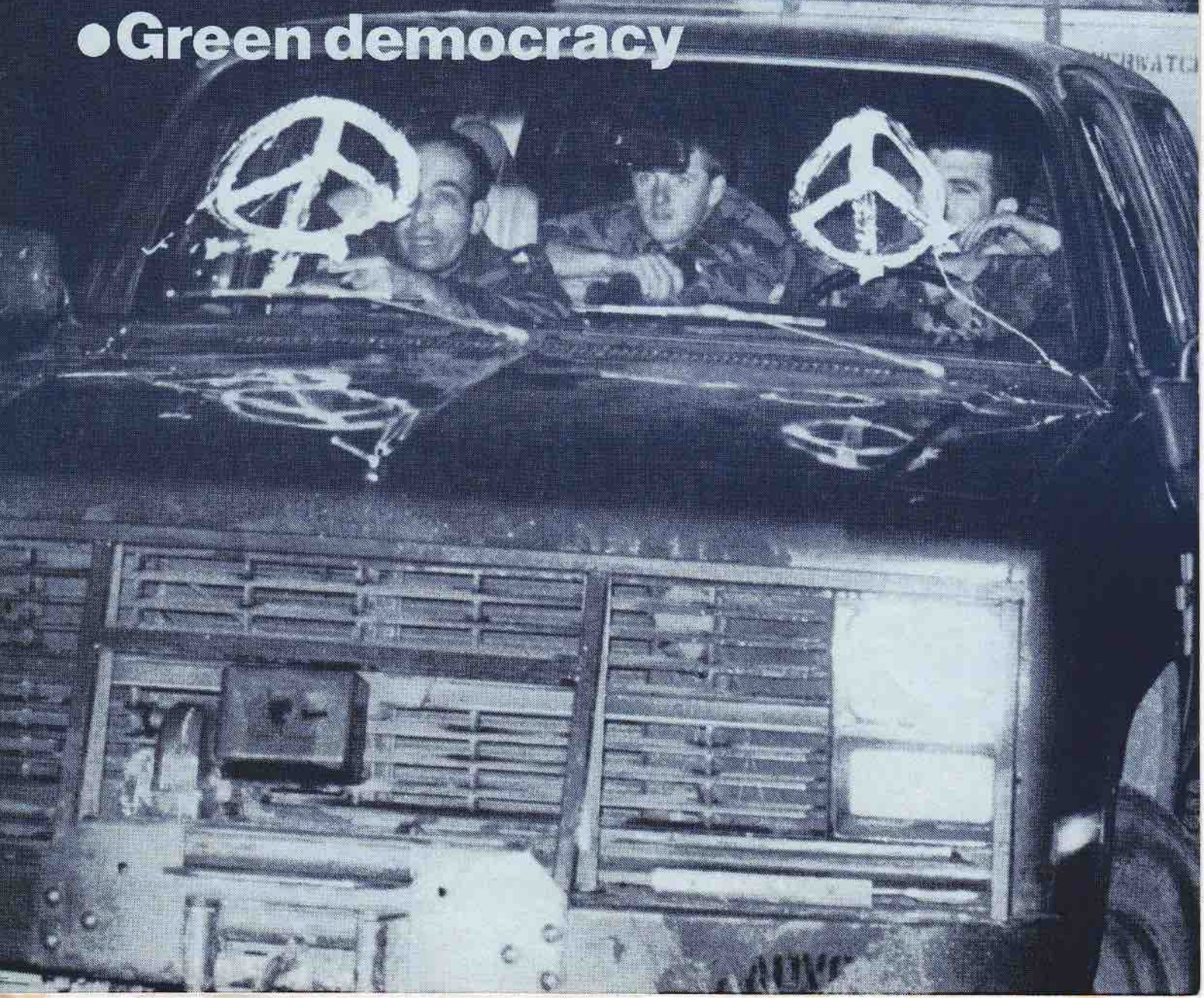


# GREEN *Line*

No 54 / JULY - AUGUST 1987 / 50p

- **Stopping Cruise**
- **Pacific jelly babies**
- **Green democracy**





# GREEN Line

34 COWLEY ROAD, OXFORD OX4 1HZ  
TEL: 0865 245301

THE INDEPENDENT MAGAZINE OF  
GREEN POLITICS AND LIFESTYLE

GREEN LINE is published ten times a year, and is produced by a collective based in Oxford. This issue appeared with the help of Jerry Spring, Leigh Shaw-Taylor, Barry Maycock, Graham Hooper, Carol Guberman and Sarah Tyzack. It was edited by Jon Carpenter.

