

# GREEN LINE

MEN AND TERROR  
ENERGY-SAVING HOMES  
CHOMSKY ON  
U.S. AGGRESSION

No 47 / NOVEMBER 1986 / 50P



# GREEN LINE

Green Line, 34 Cowley Road, Oxford

(0865 245301)

Monthly magazine of  
Green politics and lifestyle

GREEN LINE is published ten times a year, and is produced by an Oxford-based collective. It is entirely independent of any one group or organisation.

This month's issue appeared with the help of Andy Kaye, Julian (who did the cover), Sarah Tyzack, Leigh Shaw-Taylor, Barry Maycock, Graham Hooper, Anne Davidson, Wayne Adams and Jon Carpenter.

## SUBSCRIPTIONS

Subscribe today and get the next 10 issues in the post for just £8 (low/unwaged £5). Overseas rate is £7, and cheques must be in sterling drawn on a UK bank. Note: please say which issue you want to start with.

Special offer for the hi-waged: take out a special "supporter subscription" and do your conscience a good turn - for only £10! A number of our readers are doing this, and it helps a lot.

Except for a very nominal payment for keeping the accounts, no one is paid for working on Green Line, and we regret that we cannot therefore afford to pay our contributors either.

## BULK ORDERS

We'll send you 5 - 9 copies for 40p each; or 10 or more for only 35p each! That's 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 give you sale-or-return: you pay us 40p a copy for however many you sell, and recycle the rest.

## ADVERTISING

Green Line reaches an audience of people much like yourself - at very cheap rates! Display ads are just £45 a page, smaller sizes pro rata (£5 for one third of a column on this page, for example). Send camera-ready copy by the 10th of the month before publication, or enquire for our charges for doing typesetting and layout for you.

## recycled stationery

made from 100% recycled paper

Gift Packs - 40 plain sheets and 25 matching envelopes in a choice of colours: apple, azure, buff, gold, or white. A5 size £1.70 each, or four packs for £5.95. (please state colours)

Trial Pack - 20 plain sheets plus 12 envelopes in assorted colours, send 5 x 17p stamps, or S.A.E. for New complete lists of stationery products.

Steve & Susan Hammett  
designers, printers & stationers

Gate Farm, Fen End, Kenilworth, Warks,  
CV8 1NW. Telephone Berkswell (0676) 33832



## News from Green Line

Dear readers,

WE'VE HAD to raise our cover price by 5p this month as a result of increased postal rates and higher paper costs. But we still fulfil our aim of being cheap and therefore accessible to most potential readers. And thanks to those of you who sent in comments on the new typefaces: we hope the changes this month represent a further improvement!

Very sadly, Andy Kaye - whose brilliant linocuts and highly original sense of humour have figured prominently in the magazine and on our covers for the last two years - will be leaving us after the next issue. As well as illustrating the magazine, Andy has done a lot of the paste-up, and we shall miss him a lot. This means that, more than ever, we need help with design, graphics and illustration. If you have relevant skills, please get in touch and enclose samples of your work. No pay - we're all volunteers - but the job satisfaction is terrific!

And now the good news. Jackie Morris, whose work will be familiar to readers of such varied magazines as Radio Times and New Socialist, will be doing some artwork for us in future. Sally Billing is helping with the word processing, which is freeing a lot of time and energy for other tasks and will itself enable the design of each issue to be more carefully planned. And George Oldham is reviewing the potential for more advertising in GL, which in turn could lead to more pages.

So things look good! If you'd like to work with us, get in touch: we need your skills and energies, be they in writing, reporting, illustration or design. And keep in touch: how extraordinary that when a Green Party local councillor who is a GP launches a campaign to get GPs to withhold income tax, Marxism Today gets the news and we don't! (Oh, and while contemplating your latest bank statement, you might like to know that Marxism Today has already raised £8,000 of a £10,000 appeal to "sponsor its future"... Shall we beg too, or will you volunteer?)

Congratulations to Brig Oubridge on being too busy to write his column this month - what with the birth of baby Caroline and being elected a co-chair of the Green Party Council! Back soon...

## Small Ads

5p/word

'SUSTAINING AND SUSTAINABLE', the case for home grown vegan diet, plus nutrition information, balanced menus, recipes. Free of exploitation of people and animals. Sustainable in the over-populated, post-industrial Britain of the future. 60p plus 15p p&p. Also recipe booklet 'Whole New Ways', same price. Movement for Compassionate Living, 47 Highlands Road, Leatherhead, Surrey.

COLOURFUL ADHESIVE WINDOW TRANSPARENCIES (11 varieties, rainbow, mandalas, peace dove, etc.). Now available wholesale. SAE for catalogue to Earthcare, 33 Saddler Street, Durham.

LIGHTNING FLASH, magazine of Qabalah, Magic and Occultism from a Green perspective. No B, 32 pages, £1.20 from BCM-Lightning Flash, London WC1N 3XX.

CAN YOU HELP CND in our campaign for nuclear disarmament? We need a basic, working VHS video recorder and would like to hear from anyone who can be of assistance. Please call the Press Office on 01-250 4010.

A BUDDHIST BREAK, 14-16 November. Learn meditation in the Norfolk countryside. Find out about Buddhism and have a weekend away with like-minded people. A residential weekend for men. Details of this and other events (including women's/mixed events) from the Course Organiser, Padmaloka, Lesingham House, Surlingham, Norfolk. Tel. 050 88 8112.

ORGANIC APPLE WINE - wholesome, fruity wine made from selected, unsprayed Sussex apples by approved organic vineyard. Case of 12 £29.50 delivered. Gift card included on request. PINE RIDGE VINEYARD, Roberts-bridge, E Sussex TN32 5SA. Tel 058083 715.

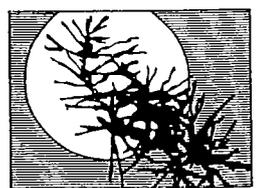
## Unilever picket

A COUNTRYWIDE day of action against Unilever takes place on Thurs Nov 27, following the sentencing of 27 animal rights activists in June to prison sentences totalling 45 years for burgling Unilever laboratories at Sharnbrook, near Bedford, in August 1984. The London picket of Unilever in Blackfriars, EC4, is being organised by London Greenpeace (Unilever House is opposite the tube/BR station) and begins at noon. Info: 5 Caledonian Road, London N1; meetings every Thur at 7 pm at 6 Endsleigh St, WC1.

London Greenpeace have produced an excellent leaflet about McDonald's and the hamburger industry, available for a sae and a donation.

## FULL MOON FUTONS

Send sae for  
leaflet and  
swatches to  
20 Bulmerste Road  
Reading RG1 5RU  
Reading (0734) 65648



We make Japanese style mattresses, (single, double, king size, cot size), cushions, pillows, yoga/massage/shiatsu mats, to individual orders. All 100% cotton, range of colours. Pine bases. Deliveries arranged. Competitive prices.



# GREEN INTERNATIONAL

## Greens' first seats in Bavaria

IN ELECTIONS to West Germany's Bavarian state parliament (West Germany is a federal republic made up of eleven states each with its own parliament) on October 12, die Grunen got 7.5% of the vote giving them 15 seats in the 204 seat state parliament in Munich. This is the first time the Greens have gained representation in Bavaria, Germany's most conservative state. In the last Bavarian state elections four years ago they received 4.8% of the vote falling to pass the 5% threshold. The Bavarian Christian Social Union (or CSU, who are part of the conservative coalition in the federal government in Bonn) have had an absolute majority for 24 years. Their particularly nasty right wing leader Franz Joseph Strauss, aged 71, was returned for his third term with 55.8% of the vote, a slight fall from 58%. The Social Democratic Party (SPD) polled only 27.5% of the vote, down from 32% last time. The Free Democrats (Liberal/Conservative party who are the junior partners in the Bonn government) failed to pass the 5% threshold.

The day before the election saw an anti-cruise demo outside the Hahn USAF base east of Bonn. The demonstration was organised by the Greens, the peace movement, the churches, the Trade Unions, and sections of the SPD. Sixteen of the planned 96 cruise missiles are already installed inside the ten foot high wall that surrounds the base. 200,000 demonstrators and 5,000 police turned up for the day.

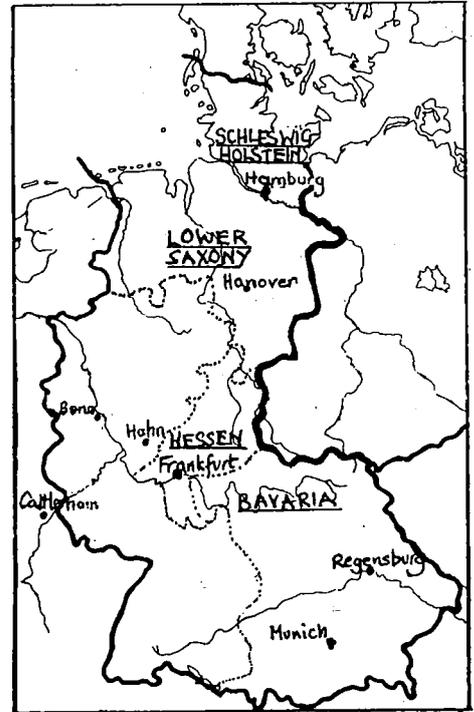
The nuclear issue is an important one in Bavaria particularly in the rural area around Wackersdorf (where the country's first nuclear reprocessing plant is under construction) north of Regensburg. Both the Greens and the SPD were hoping to benefit from the anti-nuclear vote. However the SPD missed its chance by flanneling around on the issue whereas the Greens took an uncompromising stance on nuclear power and environmental issues. The CSU was benefited by the rising popularity of the Bonn government, which has for the first time in ages managed to go for a couple of months without any major scandals cropping up. On top of this unemployment is falling and prices are coming down, whilst post-Chernobyl anti-nuclear sentiments seem to have died down. The Greens now have seats in seven of Germany's eleven state parliaments and are part of a coalition government with the SPD in Hessen.

With Federal elections coming up in January the conservative coalition looks set for another spell in office. Johannes Rau, the SPD's candidate for chancellor, has so far dismissed any possibility of a post election coalition with the Greens insisting that the SPD can win an absolute majority in January. However Rau stated that the SPD would need to poll at least 35% in the Bavarian elections to stay on target for January. Their measly 27.5% may force a re-evaluation of this strategy.

The last state elections before the federal elections take place in November in the northern state of Schleswig-Holstein (where a new 1300 Megawatt nuclear power

plant has just been commissioned) for seats in the Hamburg parliament.

The General Election takes place here on January 24, and it looks at the moment as if the CDU/CSU will scrape in again; though if the Free Democrats refuse to continue as coalition partners, they may not be able to form a government. The Greens are rather pessimistic about their prospects at present because of the in-fighting between funds and realos, which is generating adverse publicity. In 1983 they got 5.8%; this time most greens would settle for 7%, which is slow headway. At a conference in Nuremberg in September it was decided to postpone any discussion of possible cooperation with the SPD until after the election. Minimum conditions for tolerating an SPD government will be a rapid abandonment of atomic energy and the removal of Cruise and Pershing missiles.



## Right throws mud at Greens in Germany

GREENS IN Lower Saxony were subjected to a great deal of mud-slinging from the Conservatives during the state elections in Lower Saxony earlier this year. Here's a translation of a newspaper advertisement placed by the CDU:

### THE SPD INTENDS TO MAKE COMMON CAUSE WITH THESE PEOPLE:

The Greens call themselves the party of life. They are not.

- 1) The Greens want to replace nuclear power by coal-fired stations immediately, i.e. to increase air pollution by 1.4 billion tonnes. That is a death sentence for our forests.
- 2) The Greens want to legalise drug-taking. Thus hundreds of thousands of young people will be led to ruin and destroyed physically and mentally at an early age.
- 3) The Greens defame our police as a 'civil-war army', and want to do away with the police force. Breach of the peace will no longer be punishable. Anarchists and radicals will rampage through our streets plundering and destroying.
- 4) The Greens believe imprisonment is inhumane and want to abolish prisons. Murderers, sex offenders etc will then walk around in freedom.
- 5) The Greens want the Federal Republic to acknowledge the Democratic Republic as a sovereign state, which would mean our fellow-countrymen losing their entitlement to citizenship here.
- 6) The Greens intend to legalise all abortions prior to birth. That is absolutely inhuman.
- 7) The Greens didn't demonstrate against the Soviet Union over Chernobyl, which shows they're not interested in life so much as in crippling our energy supplies.
- 8) The Greens' minister, Fischer, wants to see Germans who have risked their lives in escaping to the free part of Germany, sent back again. That is absolutely inhuman.

