from the World Bank, 1818 H Street NW, Washington DC 20433, USA. Read it in conjunction with the Ecologist (reviewed above) and **Forestry Crisis and Forestry Myths** by Vandana Shiva, published by the World Rainforest Movement, 87 Cantonment Road, 10250 Penang, Malaysia (ISBN 967-99908-2-6), unpriced - send donation. The British Government is a strong supporter of the TFAP, so find out more about it and write and tell them why it is at best a partial solution, and could well lead to accelerated rainforest destruction.

## Indonesian Transmigration - Update

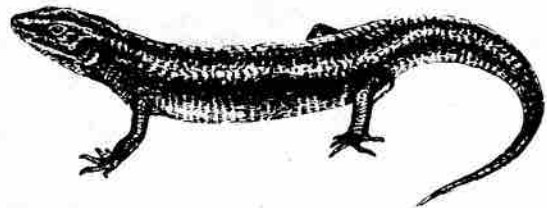
Indonesia's military dictatorship has just announced plans to colonize the highlands of West New Guinea (Irian Jaya) with migrants from the overpopulated island of Java. This is not, however, designed to relieve overpopulation on Java, whose rise in population has remained unchecked by the World Bank supported transmigration programme. It is designed to strengthen civil and military control over an area which whose population is still 3/4 native tribes who see Indonesia as an occupying power.

In the past, the Indonesian government has justified transmigration to the lowlands of Irian Jaya, claiming that these were largely unpopulated, and that there were no plans to settle the highlands, where most of the indigenous inhabitants live. So this new programme represents a new, fiercely destructive phase of transmigration, designed specifically to disrupt and destroy the native communities and "Indonesianise" their people, who are officially regarded as "backward and alien".

Jayawijaya, the area to be opened to colonists, is mountainous and currently accessible only by air or extended trekking. Most of its inhabitants have had little or no contact with the outside world. Its population density is low, but this largely reflects the inhospitable nature of most of the terrain. The fertile lands are concentrated in temperate upland valleys between 1300 and 2300 metres, and these are already densely settled.

The first contact the indigenous people had with the government was in the mid 1970's, when they were ordered to reject their cultural traditions and wear clothes.

Popular resistance reached such a pitch that the military resorted to bombing to re-establish control. Things do not look a lot better now. Already several deaths have resulted from land conflicts between colonists and native people. Forests are being depleted to meet the fuelwood demands of settlements and an introduced brick factory. And the programme is under the directorship of Ltnt General Sugiarto, a veteran of Indonesia's illegal war of occupation in East Timor, with long experience of "territorial management" - vigilant control of the rural population.



**Action:** write to Lieutenant General Sugiarto, Minister for Transmigration, Jl. Letjen Haryono MT (CIKOKO), Jakarta Selatan, Indonesia, politely requesting him to cancel this project which is in violation of the land rights of tribal peoples, as guaranteed under international law. And why not write to Geoffrey Howe or Lynda Chalker at the Foreign Office, protesting Britain's massive sales of military hardware to the most repressive, anti-democratic government in South East Asia, still in illegal occupation of East Timor, where British weapons have been used to kill an estimated 200,000 native inhabitants.

Australia is now well into its bicentenary jamboree. Back in January there was much talk about a new beginning for the Aborigines but since then nothing has really changed. Worse, in parts of the media there has been a reaction against the very idea of showing concern over past and present mistreatment of the Aboriginal people. To try and set the record straight, JERRY SPRING presents some hard truths about the last 200 years and suggests that our response to Australia's Bicentenary should go beyond smug criticism to look at ourselves.

# Australia - the bitter legacy

*"Surely the truth is that what happened was a natural tragedy. In 1788, Stone Age man met the late eighteenth century, and there was only going to be one result."*

THUS DID TERRY COLEMAN, writing in *The Guardian* (23-1-88), dismiss the guilt felt by some about the Aborigines at the Australian Bicentenary celebrations in January this year. And he is not the only writer to fret about this masochistic guilt for wrongs long past. It's been a refrain in many articles in the British press since the turn of the year. But then we should hardly be surprised at this mass burial of history for if we begin to look too closely at past wrongs then the stranglehold that rich people have on the poor, landowning people have on the propertyless and the North has on the South begins to look distinctly immoral. Those who benefit most from capitalism quite naturally find alarming the idea of guilt; a sense that past wrongs should still itch; a feeling that we should try and right injustice, however well established. A willingness to go along with the inevitable tide of history is the oil that has allowed the industrial machine to power so smoothly on - too much of that silly guilt business and the whole thing would grind to a halt. In fact there is a whole host of hidden assumptions in Terry Coleman's apologia for white supremacy that have to be dealt with. The Australian Bicentenary needs to be scrutinised not just over the basic issue of Aboriginal rights past and present, but also for what it tells us about ourselves, our history and our possible future.

## A natural disaster?

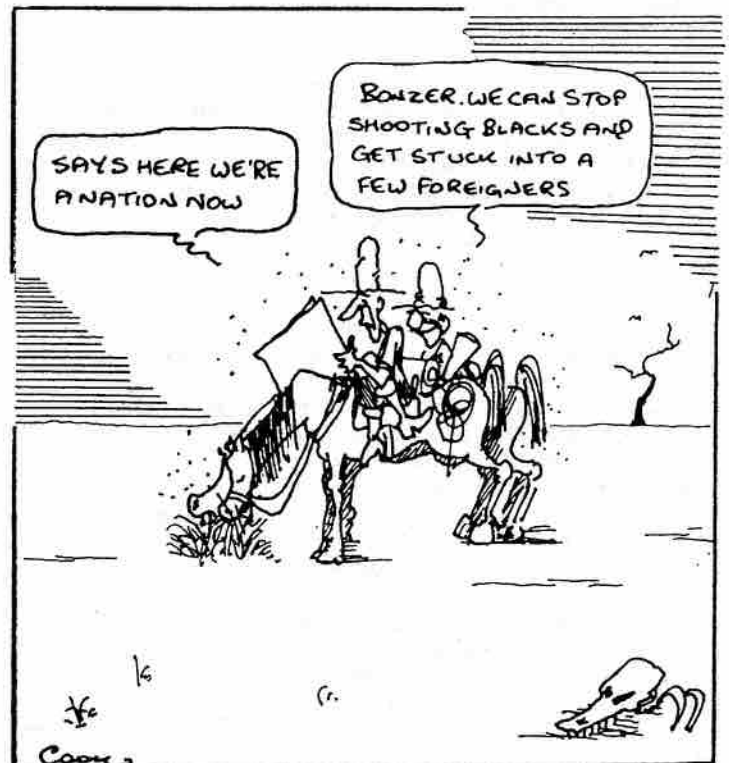
Plenty of course has been written about the convicts and their early contact with the Aborigines, although until quite recently it wasn't the kind of thing you taught to Australian school children. What Terry Coleman et al have to grasp is that injustice to Aboriginal people today is inextricably bound up with the results of the original white invasion. The 'discovery' of Australia and the subsequent decimation of the Aboriginal population may be irreversible now, but it certainly wasn't a "natural tragedy" and must never be allowed to be portrayed as such. To claim that just because you can't wish away the last 200 years then nothing can be done seems to be conveniently forgetting the useful concept of reparation.

We have to remember the context in which the convicts were cast out like excrement from Georgian England - the heart of exploitative mercantile capitalism and ethnocentric notions of christian righteousness. The British knew full well that the aborigines had a perfect right to their land and that they should not be forced from it. However, on the ground the invaders had no such compunctions about theft and the British specifically declared that Aborigines were too scattered to be in ownership of the land and Australia could be considered *Terra Nullius*, an empty land. Whilst there were enlightened officials who saw that the Aborigines were being mistreated there efforts were

just feeble pinpricks of light in a vast darkness of wrong. They cannot in any way offset the basic fact that Aborigines never gave up title to their homelands and that whatever exceptions there were, the general attitude of the whites was thoroughly racist, stemming both from an assumption of superiority of white culture and the sense of threat as whites struggled to survive at all in Australia.

As the whites consolidated their hold over the area around Sydney harbour, the Aborigine peoples were slowly driven back by violence and by virulent European diseases. Whites settled further into the interior with inevitable clashes with Aborigine groups claiming prior ownership. European capitalism's insatiable demand for raw materials like wool ensured the motivation for continued invasion never slackened.

In short, the idea that 1788 was a natural disaster is grotesque. It resulted from political decisions made to overcome the pressures created in industrialising Britain. Few dare to suggest that we shouldn't feel at least some kind of vicarious shame at the genocide practised against the Jews in Nazi Germany - so what's different about aborigines, except that they're black and non-European? Australians too have to come to terms with the fact that modern Australia was founded on injustice and that this must be righted before the country can be truly at peace with itself.





Guilt-haters also like to forget that we are not just dealing with illegality that is long past. The disparity between Aborigines and whites today should be a source of shame in any supposedly civilised country. Aborigines live 20-30 year shorter lives, are 20 times more likely to die in infancy, suffer from easily curable diseases like trachoma (found in over 30% of aboriginal children) and gastro-enteritis and diet-related diabetes, they have the highest leprosy rate in the world (a disease unknown before 1788). In their landlessness they often are forced to live in squalor, they suffer greater unemployment, get poorer jobs and are over 100 times more likely to be imprisoned. Aborigine deaths in custody are now of international concern. Aborigines have only been classed as citizens under white law in their own homeland since 1967.

Whether by design or not, over the last 200 celebrated years their treatment has been barbaric. It's like taking fish out of the sea, replacing their fins with feet, throwing them back in - and then being surprised when they struggle to survive in their own environment. It's testimony to the strength of their culture that Aborigines have survived to fight back at all.

And at the root of this is land rights. Without land, there is no way that Aborigines can take their rightful place in Australia. Unfortunately, the history of concessions to the Aborigines tells us more about white selfishness and political cowardice than anything else. Indeed, in states like Queensland Aborigines still live on white controlled reservations, where the white manager can walk into anyone's home and where an Aborigine can be exiled from the whole State for being a 'troublemaker' - i.e. political. Realising the focus on the Aborigines that would be provided by the bicentenary, the Labour government did promise radical land legislation, but backed off under intense pressure from mining interests, culminating with Prime Minister Hawke's bizarre claim that it was Australia's duty to export uranium, regardless of the consequences to Aboriginal sites and people in affected areas such as Roxby Downs.