#### SUBSCRIPTIONS

Normal rate £6, low/unwaged £5, voluntary hi-waged "supporter subscription" £10. The "supporter" rate helps build our publications fund: our thanks to those subscribers who have contributed over £300 already, enabling us to publish 'Pacific Women Speak' - see pp 16 - 18. Overseas readers please add £1.50 to all these rates (surface mail), or enquire for air mail rates to your area.

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#### DEADLINES

We take a bit of a break over the summer: the next issue is due out on August 17, and the one after that on October 1 (and monthly thereafter). We need all news for the next issue by July 15. When sending articles, please note that in general all articles are read and discussed at an editorial collective meeting on the first Wednesday of each month.

◊ Cover photo by BOB NAYLOR: cruisewatchers blockade a cruise support convoy for 1½ hrs in Tilshead, nr Devizes, on its way to Salisbury Plain.

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# Swinging Greens

JON CARPENTER reports:

"65% SWING to Greens" the newspaper headlines could have been screaming on June 12. And if they had, it would have been true!

This space has been set aside for a report on the modest election triumph of the Green Party. After all, with an average vote of 672 (1.5%) across the 133 constituencies in which it put up candidates, and a vote 65% up on 1983 (though down on 1979), it has something to be pleased with - and something to build on. Despite the tremendous pressures to vote "tactically", 89,354 people across the country voted Green: that means that if there had been a candidate in every seat, over 435,000 people would have voted Green. If there had not been that "tactical" pressure, the vote would have been far higher. And don't the other parties know that!

However, the party seems determined to make the headlines for any reason but the right one. Even before the election, the News on Sunday gave the Greens their one piece of pre-election coverage - on the subject of a threat to throw Paul Ekins out of the party because of his involvement in the tv87 campaign. (Who gave them that story?) Now Paul has decided to resign from the party rather than stay and fight the expulsion (which he was confident of winning) because, he says, "Green politics is in an appalling situation", the Green Party is going nowhere, and it's not worth fighting to stay in. Indeed, he says, the experience has shown him that the Green Party is "easily the least tolerant of the parties". He quotes examples of members of both the Labour and Liberal parties with whom he shared platforms in the tactical voting campaign, and who were campaigning for their own supporters not to vote for their parties in the marginal constituencies.

Talking to one of the party's most successful candidates, I was surprised to find a recent convert from centralism to arch decentralism. What was the reason for a centralised office and organisation, I was asked, if not for maximum media profile and efficient production of literature? Yet the media profile had been negligible, and the literature pathetic and/or too late to be of use. Local parties should consider going it alone, keeping the membership money themselves, and spending every available resource creating their

own media in their own areas (essentially, their own local newspapers, leaflets, etc.)...

This feeling was certainly consistent with an expectation that the more pertinent the party's political critique becomes, the more the media (and the other parties) will try, first to ignore it, then to denigrate it. So to find an element in the Green Party already at work sabotaging, so to speak, its own efforts came as a doubly unpleasant shock. Greens playing into the hands of those who wish us least well!

To attempt to invoke the strong arm of the party's constitution over an issue which has sorely tried many a conscience in all parties in every constituency seems curiously inappropriate for a party which emphasises individual responsibility and decentralised authority. This was an exceptional election held in exceptional circumstances: under such conditions may people not act exceptionally. Why not accept that? Are the Greens so ungenerous that there is no longer room for debate and dissent? Or shall we have public denunciations next? I can think of several people in my local Green Party who made it known they were voting Labour: shall I send their names to Head Office so that Proceedings can Start? Indeed, one of the signatories of the tv87 charter was a Green Party local councillor: will he be sacked?

Sadly, the duststorm over the expulsion threat(s) is concealing other more worrying facts about the

party: its still ramshackle "central" organisation, the last-minute hell-for-leather rush that was an apology for a General Election campaign, and the underlying lack of any sense of political purpose beyond replicating the media images of the other parties (the party is currently reacting to the election result by flooding members with bumf about image and presentation).