9) The Greens want to withdraw from the free West's defensive alliance and to leave us unprotected. Thus our lives in peace and freedom are endangered.

What the Greens have in mind is deadly dangerous. But the Greens can only come to power in Lower Saxony with the help of the SPD and Schroder. Don't vote SPD or Green! Vote for life! Vote CDU!

Watch out, Lower Saxony! Our state mustn't go red-green. We want to remain a first-division state!

## Mit diesen Leuten will die SPD gemeinsame Sache machen:

- Die Grünen nennen sich Partei des Lebens. Das sind sie nicht.
- 1 Die Grünen wollen sofort die Kernenergie durch Kohlekraftwerke ersetzen, d.h. 1.4 Milliarden Tonnen zusätzliche Schadstoffbelastung unserer Luft. Das ist das Todesurteil für unsere Wälder.
  - 2 Die Grünen wollen den strafflosen Drogengebrauch, den Hunderttausende von Jugendlichen werden damit ins Elend geführt und huzeltig seelisch und körperlich vernichtet.
  - 3 Die Grünen diffamieren unsere Polizei als „Bürgerkriegsarmee“ und wollen die Bereitschaftspolizei abschaffen. Landstehlen dann plündernd und zerstörend durch unsere Straßen.
  - 4 Die Grünen halten die Gefängnisse für inhuman und wollen die Gefängnisse abschaffen. Mörder, Sexualverbrecher u.a. laufen dann frei herum.
  - 5 Die Grünen wollen die völkerrechtliche Anerkennung der DDR, d.h. die Ausbürgerung unserer Landsleute.
  - 6 Die Grünen wollen, daß alle Babies im Mutterleib bis zur Geburt hin getötet werden können. Das ist unmenschlich.
  - 7 Die Grünen haben nicht wegen der Opfer von Tschernobyl ihnen nicht um das Leben, sondern um das Laßniggen unserer Energieversorgung.
  - 8 Der Minister der Grünen, Fischer, will Deutsche, die unter Einsatz ihres Lebens in den freien Teil Deutschlands geflohen sind, wieder an die DDR ausliefern. Das ist unmenschlich.
  - 9 Die Grünen wollen aus der Verteidigungsgemeinschaft das gefahrdrohende Westens ausrufen und uns schutzlos machen. Das bedeutet unser Leben in Frieden und Freiheit.
- Was die Grünen vorhaben, ist lebensgefährlich!
- Die Grünen kommen in Niedersachsen aber nur mit der SPD und Schroder an die Macht. Keine Stimme für die SPD oder Grün. Wählen Sie das Bekenntnis zum Leben. Wählen Sie CDU.

Paß auf Dich auf, Niedersachsen: Unser Land darf nicht rot sein!

Wir wollen Aufsteigerland bleiben!

CDU



\* Green International is edited by LEIGH SHAW-TAYLOR. Thanks to Ian McCarthy (Italy) and George Morton (Stuttgart) for their reports this month.

## Italian green convention

"THE EARTH is lent to us by our children" was the title of an international green convention held in Pescara on the Adriatic coast over the weekend of September 18/21.

Of course not even our children have the right to lend us the earth because it isn't theirs either - but this didn't seem to occur to any of the urban greenoids crammed into the civic theatre to talk about... whatever it was they thought they knew something about. (I probably shouldn't be so negative, but my grasp of Italian is now such that I can be sure that they don't know what they means either. Before I used to think it was me.)

Luckily there were some Germans on hand to inject some ordered boredom into the stream of rhetoric, and a Mexican to add some "Third World colour". Peter Bunyard of the Ecologist magazine spoke about the unemployed as the future of the green movement as if they were a human equivalent of North Sea Oil, wildly inflating the statistics (4.5 million in the official figures??).

Despite the fact that everyone avoided the question as it were a radioactive cloud, what everyone wanted to know was, 'Will the greens be standing in next year's general election in Italy?' But according to the organisers, the convention was 'not to be seen as laying the foundation for a new party but rather as a moment in which the realities and experiences of the green movement render their languages more comprehensible and diffused to search for and find together wider spaces in society, to counter the uniformity of models and behaviours and to propose the right to plurality of expression, affirming a different, ecological, way of living our social, economic and political relationships.' That's a typical example of Ital-



## Italian Report

IAN MCCARTHY writes

speak, meaning that the whole thing was for the benefit of press and television, and at this level it was a success. But I wonder if the image put across was not rather too much like conventional politics, with a succession of experts up on stage and the poor audience bored stiff down below.

On the positive side, the stands out in the street were full of products like recycled paper and biodegradable detergents that until recently were impossible to find here. So the really important work is being done. Perhaps the most important distinction that can be made among greens everywhere is between the "realos" and the "talkies".

### Hunting birds

The hunting season is open again and as I write my rural paradise is being ripped to shreds by the acoustic attack of rifle fire all round. It's like Beirut out there - but the targets are not people but tiny birds. But there is hope. Half a million people have signed a petition for a referendum to limit hunting drastically - though not to ban it altogether. Unfortunately more than a million hunters have signed a counter-petition. This may just be because they are more organised, and greens hope public opinion will prove to be on their side.

Moves are afoot in parliament (traditionally a "hunting reserve" owing to the enormous economic interests of the gun lobby) to head off the referendum by cunningly tightening up the national law while giving the regional authorities the option of ignoring it. This would open up the possibility of, for instance, hunting hawks or falcons in Calabria or other southern regions where the gun lobby is strongest. Call it Mafia if you like.

In some regions the netting of birds is still allowed. As well as writing to the authorities in Trieste about this issue, people in Britain could write to the Italian Embassy in London expressing their concern at the failure of the Italian parliament to put into practice the EEC directives on hunting, and their anger at the continuing massacre of small birds and rare migratory species.

### On the nuclear fence

The deputy leader of the Socialist Party, Claudio Martelli, caused a storm recently when he returned from the German SPD conference and announced that it would be absurd for Italy to start building nuclear power stations now that nearly everyone else has stopped. Obvious enough, you might think, but Martelli's boss Bettino Craxi, leader of the Socialist Party, is also prime minister in a government committed to building at least three new nuclear monsters in the immediate future. The ruling coalition almost suffered a meltdown! But in the end no one had the nerve to pursue the matter so soon after the last row - which had left the country without a government all summer. So the issue was left to bubble in the cupboards, probably until the elections next year. ::



## GREEN peace NEWS

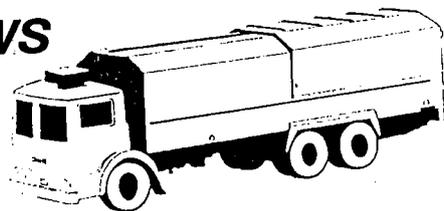
### Polaris Week: Convoy spotting

Whereas the Cruise convoy slips out in absolute secrecy at dead of night (usually once a month, and comfortably tracked by Cruisewatch) to an unknown destination (often West Down Plantation on Salisbury Plain), the Polaris convoy moves around by day. It is actually much swifter, smaller and more elusive, and its movements are only just becoming known.

The Polaris/Chevaline warheads have to be continually refurbished at the Burghfield Bomb Factory; from there they travel by road back to Faslane in Scotland, or to Plymouth, St Mawgan, Portsmouth or wherever the warheads are needed. Occasionally they crash, as happened in Helensburgh High Street in June last year; though quite visible and thus a target for demonstrations, apparently they 'stop for nobody', so please don't lie down in the road. But full marks for spotting their vehicle, illustrated here.

This is the most important vehicle in the convoy, the 3-6 Mammoth Major 10-ton carrier which has a telescoping roof; the back part of the roof slides along for loading the weapons. Each lorry carries about 4 warheads, though one is usually empty. Train spotting was never like this!

Sat Nov 22: local actions at nuclear power stations, the beginning of the nuclear fuel



chain. For the Sizewell Rally, with FoE and Greenpeace, contact Colin Vincent on 0284 66893.

Sun Nov 23: rally at Calder Hall/Sellafield in Cumbria. Speakers from CND, FoE, Green and Labour movements. Info: Cath and Doug Smith, 13 Solway View, Sunny View, Whitehaven, CA28 7HI (0946 64733).

Sat Nov 29: CND groups will protest alongside convoy routes. Details from Jane Convey at CND.

### Men's peace camp at Molesworth

AS A RESULT of debate and discussion on the issue of the Molesworth rapes, and male violence in general (see last month's GL), a decision has been made to set up a men-only peace camp over the weekend of Nov 29-30, possibly at Warren Lane, Molesworth. Issues of sexism, rape, and violence towards women will be discussed, and workshops will be set up. A planning meeting was held in London at the end of October; for details contact Simon (01-287 4225) or Phil (Bristol) 631360.

### Peace actions and events

Sat Nov 1: Rally at Capenhurst enrichment plant, 1.30. Details: Deeside 819008.

Wed Nov 5: Frank Barnaby: 'What has kept the Peace in Europe?', 6.30. Dunamis at St James', 197 Piccadilly, London W1 (Info: 01-437 6851).

Sat Nov 8: Peace Pledge Union, silent vigils outside British Legion Festivals of Remembrance at the Albert Hall, 1.30 - 2.30 and 5.30 - 7.15. And at 7.30, 'War and Peace' multi-media show at St James', Piccadilly.

Sun Nov 9: PPU: assemble 1.30 on steps of St Martin-in-the-Fields, Trafalgar Sq., London: walk to Cenotaph to lay wreath of white poppies.

Tue Nov 11 & 24: public meetings on the problems facing an anti-nuclear government, with Clive Ponting, Mary Kaldor, Clare Short, Ken Livingstone and others. 7.30 at Camden Town Hall, Euston Road, London - details from CND.

Wed Nov 12: Sir Anthony Buck QC, MP, Conservative Defence Committee: 'Our role in the Defence of the West', 6.30. Dunamis as above.

Nov 14-16: CND national conference, Blackpool, Contact Martin Jones at CND (01-250 4010).

Wed Nov 19: Rt Hon Denis Davies, Labour Party defence spokesperson: 'The Political Price of Trident', Dunamis as above.

## Switzerland's pacifist referendum

In Switzerland they're going to have a referendum on whether or not to abolish the army! A group of pacifists have just collected the 100,000 signatures necessary to obtain the referendum. Of course they will be heavily defeated, but it nonetheless appears that the Swiss hold their military in considerably less esteem than they did a few years ago.

## Greens' success in Austria

In the Austrian province of Styria the greens are represented in the local parliament for the first time, albeit with only 2 members and 3% of the vote.

Meanwhile the Austrians and their government remain at loggerheads with the new German government over the building of the controversial reprocessing plant at Wackersdorf, east of Nuremberg. The German government is itself concerned about the operational safety of a new French nuclear station at Cattenom in Lorraine, only 10 miles from the German border, since French safety standards are in many respects less stringent than theirs: in Germany, for example, the steel lining of a reactor pressure-vessel has to be at least 3 cm thick, while in France the figure is 6 mm.



## Briefly...

### New officers for Green Party

AT ITS first meeting after the Newcastle conference, the newly elected Green Party Council selected its three co-chairs for the coming year. They are Jean Lambert, Brig Oubridge, and Jo Robins. The new party secretary is Gundula Dorey, with Sue Redshaw acting as secretary to Party Council.

With the next general election perhaps less than a year away, the party has 56 prospective parliamentary candidates. One third are women; in 1983 27% of its candidates were women, the highest of any party. The target is a minimum of 150 candidates, with resources specially concentrated into several nuclear seats.

For more information, contact the Party at 36-38 Clapham Road, London SW9 0JQ (01-735 2485).

### Waste train stickers

STREATHAM AND NORBURY CND (south London) have produced stickers saying "Danger: Nuclear Waste Trains Use This Line" as part of their campaign against waste from Dungeness passing through their area. They come 12 to a sheet and cost 20p plus postage per sheet. Cheques to Streatham CND, c/o 1 Norton Gardens, Norbury, London SW16 4SY.

### Victory is certain

THE BIG Red Diary for 1987 is on the subject of South Africa, with the theme 'Victory is Certain'. It contains background features on South Africa itself ("It all started in 1852..."), Namibia and SWAPO, plus a listing of relevant groups and an excellent collection of photographs and graphics. Price £3.95 from your local alternative bookshop, or in case of difficulty post free from EOA Books, 34 Cowley Road, Oxford.

### Porritt on video

A 56-MINUTE video of a recorded talk by Jonathon Porritt has been issued by Iota Pictures. In 'The Threshold of Change' Porritt covers such issues as employment, ecology, feminism, spirituality, and the Third World. The presence of an audience, and their questions at the end of the talk, help make this an excellent educational and discussion medium. It's available price £17.50 post paid from Iota Pictures, May Cottage, Harewood Road, Calstock, Cornwall PL18 9QN (0822 833692).