The land issue will never be settled until the Australian government signs a treaty with the Aboriginal peoples. And it won't be enough to tinker with federal laws here and there; there must be a constitutional settlement. This must acknowledge their prior ownership and occupation of the land; their right to inalienable freehold of vacant Crown land (including veto over mining, like other Australian landowners already have); compensation to be paid in money or land for the territory taken from the Aborigines; full control by Aboriginal people of Aboriginal welfare and financial services; and a proper investigation into Aboriginal deaths in police custody. One hopes this will be enough, but a future government could still overturn the new constitution. Perhaps only some kind of autonomous, parallel government could provide an adequate safeguard.

It is necessary to stress that Aborigines accept that they will have to share Australia now. What they do insist upon is that they are compensated for the wrong done to them and that their culture be respected so that, for example, sacred sites are not destroyed by mines, that when mining takes place the profits do not disappear out of the country and that the environment is protected. Such steps would of course benefit all Australia, black or white, except the multinationals. While many complain about preferential treatment for Aborigines, they forget the web of subsidies and tax breaks offered to agribusiness and mining. The challenge that Aborigines present is to growth-fixated capitalist culture and increasingly Australian greens and radicals are seeing that.

Unfortunately Hawke's government isn't. For example, the much trumpeted Royal Commission on deaths in custody is really a pathetic PR exercise rather than a serious enquiry.

*He fell from the ninth floor  
He hanged himself  
He slipped on a piece of soap while washing  
He hanged himself  
He slipped on a piece of soap while washing  
He fell from the ninth floor  
He hanged himself while washing  
He slipped from the ninth floor  
He hung from the ninth floor  
He slipped on the ninth floor while washing  
He fell from a piece of soap while slipping  
He hung from the ninth floor  
He washed from the ninth floor while slipping  
He hung from a piece of soap while washing*

CHRISTOPHER VAN WYK, South Africa

Its remit is restricted to deaths after 1980, to deaths actually in police stations rather than outside, and the A\$16,000 made available compares just a little unfavourably with the A\$26m spent on the Ayres Rock baby case. And of course it can't afford to uncover the truth because it would explode the comfortable 'rotten apple' theory of police racism and violence that in reality is fully up to South African standards in certain parts of Australia. Autopsies have shown that Aborigines hanged themselves whilst totally inebriated or with socks that weren't their own, and therefore must have been brought into the cell by police officers, that their feet were still touching the ground when the noose was round their neck, when families seeking independent autopsies have managed to reclaim the victim's body it has been found on occasions to have been mutilated to hide vital evidence... Extrapolating these deaths to the white population would give us over a thousand deaths in eight years alone. That would be taken seriously.

The racism is seen too in the attempt of white officialdom to decide for people whether they are or are not Aborigine, essentially by whether they are dark enough and live out in the desert acting like proper Noble Savages. Aborigines see this for the nonsense it is given the history of rape, child kidnapping and forced assimilation. For them, it is an individual's choice based on their own Aboriginal ancestry and faith to Aboriginal traditions as to whether they wish to be accepted by the Aboriginal community. Aborigines refuse to be ghettoised as touristic relics. They want their basic rights acknowledged just as any white would expect - as citizens, without conditions.

We like to think that the earlier genocidal massacres are past, but modern medicine has been coming to the whites' aid instead. Health workers have found that Aboriginal girls as young as 10 have been given the contraceptive Depo Provera without their knowledge and despite the fact that it has been banned in other developed countries due to its side effects - which include long-term sterility. When women go to the 'health' centres to give birth an unnecessary number are being given Caesarian sections and then later finding that their fallopian tubes were stitched up, again without their consent, after the operation. If you can't kill them off then stop them breeding.

### Smug criticism?

So why should Australia's problems touch us particularly, apart from sheer disgust at this catalogue of wrongs? Well, we do benefit from it all. Don't we all righteously pass over the Cape pears and reach straight for the Australian instead? But who got thrown off the land they were grown on? Who's living in a dry river bed while the profits accumulate elsewhere? Who's malnourished while we eat pears in Melbourne Rouge '86? And then, apart from the lingering effects of the Bomb tests, there's our present nuclear power/weapons programme which provides the impetus for BP's Roxby Downs programme - it's a good example of the scheming deviousness of multinational business.

The mining companies are required by law to contact Aborigines whose land and sacred sites might be affected by proposed mining, but in Roxby the people only found out there was going to be mining by chance there was going to be mining and the mining companies made no effort to contact them. Then the companies sent an archaeologist to assess sacred sites (for evidence of habitation etc) - but this is irrelevant since it is anthropological evidence that has to determine the presence of a site. Neither the government nor the companies would help the Aborigines hire lawyers and anthropologists and at the enquiry the Kokotha people's claims had to be verified as true by a white professor. Sites have already been destroyed and there's no guarantee against

## ABORIGINAL CHARTER OF RIGHTS

*We want hope, not racialism,  
 Brotherhood, not ostracism,  
 Black advance, not white ascendance:  
 Make us equals, not dependents.  
 We need help, not exploitation,  
 We want freedom, not frustration;  
 Not control, but self-reliance,  
 Independence, not compliance,  
 Not rebuff, but education,  
 Self-respect, not resignation.  
 Free us from a mean subjection,  
 From a bureaucrat Protection.  
 Let's forget the old-time slavers:  
 Give us fellowship, not favours;  
 Encouragement, not prohibitions,  
 Homes, not settlements and missions.  
 We need love, not overlordship,  
 Grip of hand, not whip-hand wardship;  
 Opportunity that places  
 White and black on equal basis.  
 You dishearten not defend us,  
 Circumscribe, who should befriend us.  
 Give us welcome, not aversion,  
 Give us choice, not cold coercion,  
 Status, not discrimination,  
 Human rights, not segregation.  
 You the law, like Roman Pontius,  
 Make us proud, not colour conscious;  
 Give the deal you still deny us,  
 Give goodwill, not bigot bias;  
 Give ambition, not prevention,  
 Confidence, not condescension;  
 Give incentive, not restriction,  
 Give us Christ, not crucifixion.  
 Though baptized and blessed and Bibles  
 We are still tabooed and libelled.  
 You devout Salvation-sellers,  
 Make us neighbours, not fringe-dwellers;  
 Make us mates, not poor relations,  
 Citizens, not serfs on stations.  
 Must we native Old Australians  
 In our land rank as aliens?  
 Banish bans and conquer caste,  
 Then we'll win our own at last.*

KATH WALKER - presented to the 5th annual meeting of the Federal Council for the Advancement of Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders; Adelaide, 1962.

future desecrations. All this, remember, is being done in the name of our nuclear power programme and BP's future profitability.

So, our actions and inactions directly touch Aborigine people. Isn't it time we stopped being dependent on other people's misery? Any GL reader who's had the fortune to hear some of the Aborigine speakers on the recent European tour will be aware of the need for action by us. They asked for it specifically.

## Thinking beyond guilt

Terry Coleman derided present fascination with Aboriginal culture as "Palaeo-liberal chic". He would of course, being descended in a direct line from those original social Darwinists who naturally saw their own culture as the epitome of civilisation. To describe Aborigines as "Stone Age" neatly places them in our own European evolutionary hierarchy with obvious consequences for subsequent judgements. Hence, the fact that Aboriginal culture represents a highly adaptive way of coping with, but not destroying, an often harsh environment totally escapes him. (As does the idea of critically examining the environmental costs of his own culture.)

Those who are so sure about the essential rightness of European culture can no doubt wonder at St Pauls Cathedral, but their crippled imaginations apparently can't grasp the power of Aborigine culture that comes from its essential humility; the sense that in the end we are dependent on the earth and that to abuse it is to debase ourselves and hasten our destruction. The latest issue of Christian Ecology Group News has some instructive quotes from the Archbishop of Canterbury's Address at the Lambeth Global Forum on Human Survival where he tries to undo the damage done by Genesis giving us dominion over all things. Reading it (the full text is available from Judith Pritchard, 58 Quest Hill Rd, Malvern, Worcs WR14 1RW) you can't help feeling that such concern is an appendage; in direct contrast to Aboriginal religion where reverence for the earth is the central truth. Something must be wrong when there's a history of the Church repeatedly scrabbling to update its teaching to cope with, for example, the abolition of slavery, decolonisation, nuclear war and women's rights.

The Kokotha people, whose ancestral lands include Roxby, have as one of their Dreamtime ancestors the Sleepy Lizard. (Dreamtime ancestors are believed to have walked around Australia creating all the geological and living features of the landscape, and the routes they took are immortalised as Songlines, a kind of musical map by which someone who knows part of song can both know their own clan territory and periodically recreate the landscape by singing the Songline. Bruce Chatwin's book The Songlines is a fascinating European response to the subject.) According to the Sleepy Lizard Dreaming, Roxby Mine pierces the stomach of the lizard itself. Now, Roxby doesn't just have yellow cake (uranium ore), but also gold, copper, silver and lead. And if you see the stomach of a lizard it is coloured in just the way the strata are, thousands of feet below the ground - in the belly of the Lizard. The ancient Sleepy Lizard Dreaming also contains strict prohibitions on digging up the land around Roxby, which is remarkable because when Roxby is mined it is becoming clear that the use of artesian groundwater could well pollute the only water supplies of people for thousands of miles around. So here we have a religion, myth if you like, that has a specifically ecological intent at its core, in contrast to the religion that underlies our own culture.

We may wonder at the Dreamtime myths of the Aborigines, at the self-sufficiency of their culture, at their vast knowledge of land, vegetation and animals, yet what





Wendy said that, even today, when an Aboriginal mother notices the first stirrings of speech in her child, she lets it handle the 'things' of that particular country: leaves, fruit, insects and so forth.