How can the party even find time for this kind of activity? June 11 is water under the bridge: what the Greens need now is a forward-looking programme, a plan of action which helps ensure that even their own members are not torn by indecision come the next election. The party's message has got to be made all the more relevant, all the more cogent: a tremendous concentration of resources and human energy is called for - just as some people seem hell bent on dissipating any newly emerging energies, and diverting any forward movement.

Is it possible that the Green Party is about to prove to all and sundry - its own membership, the rest of the Green movement, and the hundreds of thousands (millions if it makes radio or TV) who will see the media having its field day - that it's just as bureaucratic, introspective, defensive, power-mongering, recriminatory, competitive, doctrinaire and punitive as any other party, just more pretentious. But there is time for second thoughts. Perhaps it will turn out to be a green party after all.

Then spaces like this can be devoted to the party's political activity, rather than the ways it is preferring to make the news at present.



• One media stunt the media ignored. On June 9 three Green Party members delivered contaminated sand from a public beach near Sellafield to the London HQ of the CEGB, whose press officer said later that radiation levels in the sand were "normal" - for the Sellafield area.



## WHATEVER HAPPENED TO THE NUCLEAR ELECTION?

◊ BARRY MAYCOCK writes:

THOUGH MOST people I know are too involved in politics to have bothered much about the election, I nevertheless detected a collective sigh of relief when it was all over. It was really quite a dull campaign, the result predictable – though not perhaps the size of the Tory majority, which gives Thatcher the mandate, and thus the power, to stamp even more vigorously on all dissent. This will soon begin to affect us all directly – but despite this, I haven't sensed the kind of despair that settled over everyone after the 1983 result.

One of the reasons for this could be the eclipse of the Alliance, who no longer have any credibility as a revolutionary mould-breaking force (!), thus leaving the field open for a truly radical alternative (whoever THAT might be!). Another reason is that campaigners generally, particularly in the peace movement, have become much tougher mentally and more resilient, less naive, less hopeful of instant results – and less inclined to believe that success and failure are dependent on the vagaries of UK party politics and the electoral process. It's still odd, though, that so many people, having argued in a saner moment that parliament is a useless distraction (and that real power lies elsewhere –

with the military, with international finance, with transnational corporations, MI5, the Mafia, etc, etc.) nevertheless plunge so ferociously into an election campaign.

And what of the great defence debate? National CND seemed to feel that collective silence should prevail in order to help the Labour Party – thus acknowledging the fact that defence would be a vote loser – and the wider peace movement seemed to follow suit. A recent article in Peace News even suggested that NVDA be suspended in an election year in case it upset anybody – though the writer didn't make it clear how he was going to bring this about: tell the women at Greenham to stop invading the Base? Keep cruisewatchers from cruisewatching? But the real value of an election campaign – sometimes it seems the only value! – lies in the fact that it provides a platform, however briefly, for issues to be aired and fully discussed, and an opportunity is lost if we are frozen into an attitude of complete paralysis.

I still have nightmarish memories of the way defence was tackled: of the Tories, in their usual contemptible way, reducing the issue of genocide weapons to a matter of sandbags and soldiers surrendering, arms in the air; of Steel, humane and decent as ever, announcing that he would press the button 'if the nuclear deterrent failed'; of Owen, fuming at Thatcher's accusation that he was a closet unilateralist, and spluttering: 'It is a far more potent libel for me than being accused of having it off with someone.' He was stung by what he regarded as an attack on his virility, his nuclear machismo. And there was Kinnock, wobbling at the very last minute, even on the issue of the obsolete Polaris system. At least we were spared the embarrassment of Labour in power slowly caving in under pressure, and turning once more into

a loyal participant in our nuclear alliance.

So the issues are clearer, if the prospects are bleaker, under Thatcher. The first task concerns energy, and morale. National CND seems to think that morale is basically a matter of finding things for campaigners to do, and cheering them up – hence the bland, and completely unselfcritical, optimism of 'Sanity' and 'Campaign'. But morale is much more to do with the structures in which we operate; and if people enter a local group, full of ideas and energy, and find that it sees itself simply as a branch of National CND, a fundraiser for the central group and a retail outlet for CND material, they will soon get disillusioned. The centre becomes a black hole in which energy and resources are sucked, never to re-emerge. Calls for decentralisation will have little effect: people at the centre of influence and power will never willingly relinquish their position. For those who believe that change is possible through the usual 'constitutional' channels, there is the Autumn CND conference, and resolutions need to be in by July 6th.