Nov 21-23: History Workshops at Leeds Polytechnic - history of the peace movement, and in particular women's involvement in it. Info: Huddersfield 655970.

Sat Nov 22: 'Yorkshire in the Age of Star Wars' at Leeds Civic Hall. Speakers include Duncan Campbell and Rip Bulkeley. Info: Leeds 462450 or 463988.

Sat Nov 22: Conference on disarmament and development, Guildhall, York. Info: 070881 3417.

Nov 24-26: Two regional civil defence exercises, in the South-East and North-West. Designed to protect the state against the people. The army goes through the motions of rounding up subversives - i.e. us. More details from CND's NFZ worker Charles Searle on 01-250 4010.



### Disarming poppies

SUNDAY NOVEMBER 9 is Remembrance Sunday. Thousands of pacifists and peace movement supporters will be participating in alternative ceremonies and wearing white poppies.

Used since 1933 as a symbol of peace, the white poppy is once again growing in popularity. They are available for 30p plus pae from the Peace Pledge Union (Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, London WC1H 0DX - 01-387 5501); a box of 100 costs £23. Their Remember and Disarm information and action pack includes a lot of background information and campaigning material; it costs £1.50 plus postage.

The red poppy is selective, recalling only the military dead of past wars. The white poppy remembers all who have died in the past and who are dying today, whether military or civilians. PPU events in London are listed separately.

### Trading in repression

CHILE, INDONESIA, Iran, Iraq, Pakistan, South Africa, Sri Lanka and Turkey: they're all countries known for their gross violations of human rights, AND they're all countries to which the UK government has allowed the sale of military equipment.

All arms sales to be repressive regime give support to that government. They help boost its power even when they cannot be used directly for torture or other human rights abuses. And contrary to government claims, Britain does supply equipment that contributes to repression as computers, armoured cars and communications equipment can be so used.

To highlight and oppose such sales, CAAT (Campaign Against Arms Trade) is holding a week of action against arms sales to human rights violators from December 6 - 14. You can get a copy of the 'Stop the Repression Trade' pack, which includes both information and ideas for action, by sending £2 to CAAT, 11 Goodwin Street, London N4 3HQ (01-281 0297). There is also a free A5 leaflet which groups can insert in their mailings.

\* Green Peace News is edited by BARRY MAYCOCK.

# REMEMBER AND DISARM

Wed Nov 26: 'Secret Society: Plans for War'. Duncan Campbell speaks at Oxford Town Hall, 8 pm. Info: 0865 726441.

Wed Nov 26: 'Next Steps for Britain'. Richard Holme, member of the Lib/SDP Alliance Defence and Disarmament Commission. Dunamis as above.

## FOR ALL THOSE

- who have died or are dying in wars.
- who have died or are dying because resources that could have fed or housed them have gone to war preparations instead.
- who will die until we learn to live in peace.

## WHEN SHALL WE EVER LEARN?



## LIVING GREEN

### What's wrong with wool?

WOOL TENDS to be seen as a relatively 'clean' animal product. No nasty factory farms or anything like that. However, according to a report about Australian wool production in 'Agscene' (magazine of Compassion in World Farming) the reality of wool farming can be quite horrific.

Australia has a huge national flock of 135 million sheep with individual farmers owning flocks of many thousands of sheep. With such high numbers proper shepherding is often impossible, and high mortality rates are accepted. Eight million sheep die 'on the farm' each year from disease, lack of shelter, lambing problems and neglect, while 20% of lambs die each year before 'marking' (at 2 to 8 weeks) mainly from exposure to cold, wet, wind and starvation.

Sheep shearing is often a bloody affair, with piece rate contract shearers not inclined towards careful handling. Tales of mistreatment and downright cruelty abound. About a million sheep die each year in the month after shearing, mostly from exposure.

The sheep are also routinely subjected to surgical operations without anaesthetic. The 'marking' of lambs involves ear punching, tail docking, and (for males) castration. Afterwards lambs may suffer from shock, blood poisoning, tetanus, or arthritis from dislocated joints. Tooth grinding is done to ageing sheep in several areas: according to research done by the Victoria Department of Agriculture, the operation results in haemorrhaging in about 60% of sheep, and exposure of tooth pulp in about 92%, whilst all sheep undergoing tooth grinding will experience acute pain.

#### Mulesing

Probably the worst operation is mulesing, done to Merino sheep (75% of the national flock) to combat blow-fly strike. Merinos are susceptible at least partly because they are bred for large fleeces, and because of the wrinkly skin. Mulesing involves cutting the skin from round the tail area: it takes 3 - 5 weeks to heal, and there can be attendant problems of infection in the wound and in the tail joints, twisted tails, sunburn and fly stings on the mulesed area, and excessive bleeding.

Live sheep are also exported from Australia from slaughter overseas. As with live export of animals in general, much suffering is caused, and this is examined in detail in the 'Agscene' article.

Australian wool makes up about 18% of the UK's wool consumption. Our home production is fairly low compared to imports: we farm sheep more for mutton than for wool. Although Australian sheep farming is bad, how much better are the other wool-producing countries. In addition, those of us wishing to avoid animal slaughter in our living should consider that even the most humanely exploited sheep end up in an abattoir.

So we shouldn't buy our wool in ignorance. CIWF suggest buying wool from

alternative countries if possible. Other materials such as recyclable synthetics or vegetable textiles could be considered, though these too are not without their problems. For more information about wool production contact Compassion in World Farming, 20 Lavant Street, Petersfield, Hants GU32 3EW (0730 64208). The Vegan Society (33-35 George Street, Oxford, OX1 2AY - 0865 722166) produce a leaflet on wool entitled 'Wool Machines'.

CIWF also suggest writing to the Australian High Commissioner, Mr A R Parsons, Australia House, Strand, London WC2 expressing horror at mulesing and urging that it be phased out.

### Vegetarian demo

THE VEGETARIAN Society holds its annual demonstration against the Royal Smithfield Show and the meat trade in London on Sunday November 30. After assembling at Reformers' Tree near Speakers' Corner for a 10.30 start, there will be a march to the Earls Court Exhibition Centre. Here the show's organisers will be presented with a wreath to the many animals slaughtered annually for food. Refreshments and other activities will follow in the nearby St Philip's Church Hall, Stratford Road. For further information contact the Vegetarian Centre and Bookshop on 01-897 7739/1714.

### Ecological boating

IF YOU live in a boat, or know friends who have one, you may need a leaflet on anti-fouling produced by the Royal Yachting Association. 'Don't Foul Things Up' advises on how to go about applying antifouling paint whilst causing a minimum of damage to the marine environment, and can be got from the Royal Yachting Association, Victoria Way, Woking, Surrey GU21 1EQ.

? HAVE YOU any ideas or suggestions for living more ecologically? Or any bits of information relevant to this page? Feel free to write in: we'd like to hear from you.

## Recipes

### The Real Apple and Damson Chutney

Groveling apologises to chutney chefs for the wrong quantities given in the recipe last month (a proverbial hitch...). The ingredients should have read:

- 1 1/2 lb damsons/plums, stoned (mummy, how do you get a plum on drugs?)
- 1 1/2 lb apples, chopped
- 3 onions, chopped
- 8 oz dried fruit
- 3/4 pint vinegar
- 1 cup apple juice
- spices

The next recipe, I promise, is correct:

### Haymakers' Pie

- 8 ozs wholewheat pastry
- 6 ozs haricot beans
- 2 carrots
- 1 medium onion
- 2 parsnips or turnips
- 3 cloves garlic
- 2 bay leaves
- 1 tsp dill seeds
- 1 tsp thyme
- 1/2 tsp rosemary
- 1 tbsp oil
- 1 tbsp wholewheat flour
- 1/2 pint bean stock

## News from Friends of the Earth

Some snippets from the latest FoE newsletter:

- anticipating the imminent publication of the official Layfield Report of the Sizewell Inquiry, FoE have just published a substantial and superbly illustrated pamphlet by Michael Flood entitled 'Energy without End'. It presents the case for renewable energy, and includes an action plan for use in political campaigning. It's full of examples and statistics, and costs £3 post paid from FoE (address above). FoE will move into action as soon as the Layfield Report appears, with leaflets to support local campaigning and a demo at Sizewell on Nov 22.

- recycled paper for computers is available from Standard Continuous plc, Forms House, 473 Stratford Road, Shirley, Solihull, West Midlands B90 4AD. They also supply recycled paper for photocopiers.

- the European Commission has so far refused to grant derogations (exemptions) for UK water sources which contain more nitrates than the EEC Drinking Water Directive permits. The Commission says the applications are imprecise, and contain no plans to rectify the problems. In fact derogations can only be granted in 'situations arising from the nature and structure of the ground', while even the government admits that the nitrates come from heavy fertiliser applications in intensive farming. There were over 3,500 reported cases of agricultural pollution of rivers in 1985. Farmers prefer to pay the fines (£300 - £1,000) rather than invest in prevention measures, says Ron Toms, chief scientist of the Wessex Water Authority.

- BUSWATCH is a national monitoring programme set up by Transport 2000 to report on the effects of the deregulation of bus services which took effect from October 26. To take part, contact Jo Guiver, Buswatch, Unit 5/2/10, White Cross, Lancaster.

Soak and cook the haricot beans as usual (soak 24 hrs, cook 1 hr). Reserve the stock.

Pre-heat the oven to 425F/220C/gas mark 7. Use 2/3 of the pastry to line a deep 1 pint pie dish. Prick the bottom and bake in the oven till golden brown - 15 mins or so. Reduce the oven to 375F/180C/gas mark 4. Chop the carrots and parsnips up into small cubes and put them with the bay leaves into a saucepan with an inch of liquid in the bottom. Cover and steam until cooked. Heat the oil in a saucepan and fry the chopped onions and crushed garlic until the onion is cooked. Add the thyme, rosemary and dill seeds. Stir in the flour and cook for a few minutes, stirring constantly. Remove from the heat and gradually stir in the bean stock. Cook, stirring well, over a medium heat until the sauce boils, then simmer for 5 mins stirring frequently.

Drain the vegetables and mix with the sauce and beans. Season to taste. Allow to cool a little, then spoon into the cooked pastry crust. Roll out the remaining pastry and cover the pie. Make some holes in the top to let out the steam, and use the leftover pastry to decorate. (You can brush with egg or milk.) Bake in the oven till golden brown. Serve with mashed potatoes, green beans and gravy.

<From 'Full of Beans', Lifespan Community Collective, 1982>

\* Living Green is edited by GRAHAM HOOPER.

# THE ENERGY SAVERS

cost cutting in the USA and Canada

David Olivier

DAVID OLIVIER is a consultant on the efficient use of energy and renewable energy sources. On a recent visit to the US he assessed progress there in the field of energy-efficient housing.

LONG BEFORE CHERNOBYL, the Three Mile Island disaster seems to have left the US nuclear industry in a demoralised state. The Atomic Industrial Forum, an industry organisation, remarked that "nuclear power cannot be considered a realistic option for electricity generation at this time." A limited nuclear lobby remains, but the US environmental lobby is strong, and a nuclear resurgence seems unlikely. The USA has fewer nuclear power stations in use or on-line than it did in 1972.

Both the USA and Canada fund non-nuclear energy R&D hundreds of times more generously than in the UK...

After the 1973 'oil crisis', both the USA and Canada funded non-nuclear energy R&D hundreds of times more generously than in the UK (on a per capita basis). As a result they have made more progress with efficient energy use and renewable energy sources over the last 2 - 3 years than the UK has made in the last decade.

## Utilities back efficiency

UK utilities, like the Central Electricity Generating Board, still deny that using energy more efficiently is an alternative to building more nuclear power stations. By contrast, 60% of US electric and gas utilities - which are mostly privately owned - offer their customers grants and loans for energy efficiency. The original changes were imposed by the state utility commissions, which regulate these utilities much more strongly than the UK government regulates the nationalised industries.

Some utilities announced that their success in reducing demand (through efficiency improvements, and eliciting new electricity supplies from independent producers - wind turbines, etc.) had been unprecedented. It had eliminated the need to build any new conventional power stations based on fossil fuels such as coal this century.

These utilities and their regulators had rejected de facto UK energy policy, which is to recklessly deplete fossil fuels - North Sea oil and gas, for instance - and to attempt to build further nuclear power stations US-style at Sizewell B and elsewhere. (Try getting permission for a US-type nuclear plant in the USA after Chernobyl!). In adopting new policies they were not being altruistic. They had accepted that more efficient energy use and renewable energy sources are not only more environmentally sound, and so popular with a large section of the public, but are the cheapest policy.