The child, at its mother's breast, will toy with the 'thing', talk to it, test its teeth on it, learn its name, repeat its name - and finally chuck it aside.

"We give our children guns and computer games," Wendy said. "They gave their children the land."

From The Songlines by Bruce Chatwin

do we do then? For many it is a matter of gawping and promising to ensure that the people with such an inheritance survive. In the green movement, some would seek to go further and take on board aspects of the cultures of indigenous peoples as part of a new philosophy. And there is much to be learnt: the reverence for the earth for a start. On the other hand there are the less enviable sides to many of these other cultures, such as the position of women, the insularity, that hardly seem to be an advance - and moreover, allow the green movement to attract people from the right and beyond with little adjustment in their beliefs.

Whatever, it somehow feels ludicrous to create, so self-consciously, in an instant, what may be called a new philosophy or ideology, but which is in effect a new religion, a new myth. It's as sensible as the idea that the Aborigines should have suddenly switched to Christianity in 1788. At the moment, if people have a religion or some set of guiding myths, it's a belief in democracy, individualistic materialism and ever upward technological and economic progress - and what a fossilised and dangerous religion it is too. But it is from these beliefs that spring all the taboos, indulgences and heresies that govern life in Britain, and Australia. Hence we have Labour's supine response to the poll tax so as to stay within The Law, or the conditions attached to Aboriginal tenancies insisting that they develop the land "economically". It is this western religion we have to challenge, both inside and increasingly outside its established rules. People have to remember that the social benefits that have been won over the years came despite capitalism, not because of it.

Whilst this should be obvious to greens (although it leaves green consumerism as something of a fiddling irrelevance) it still leaves us with the twin problems of first defining and then converting people to new beliefs. Floating off in our own individual mysticisms won't change anything except at the margins. And when you read in a serious attempt to discuss a new green philosophy like Duvall & Sessions' Deep Ecology, that a component of the new enlightenment is to be non-egotistical mountaineering then the pitfalls awaiting the creators of these new myths become clearer - I can just see the fresh green voters scaling the North Wall of Uxbridge High Street in their spare time. My point though, is not against mythologising or symbolising per se, but merely to point out the difficulties of doing it without reference to where we are now, politically and culturally.

Of course the usual twentieth century way that people's beliefs get transformed is through revolution. But as yet our 'stuff you' culture is blinding the majority to the realities. And whereas revolutions hitherto have arisen out of blatant oppression, now the crumbs are thrown out to enough people to make the idea of revolution, apparently on behalf of the planet, seem absurd when it isn't.

The conclusion of all this is somewhat depressing to me. As greens we can all see so clearly the unsustainability and the absurdity of the present culture, and we all know how short time is before the strains inherent in it tear the system apart in some uncontrollable military or ecological disaster. Yet that new (or perhaps old) way of looking at the world which may yet save us if we can find it simply can't be generated like a manifesto; some committee religion. And that's the depressing paradox: as well as working within current politics and culture, greens have to

change that culture out of all recognition and as soon as possible. But our culture, religion, the way we look at the world goes far beyond politics and can't be changed by some pseudo-political debate. And so the mechanism for that urgently needed change must be long-term - too long-term perhaps. The only reason for optimism is that greens are here and are the only movement who recognise the need to work at the two different levels. Let's hope we can get ourselves coherent in time.



Survival International, 310 Edgware Rd, London W2 1DY produce an excellent pamphlet on Australia, which includes an extensive bibliography for further reading. The Anti Slavery Society, 180 Brixton Rd, London SW9 6AT produce Aborigines Today: Land and Justice (£4.95), which is a comprehensive survey of the aboriginal situation today. Robert Hughes' The Fatal Shore (Pan, £4.99) tells the story of the early years of the penal settlements. The Aboriginal Land Rights Support Group, c/o BAIC, 52a Acre Lane, London SW2 1RW and Women Working for a Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific (0272) 743224, have campaigns and newsletters covering the problems.



# Sunflowers

## Green Trading

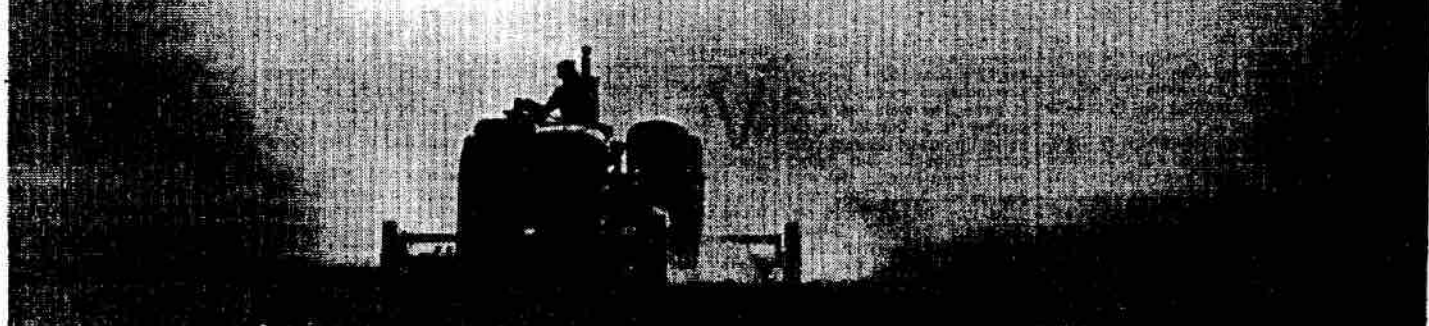
Sunflower T-shirts £4.50; Green Collective post cards 20p each; boolets £1 and £2; 'The Greens are Gathering' badges 25p each; Sunflower stickers ('The Greens are Gathering', 'Liberate the Earth', 'Animal Liberation', 'Women's Liberation', 'Green CND') 30p each; Stonehenge tapes £3.50 each or £6 for pair.

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

'Sunflowers', PO Box 123, Salisbury SP2 0YA, Wilts. Telephone (0722) 742977.

TIM ANDREWES assesses the optimistic signs that organic agriculture is beginning to win over significant numbers of both producers and consumers, as disenchantment with EEC food agricultural policies grows.

# Food for thought



THE ORGANIC FARMING MOVEMENT is currently in buoyant and assertive mood. Recent reports warning of the hazards of pesticide residues merely add more weight to the argument that conventional agriculture has lost its way: the Common Agricultural Policy is costing each British taxpayer an estimated £137 every year, while giving in return higher prices, nitrate pollution, habitat destruction and vast food surpluses.

Against this background, the demand for organically grown produce is rising. An opinion survey by the Presto Argyll Group found that out of 1013 shoppers, 76% agreed that food should be grown without chemicals, while 69% were prepared to pay more for organic produce. High street chainstores like Safeway and Marks & Spencers are increasingly eager to make space on their shelves for organic food, recognising a valuable marketing opportunity when they see one.

In the UK, there are at present just over 1,000 organic farmers, producing crops with an annual retail value of only £34 million (0.1-0.5% of the market in those sectors where organic food has established itself). Over 60% of all organic produce sold in the UK has to be imported from abroad, including a high percentage of basic commodities such as grains and fresh vegetables, as well as more exotic foods. West Wales Organic Growers are urgently seeking new members to achieve a greater continuity of supply, and at this year's Welsh Agricultural Show they asked Prince Charles to help out by supplying organic milk from his Gloucestershire farms to their cheese factory at Lampeter. Moves are now afoot to seek grants from the Welsh Office to create 75 new organic units. The money needed to convert chemically farmed land would be between £50 and £70 per hectare, far less than current 'set-aside' payments made by the EEC to farmers not to produce at all!

## Organic groans

Organic agriculture seems, therefore, to be an economic sector straining to meet the challenge and demands of the popularity of its produce. But how does the farming Establishment view the development of a prospering, unconventional minority in the midst of uncertainty and crisis in the rest of agriculture?

Farmers Weekly retains a steadfast view that farming with chemicals is both safe and sensible: organic food is seen as a fad propagated by a vocal minority in the media. A July editorial argued that rising demand for such produce was occurring because "media-conditioned buyers are being brainwashed to believe their food is being poisoned and

they are being got at". The latest argument to be deployed is that organic and low-input farming are a luxury that only the prosperous West can afford; the Third World, it is argued in all seriousness, needs all the agri-chemicals it can get to produce food for its starving millions. The West therefore has a duty to continue using chemicals in order to prop up the multinational giants who supply Third World growers. Farmers Weekly, always a good read, is easily recognisable in your public library as the magazine with large ICI and Bayer advertisements on the front cover, and many more inside.

A more reasonable stance is taken by Simon Gourlay, president of the National Farmers Union. In *New Farmer And Grower*, he concedes that organic farming "may have a place in assisting to resolve some of the current imbalances" of conventional agriculture, and has called on the Ministry of Agriculture to increase research and development grants for organic farming.

## Claiming a slice of the action

Gourlay also sees farming without chemicals as "an important market development in its own right", and it is this realisation that is finally forcing the Establishment to view organic farming in a more favourable light. Even Farmers Weekly argues that "producers must not ignore fads and fancies which might even lead to profit; it is surely far better to explore the possibilities and claim a slice of the action". This slightly perturbing profit-motive view of organic farming is enticing new and unexpected converts: Malcolm Parker, for example, a former chief executive of Woolworths, is heading the management board of the newly formed Land And Food Company, which aims to acquire 50 farms by 1995 and start producing, packaging and retailing organic food.

This new approach may soon pose a threat to all the hard work which the organic movement, led by the Soil Association, British Organic Farmers and the Organic Growers Association, have achieved in recent years, because without general and strict adherence to a clearcut definition of 'organic', unprincipled producers and retailers may undermine the good name of organic produce - defined by the Soil Association as free from contamination at all times during the growing, storage and retail processes.

## The Green Revolution?

The Ministry of Agriculture is currently researching a legal definition of 'organic', despite the existence of a



Ministry if this principle is compromised. The Soil Association has also embarked on its Living Earth Campaign, aimed at significantly raising the profile of the Association as "the guardian and leading proponent of a system of agriculture which simultaneously provides a safe countryside and healthy food", and generally upping the public pressure for a strict legal definition.