However one suggestion for local groups is to actually feel their autonomy and freedom; to take part in their own local actions, which can effect change directly, empower themselves and inspire others, and to make direct contact with people – via leafletting, canvassing, community politics, etc. – and not via a hostile media and a hostile parliament. Animal Rights groups are already pointing the way – instead of putting energy into the wasteful national organisations, they are setting up their own loose federation of groups (see page 5); this could also happen in the peace movement, with a Federation of Local Peace Groups, discussing problems, sharing actions and pooling energy and resources. At least this suggests a possible way forward.



## WOMEN AT CAPENHURST

A group of women from Merseyside and North Wales marked Women's International Day for Disarmament (May 22) by arriving undetected at 7.30 a.m. to blockade BNFL Capenhurst (which enriches uranium for Trident). Traffic was kept out for almost an hour. Later, women used a ladder to climb into the plant, leaflet the inner car park, and hang a banner reading 'British Nuclear Fools Ltd' on a sentry box. UKAEA police searched the Merseyside CND minibus, apparently without needing any kind of authorisation. At noon women from the blockade held a vigil in the town centre.

For information on the campaign at Capenhurst, write to Jan, c/o Merseyside CND, 24 Hardman Street, Liverpool 3 [051-708 7764].

## PEACE DIARY

JULY 3-5: The Campaign against Dounreay Expansion are holding an international conference on the threat from plutonium reprocessing and the European fast-breeder programme. Contact Chris Bunyan, Albert Buildings, Lerwick' Shetland, Scotland (0595.4309).

JULY 6: Deadline for CND Conference resolutions.

JULY 8: Pensioners for Peace International Slide Show, 2.15 pm, 3 Byng Place.

JULY 10: On the second anniversary of the sinking of the Greenpeace ship, the Rainbow Warrior, in Auckland harbour, there will be a telephone blockade of the French Embassy in London - ring 01-235 8080 between 9.30 am & 5.30 pm on the day. Contact Judy Norton, 86 Blinco Grove, Cambridge, tel. (0223) 210996.

Flood the switchboard! Or send a postcard protesting against this act of state terrorism: contact Diana Shanks, 10 The Drive, New Costessay, Norwich, NR5 0EF. Tel. (0603) 742484.

JULY 11-12: International Nuclear Free Zone Activists Conference, Birmingham. Contact Charles Searle at 22-24 Underwood Street, London N1 7JG, tel. 01-250 4010.

JULY 11: Faringdon Peace Fete, Clock House, Colehill, Oxon. Contact Jean Kaye, Witney 3811.

JULY 11 or 12: Burghfield Snowball.

Contact Leslie on 0734- 482551, or Barbara on 0734.414624.

JULY 15-19: END is with us again, the 6th annual jamboree. This time the European Nuclear Disarmament Convention is at Coventry; contact Martin Butcher at Underwood St. (01-250 4010).

JULY 26-AUG 2: International Women's Gathering on Feminism and Non-Violence. Contact Feminism and Non-Violence Study Group, 67b Landor Road, London SW9 9RT.

JULY 30-AUG 1: The CND Balloon! At Southampton Common Balloon Festival. For balloon freaks everywhere.