## Superinsulated homes

North America's standard dwellings are over 2 times better insulated and draught-proofed than those in the UK, and are still improving rapidly. Yet, going even further, the USA and Canada now have some 30,000 'superinsulated houses' which were pioneered in the 1970s by government research agencies and individual inventors alike. These buildings have:

- \* heavy insulation
- \* triple-glazed windows (or better)
- \* well-sealed construction (often 25-50 times more draught-proof than UK homes)
- \* a mechanical ventilation system for winter use, often with an air-to-air heat exchanger to recover heat from the stale air and pre-heat the fresh.

North American experience shows that, for a small extra effort when designing and building homes, one can virtually eliminate the cost of heating anywhere on earth. Even in harsher climates than the Shetland Islands, the best superinsulated homes stay warm and comfortable all year at trivial cost; for example, a heating bill of £0-£15 a year, plus £20-£30 a year for the mechanical ventilation system's fans.

When other renovation is under way, it is also proving feasible to superinsulate old North American houses and cut space heating costs by 80%-90%. These 'superinsulated retrofits', which probably number thousands, are unparalleled in Europe. They show that one can almost eliminate the space heating needs of existing homes.

North American experience shows that, for a small extra effort when designing and building homes, one can virtually eliminate the cost of heating anywhere on earth...

## Solar heating and power generation

Thanks to over ten years' development and experimentation, solar water heating has progressed well beyond its status in the UK. In the best systems, solar collectors and short-term heat storage costing £600-£700 provide 60%-80% of a typical North American household's hot water. Despite the UK government abandoning such work, these 'state-of-the-art' systems are cheaper than conventional energy systems, even in cloudy climates.

In numerous houses in the north-east USA (only slightly more winter sunshine than the southern UK) 100% solar space heating is operating. The first such homes have now stayed comfortable for four successive winters with zero backup heat. With clever design and integration into the building fabric, the systems yield heat at similar cost to conventional energy sources like natural gas.

In the USA's 'sunbelt', with only twice as much solar energy as in the UK (not ten times more), solar thermal electricity is already being sold to electric utilities more cheaply than electricity from coal. Recent solar power stations cost just over £2,500 per installed kilowatt, LESS in capital cost, let alone running cost, than the US nuclear power stations ordered in the 1970s and now being completed!

### Energy-efficient electrical appliances

More energy-efficient electrical appliances have emerged rapidly in North America. Today's most energy-efficient refrigerators, freezers, washing machines etc. would save the average household over 80% on its electricity bills. Applied in the UK, the most energy-efficient electrical appliances would save as much electricity as the entire nuclear power programme produces.

With few exceptions, the extra cost of the most energy-efficient appliances is modest. It costs 5-10 times less to save electricity by more efficient appliances than to build new coal power stations - not to mention the environmental case for conservation. In the USA - and almost certainly in the UK - it costs less to save electricity this way than to fuel and operate existing nuclear power plants.

**Applied in the UK, the most energy-efficient electrical appliances would save as much electricity as the entire nuclear power programme produces...**

### North-West USA: more efficient electricity use

The North-west USA faced an imminent shortage of electricity in the 1970s. Electricity supplies from new coal or nuclear power stations would cost about three times more than the cheap hydroelectricity used until then. The attempt by the Washington Public Power Supply System, a public utility consortium, to build five nuclear plants was a technical and financial disaster. Most were abandoned; finally, in 1984, the £10,000m cost overrun led to the largest default on municipal bonds in US history.

In 1980, under pressure from consumer and environmental organisations, Congress set up the North-West Power Planning Council (NWPPC) for the region, covering Washington, Oregon, Idaho and western Montana. In 1983 NWPPC published a plan to 'acquire' specific amounts of electricity from more efficient energy use over the next 20 years. The USA's most thorough initiative to invest in conservation and renewables was under way.

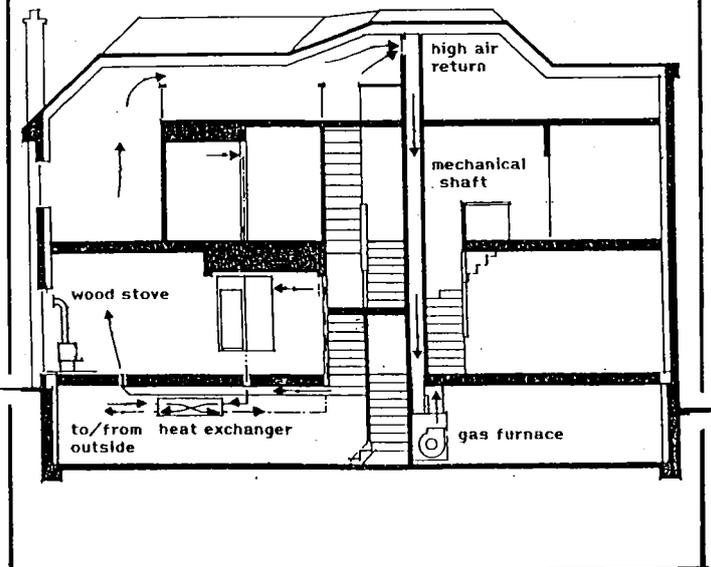
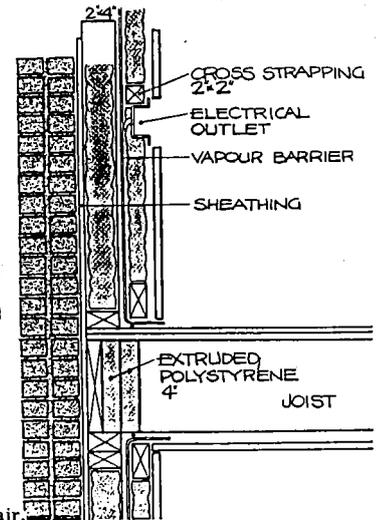
The north-west now legally requires public authorities and privately owned electric utilities to invest in energy efficiency even if it costs 10% more than building new power stations. The 10% extra was an ad hoc attempt to allow for the much lower environmental impact of conservation.

The north-west expects to spend about £20,000m of public funds over the next 15 years on more efficient electricity use: all this in a region of just 8m people. The nationalised Bonneville Power Administration (BPA), which used to sell hydroelectricity from federally-owned dams on the Columbo River, is basically turning into a financier of safe energy options; i.e. energy efficiency improvements and renewables. Not for nothing did author Ernest Callenbach name this region of the USA "Ecotopia"!



HAMILTON HOUSE

The house was bought for its southern exposure and the poor condition of the interior. The exterior brick work was in good shape. The total cost, including the original purchase, was about \$45 per square foot. About \$35 of that represents renovation work. The cost of energy-related improvements is estimated at 7% of the total renovation work. Annual heating loads are calculated to be 7.4 kilowatt hours per square foot. The north unit has a wood burner fed by an outside supply of combustion air. An air-to-air heat exchanger was installed to service the south unit. There is a continuous automatic circulation of hot stratified air.



As part of the investment in energy efficiency, the north-west's municipalities - which set their own building regulations - are set to adopt a stringent new building code for new dwellings. In a climate milder than southern England, new homes will require at least:

- \* four times more thermal insulation than used in most new homes in England
- \* triple glazing
- \* draughtproof construction, at least six times better than new UK homes
- \* mechanical ventilation to provide fresh air to all rooms in winter.

Such homes will use 85%-90% less energy for heating than if they were constructed to UK building regulations. By 1985 the region had trained hundreds of builders in these energy-efficient construction techniques which will become compulsory in 1989. In 1986 BPA gives a £1,200 grant to builders of all new homes that meet these energy efficient standards.

## British Columbia

A superinsulated house near Victoria, British Columbia, finished in 1983, proved that what works well in bitterly cold central Canada - where over 5,000 such houses have been built since 1977 - also works superbly in temperate climates (Victoria's climate is almost identical to that of southern England).

The house is heavily insulated, windows are double or triple glazed with insulating shutters, and the outside doors are steel with a core of foam insulation. It is tightly built, 20 times more draughtproof than new UK homes. A mechanical ventilation system supplies fresh air to the house in winter. Many other features of the house - for example, a Clivus composting toilet - reduce resource usage.

In winter 1984-5, £12/year worth of electricity from a tiny wall-mounted radiator kept the whole house comfortable all winter...

The house stays warm with no central heating system. In winter 1984-5, which was typical, £12/year worth of electricity from a tiny wall-mounted radiator kept the whole 320 sq m house (four times larger than most UK homes) comfortable (18-19 deg C) all winter.

Omitting the central heating system paid for the extra insulation, tight construction and mechanical ventilation system, and so the house cost the same to build as a standard new house. The builder of this house found lots of demand for highly energy-efficient houses from other people. From such initiatives, the 500,000 people on temperate Vancouver Island already have more superinsulated homes than the whole UK.

## British oblivion

With these and thousands more projects, the USA and Canada have taken a world lead in many energy-efficient building technologies. The USA also has a lead with renewables in a vast number of areas - e.g. solar cells, solar thermal electricity generation, and solar heating of buildings.

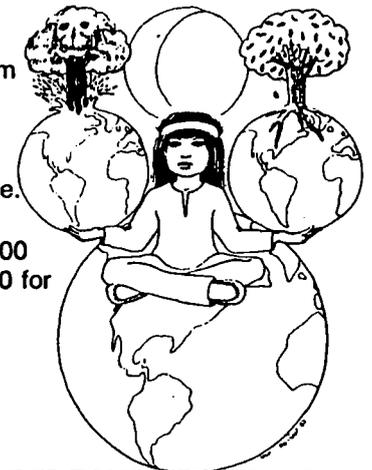
UK institutions seem oblivious of this dazzling progress...

Politics and spirituality  
Anarchism and feminism  
60's and the 80's....

It all comes together  
in Kick It Over magazine.

Sample copies, \$2.00  
Subscriptions: \$7.50 for  
6 issues

Write to:  
KIO  
P.O. Box 5811, Station A  
Toronto, Ontario  
M5W 1P2



THE TIME TO CHOOSE IS

**NEOWE!**

Lisa Cripps-Smyth

Even The Alternative Thinker Needs A

## CREATIVE MIND

*the quality quarterly magazine for Green Ideas,  
Human values, Practical alternatives, Lifestyles,  
Arts and Media.*

Plus - ALTERNATIVE DIRECTORY OF BRITAIN.

£3.80 for six issues, or 60p per single copy.  
£5.00 supporting subscription.

*Creative Mind: Lark Lane Community Centre,  
80, Lark Lane, Liverpool L17.*

tel: 051-727-8293/3837.

UK institutions seem oblivious of this dazzling progress. Recently, in glossy newspaper advertisements, British Nuclear Fuels claimed that no alternative source of energy has turned up. Either the nuclear industry is lying or, on a charitable view, it finds its own problems so intractable that it has failed to notice progress beyond these shores with safer energy options.

Although with the world oil glut public opinion polls show that concern about a crisis has dropped, it seems that energy is becoming a normal factor in everyday decisions, and North Americans are spending more on energy efficiency, not less, with greater measurable result.

The UK will have a hard time catching up. From evidence so far, do not rely on central government to take the initiative. ■

[After a fact-finding visit in 1985 to see some of this work at first-hand, David Olivier recently produced a report on North America's immense progress in this field. Entitled "Energy Efficiency and Renewables: Recent North American Experience" (May 1986, 45,000 words), it is available from Energy Advisory Associates, 15b Bradwell Road, Bradville, Milton Keynes, Bucks MK13 7AX (Tel. 0908 314381). The price is £45 UK or overseas surface mail (£48 air mail), pre-paid orders only.]

# Brotherhood of Terror

Val Remy

AT FIRST SIGHT it seems absurd to make any comparison between the gang of youths who badly beat up and robbed an 85 year old woman recently in London, and the Pentagon hawks who pushed hardest for Reagan's promised blow against 'state terrorism' to take the form of bombing raids on two Libyan cities. But one thing they have in common is that each was a crime committed by groups of men against the mother community or civilian estate. The two groups of attackers shared an identical sociological form - the womanless fraternity.

We are dealing here with what one of the pioneers of the Second Wave of the feminist movement, Kate Millett, called 'Sexual Politics'. The term, often shortened to Sex-Pol, was coined by Wilhelm Reich, author of among other works 'The Mass Psychology of Fascism', penned on the eve of the Nazi capture of power.

Reich identified the family with the authoritarian father at its head as a guilty party in the creation of fascism in particular and a sexually repressive status quo in general. For him the family was a 'state in microcosm'. Millett saw familial oppression as the hub of a much wider system whose primary victims were women: she called this 'patriarchy'.