It also aims to mobilise its whole membership for the campaign as well as welcoming support from members of the British Organic Farmers and Growers Association and other organic producers. Full backing has already been received from the Green Party, whose agricultural spokesman Bernard Little has called on the Ministry of Agriculture to change its objectives "so that it has a primary duty to produce food and protect the countryside, which will thereby embrace organic farming, which fits conservation with food-growing like a hand in a glove."

Along with these campaigns, the organic movement has published a document entitled **The Case For Organic Agriculture**, which calls for one tenth of prime agricultural land in the UK to be farmed organically by the year 2000, the provision of conversion grants to tide farmers over the difficult years when their crops are not yet fully organic, the adoption of organic farming as the preferred management technique in Environmentally Sensitive Areas and as the solution to the problem of pesticide and nitrate water contamination, and the provision of sufficient R&D funding. The crisis in conventional agriculture and mounting public concern over the use of chemicals in farming have presented opportunities which the organic movement seems intent on grasping. At the mundane level, it would certainly be useful for us to help by writing to

MPs and MAFF expressing our support for the Soil Association's standards and official funding for conversion. Actually buying produce with the SA seal of approval will also further the organic cause. And incidentally, while the MAFF committee wastes years over the definition of 'organic', trading standards officers are powerless to stop people selling any chemical covered fruit and veg as 'organic' - so the SA Seal of Approval is your only guarantee of chemical-free food at present.

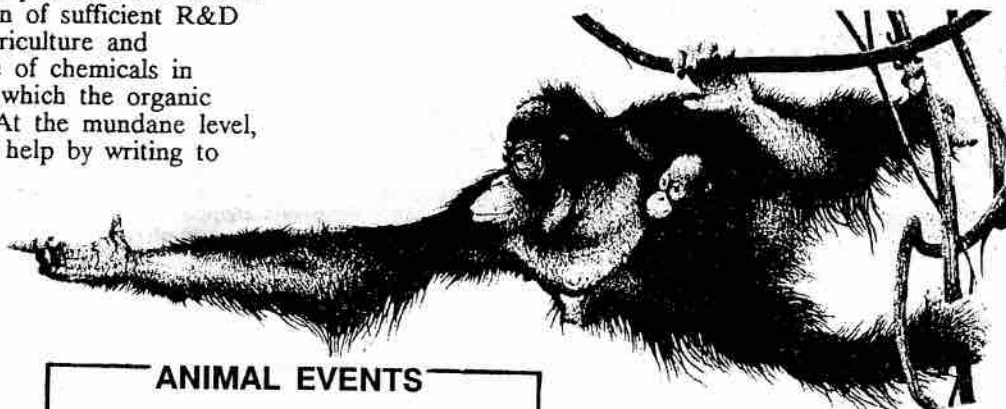
But more important and more difficult than just buying organic food is the task of bridging the gap between Greens and hostile conventional farmers, whose opinions are largely shaped by the mainstream farming press and institutions, and whose bad experience of recent EEC reforms has made them reluctant to contemplate any proposals for change. If farmers begin the switch to organic farming merely because there is money to be made from it, then progress to a more benign form of land management and healthier food production will be limited; somehow a more holistic approach must be encouraged, which can only come through dialogue. A change in attitudes and outlooks as well as farming techniques is needed before conventional agriculture is finally assigned to the compost heap of history.

## ANIMAL NEWS

### GREEN ANGLING

THE FIRST National Anti-Angling Day was an amazing success in terms of attracting media attention, particularly at the local level. This issue always generates a lot of heated controversy because angling is much more of a mass sport than other bloodsports; also, the campaign is a comparatively novel one. In addition the anti-angling cause has received a boost recently from a court case in West Germany, when two angling competition organisers were convicted and fined for inflicting cruelty on fish: in the course of one competition 1,100 lb. of fish was kept for hours on end in keepnets.

Mutterings from anglers about the role of the Green Movement in the anti-angling campaign produced a response from Ian Flindall, the Green Party's London Area Election Agent, who wrote a letter to the Angling Times pointing out that the Green Party has no policy over angling (is not opposed, in other words). Not only did he reassure anglers on this, but openly appealed for their support: "I challenge anglers not only to vote for the Green Party but also to join, to crusade for the water environment, and give it a real voice in politics. There is a dangerous assumption in Angling Times and elsewhere that anyone in the Green Movement is 'anti'. This is not the case. Many Greens, myself included, owe their interest in conservation matters almost entirely to angling. There are many anglers in the Green Party putting the case for angling - we could do with more." It's certainly an interesting idea, joining the Green Movement via bloodsports!



### ANIMAL EVENTS

SEPT 3: Animal Welfare/Living Without Cruelty Exhibition, St Albans Town Hall. 10am - 6pm.

SEPT 17: Living Without Cruelty Exhibition at Cardigan Guildhall, 11am - 4pm. Details: West Wales Animal Aid, PO Box 2, Llandysul, Dyfed, SA44 4JB.

SEPT 17-18: The first Northern Living Without Cruelty Exhibition, Leeds Town Hall. Organised by Animal Aid. Saturday 10am - 7pm, Sunday 10.30am - 7pm. Entrance £2.00.

SEPT 17: Torchlight Procession against Sunderland Polytechnic's new animal laboratory. For information, tel. 091.264 2688.

SEPT 19-21: International Conference on the Status of Animals. Nottingham University. Details: SSPV, 10 Queensferry Street, Edinburgh, EH2 4PG. Tel: 031.225 6039.

SEPT 20: Living Without Cruelty evening, St James Church Hall, Birstall Road, Birstall.

OCT 1: Day of Action against the meat industry. Details: Co-ordinating Animal Welfare. Tel: 0272 428969.

### DO IT YOURSELF!

Following the successful **Living Without Cruelty Exhibition** put on in London last year, it is clear that local groups can use this idea successfully - see this month's **Animal Events** opposite for proof of it.

Animal Aid (at 7 Castle St, Tonbridge, Kent) provide a useful information sheet on setting up your own event, giving practical advice on publicity, timing, expense and format - the sort of venue, the type of food to serve, the stalls, videos, demonstrations, talks: the point being made is that it is not necessarily difficult to organise, though it involves planning and hard work, and also a lot of fun. The first step is to book a hall, then think about it afterwards!

### ANIMAL RIGHTS PRISONERS: LATEST NEWS

VIVIEN SMITH and Gary Cartwright were released on August 5th. Vivien would like to thank all the people who have given her so much support while she's been in prison.

Please write to the following prisoners to let them know they are not forgotten. Remember that all letters to prisoners are opened and censored, so don't write anything that could jeopardise future actions or someone's freedom.

ANDREW CLARKE, V50557, GEOFF SHEPPARD, V50730, HM Prison, Heathfield Rd, Wandsworth, London, SW18 3HS.

SALLY CARR, T82342, HM Prison & YCC, Drake Hall, Eccleshall, Stafford, ST21 6LQ.

ROBIN LANE, WF0796, HM Prison, Knox Rd, Cardiff, CF2 1UG.

GARI ALLEN, W62615, HM Prison, Winson Green Rd, Birmingham, B18 4AS.

LESLEY PHIPPS, T82697, HM Prison & YCC, Drake Hall, Eccleshall, Stafford, ST21 6LQ.

RONNIE LEE, V02682, HM Prison, Long Lartin, South Littleton, Evesham, Worcs, WR11 5TZ.

DAVY BARR, 152/88, A-1/35, HM Prison, Shotts, Canthill Rd, Lanarkshire, ML7 4LF.



## THE CRUEL DECEPTION by ROBERT SHARPE

THIS BOOK is a real cracker! A blistering attack on the uselessness of vivisection and sure to be seen as the natural successor to Slaughter of the Innocent and Naked Empress.

The book is minutely researched from scientific sources, whilst acknowledging the vital documentation uncovered by direct action groups such as the Animal Liberation Front, Central Animal Liberation League and South East Animal Liberation League.

It details how the infectious diseases like diphtheria, scarlet fever, whooping cough and smallpox were disappearing fast before animal-based vaccines were introduced; how animal experiments hindered the understanding of disease through the confusion caused by unreliable animal tests; and how human-based vaccines are better and safer anyway - many people have suffered and died through the obsession with the vivisection method.

Moving to the present day, the situation has little changed. Animal-based drugs are still harming people; they are withdrawn due to human toxicity unseen in animal tests; and useful compounds are still discarded due to adverse animal data. The vivisection system is so spectacularly useless - and dangerous - that its existence is beyond comprehension! But look a little closer and things become clearer, as Dr Sharpe points out, "Like other social evils, such as slavery, child labour and the suppression of women's rights, vivisection is all about power". And power means money and prestige.

Vivisection has grown into a transnational, multimillion pound industry based on profit not human health. There are enough vested interests involved to disregard whether it is good science or not. And it means that pharmaceutical companies can literally flood the markets with unneeded pills and potions (there are 18,000 licenced drugs in Britain alone, the World Health Organisation - not an antivivisection body - say only about 200 are needed worldwide). If the drugs turn out to be effective with acceptable toxicity - and the only way to know that is through long-term human use - they remain on the market; if it's discovered that they are effective but toxic, or useless and toxic, they are shipped to the unprotected third world. It seems the drug companies don't lose either way.

The book goes on to mention the failure of the three-year Mobilisation for Laboratory Animals Campaign, the connivance of the "moderate" animal welfare groups with the government and minister David Mellor's systematic lying in defence of vivisection. In fact Mellor's lies about eye irritation tests came to light only after activist raids on Wickham and Hazelton laboratories.

Good news is featured in the book too. Details of the recent advances in non-animal experiments, which often have the distinct advantage above vivisection of being directly relevant to human beings. Also, politics stands in the way here too - for if new tests are devised the government ADD them to the existing procedures instead of replacing the bad old with the good new. This is a sad legacy from the thalidomide disaster; now no-one wants to be in the firing line, legally speaking, when the next major tragedy occurs, so the more tests the better. It may not be good science, but it makes good legal sense to blur the picture as much as possible. In this way everyone benefits, except of course the animals and the human victims, but that counts for little as the

money's in the bank by then!