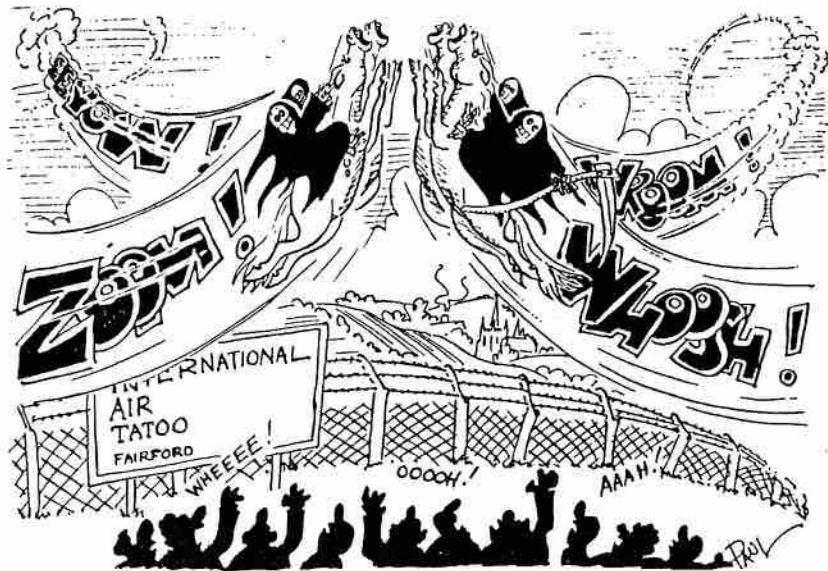
## STOCKHOLM GREEN CONGRESS

SURELY THE underpublicised Green event of the year is the Third International Green Congress to be held in Stockholm from August 28 - 30. GL only got to hear about it after a reader who happens to get the Swedish Green Party's newsletter asked why there had been no publicity. Especially as the conference language is English!

So many British Greens will have vivid memories of the (second) International Green Congress at Dover in March 1985 that publicity for the Swedish event could have capitalised on that, with specially organised transport... The Swedish Greens are even offering a holiday in Sweden with their members, to make the long trip more worthwhile. Another missed opportunity.

However, there's still time for those with time and the money to get there, and the programme is full of promise. Plenary sessions include "Does a Green Ideology Exist?" with speakers from five countries; "The World without Radiation and Acidification: What are the Alternatives?"; "What is Green Strategy Like?" with peoples'

## FOCUS ON FAIRFORD



The July focus is on USAF FAIRFORD, Gloucestershire, the home of bombers equipped to carry air-launched cruise missiles. The International Air Tatoo on the weekend of the 18th/19th masquerades as a fundraising event for the RAF Benevolent Fund, but is in reality an occasion for arms salesmen to gather and sell their obscene wares. Does anyone invest in the Nationwide Building Society? They are sponsoring the event.

- On Sunday JULY 12 there will be an Airpeace Day at Hatherop Castle, near Fairford, 12 noon till 6 pm, £1.50 adults. Eastenders stars will be there!
- Friday JULY 17, a press conference at 11 am, Mallam Waters, Fairford.
- Sat/Sun JULY 18/19: demonstration at the Base. The gates will be picketed by 8 am till midday. Fairford Peace Group is organising these events. Contact Susie Vereker, Mallam Waters, Fairford, Glos. GL7 4BA. Tel. (0285) 712683.

## CHILDREN AND WAR

• The Peace Pledge Union has just brought out a new full-colour poster as part of its 'Children and War' project,

which draws attention to the socialising forces which make war acceptable and legitimate. The poster costs £1.85 incl p&p from PPU, 6 Endsleigh Street, London WC1.

experiences of parliamentary work; Green economics; and strategies for a Green Europe. Workshops cover every topic - from "Is Social Security possible without repression?" to "School or education?", from "Is green politics part of the feminist movement?" to "Immigrants and refugees".

Speakers from nine countries (including the US) are promised, including Sara Parkin from the UK Green Party.

If you want to attend (registration costs around £10 including congress materials and accommodation in Swedish members' houses; cheap vegetarian food extra) write by July 15 to: Anders Malmen, Sveavagen 99, S-113 50 Stockholm, Sweden.

## NEWS IN BRIEF

◦ "Squatting in West Berlin" (£2) and "Radio is my Bomb" (£2.40) are two recent titles from Hooligan Press, a London anarchist publisher. The former, profusely illustrated, tells the story of the squatting movement from 1980 to 1984 in a city where the practice is illegal, and squatters were a very political aware community occupying enormous houses. It also tells how the full violence of the law was brought to bear to stamp out squatting. "Radio is my Bomb" is 'a complete DIY guide to pirate radio ... advocates a pirate in every street, with full construction diagrams.' As political control over the media tightens in this country, it's surprising that most (all?) pirate radio stations broadcast little other than rock music. This booklet may give some people ideas. Available from alternative bookshops, or from Hooligan Press, BM Box Hurricane, London WC1N 3XX.