During the decade and a half since the appearance of Millett's classic work her formulation has become such common currency (and not only among feminists) as to have become almost an *idee fixe*. 'Patri' means 'father' and 'archos' means 'originating in', and 'rule of'. In Reich's day patriarchy denoted either (a) 'originating in' or 'rule by' the father; or (b) an authoritarian and paternalistic form of governance. But by the mid-1970s the term was increasingly being used to refer to rule by men, usually meaning all adult males. The feminist current around Mary Daly, author of 'Beyond God the Father' and 'Gyn/Ecology', in which she attempted to lay the foundations of a new metaphysic based on innate biological differences between the sexes - in many respects the reverse of what Millett was aiming at when she insisted that the all-important differences making for the inequality of women and men were socially conditioned, being constructed around gender.

## German fascism: collective male oppression on the rampage

As one whose life has been dominated for so long by the contradictions involved in having a gender identity at variance with my anatomical sex, I feel more sympathetic to Millett. It was her work, together with Reich's, which stimulated me to embark on a research project to chart some of the boundless oceans of the sexual-political.

While Reich and Millett - like many others - focussed on family and patriarchy as the sources of oppression, I began cautiously to develop a complementary theory woven round the motifs of fraternity and fratricide, feeling more and more that existing sex-pol analysis could not adequately account for the great power wielded by the ubiquitous all-male group.

I chose German fascism as the historical model, precisely because it was the most extreme case in modern times of a collective male oppression on the rampage. It seemed to me that an investigation of Nazism might prove fruitful as it would show up in the sharpest relief the megalomania and other pathological values which many all-male groupings tend to lock on to. After a decade my research is still not complete, but enough has been learned to assert that:

- (a) contrary to what many historians tell us, there was a Nazi intelligentsia;
- (b) it had a sexual-political as well as a racial ideology;
- (c) this was explicitly anti-feminist, being a direct response to the growth of the women's movement;
- (d) its inspiration came from comparative (!) anthropology, Nazi ideologues applying the insights of field workers in such 'primitive' settings as New Guinea and Africa to both ancient Teutonic and modern German society.

What some Nazi intellectuals grasped from a reading of cross-cultural studies was that one does not become a man by virtue of physical development alone. The decisive criteria are not biological, but ontological; that is, they relate to being conscious of standing in a specific relationship to the cosmos. Otto Höfler, whose highly imaginative 'Cultic Secret Societies of the Teutons' (1934) earned him an immediate professorship as well as launching him as the leading sexual-political theorist of the Third Reich, could claim with some justification that in the world of the 'primitive' fraternities:

Non-members such as women, children, slaves, cowards, and good-for-nothings are without full rights; they remain subordinate beings. Indeed the boys or youths who have not yet joined the Männerbund (male bond, men's league, fraternity) often continue to be regarded as 'women' until the initiation ceremony takes place, what is manifestly a purely negative appellation: they are not yet 'real' men.

(The terms 'men's hut' and 'Männerbund' are up to a point interchangeable; this is reflected for example in the use of the words 'lodge' and 'chapel' to refer to fraternal branches of the unions of mineworkers and printers respectively.)

guy's = geezers = guisers = masked me

## The institution of manhood

Men are not so much born as 're-born'. They are a product of initiation. It was the custom among many peoples to take boys away from mother and family at the age of puberty and, by subjecting them to a series of rigorous tests, force them to 'prove' their fitness to join the society of men. The rites of passage, as ethnologists have called them, usually take place in the men's hut, which is often conceived of as a sort of second 'womb'. The ceremonies are invariably of both a collective and separatist nature - two of their cardinal features. Thus what we can characterise as 'fratriarchy' (meaning rule of/having its origin in the brotherhood) can be defined as a form of social organisation resulting from the banding together of adult males who constitute themselves as men, i.e. of a favoured and tested group in society in relation to the 'subordinate beings' which Höfler listed.

What happens to those candidates who don't make the grade? As one might expect, Nazi writers tend to take the view that they are quietly done away with. Other sources however indicate that such persons could become 'honorary women', and that this happened among some of the American Indian tribes.

The collective of newly initiated men demonstrate in dramatic fashion how their first allegiance is now no longer to the mother community; they pretend not to recognise their relatives. This phase will condition all their future behaviour, within the realm of the family as well as that of the men's hut. The essentially masculinist-separatist, exclusive way of life of the in-group of initiates reveals the ultimate source of power and authority of the men, which lies not in the family but in the fraternity. The passing of the pubertal tests is usually a precondition for being allowed to marry, and become a patriarch if the society is patrilineal. But the power of the paterfamilias is rooted in his continued paid-up (part-time) membership of the male community. This is not contradicted by the fact that under Roman law, for instance, the father of the family was the state's legal representative at the micro-level; for there are strong grounds for believing that the state is essentially the male community writ large - a men's hut in macrocosm.

Now a certain amount of delinquent behaviour usually goes hand in hand with initiation into manhood. Often it is a central feature, being particularly pronounced during the cultic ceremonies of the all-male warrior secret societies, which can be seen as a second stage in the evolution of masculine organisation. These do not normally embrace all those entitled to call themselves men but only a select few. Proto-fascist and Nazi ethnologists were particularly interested in these elites, crediting them with the creation of the State machine.

Heinrich Schurtz, whose 'Age Groups and Men's Leagues' (1902) had a profound influence on those Third Reich intellectuals who were concerned to fathom the dynamics of all-male supremacism, showed how the secret societies "develop(ed) so easily out of the youth initiations and the way of life represented by the men's hut" and directed their venom primarily "at the womenfolk, whose influence is reduced through systematic intimidation". Schurtz also noted how women were often forbidden on pain of death to witness the arcane ceremonies. Parallel to this is the threat - which some contemporary secret brotherhoods such as the Freemasons still theoretically retain - to do to death any member who reveals anything important about what takes place in the men's hut.



### Crime: man's prerogative

Almost the entire spectrum of criminal activities is associated with the men's groups. The three we have space to deal with here are 'The Right to Kill', 'The Right to Steal', and 'The Right to Burn'.

### The right to steal

Dr Richard Wolfram, a close friend and colleague of Höfler, described in the SS periodical *Germanien* at the time of the Sudetenland crisis of 1938 how the 'sacred' right to steal of the *Männerbund* still existed in some villages in the disputed territory. For a whole week at Shrovetide 'Young Man Shrove' (a term used by the locals in the plural) would go door-to-door demanding presents, dressed in bizarre costumes at once merry and menacing. Most villagers would readily make a donation, believing they would be blessed with a bountiful harvest and good luck for the year. But recalcitrant householders would risk the masked men (or 'guisers' - for like all cultic fraternities they wore masks) bursting in to "ransack kitchen and larder for anything edible, stealing whatever they can find... These young

=male band = male bond = licensed to kill

fellows possess the right to booty. It is the ancient Right to Steal of the masked men... (who) as the Wild Hunt used to embody the Army of the Dead". If their desire to thieve is thwarted by locked premises, they will often 'attempt to effect a forcible entry'.

Wolfram then described how this folk custom, which certainly once had much more sinister overtones than it did by the 1930s, takes a turn which causes much mirth and merriment. As the young crooks carry off their haul, they are pursued by a family head who with mock indignation accuses one of them of exceeding his 'right' to some swag. The sack of corn the father had set aside to be stolen contains a spoon which he has mischievously hidden it. The patriarch gets his revenge on the fratriarchate as the culprit's larceny is discovered and he is sentenced to an excessive number of lashes of the whip which are administered with feigned gusto.

The Nazi intellectuals readily appreciated this vignette illustrating how the ruling gender has not one but two main forms, and that if the two parties are to co-exist then agreements must be made between them on the share-out of power. Indeed, this became a cornerstone of the Nazi sexual-political worldview.

In an article entitled 'Robin Hood und Hobby Horse' published in 1932, Wolfram described the antics of a secret fraternity calling themselves the Schurtendiebe (short-coated thieves). They would suddenly emerge from the forests above the Lötschen Valley in Switzerland at the festival times. 'With a hell of a din,' he wrote, 'they plunge down into the village every Shrovetide. They disguise themselves in hideous-looking masks made of bark ... and carry staves. Woe to anyone who encounters them! The trembling women and children shut themselves into their houses for as long as the mad rampaging in the village streets lasts.'

The Right to Steal is a licentious provision of considerable significance in the consolidation of political power by the men's gangs. An elaborate mythos is spun around the robber band and its bloodthirsty deeds. Fearsome thief- and cutthroat- gods - deified criminal leaders - make their hideouts (men's huts) deep in the primeval forest after they have been banished from the sedentary mother community.

## The right to burn

Höfler quotes examples of the 'Wild Hunt', a mythologised form of the cultic fraternity, would set fire to buildings on certain days of the year, and masked men in Austria firing old barns and hayricks around Yule and Shrovetide - behaviour counted as a 'sacred act'. Wolfram described the still-extant custom of village lads in the same country erecting little straw men's huts for the Pancake Day festivities and then with much ceremony burning them down.

## The right to kill

Legend has it in some places that the mere act of encountering the 'guisers' will result in death. Höfler said that those unfortunate enough to cross the Hunters' path risked being struck a glancing blow with a chopper, stabbed, or blinded. In parts of Germany and Norway it was considered wise to throw oneself flat on the ground and close one's eyes as the fratrists passed by.

The Swiss ethnologist Dr Karl Meuli, whose 'Beggars Processions in the Cult of the Dead, Sacrificial Ritual and Folk Custom' (1927) helped to inspire Höfler and Wolfram, mentioned how the Right to Kill was exercised by initiated warriors in Sparta. They could strike down any helot (slave) they might encounter on the highway after dark without risking punishment. Bands of men the world over, Meuli informs us, have taken advantage of

such 'sacred rights', using them as "an excuse to carry out armed raids, mount campaigns of vengeance, and even to wage full-scale warfare".

The brigands could of course provide a good insurance policy against the looting and slaying of other men's gangs. Basing themselves territorially, each attempted to establish its own 'manor' from which rivals were excluded. Once fratriarchal rule was consolidated, it was in the interests of the settled community periodically to cough up to the protection racket in the area. Wolfram's account of the Right to Steal of Young Man Shrove during 'sacred time' - as the historian of religions Mircea Eliade, who was deeply influenced by Höfler's work, called it - should be read within the context of this development. Such groups already constitute a 'state-in-embryo'.

## The Godfather State

As well as claiming the right to carry on criminal activity, the men's leagues run their own legal system. Falk W. Zipperer was a lawyer, a personal friend of Himmler and an officer in a secret fraternity which claimed the right to steal, burn and kill on a gigantic scale and was declared a "criminal organisation" by the Nuremberg Tribunal - the SS. His book 'Scapegoating', an official Nazi Party publication of 1938, is an attempt to substantiate Höfler's theories. It chronicles the sordid history of the periodic oppression by village fraternities in Bavaria of young women accused of various sexual 'misdemeanours' - such as flirting with one of the self-same lads who now stands in judgement. The men's secret society would turn up at midnight in front of the cottage where the accused young woman lived and there proceed to hold 'court', all the time making weird cat-like noises and telling dirty jokes. Zipperer asserted that this was an example of the guisers' right to "chastise all common people at their whim... The masked men," he explained, "frequently suspend all normal laws and recognise no higher judicial authority than their own."

Meuli grasped an alarming paradox: the creators of what one might call the Godfather State doubled as criminals and law officers. Those charged with petty offences would find themselves before the same faceless and brutal men who periodically went on the rampage and could commit the most serious crimes with impunity. He thought it bitterly ironic that while the 'big fish' got off scot free, their victims could suffer a whole range of sadistic punishments including the death penalty.

Such are the gross injustices of the outlaw law of those who split off from the mother community. Granted, the draconian nature of the system which they enforce is often mitigated by a whole host of benign and softening measures - particularly when, for example, in 'peacetime' they are forced to share power with other social formations. But as soon as crisis looms they try to force their way again into the forefront of things. The threat which they currently pose will only be finally lifted when, no doubt as a result of women's beckoning, they see the wisdom of renouncing being 'men' and rededicating themselves as true sons by forming a new covenant with the matrix that gave them the gift of life.

---

::Val Remy is writing "The Erection of the Nazi Men's Hut: the antifeminist sexual politics of the 'Männerbund' in Germany 1900-45".

With thanks to Keith Motherson for his help in preparing this article, which was first published earlier this year in a slightly shortened version in the second issue of "Split" magazine.