Ending vivisection must be central in green politics - it does as much damage as pollution and the weapons trade; and quietly kills as many too. A first step for us is self-education - and this book is perfect for that. (Available from bookshops or £7.99 from the publishers, Thorsons, Dept 6J, Dennington Estate, Wellesborough, Northants, or £7.99 from Animal Aid, 7 Castle St, Tonbridge, Kent, or £8.75 (l) from BUAV, 16a Crane Grove, Islington, London.

MAGGIE PARRY & DAVE ROBERTS, Bangor Animal Rights Group.

## LIVING WITHOUT CRUELTY Mark Gold. (Green Print) £4.95 pbk.

THIS BOOK both argues for and gives advice for changing to a lifestyle as free as possible from cruelty to animals. Its main thrust is promoting vegetarianism, and Gold argues powerfully against the meat-based diet on animal rights/compassionate, health, economic and ecological grounds.

Some of Gold's accounts of the cruelties that lie behind the butcher's counter make disturbing reading, such as the terrible conditions of our supposedly 'humane' slaughterhouses. Gold also traces the links between vegetarianism and Third World hunger, vivisection and the environment. He also looks "beyond the food cupboard" at toiletries, cosmetics, medicines, clothing, household products, entertainments and pets, exposing the nasties and suggesting alternatives. He concludes Part One of the book with a vegetarian shopper's guide.

Part Two of the book consists of recipes from the vegetarian cookery author Sarah Brown and Part Three summarises key points and gives guidelines for changing to a cruelty-free lifestyle.

On the whole the book would make an excellent read for someone on the verge of going vegetarian. The arguments that go hand-in-hand with advice on how one can go cruelty-free make an excellent combination; the reader hasn't got so many excuses to procrastinate once her/his conscience is pricked.

The book is also quite positive, stressing the power that we have as individuals to push for changes in the shopping arcades. The less people buy abuse-related merchandise, the less profitable it gets and the more nails, hopefully, in the coffin of the animal exploitation industry.

GRAHAM HOOPER

## PETS AND DRUGS

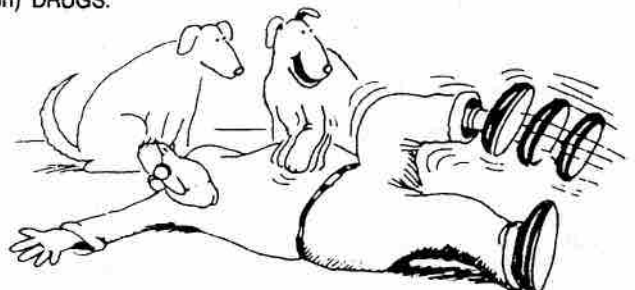
IN CASE you didn't know, 1989 will be the year of the first National Pet Week, which will be launched on 25th October. It's best to be sceptical of this initiative: one of the members of the National Pet Week Liaison Committee is NOAH (not the ancient biblical personage but the National Office of Animal Health Ltd), basically the vet drugs trade association and an integral part of the pharmaceutical industry. The first chairman of NOAH was the director of drugs company Merck, Sharp and Dohme. So beware of the words 'medicine' and 'health' here: what we are talking about are (once again) DRUGS.

## FROM ANIMAL LIBERATION TO LIVING WITHOUT CRUELTY

THE CRUELTY-free industry continues to roll on apace; the whole idea has certainly been a good wheeze on somebody's part. Living Without Cruelty events seem to have snowballed to the extent of crowding out everything else (see the September Diary); yet it must be admitted that a great success was had all round, as the handouts say. Why then the twinges of doubt and uneasiness that I felt as I wandered among the stalls at the Animal Aid Exhibition at Kensington last June? Was it the sense of smugness and self-congratulation that made me uncomfortable? It all felt cosy, a long way from the outside world, in the manner of the local church bazaar. It seems to me that this is the sort of politics that capitalism positively encourages, not only shifting us away from activism to 'lifestyle', but actually prompting us to consume, and extend the range of choices available. A lifestyle can be bought like any other commodity, and usually at somebody's expense; the more some of us can 'live without cruelty', the more others will have to live with it: 'cruelty', like other unwanted products, can be dumped on the world's poor. To me the movement from 'animal liberation' to 'living without cruelty' is a backward step - away from the bars of the cage, as it were, and into the nice local wholefood shop. All this is risk-free and painless, and 'alternatives' and 'substitutes' are continually being manufactured in order to ensure that it will be. I remain sceptical as to whether animals are helped very much by the embrace of a lifestyle (often at the expense of political activism); capitalism has its own 'Parkinson's Laws', one of which must surely be that animal products (and experiments) will continue to expand to use up the growing supply of animals available!

It is to the credit of Animal Aid that it has recently sounded a note of caution on 'relying too heavily on the Living Without Cruelty Campaign'; while acknowledging its success, it calls for more street campaigning, and announces a march and rally in Oxford on October 22nd as part of a campaign against Oxford University, and Professor Colin Blakemore and his sight deprivation experiments in particular. This campaign, though, has been dragging on for 18 months, and it is certainly questionable whether it is wise to concentrate on one particular experiment and one particular vivisector instead of exposing the whole obscene business. It begins to sound like a personal vendetta against one individual, and Blakemore has received a good deal of sympathy as a result. AA's 'Outrage' even reports an encounter between Blakemore and AA's Mark Gold as if it were a showdown at the OK Corral: "Professor Blakemore, I am your deadly enemy!" We must get away from this sort of nonsense, concentrating less on one tiny strand of an evil system, and engage the whole; otherwise we all become scattered, imprisoned in campaigns whose focus becomes narrower and narrower.

BARRY MAYCOCK





If we are to succeed in switching the UK away from destructive and dangerous sources of energy then greens will have to present a far more coherent picture of the alternative both in regard to jobs and to renewable energy sources JULIAN EDMONDS, convenor of the Green Party's Energy Policy working group, gives his views on what needs to be done.

# Getting our energies together

THE GOVERNMENT RECENTLY published its proposals for privatising the electricity industry, to a predictable chorus of raspberries from the labour and environment movements. However, the changes being made provide a suitable opportunity to re-examine the greens' approach to energy issues, and how we can achieve greater success than we have done so far.

The strategy of groups like FoE has, up till now, been to try to influence public opinion in the hope that this would bring about pressure on the government and force a change of mind. The battle to persuade the general public was won long ago; even before Chernobyl 70% wanted no more nuclear stations, and 6 out of 7 thought renewable sources of energy, such as wind, wave and solar, were "a good idea". Yet, as Jonathon Porritt told a meeting in Cambridge last year, the net result of all our hard work lobbying Parliament on Sizewell was that two Conservative MPs abstained.

Meanwhile Green Party energy policy is 15 years out of date - full of anti nuclear invective and platitudes about scarce resources - but containing only the vaguest mumbles about the renewable sources of energy that must form the basis of any green energy strategy. It still says more research is required before renewables can come into use, in some ill-defined 'long-term' future. Similarly, Stewart Boyle of FoE says renewables are "not cost effective" and insists that major government investment is needed, despite the fact that it will not be forthcoming from this particular government.

This is despite the millions of solar collectors already in use in Japan, which doesn't get much more sun than Britain; and despite the wind energy industry in California continuing to make progress without the prop of tax reliefs; and despite it costing less over a century to

build new passively solar heated houses than to build nuclear power stations to heat existing houses.

The fact is that many renewable energy technologies are viable now and if the greens do not develop a nuts and bolts strategy for bringing them into use on a large scale then we are behind the times and our opposition to nuclear power becomes much less credible.

Not least among the problems to be dealt with are the environmental drawbacks of renewables themselves. We're sitting on the fence on tidal barrages, and are unprepared to deal with the opposition to wind energy on the grounds of visual intrusion. Last year a proposed wind farm on the Isle of Mann was halted by environmental objections. If we're going to be anti-nuclear and against acid rain then I think we have to say that we're going to have to put up with certain changes to the environment which at least are not going to endanger life in the same

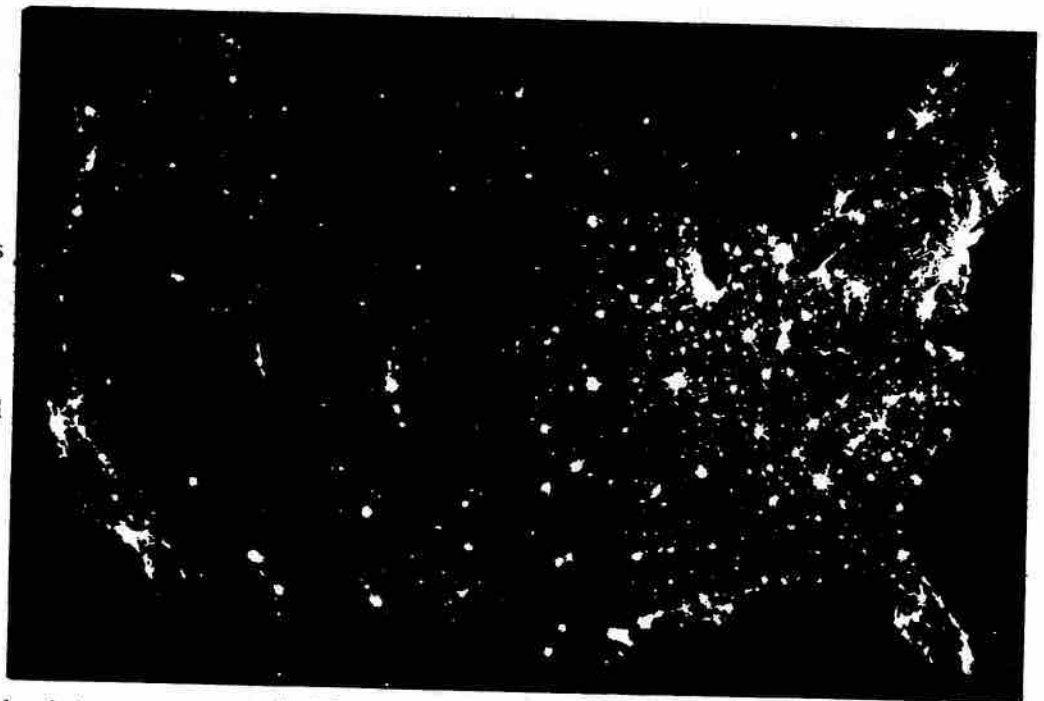
way. We need to be seen campaigning locally for wind power and identifying the most suitable sites in advance of developers moving in to build wind farms.