---



# Why Green isn't any good without Red (and vice versa)

DEREK WALL

THE LATE former Labour cabinet minister Tony Crosland described ecologists as middle class bastards. Ken Livingstone (hero to many of us) remarked that the then Ecology Party was to the right of the right wing of Die Gruenen. Rudolf Bahro combined Marxism and green concerns, only to be dismissed as a naive idealist by radical 'socialists' both in Britain and within the German greens. An otherwise interesting and perceptive article in *New Left Review* claimed that:

They are overwhelmingly members of the middle class, and of the new petty bourgeoisie. These are the 'eco-freaks'... [they] are engaged in a kind of systematic flight from the cities and from civilisation. (1)

Charlene Spretnak and Fritjof Capra were extremely critical of the far left in the German greens, in stark contrast to Capra's guarded sympathy for Marx in his book 'The Turning Point', claiming that Greens should be neither left nor right but up front. The Green Party in this country has avoided debating the subject of our relationship to socialism for its entire existence. Is socialism irrelevant, old-fashioned, anti-ecological or anti-women, overtaken in analysis and real radicalism by the greens?

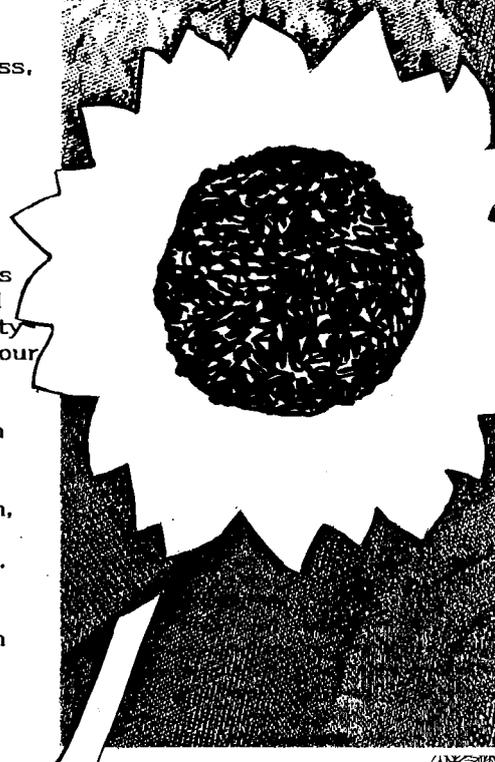
I think not. If we are serious about reversing the arms race, third world poverty, ecological destruction, and about creating a sustainable society, then in my view we have to take socialism very seriously indeed.

Most simply put, if we are to end economic growth, we have to redistribute. We can't freeze present inequalities both between North and South and within western society. We can't say bad luck to millions without adequate food, shelter, water, health or education provision.

## A middle class concern?

The working class in the First and Third World have been pushed off their land, terrorised and made to work as cogs in a machine which has produced the good life and the education system for the effective ruling classes: us. Ecology only started to matter when pollution started to escape from the slums and worked its way up the social scale in the early 70s:

A simple piece of historical reflection shows just how far this class neutrality goes. Industrialisation made whole towns and areas of the countryside uninhabitable as long as a hundred and fifty years ago. The environmental conditions at places of work, that is to say in the English factories and pits, were, as innumerable documents demonstrate, dangerous to life. There was an infernal noise; the air people breathed was polluted with explosive and poisonous gases as well as with carcinogenous matter and particles that were highly contaminated with bacetria. The smell was unimaginable. In the labour



process contagious poisons of all kinds were used. The diet was bad. Food was adulterated. Safety measures were non-existent or were ignored. The over-crowding in the working-class quarters was notorious... The ecological movement has only come into being since the districts the bourgeois inhabit and their living conditions have been exposed to those environmental burdens that industrialism brings with it.

We have to put the green concerns into their proper perspective. Most of this pollution has now been exported to the Third World. Engels' Manchester is today's Mexican shanty town or sweat shop in Taiwan. British workers are also part of the privileged class on a world scale.

But this isn't to say that the poor don't exist in Western society. Witness the Hands across the USA fundraising event. Look at how many people are homeless in London or in other large cities. The greens will never get widespread support if they maintain this status quo.



## Economic growth

Another link between socialism and green politics is the demand of radical socialists that production should be for use, not profit - a key concept which undermines the present system. As far as scarce and dwindling resources are concerned, necessities in the Third World (petrol to drive a tractor or to produce clean water) come second or not at all to our most frivolous and wasteful needs for energy; we can pay and they cannot. Africans starve because you and I, and even our pets, have more purchasing power for tea, coffee, sugar, peanuts and petfood, than the hungry have for non-cash-food crops. We could maintain a civilised existence, even within tight ecological constraints, if goods were made to last longer and more was shared. But less would be bought, and in the present system this would be unthinkable.

The basic logic of capitalism is economic growth. Yet as Bahro once remarked even a modest annual increase in GNP would in a short space of time result in a doubling of hamburgers, motorways, elastic bands... Ballard's fantasy 'The Subliminal Man' is in fact an extrapolation of present trends:

Franklin shook his head. 'People won't stand for it.' They will. Within the last twenty-five years the gross national product has risen by fifty per cent, but so have the average hours worked. Ultimately we'll all be working and spending twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week. No one will dare refuse. Think what a slump could mean - millions of lay-offs, people with time on their hands and nothing to spend it on. Real leisure, not just time spent buying things. (3)

Economic growth is bizarre. It measures not human happiness but consumer durables. It demands that most of the population work in jobs they hate, to consume items they don't want. It wrecks the environment, impoverishes those it is meant to enrich, widens rather than narrows inequalities, and as numerous authors have shown, is total madness. Yet it is still supported by parties, professionals, business and trade union people. Why?

Consumerism, Marx's commodity fetishism par excellence, is the 20th century God:

Our enormously productive economy ... demands that we make consumption our way of life, that we convert the buying and use of goods into rituals, that we seek our spiritual satisfactions in consumption. ... We need things consumed, burned up, worn out, replaced, and discarded at an ever-increasing rate.(4)

And:

The essence of a capitalist is that for him money is not primarily something that you spend (spent money is by definition not capital) but something that you invest in order to make a profit which in turn will be invested in order to make an even larger profit and so on for ever. The growth of profit, of production, of the company, is the criterion of success for its managers. And it matters little whether they are owners or salaried executives, bosses by divine right or managerial technocrats. In any case they must act like capitalists - that is, deliver the obsessive, obstinate, tyrannical message of capital that can't say anything other than 'More, bigger, faster'. (5)

In practice this wrecks the biosphere and demands we rip off the Third World, buying their commodities and crops at a pitifully cheap price. Even the arms race conforms to capitalism's internal logic.

From the ecological point of view, in any case, extensive public spending on the production of weapons can be anything but rational. But from the point of view of the corporations which manage to

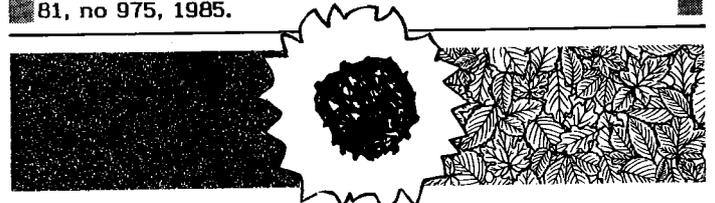
secure lucrative contracts in the process, this is sheer bliss. Economic charms of the cold war have often been extolled, and a Harvard economist, Sumner Slichter, found in it, as early as 1949, an extremely effective antidote to the malady of mass unemployment and proposed that 'We should thank the Russians for helping make capitalism in the United States work better than ever.' (6)

Capitalism is incompatible with an ecological society, an unecological system is ultimately incompatible with the continued existence of life on earth. One thing is clear: all greens must surely be socialists of a very radical sort.

Politically-orientated ecologists thus have a tactical choice to make. Either they go for more laws and restrictions to try and protect the environment, or they go for radical social change to bring about a society in which the environment wouldn't need protecting. It's the same dilemma that the early socialists' movement faced: reform or revolution.(7)

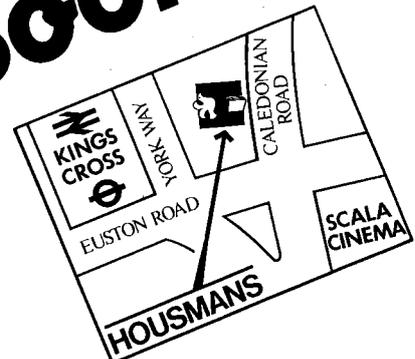
### References

- (1), (2) 'A Critique of Political Ecology', New Left Review no. 80, 1974.
- (3) 'The Disaster Area', J G Ballard, 1967.
- (4), (6) 'Economics and the Crisis of Ecology', N Singh, OUP 1976, quoted from:
- (5) 'Ecology as Politics', A Gorz, Pluto Press, 1980.
- (7) 'Ecology as Politics', Socialist Standard, Vol 81, no 975, 1985.





# Housmans Bookshop



KINGS CROSS  
EUSTON ROAD  
YORK WAY  
CALEDONIAN ROAD  
SCALA CINEMA  
HOUSMANS

5 Caledonian Road London N1

Open 10-6, Sat. 10-1, 1.30-5



# New Economics

THE LIVING ECONOMY. Edited by Paul Ekins. Routledge and Kegan Paul, paperback £8.95.

"THE LIVING ECONOMY" is a compilation of contributions to the TOES conferences, which have been brought together to form both a statement of the 'New Economics' and a manifesto for its implementation. The book and the original conferences are a testament to the failure of current economic thinking, characterised by the belief in the necessity for continued growth. These contributions have been welded together into a very readable, stimulating and exciting book by its editor, Paul Ekins. While giving full recognition to the contributing authors, he has produced a very coherent work. His excellent introductions and summaries to each chapter bring life to the book and to the clear understanding that 'new economics' is itself a living entity, the manifestation of a diverse but rapidly expanding body of people for whom the "king" of current economics is seen clearly as naked and deceiving himself and the public.

Part one of the book is a critique of current economics and the consequences of the dominance of its 'paradigm' in the world. Growth as the greatest good is central to current economics, and it is the clear evidence that growth no longer produces the effects claimed for it that finally damns it. Growth is normally measured as a percentage change in GNP, a term which was introduced as a measure of activity and has become an indicator of a country's well-being. The received wisdom that growth produces jobs and that wealth 'trickles down' to the less wealthy is simply not true, yet so ingrained in Western culture has this notion become that it is still the normal language of even socialist politicians.

Even more insidious in its effects (which indeed threaten our very survival) is the belief that the Western model of industrialisation with its growth culture is the only model for all countries. It has spread – or most honestly stated, has been imposed – on the whole of the Third World: in most cases this has made these countries as a whole poorer and dependent, with their poverty as the source of our Western wealth. What is frightening is that organisations like the World Bank and the United Nations have, by their recommended development programmes, contributed to this real increase in poverty by their acceptance of these values and 'mythologies'. I believe that the people who work for these organisations genuinely believe that they are 'doing good', but like the Spanish conquistadors who believed they were bringing salvation to the New World, they carry with them a disease far more deadly than their swords, but which to us seems only a trivial cold. Besides those who are 'well-intentioned' there is of course no lack of people who set out knowingly to exploit and rob for selfish gain, and who hide behind the mask of currently held economic myths. Like the Victorian empire builders, some may eventually come to believe their own myths.

The central issue is that GNP only measures activity in which money is exchanged and, even in this limited sphere, it provides no indication of the merit of the exchange. GNP is therefore not only a poor measure of human well-being, but it actually ignores most of the activities which contribute to it. Thus the two issues addressed by

the New Economics are first, to take account of human welfare or well-being, and then to develop the theory and practice whereby this may be increased. This is the subject of the second part of the book, which is aptly headed 'Putting People First'.

New economics is about putting human values first, unlike current economics in which human needs and aspirations come a poor second to the necessity of keeping the 'machine' in motion. Here the basic concepts and theoretical foundations for a real economics where people do matter are very cogently set out. The misuse for example of the word 'development', as in the term 'under-developed countries' or 'development aid', has forced the new economics to introduce the term 'Another Development' to describe the implementation of an economics which does recognise human values. The exciting consequence of this is that now all countries are perceived as 'under-developed' – and once we recognise our own unwelcome gains, like pollution and unemployment, and such unwelcome losses as our countryside and good health, we can begin to see the world as composed of equal but different countries.

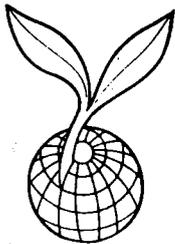
The characteristics of Another Development are: being need-oriented, meeting both material and non-material human needs; endogenous (i.e. stemming from the heart of each society); self-reliant (i.e. those needs which can be met locally from local materials are met locally); ecologically sound; and lastly, based on structural transformations in social relations, power structures and economic activities. It emphasises that all of these are required and that they are all organically linked. To build a society with these values, these principles must be applied at all levels – to individuals, districts, towns, regions, countries and the world.

These themes are developed throughout part two which examines how our concepts of work and health, for example, change when viewed from this new perspective. In the third part these themes are further developed but from a practical viewpoint – "The New Economics in Action" as it is called. Here the transition from the old to the new comes more to the fore. I believe it is here that the real political challenge emerges. How do you promote Another Development in the rhetoric of the old? As the book makes clear, this is more than explaining new terms and concepts. It involves overcoming the ingrained nature of the old paradigm within which its values seem to be self-evident, while outside its actions seem at best inappropriate and at worst obscene.

Take the idea of a national wage. Although in money terms not that different from current benefits, it will have to overcome three centuries of work-ethic indoctrination. The concept that a country distributes its wealth as a right, not as a hand-out, seems much more of an obstacle than finding the funding. On the other hand, the idea of organising society to meet real human needs should be no threat to most people, but of course it is to those with a vested interest in retaining power, either directly or through the milder forms of brainwashing which constitute our media. At present the media ensures that our cultural norms are promoted whether the news is good or bad.

"The Living Economy" was used as the agenda for the latest TOES conference, and as a real sense I do see it as a call to action. As the book shows, the concepts of traditional economics have provided the theoretical and ethical foundations which transformed the world from an essentially agriculturally based society through the industrial revolution to the mess which is all too evident today. I hope that this book may be the new 'Wealth of Nations' and do as much for the 'true or common-wealth' of the coming post-industrial society as did Adam Smith's in his time. I shall certainly keep my copy close at hand as a text-book and inspiration. My thanks to all who made it possible.

John Sommerville



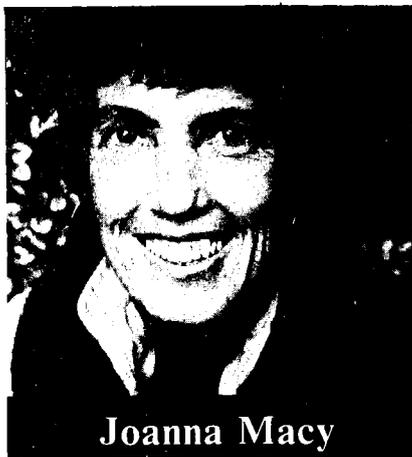
# A Green Future?

EMMA BULLARD reports on this year's Schumacher Lectures, held in Bristol on October 11. The speakers were Joanna Macy, Rudolf Bahro, and José Lutzenberger.

HOVERING IN THE BACKGROUND during the day's proceedings was the familiar dilemma for those who believe that Small is Beautiful. If you advocate smallness, how can you spread that message and win others over to your view, inevitably growing larger in the process? How do you deal with popularity once you have it? The Schumacher Society seems to be quite happy with the prospect of popularity and growth, and certainly the success of the day's events shows that it has not yet out-grown its strength.

The lectures received widespread and effective publicity, and all 750 tickets were sold out several days in advance. On arrival, the fortunate ticket-holders were handed the first edition of the Schumacher Society newsletter; we were encouraged to join the Society, to subscribe to 'Resurgence' (special offer: subscribe now and get three back issues free) and to buy books - the society runs a mail-order service and its bookstall was doing a roaring trade.

Despite these signs of financial success and organisational efficiency, the Schumacher Society has kept closely in touch with its roots in E.F. Schumacher's philosophy, the reason for its existence. (Other green groups might do well to note that on this showing it seems to be possible to be both ideologically sound and well-organised!) In his introductory talk, Satish Kumar, chairman of the Schumacher Society and editor of "Resurgence", stressed the society's aim of working from below, building change from the bottom upwards and influencing individuals.



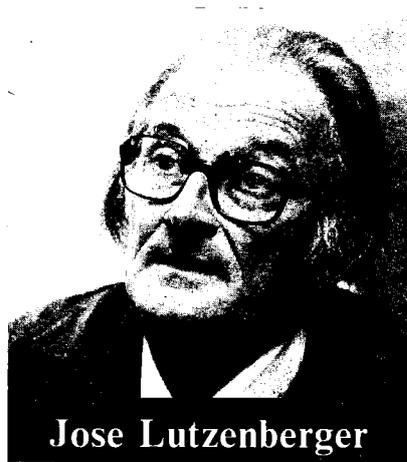
Joanna Macy

Joanna Macy gave the first lecture; though "lecture" is too dry a word for what was an impassioned and eloquent outpouring. Her title was "Faith and Ecology", and the ideas

and feelings she laid before us were wide-ranging and complex, starting with the anguish many people feel for the fate of our planet, and moving on to the spiritual effect which that has upon us, the pain and fear which are so hard to face. "The pivotal psychological reality of our time", she said, is that we have lost the certainty that there will be a future; and that loss "takes a toll that is incalculable".

Joanna described the paralysing effect of repressing our feelings, and the need to discover our interconnectedness with the web of life. "We're going to feel that the world is part of us" - and then we would no more think of destroying it than we would of cutting off our own leg. Lastly, she talked of the small-scale movements, the "silent explosion of people", that gave her hope.

Listening to Joanna was demanding, both intellectually and emotionally. At times the jargon she used made things more difficult - words such as "synergistic", "congruent", "paradigms" made me, for one, stop and wonder if I was really following what she was saying. But her strength and depth of feeling came across clearly; and during her hour's talk several people in the audience, as well as Joanna herself, were moved to tears.



Jose Lutzenberger

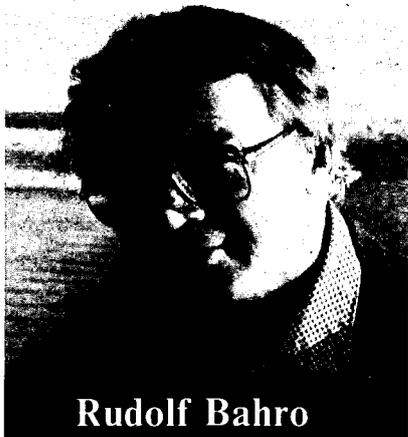
"More resources mean more disaster, not less"

We dispersed for lunch, and to collect our thoughts and wits; and an hour later returned to listen to José Lutzenberger. He is one of those invaluable people in the environmental movement; someone who has been on the "wrong" side, has realised the destructiveness of society's current way of life, and has begun to work for conservation and a saner way of behaving. Until sixteen years ago José was working for a chemical company, selling fertiliser; but since that time he has devoted his efforts to trying to protect the people and the environment of the rainforest in Brazil, his native country.

His talk was full of the terrifying statistics of the destruction of the rainforest, such as that in one area of Amazonia the rate of destruction is doubling every two years, so that if it continues at the same pace, by the early 1990s that entire stretch of rainforest will have been lost for ever. He also listed the reasons for saving the rainforest: the climatic changes that would result from its destruction; the Indians whose way of life and civilisation are being crushed; the wastefulness of the whole enterprise, because the land that is cleared is almost useless for farming, while there is no demand for the electricity generated by the huge World Bank-funded dams which have destroyed some areas of the forest by flooding.

José spoke urgently and eloquently about this insane state of affairs. Modern industrial society is like a snowball; its behaviour is suicidal and fundamentally unsustainable. "I cannot help the snowball by giving it more snow and more slope" - for this will only mean that as it grows even larger it rushes even faster to its destruction. Economists today behave as if what we need for salvation is more snow and more slope, but the reverse is the case. "More resources mean more disaster, not less." (And the arms race, as he pointed out, is another example of 'snowball behaviour'.)

There was much else in his speech, and I look forward to reading it when these lectures are published. José finished with a call to action; to work with groups like Survival International, Friends of the Earth and Oxfam, and to protest to the World Bank and our own governments. (During questions afterwards the point was also made that there is a British executive director at the World Bank, but the Foreign Office has refused to disclose the way he votes. This lack of accountability is something we could all take up with our MPs.)



**Rudolf Bahro**

---

**"We have to combine spirituality and politics"**

---

The day's final speaker was Rudolf Bahro. Satish Kumar told us how difficult it had been to persuade him to come, and that Rudolf had eventually realised that "the only way to get rid of me was to say 'Yes'" - overcoming his feeling that to travel is unecological and is behaviour that belongs to the destructive industrial society which we must dismantle.

This was just one of the paradoxes of Rudolf's argument - and one of the more easily understood ones. He returned to it later, pointing to his microphone as an example of the fact that we are now inextricably bound up in technological society, however simply we try to live. Of course there are good uses for technology - nevertheless we have to disarm the industrial society, because "the microchip will always belong first to Big Brother".

Having started hesitantly, with apologies for his poor English, Rudolf gained momentum steadily - it was hard not to see a certain tendency towards 'snowball behaviour' in him! The ideas came so thick and fast that it is impossible to do justice to his arguments, and I will simply list a few of the points he made:

- "We have to abolish the money economy; this is the most dangerous drug we are working with."
- Human nature is not subjectively worse in modern times than in earlier ones. The Romans would have used nuclear weapons in the second Carthaginian War had they the chance.
- "The balance between the sexes is completely lost in our culture"; this balance is far more important than the question of equal rights, since equal rights relate merely to the structure of society as it is.
- It is not material resources that are needed for change to come about, but a spiritual transformation.

Rudolf defined the problems he was describing on different levels, from the individual ego to the mega-machine of industrial society. It was an amazing lecture, full of intellectual concepts but at the same time delivered in an impassioned and heartfelt manner which showed that his arguments come from his heart as well as his head. As he said, "We have to combine spirituality and politics if we want to win space and time for the longer cultural change."

At the end, Christian Schumacher, president of the Schumacher Society, thanked the speakers, organisers and audience. He told us that his feelings at that moment reminded him of hearing a piece of great music as a child. He admired it and knew it was wonderful, and although he didn't quite understand it all, he thought that some day he perhaps might.

I knew exactly how he felt.



# REPRESSION WITHOUT PRECEDENT

NOAM CHOMSKY

NOAM CHOMSKY is a linguist and a political commentator. He has written extensively on "deep structures" in language, and on international imperialism. He is best known for his works on the Middle East, and on US foreign policy. In this interview, given a year ago to the Canadian magazine 'Kick It Over', Chomsky explains how America's global ideology has been applied in Indochina and Latin America.

In the past you've said that the US has an interest in driving Third World revolutions into the Soviet camp, and precluding the possibility of an independent path of development. Would you like to elaborate on this?

The primary interest of the US in the Third World is to ensure that there is no threat to the freedom to rob and exploit. In the event of some development, revolutionary or not, that threatens this interest, the USA will seek to abort it. The means selected will vary depending on a wide range of circumstances. An evolution towards capitalist democracy is sometimes regarded as detrimental to the primary interest, as for example in Guatemala in 1954 where US subversion overthrew a reformist capitalist democracy and installed - and has since maintained - regimes that resemble Nazi Germany as closely as any in the contemporary world.

A still more serious development, naturally, is one that threatens to direct domestic resources towards the needs of the indigenous population, hence impeding the right of robbery by the owners and managers of US society, or its clients. In this case, severe measures

"Things look different at the wrong end of the guns. I am not convinced that we have much to teach the victims of our violence."

must be undertaken, up to savage aggression, as in the case of the US attack against South Vietnam, then the rest of Indochina.

US intervention has been guided by a rational version of the domino theory. The concern is that if some region, however insignificant, undertakes social and economic development in terms that might be meaningful to oppressed and impoverished people elsewhere, then "the rot will spread" (to use the terminology of the planners) and others may seek to do likewise. The demonstration effect of successful development outside of the framework of US domination is the major concern. This explains why tiny and insignificant countries like Laos or Grenada have been the victims of such extraordinary US hostility. Laos, for example, was subjected to some of the most savage bombing in history in an effort to terminate a mild social revolution in remote northern areas, not because the US had any interest in Laos, but out of fear that the rot might spread. In fact, as the documentary record shows, the major motive for the 25-year US war against Vietnam was the fear that the rot of successful development in terms that might be meaningful for the Asian poor might spread, so that the whole US-dominated system in Asia might ultimately unravel.

## JUSTIFYING AGGRESSION

For the domestic population and the colonies (such as Canada) it is necessary to present aggression as defence. Thus the US is invariably defending the country it attacks, just as the Russians are defending Afghanistan, or as Nazi Germany was defending itself from Poland. For the past generation we have been defending such countries as Guatemala, South Vietnam, the Philippines, El Salvador etc. from the Russians. For a time we could defend them from Communist China, but now that option has been lost. If the ferocity of our attack succeeds in compelling its victims to seek Russian support, so much the better; that provides a justification (retrospective and prospective) for the attacks we launch against them in defending them.