There are various plans to try to fight nuclear power by direct action as has been seen with the Stop Sizewell Week. FoE have also said there will be blockading at Dounreay if construction starts there. But there has been no wider process of discussion within FoE about these events and what it is hoped will be achieved.

## How to protest

Those of us who were involved in the campaign at Molesworth soon after the Flak Jacket Invasion will remember how demoralizing it was to be rejected by the very people who we were trying to protect, when the pubs for miles around refused to serve us and there were signs all over the place saying "Locals Say CND Go Home". We risk the same fate at nuclear construction sites if we campaign in a way which offends the sensibilities of local people or we fail to address the issue of jobs for people now employed in the nuclear industry. If the locals at Sizewell or Hinkley see us as an outside force coming to take their jobs away there may be active local pro-PWR lobbies, which will be fanned by the media and carry greater weight with most people than will official propaganda.

Contrast this with the experience of Elstow and other sites which were threatened until last year with nuclear waste dumps. A 'dump' was not perceived as offering jobs or any other advantages, only radioactive pollution. The communities concerned fought a united campaign of such intensity that



America's consumption: the USA at midnight as seen from a passing satellite

the government genuinely feared losing the seats where the dumps might have been placed. So, as far as actively opposing nuclear is concerned, jobs are clearly the crucial issue. An opinion poll in Leiston, the town near Sizewell, found a majority supporting the PWR and usually giving jobs as the reason. It is not good enough to tell people who need to earn a living here and now that there *could* be jobs in wind power or conservation, if *only* things were different, if *only* the government would back a different policy. We actually need to start making progress now, independently of government.

Which brings us back to where we started, with privatisation and the move towards a freer market in energy. Environmentalists have always believed that market forces would be bad for a sustainable energy policy, promoting short term gains at the expense of the Earth and future generations. But if it is cost effective to save energy, then people will do it and many are doing so already. And, if wind power makes money, then it will go ahead when it allowed to compete fairly with other forms of power. A significant lobby within the Conservative Party, to the right of the government, is arguing that nuclear power must be put to the test of the market, which of course it would fail.

The privatisation legislation, as proposed, will reserve a specified fraction of the electricity market, say 20%, for 'non-fossil' energy sources. This is obviously intended to protect nuclear power, but in such a way as not to allow the connection with nuclear weapons to be exposed. However, this provides a unique opportunity for renewables because it is easier to compete with nuclear power in a reserved section of the market than with coal or oil - which may be cheap for the time being.

However, it won't be that simple, and control over renewable energy could too easily fall into the wrong hands. We don't want to leave all the action in wind power to the likes of Taylor Woodrow (who have interests in the nuclear industry) or leave wave power to the builders of Trident submarines. The first Green Secretary of State for Energy will be in a much stronger position if experience of safe energy has been built up by firms that are green in their self-image. A start is being made by Energy Parks (UK) Ltd who are building a renewable energy power station near Milford Haven to demonstrate a wide range of technologies. This company sees the need to remain independent and is promoting itself as an ethical investment for environmentally concerned people.

Energy was one of the main issues that got the green movement off the ground back in 1973. It is unfortunate that relatively little progress has been made in green thinking on energy since then. The Green Party's Energy Policy Working Group was recently reformed and is conducting a review of the party's policy. Now that people know the Green Party exists and support their views on nuclear power, they are looking to us to do something to make a safe energy future happen, and we must develop a viable strategy for doing so in today's world.

If you have any comments for the Energy Policy Working Group, contact Julian Edmonds, 95 Beverley Crescent, Bedford MK40 4BZ. For further info on UK Energy Parks Ltd., contact Dr Brian John, Trefelin, Cilgwyn, Newport, Dyfed SA42 0QN

### COMING SOON - WHITE ELEPHANT DAY!!!

The Hinkley C Inquiry opens at 10.30 a.m. on Weds Oct 4th at the Agricultural College, Cannington, Somerset. Stop Hinkley Expansion invite you to bring along a white elephant to represent the stupidity of the plan. Events start at 9.30 a.m. with theatre and music - it could be the only time you get to be heard by the high and mighty Inspector, so take your chance.

Contact Stop Hinkley Expansion (0278) 422632 who can offer advice on transport. They are organising a special bus service from Taunton and Bridgewater stations, and can arrange accommodation where necessary.

A PRELIMINARY CONFERENCE to try and build a West German Green Party, held at Offenbach in October 1979, was attended by 1,000 delegates. It was a bear-garden. The defeated far left, the defeated activists from the direct action movement against nuclear power and the remains of the movements which had erupted after 1968 came together. There was little basis for unity, except that everyone felt the political organisations and movements to which they belonged were at a dead end and so were looking for an alternative. Rudolph Bahro, recently released from an East German prison, was the star turn at Offenbach: "Red and Green go well together", said Bahro. He called for a "psychological revolution" against capitalism and said "socialism is, and must be, far more than a working-class and trade union movement of the traditional kind." The alliance Bahro talked about at the Offenbach conference was broad, but the conference was broader. Bahro said:

*"The socialists need the Greens, for survival is the precondition for them to attain their traditional goals. The Greens need the socialists, for survival can only be ensured by disconnecting the motor of monopoly competition...The Christians need the socialists...and we socialists need the Christians...In short, we must seek to bring into one single movement all the forces that strive in the direction of our goal, that of rescuing our civilisation and world civilisation in general and bring about the general emancipation of human beings - men and women."*

His utopian politics matched his utopian vision of the conference. August Haussleiter, the old Bavarian reactionary, told a different tale which underlines the basis on which the Greens were founded:

*"I myself had been almost desperate with the situation because there were 3,000 people screaming their own positions in the convention hall. This person kept saying, 'Don't give up. They're getting tired.' Although agreement seemed impossible I took a piece of paper and wrote four words on it: ecology, social responsibility, grass roots democracy and non-violence. Then I called together Gruhl and Feents [a leader of the left] in the room where the journalists were and said 'sign'. We then went back into the hall and announced, 'We have a programme.'"*

A few months later, in January 1980, around 1,000 delegates representing 10,000 members gathered in Karlsruhe for the formal founding of the party. Party leaders tried to make a virtue of the lack of clarity. Petra Kelly declared:

*"I believe that the multitude of different currents enriches our party. There is a basic consensus in our social analysis. I don't want to exclude communists or conservatives, nor do I really have to. We learn from each other: the various wings of the party don't try to tear each other apart but try to reach agreement. It is precisely this which is unique to our movement."*

Of course, this was nonsense. Left and Right fought bitterly throughout 1980 and 1981 as the Greens tried to thrash out a programme and a structure. The rows were fierce. Throughout it all, people like Petra Kelly threw their weight first behind one wing and then another to keep the organisation going. But the Greens, formed to contest elections, could never escape the pressure of election deadlines. Political positions were reached, not after long discussion and debate, but as the minimum compromise before an election. Not surprisingly the 1980 general election was a disaster for the Greens. They polled just 1.5 per cent of the vote. One reason for their poor performance was the choice of right-winger Franz-Joseph Strauss as Christian Democrat candidate for Chancellor. This allowed the SDP's Helmut Schmidt to warn of the consequences of 'wasting' a vote on the Greens.

Then in 1983, the SPD called a general election and lost. Seventeen years of orthodox bourgeois economic policies hadn't stopped unemployment rising to 2.5 million. And their enthusiastic support for NATO and the new nuclear missiles had ensured their alienation from the peace movement. The Greens, campaigning against the missiles but with no clear economic programme with which to appeal to working-class voters, beat the five per cent barrier and entered the Bundestag for the first time.

The 27 Green deputies who marched into the Bundestag on 23 March 1983 reflected both the confusion and social composition of the party. They



In his first article, MIKE SIMONS considered the history of the green movement from the perspective of the revolutionary left. Here he turns his attention to the experience of Die Grunen in West German parliamentary politics.

# Greens in power



included a nurse, a shop steward, a former general, a mason, several teachers, a vet, a retired computer programmer, three professional engineers, a scientist, a bookseller, a professor of agriculture, an unemployed sociologist and a lawyer. It soon became apparent that the new deputies had no clear idea what they should be doing. Just two weeks after parliament convened, Petra Kelly complained to the newspapers: "The parliamentary Greens fraction is ruining me. Last week I was so fed up I almost gave up all this rubbish and resigned my seat." Kelly, who had earlier described parliament as a 'market place' where she could present her views and extract information from the establishment, called for more emphasis on mobilising in the streets and less on the MPs.

There was even division within the parliamentary fraction about whether or not to use parliament as a platform to fight for Green politics. Waltraud Schoppe, a feminist, denounced her male colleagues for their

combativity:

*"Most men in our fraction make the mistake of feeling they must compete with the men in other parties. By fighting back, they bring attention to themselves as competitors. But when these men [in other parties] make a speech that is so clearly wrong, I and other Green women simply do not listen."*

Behind this nonsense was a highly combative woman who, in 1984, emerged as joint leader of the parliamentary fraction after what a fellow Green MP described as a 'feminist coup'. Another Green MP compared her experience in the women's movement to that in the Bundestag:

*"Power politics is close to sadism. You're not allowed to show weakness, to say 'I've got problems', without others poking into your wounds and twisting their fingers round. In power politics there is a lust to destroy. Many people get energy by beating others down."*

She wasn't talking about the Greens defending themselves from sustained attack by other parties but about the internal life of the Green parliamentary fraction. The solution suggested by some Green MPs was not political clarity but group therapy! The Economist, in a sympathetic feature on the Greens, summed up the problems faced by the parliamentary fraction:

*"Common ground within the party covers environmental issues, suspicion of economic growth, a desire for disarmament...and a soft spot for neglected causes: the third world, women, homosexuals. But as Green members of the Bundestag have found to their cost, that leaves a lot of blank spaces which they sometimes have to fill in by ad-libbing."*

And the Greens' complete divorce from class politics means they don't always ad-lib very well. As The Economist continued;

*"they were very slow to approve of that trade unions' demand for a 35-hour week. They have only traced out the barest outlines of a social policy."*

The Greens did eventually agree to the 35-hour week but were split on whether it should be with no loss of pay!