Suppose that subversion or aggression do not succeed in returning the potentially rotten apple to the happy state of Haiti or Guatemala. Then the fall-back position is to drive it into the hands of the Russians, again justifying harsh measures that have been and will be taken. A further benefit is that Soviet influence is certain to strengthen the more brutal and repressive elements that will be found in any revolutionary movement or regime, and that come to the fore in the course of violence and aggression - another benefit that follows from our attack in defence of our victims, since the more brutal and oppressive they are, the less likely the demonstration effect.

This pattern has been repeated over and over again, most recently in the case of Nicaragua. The US is seeking desperately to compel Nicaragua to seek Soviet aid, to justify the US attack against it. Such propaganda exercises as the 1981 White Paper are typical expressions of this need, this time in the case of El Salvador.

As this process continues in its familiar way, the victim will indeed turn towards the Soviet Union or its clients for support, and the more brutal and repressive elements within will gain greater power under foreign attack. The next step is for the intellectuals in the US and its client states to shed crocodile tears over the betrayal of the revolutionary promise, thus contributing further to the attacks that have exactly this as their intent. Again, Nicaragua is a current example of a process that is familiar and entirely predictable.

# REPRESSION WITHOUT PRECEDENT

In the case of Indochina, the attack against South Vietnam (then all of Indochina) was accompanied by efforts to shore up the US position in the surrounding region. Thus, the US-backed massacre of some 500,000 people, mostly landless peasants, in Indochina in 1965 was greeted with such pleasure in the West, and was used by American liberals to justify their support for the "defense" of South Vietnam, which provided a "shield" behind which these "dramatic changes" could take place. Canadian industry was a major beneficiary.

The same is true in Central America. The Kennedy administration reacted to the "loss of Cuba" by shifting the mission of the Latin American military from "hemispheric defense" to "internal security" - that is, war against the domestic population - thus setting off a plague of repression with no precedent in the bloody history of this continent. Meanwhile the intellectuals laud our commitment to freedom, human rights and democracy. There is nothing surprising in any of this.

- Marxists, like their bourgeois precursors, have an ideology which favours nation-state centralisation. In Nicaragua this gets reinforced by the aggressive policies of the US. How much is ideology and how much is circumstance, and is there any way out of this dilemma?

There certainly are elements in the Sandinista revolution that are committed to the Leninist model of totalitarianism. The effect of the US attack will, predictably, enhance their power. It is difficult to estimate the effect of the various factors in bringing about this development, and it is in fact something of an idle exercise to try to do so. As to whether imperial savagery can be combatted in other ways, that is too hard to say. In Vietnam, for example, the NLF in the south was a considerably more diverse and decentralised structure than the dictatorship in North Vietnam, but it was demolished in the course of the American attack, leading - again predictably - to the North Vietnamese takeover that is now deplored by Western hypocrites. It is easy for us to sit back and give advice, but things look different at the wrong end of the guns. I am not convinced that we have much to teach the victims of our violence.

- Do indigenous peoples like the Miskito Indians offer a potential alternative model of development in the Third World, one more in keeping with libertarian values?

The Miskito Indians have a right to live their own lives as they wish, but I am aware of no indication that their leadership has any commitment to libertarian values. It should be noted that the Miskitos have been treated very badly by the Sandinistas - though they are not simply slaughtered as has been the usual practice under US rule, most recently in Guatemala, to take only one striking example. Their current demands have much justice, but it is again worth noting that similar demands elsewhere in the continent would be dismissed with ridicule and, if pressed, would be met with a response ranging from harsh repression to outright genocide. A citizen of the US or Canada taken at random is more likely to know of the Miskitos and their travail than of any other Indian group in Latin America (or probably at home), but that simply reflects another triumph of the American propaganda system and the hypocrites who parrot its effusions. ■

## BOOKS FOR GREENS

- THE LIVING ECONOMY (ed. Paul Ekins). A new economics in the making. £8.95
- THE HOLISTIC HERBAL (David Hoffmann). The herbal for the 80s, beautifully illustrated and covering all aspects of cultivation and use. £7.95
- VEGETARIAN COOKERY (Gail Duff). Illustrated in colour, very accessible. £1.99
- SARAH BROWN'S VEGETARIAN COOKBOOK. Now in paperback. £3.95
- WORK IN THE FUTURE (John Osmond). Employment within the framework of the New Economics. £5.99
- FESTIVALS, FAMILY AND FOOD (Diana Carey and Judy Large). An attractively illustrated compendium of games, celebrations and recipes for festive seasons. £6.95
- RED AND GREEN (ed. Joe Weston). Bringing reds and greens closer together. £4.95
- SEEING GREEN (Jonathon Porritt). The classic, still selling strong. £4.95
- GAIA ATLAS OF PLANET MANAGEMENT (ed. Norman Myers). A finely presented, full-colour atlas and compendium of global and ecological information. £9.95
- SPACE WEAPONS (Rip Bulkeley and Graham Spinardi). Up-to-date and comprehensive. £8.95
- THE TURNING POINT (Fritjof Capra). A new, post-Cartesian vision of an alternative culture. £3.95
- THE MODERN CRISIS (Murray Bookchin). Just published, the latest collection of essays by this green anarchist. £5.95
- FUTURE WORK (James Robertson). Scenarios for the future of work in our society. £6.95
- MY LIFE, MY TREES (Richard St Barbe Baker). Autobiography of this great tree-lover. £4.50
- GREEN POLITICS (Charlene Spretnak and Fritjof-Capra). Paperback at £3.95
- THE BREAKDOWN OF NATIONS (Leopold Kohr). Peace and survival depend on breaking big nation states down into regional and city states. Just re-issued. £4.95

We can order ANY BOOK you require: many titles available from stock, of which the above is a tiny selection. ORDERS OVER £10 ARE SENT POST FREE: below £10 please add 50p towards postage.

Phone us for up-to-date information on 1987 diaries, calendars, and Christmas Cards. If you come to Oxford, be sure to visit us!

**E.O.A. Books**

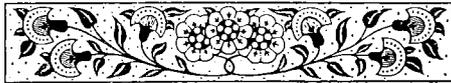
34 Cowley Road, Oxford OX4 1HZ

## Joys of a single parent

Saturday. Woken up at 7.30 by Robert (4 years old), got up, made tea for us and Rachel (daughter aged 9) plus friend who has stayed overnight, bathed and dressed boy, made breakfast, washed up, made beds, tidied up house, went into town, called into local store, Robert banged his head on a protruding railing, asked to see manager while comforting Robert, hassled him into promising it would be fixed and made mental note to chase during the week, went to leisure centre for lunch so children could play on new climbing frames, picked up and comforted Robert when he fell off, came home and finished cleaning up, hung out washing, popped down to visit old lady I keep an eye on, kids played in garden and climbed apple trees until Rachel slipped on a branch, fell and hung by her skirt about five feet above the ground doing a fair imitation of Supergirl (her new nickname), comforted her because she was upset at ripping her favourite skirt which is now only fit for the ragbag, came home, picked up Robert etc. again, continued pretty much this way (I've left a lot out but I haven't got time to write every detail) until 9.30 pm when Rachel went to bed - Robert had chucked in the towel about an hour before - made cup of tea, sat down, picked up GL and read article entitled "A Man's Place".

Some of us guys are out here doing it, if it's any consolation. Oh well, mum does her once weekly visit tomorrow afternoon and takes them swimming for a couple of hours. Oh - I nearly forgot the point of this letter. I've been a nine-to-five and now I'm a single parent, and I'm happier now than I've ever been.

Charlie Mountney  
65 Prospect Street, Alfreton, Derbys.



## Cult of the incomprehensible?

The October GL has an article by Ivan Illich, whom I understand to be a "cult" figure. Having read it, I know why. To most people the article must be very difficult to understand, thus restricting his popularity to those who feel at home with words like valetudinarian, phenomenology, gestalt, zoomorphs. What is an epistemological matrix, please? How are greens going to reach the masses with sentences like this; "Since I was unaware of the iatrogenic nature of the experienced body, I did not explore its metamorphosis: the emergence of a body-percept congruent with a post-professional high-tech lifestyle"? Or is this just GL's cheap attempt to get into pseudos' corner?

This word "iatrogenic" is the worst

of the lot; Illich coins it himself, doesn't explain what it means, and then makes it central to his article, using it or its variants at least nine times.

All this is even more unfortunate as some of what he has to say seems to be quite significant. Perhaps you could suggest he writes an article on "Over-intellectualisation and political impotence", and have it sub-edited by someone from the Plain English Campaign.

Paul Boizot  
35 Gresham Street, Lincoln LN1 1PZ



## People are good

In response to Graham Wroe's piece in the August/September issue, I agree that some Christians are doing a lot of good in campaigning against injustices in the world. However, I don't see how Christianity can have anything long-term to offer the green movement as long as it takes the view expressed by Graham Wroe, that human nature is inherently sinful, bad. Plenty of anthropological studies will show Graham that sin exists only in the minds of Christians (or where Christians have spread the idea of it) and not, as he believes, in human nature. It follows that by telling people that it is in their nature to sin, Christianity is actually encouraging people to do 'bad' things.

Whilst I hope Christians will keep up their good work in the green and peace movements, I hope they might get round to preaching that humankind is inherently good, and that our bad activities can be overcome.

Paul Rosen  
22 Primrose House, Mission Place  
London SE15 5SS



## Wilfrid Price replies

I contend that Joan Vickers (writing in GL46 re my letter in GL45) betrays the trendy Red Fascism that the Trotskyists have shown when they disrupted university lectures they did not agree with. She violates the principles of free speech and the Voltaire spirit when she condemns you for printing my letter. How the pendulum has swung! Recently a Labour candidate was abused by the Left for exhibiting heterosex by appearing with his wife and children.

Linda Hendry takes a purler when she attacks me on evolutionary grounds. On these grounds I think I can show that homosex is unnatural:-

Homo sapiens has been extant for some 250,000 years living as food gatherers in family groups ideally about 30 strong (not tribes). It must have been in this period that Man's [sic] innate fundamental nature was initiated since civilisation has only been going for less than 10,000 years. Now in the last 150 years there have been discoveries of such primitive-living peoples in different parts of the world by explorers and

missionaries. These peoples have been found to be completely peaceful and their children brought up without violence. Their sex life is recorded faithfully and there has been no discovery of any homosexual practice amongst them. Therefore we can reasonably assume that homosex is not a natural feature of mankind. Further evidence of the artificiality of homosex is the feminine posturing by many "Gays" and the "Macho" image of some Lesbians.

Organised warfare did not arise until civilisation had been going for some time. In my booklet "Social Credit and the Leisure State" I put forward my own theory that it was caused by the 'need' for slaves. It brought about the patriarchal way of life coupled with the harsh upbringing of children giving rise to greed, the power-complex, sado-masochism and other perversions including, I contend, homosex. Certainly there is no record of any homosex amongst humans until we enter the War period.

Though unfairly accusing me of being abusive (the "Puff Party" bit referred to possible abuse from opponents), I accept the offer of brotherly love from Graham Bell. I myself have a very strong love for children, and last Christmas as Santa in an Arndale centre I had in succession 1,800 boys and girls on my lap and loved them all. This feeling makes me strong for the family, this being the body to ensure that children get their need of love without which so much harm can arise. I contend that it is the disruption of family life that gives rise to so much violence and crime and general social decay. While this is caused in the main by economic pressures and the Rat Race, homosex plays a part.

Steve Hope links me with Nazism. Two things to say: firstly, the Nazis were riddled with homosex; secondly, I was fighting Fascism probably before he was born. I marched on many anti-Fascist demos, and have two convictions for clashes with Mosley's Blackshirts. I championed the underdog, having been on many workers' demos including the big Hunger Marches. I was a member of an unemployed organisation, and I acted as a picket when tenants in rat-infested tenements were on a rent strike over appalling conditions. To picture me as a repressive reactionary is absurd; I advocate the Leisure State involving the complete end of wage slavery - what could be freer than that? I sent my eldest son to A S Neill's freedom school, Summerhill. Neill agreed with me that homosex was the product of repressive upbringing and boasted that Summerhill had never produced a homosexual.

I don't inflict my sexual proclivities on the Green Party, and I consider the Lesbian and Gay Green Group is extremely selfish to do so. If we are to fight elections, we must study the public's feelings. How can the Green Party claim to be the party of Nature when it sponsors so many unnatural causes? What would be the feeling if the Party sponsored heterosex wife-swapping and oral sex, copulation with animals, and a sado-masochist group advocating bare bum beating? Where do we draw the line?

Wilfrid Price  
Cairnacre, Midgehole, Hebden Bridge  
West Yorkshire HX7 7AL

GREEN ACTION DOES NOT AGREE WITH THESE VIEWS AND STANDS FOR LESBIAN & GAY RIGHTS