## Realo power in Hesse

The internal battle within the Greens has long been one between those eager to strike deals with the SPD and even enter government alongside them - the Realos - and the Fundis, who believe the compromises involved may mean abandoning too many principles. So deep do these divisions run that they have paralysed the party for many years. The fear of a split is the thing preventing successive conferences from taking clear decisions one way or the other.

Not surprisingly, the Realos dominated the parliamentary Green fraction, but it was in the State assemblies that they experienced 'power'. Their first chance came in Hamburg in June 1982 when the SPD won only 43 per cent of the vote and could only form a government with the toleration of the Greens, who won 8.2 per cent. Weeks of negotiations and tacit support for an SPD administration collapsed. In a rerun election the SPD won a majority while the Green vote suffered.

Undeterred, the Realos pressed ahead and got their big chance in the heavily industrialised state of Hesse. Hesse had been an SPD stronghold for generations and the party thought it had a divine right to rule. Hesse's SPD prime minister, Holger Boerner, was an enthusiastic supporter of two of the main targets of the Citizens' Initiative movement in the 1970s - an extension to Frankfurt airport to be built on a nature sanctuary and a nuclear reprocessing plant.

In the 1981 elections the Greens stunned the SPD by winning 41 per cent of the vote in the region around the proposed nuclear plant and 25 per cent in the area directly affected by the airport expansion plans. Boerner's reaction was swift. He called the Greens 'fascists', and declared, "I will not re-think our airport and nuclear policy. I cannot lead the state on the basis of local protests." He then ordered police to destroy a village of wooden huts, including a church, which protestors had built on the airport extension site. Thousands of police and border guards were drafted in to clear the site. Helicopters

spraying tear gas, water cannon and repeated baton charges were used against protestors who had pledged themselves to 'non-violence'. Fighting spread from the site into Frankfurt city centre where protestors were again brutalised.

On the face of it, it would seem incomprehensible for the Greens to support anyone responsible for such barbarity. But they did.

After a second disastrous election result in 1984, Boerner shocked the Greens and his own party by asking the Greens to 'sustain' a minority SPD administration. The Greens presented Boerner with a list of demands: that existing nuclear power stations in the state should be closed down, that the nuclear reprocessing plant should not be built and that immigrant 'guest workers' should have the right to vote in local elections. Boerner turned them all down. Nevertheless, Hesse's Greens agreed to support the SPD, claiming the terms offered by Boerner were "not perfect" but the deal was "the only one available". The formal agreement lasted only five months, floundering when planning permission for the reprocessing plant was granted. But the SPD still had Green support.

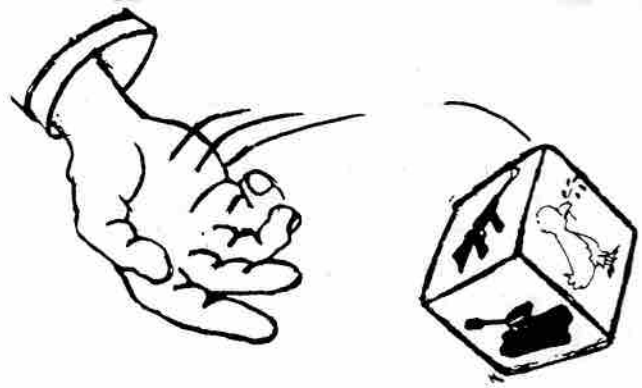
Then in 1985, in a move which revealed just how far the Greens' Realo faction were prepared to go, Boerner offered a coalition. The terms were stark. Boerner made a rhetorical promise that Hesse must lead the way in "taking steps out of the plutonium economy". In return, he demanded the Greens agree to a 'double budget', giving him complete control of state finance until the next election. If the Greens disagreed, said Boerner, "the result will be neither Social Democrat nor Green policies".

The threat that control of Hesse would pass to the Christian Democrats was scarcely necessary. The Realos jumped at Boerner's offer, describing the coalition offer as an "historic opportunity... (for) cooperation between the old and the new reform movements." Negotiations lasted from June until December 1985, not because the Greens were driving a hard bargain, but so that the Realo faction could grind down opposition from the more principled members of their own party. Talks with the SPD were only slightly delayed by the death in Frankfurt of a young anti-fascist demonstrator killed by a water cannon. The Greens made no criticisms of the SPD minister who ordered the police action but merely called for an 'independent inquiry'.

By December 1985 Joschka Fischer had become the Greens' first minister when he was sworn in as Hesse's environment and energy minister. Other Greens were given posts in a Women's Ministry. Fischer's powers were strictly limited. Responsibility for nuclear energy remained firmly in the hands of the pro-nuclear SPD. The Greens agreed to turn a blind eye to the expansion of the nuclear reprocessing plant. Fischer even claimed he didn't know the legal position well enough to take a position on it.

The original rationale for forming the Greens and contesting elections was to provide a parliamentary voice to the social movements outside. In office, Fischer announced that he wanted to talk to "all social groups" about his role. Certainly The Economist was reassured.

Hesse's new environment minister spoke of working constructively with industry, including the state's big chemical firms, whose waste products are a Green target. In reality, the Greens in government became indistinguishable from the right-wing Social Democrats they joined. Fischer accepted the principle of cabinet responsibility. The Greens approved cuts: 350 teachers' jobs were slashed in a year. They remained silent while the SPD pushed through vicious new racist laws against guest workers and their families. Fischer even came up with a solution to the problems of poisonous waste from Hesse's chemical industry. First he tried to ship it out of the state and dump it in Lower Saxony and Austria. Then, after protests, he had it shipped to East Germany.



The Hesse coalition finally dissolved two weeks after the West German general election in January 1987. A month before the election the Greens' national leadership finally

forced Fischer to go on the offensive over the Hanau nuclear power plant. Rather than call for action against it, Fischer suddenly decided that the plant was illegal and presented the state government with a 700-page document to back his claim. Both sides postured until after the election, when a regional Green Party conference gave the SPD two weeks to withdraw its production permit for the nuclear plant. Fischer told the conference he would resign his ministerial post if the ultimatum was not accepted. State prime minister Boerner saved him the bother and dismissed him. The decision stunned the Realos. They accused the SPD of acting "in Mafia style" and said the coalition had worked well otherwise. This was the extraordinary conclusion on the Greens' first experience of government.

#### Where next?

All the contradictions in the Greens were highlighted and deepened by the general election result in January 1987. On the surface it was a spectacular success with the Greens winning over 8% - up from 5.6% in 1983. But the euphoria of election night belied the reality of a deeply divided party.

Instead of building on their election success, the Greens spent the whole of 1987 continuing their faction fight. Again it was the right that led the attack. Some Realos used the disastrous performance of the SPD to begin floating the idea of the Greens bargaining with any of the major parties, rather than trying to construct a left-of-centre alliance. The Realos now mirror the leaders of the British Labour Party and the West German SPD, which, in the face of a decade out of office, is also engaged in a policy review.

Joschka Fischer, the Greens' first minister, wants to 'get rid of dogmatism' and is calling for a debate on the Green programme to determine which reforms are 'practical'. In other words, they want to ditch anything that might stick in the throat of middle-of-the-road, middle-class voters. In particular they want to drop the Greens' opposition to NATO. In effect, that would mean abandoning a principled opposition to nuclear weapons and to militarism.

There are many on the left in Europe who have looked at the election successes of Die Grunen and seized on them as an answer to their terrible isolation and the defeats suffered in the last decade. But anyone tempted to emulate the Germans would do well to heed the words of Petra Kelly just six months after her party's greatest electoral victory:

We could be seeing the end of the Green Party in Germany, and, if we do, we shall never get one there again. This is the worst situation the Greens have been in since their birth. The two wings tell each other to get out, but if either of them goes, that will be the end of the Greens in West Germany for ever.

For Petra Kelly and the Fundis there is nowhere else to go. They take solace in the fact that the environmental movement is taking off across Europe. We shouldn't. We don't need a repeat of the West German experience.





## SIMONS SAYS: PLAYED FROM THE OSTRICH POSITION

WHAT IS SO off-putting about proponents of 'working class liberation' politics is their bitterness and narrowmindedness. Mike Simons' article (GL64) only serves to strengthen this view. (Although, in all fairness, many members of the different left-wing parties are all too aware of the limited outlook of some of their comrades.) They seem to miss the point of the green movement, which is, as members of a society that's recklessly charging towards the destruction of itself and many cohabitants of the planet, to find practical ways for humankind to live harmoniously within the ecosystem of the planet.

The green movement is approaching this broad aim in many different ways. Some people see radical changes in our political system as essential, while at the same time, steps to deal with specific environmental issues are no less important. Interwoven with these objectives is the aim of making every individual's life more fulfilling. Mike Simons ignores this aspect.

The desire to escape from the frustrations and shallowness of industrial society and find a more meaningful and ecologically sound way of life leads greens to explore every possibility, from tribal societies to high-tech alternatives to nuclear power. Thus green thinking is wide ranging and radical, yet Mike Simons manages to pick on just two ideas and then criticise them erroneously.

He dismisses the need to limit industrial growth as reactionary. But the arguments against unlimited growth are put forward very clearly by Schumacher in Small is Beautiful and also by Edward Goldsmith in his essay The Ecology of Unemployment. Basically, infinite growth is not possible when the planet's resources and its ability to cope with the by-products of industry are limited. Anyway, industrial growth demonstrably fails to solve human problems.

He goes on to claim that utopianism is one root of the environmentalists' rejection of class, which reveals the distressing undercurrent to his article, the deep misunderstanding of purpose between reds and greens, stemming from the fact that we think within different frames of reference. Rather than giving the questions of class structure and distribution of income precedence, green political thought concentrates on ways to break down political and economic structures into small self-contained units, within which the individual is not lost. The greens may see society's problems from a completely different viewpoint to the left, but it doesn't follow that "ecologists are an anti-Labour movement".

The left seem to see the greens either as a threat, or as a group with good ideas about environmental issues that would be best off joining forces with the people who really understand the politics. As Peter Tatchell said in a letter to the Guardian (1.6.88): "The

prerequisite for ecological sustainability is therefore a planned socialist economy infused with a radical green consciousness".

Mike Simons seems at times to be deliberately misleading: he refers to "the environmentalists" as a groups, but many environmental groups are not directly political, and FoE is not a registered charity for the good reason that charities are very limited in their scope for campaigning. Most of all it seems a shame that he has failed to pick up on the positive spirit of the green movement.

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OH DEAR! MALTHUS gets a poor press yet again (summary of Mike Simons article in GL64). I often wonder if all the people who rail against him have actually read any of his works: what Malthus did was to examine the problem of overpopulation, principally by an exhaustive study of the actual causes of death of people in all the populations for which reasonably accurate statistics existed in the late 18th century. Having done this he then drew some conclusions and suggested his

own remedies to the problem of overpopulation.

His conclusions were not all correct and his solution seems frankly absurd to our ears, coming as it did from an 18th century clergyman in an era when efficient contraception was unknown. The fact remains however that his analysis was correct and the problem is still real today as it was then.

Most people are happy to accept Darwin's theory of evolution. Some do not seem to accept that Homo Sapiens is just another of scores of thousands of different species inhabiting the earth today, and that Darwin's "Struggle for existence" affects us too. (Struggle here does not mean a physical contest but implies that many different species are competing.) Although he was writing many years before Darwin, what Malthus in effect did was to analyse the outcome of this struggle for the existence of the human species.

I am quite prepared to discuss different solutions to the problem with people of other political parties, but when they try to pretend the problem does not exist, it shows they have signally failed to grasp one of the basic realities of life on this planet.

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## POLITICS AND ETHICS

DAVE GRIMBLEBY'S ATTACK on the Green Party over banning meat consumption may be morally correct but politically it's a disaster. Let's speculate about what might happen if he found himself prime minister with a huge green majority in parliament having fought an election on a platform of criminalising meat eaters! Presumably, come the revolution, all farm animals would be set free and allowed to wander where they wish - like western 'sacred cows'.

Now for the hard bit. How many of these creatures would survive in the midst of a society where there would still be tens of millions of unrepentant, meat deprived carnivores? Perhaps he'd put farm animals into preventive custody for their own safety. But what would be the effect on wildlife of having stopped the consumption of farm animals? Poachers would eradicate every fish and wild animal in the country. Prohibiting meat eating would also end in the same explosion of criminality as the prohibition of alcohol in America. Pets would be at risk and butchers would become pet shop owners.

I'd also like to question Dave

Grimbleby's moral supremacy. Does he own a car or travel in petrol driven vehicles? Because if he does, he's also guilty of murdering animals - albeit 'bureaucratically'. Does he use gas or electricity? Because, again, if he does then he also has blood on his hands. Has he ever bought a commodity from a company that owns or has shares in companies which buy or sell meat products...?

Dave Grimbleby has a gross over-estimation of what government's can do. Governments cannot change people's moral beliefs - sometimes not even by using torture. If he wants to persuade people to change their eating habits, he is going to have to do it on a social or individual level because it cannot be done through politics. It is a travesty to accuse the Green Party of compromising on an issue over which it is powerless.

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## WHEN IS DECENTRALISATION REALLY DECENTRALISATION?

I am puzzled by John Papworth's letter on decentralization and "presumption" (GL64). I'm not a Green Party member, so I've got nothing tied up in its policy on meat consumption although I'm vegetarian. I do agree that decentralisation is a good idea, but what John puts forward as non-centralisation seems to me to include two very different ideas.

Yes, local people should decide how to run their cottage hospital or post office or "anything else touching essentially local concerns". Does this mean, though, that I or the Green Party should have nothing to say about things that involve more than just our local community? Must we be silent about the world we want our non-centralised communities to be part of?

Although I don't eat meat, I certainly wouldn't support government restrictions on meat-eating, which is how John seems to interpret the Green Party's policy. However, I don't think that "to advocate and promote a reduction in the consumption of meat" (letters, GL62) has to mean that at all. What it does represent is an assessment of what lies behind our current pattern of meat consumption. So what does lie behind this?

- Import of cattle food from the Third World to feed western food animals at the expense of Third World peoples (the Third World food racket involves human foods as well of course).

- Destruction of rainforests and genocide of indigenous peoples to produce cattle for western beefburgers.

- Intensive agriculture and factory farming, with increasing use of chemicals and drugs.

- A large-scale meat distribution industry, involving wasteful transportation and unnecessary packaging and processing.

- National and EEC subsidies for meat production and the monstrosity of the 'food mountains'.

None of these are "non-centralised" phenomena. All of them involve basic evils which need to be remedied. Decentralisation may help, but (even without considering animal freedom) any attempt to deal with food justice or food self-sufficiency in Britain or the chemical degradation of our environment will necessarily involve an overall reduction in meat consumption by communities in this island - probably a large reduction. I don't think the Green Party should be afraid to say so.

The other thing that puzzles me is that John's vision of non-centralisation is not very non-centralised. He sees a need for central policy on defence, foreign affairs, currency management... all important because they are key instruments of power in present society. Even at the local level, John would allow communities to decide on classroom sizes or who the police officer might be - but doesn't mention that communities might decide that school was not the best way to educate their children or that having police officers might not be the most sensible way of preserving

social order.

Surely, these matters are what most need to be decentralised. The army and police cannot be left to the centre since their main function is to enforce the wishes of those who control them by means of violence. No society is decentralised while local communities and people face the threat of violent coercion by a large outside group. Even if local communities found a genuine need for joint territorial defence, couldn't this be arranged co-operatively - provided we're really talking about defence rather than suppressing rebellion or maintaining national power over other peoples.

A foreign policy consisting of direct links between local areas in different parts of the world might prove far better for dealing with world problems than the present system of centralised states manoeuvring for power.

In short, decentralisation itself has implications on a scale much larger than any one local community. Now, political parties are full of people with views on everything, so I doubt that the Green Party will stop "presuming", whatever John says. But I would be sad if people stopped speaking out about things which concern the whole world, simply because the matters involved affected more than just their own town or village.

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### PEACE NEEDS A THEORY OF WAR

ALDERMASTON 1988 AND Jerry Spring's description of it (GL62) as a "sham or even shame" mean that if we are to have a peace movement with a future it will have to be different.

By the time the first Aldermaston march took place in 1958 there were already four peace outfits in the field. The first was that of the Quaker/PPU/WRI pacifists. The second was Moscow's World Peace Council and its British Peace Committee, whose machinations gave peace the reputation of being a dirty word. The third was the National Committee for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapon Tests that became CND. The fourth was the Ghandist Direct Action Committee that located Aldermaston and launched the famous symbol, then donating both to CND.

From that list it will be apparent that all the organisations were religious, moral or party political. There was no independent political peace movement and there still isn't. There was no body of opinion that understood the real meaning of Hiroshima to be not the fall-out from atmospheric testing (which prompted CND's formation) nor a seat at the top table (the political reason for Britain's bomb), but what the Bomb does to war itself - namely, rendering it unwageable.

As the last 43 years have been our witness, was of any kind between the industrialised powers is off. How much longer do we have to wait before we can see this? And since war in Europe and North America cannot be waged, since the certain outcome is mutual suicide, the intelligent thing to do is to say so and start down the road of phased overall demilitarisation, East and West alike. But where is the movement to do that?

This is not a pacifist position. It

leaves questions of the Third World open. What can people do if they have tried every non-violent means and found them all closed? They have a choice: to fight, or submit to tyranny. And when they choose to fight they deserve our support - consider the cases of Mugabe, Mandela, the Sandinistas and the Mujahideen.

The peace movement only has lasting meaning if it is also a freedom movement. It needs to have two different policies for two different contexts. These are not incompatible when seen as arising from nations' different stages of historical development. Yet, CND hangs onto the old moral anti-Bomb imperative which is only part of the case against war and ignores all the horrific conventional wars that plague the earth. No wonder the media write it off as irrelevant.

CND talks about its 'basic case' and has none. The basic case has to be about the nature of war itself in the age of the Bomb. Yet CND's peace makers are socialists who for some reason retain their mystical faith in the Russian Revolution and are unable then to challenge its militarism. And since neither Fabian nor Marxist socialists have ever provided themselves with a theory of war, neither of them have any base from which to take on militarism as the central phenomenon of politics. This is why, in the face of the Cold War, socialists and the nuclear disarmament movement they lead, are on their knees.

We need now a green theory of war and peace (neither pacifist nor socialist) in order to provide a new base on which to rebuild the movement.

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### NEUTRAL TECHNOLOGY?

I MUST TAKE issue with Gavin Smith's assertion (GL61) that technology is neutral: "most technologies are not inherently good or bad; it is rather the ways they are used and controlled that are".

For example, pesticides, herbicides and artificial fertilizers now in common use would not have been developed had capitalists not been around to create markets for them. Likewise modern high technology medicine is a product of medicine's domination by capitalist interests. Now that these technologies have been created, greens may find them useful (in comparatively limited applications) but they are not technologies a green society would have produced.

Green politics is not environmentalism plus socialism. That represents the notion that economic growth is due to the onward march of neutral science and technology and that we can all enjoy the benefits if we can but devise better social structures. From a green position, economic growth and capitalism can be seen as one and the same. And socialists, by supporting that growth, help to create what they claim to be trying to destroy.

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