◦ Northern Ireland gets a green gathering this year - organised by Malcolm Samuel (Portstewart 2301 / 2348). Fleskwater '87 happens from August 21 to 31 at 68 Fivley Road, Stranocum, Co Antrim.

◦ The Dartmoor Badgers Protection League has been collecting data on the failure of police to bring prosecutions against badger hunters, and other forms of badger persecution. They are organising a letter-writing campaign to MPs, and are demanding immediate legislation to give total protection to badgers. Contact John Bainbridge on Teignmouth 6503.

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DON'T VOTE

THERE IS a considerable division of opinion in the animal rights movement as to the appropriate way ahead. Recently, and after much debate in the movement's journals, local animal rights groups (and in particular the local autonomous groups of the ALF) have taken the initiative and begun to federate the movement at the local level, with the aim of either ignoring or replacing the "nationals" who get most of the publicity (and the funds) at present. This month GL reprints the text of a leaflet distributed by the ALF, which explains most of the background, together with a report on the first move towards forming a federation of local groups.

## ANIMAL ACTION: THE LOCAL RESOURCE

IN THE last ten years the animal rights movement has made impressive gains. We have grown into a mass movement comprising thousands of activists in local groups across Britain. There has been a great rise in direct action; tens of thousands of animals have been rescued from certain death, and millions of pounds of damage to property connected with animal abuse has saved the lives of millions more. This is a record of which we can be proud.

But we can't afford complacency, we are threatened by those claiming to be on our side who are really betraying the animals and the activists. They have diverted scarce resources away from direct action and good educational propaganda and taken us down the 'road to nowhere' of political campaigning, which entails pandering to the animal abusers in parliament. These are the national societies; Animal Aid, BUAV, CIWF, LACS and others. Not only have their own campaigns failed, but they condemn our most successful strategy - direct action.

Mobilisation for Laboratory Animals epitomises the failure of political campaigns. Animal Aid, BUAV, NAVS and the Scottish Anti-Vivisection Society joined forces to combat the government's proposed up-date of the 1876 Cruelty to Animals Act. The BUAV alone spent over £50,000 lobbying MPs, yet only 26 voted against the new Act which was worse than the one it replaced. Mobilisation was a disaster. It called for an immediate ban on only certain types of vivisection, e.g. LD50, Draize, warfare, thus perpetuating the myth that some experiments are more acceptable than others and betraying all the animals who die in 'medical research'. This was a compromise to elicit the support of MPs who aren't anti-vivisection, but

even that failed to win over the Labour Party, who wouldn't oppose the new Act.

Since the Mobilisation fiasco the BUAV has begun a terminal decline. As its campaigning efficacy has dropped, so its profligacy has increased. Last year it spent £30,000 to "redesign" its office, and this year it plans to waste £50,000 in a similar way. As its membership collapses, so its staff recruitment has risen. The new Executive Officer receives up to £12,000 p.a. Finally, it shouldn't be forgotten that in 1984 the BUAV evicted the ALF Press Office from its premises because the latter was critical of political campaigns.

The record of the other national societies is equally lamentable. CIWF has almost totally ignored direct action against factory farming, castigating those who liberate chickens as 'extremists'. It relies on political campaigning, despite all the evidence to show that parliament and the EEC care nothing for farm animals. For instance, the latter's new minimum space allowance for battery hens is even less than our own pathetic standard. Instead of asking people to give up animal products, CIWF tries to take the cruelty out of farming, an impossible task.

LACS director and meat-eater Dick Course has said: "The ALF are insincere nutcases. I don't blame the police for doing all they can to track down these nutcases." LACS won't condemn fishing as a bloodsport, no doubt because the Labour Party (to whom it gave a large donation just before the 1983 General Election) will only offer to abolish hunting with dogs, not shooting or fishing.

Animal Aid turned against direct action a long time ago, and recently stated: "The ALF has become an excuse for violence and thuggery."



### Rebuilding the movement

The record of the national societies is so bad that we must rebuild our movement without them. Parliament will never give us animal liberation because it exists to protect the profit system and the ruling elite who grow rich from animal abuse. The nationals can't see this because of their myopic view of society as a 'balance of interests' wherein we must play according to the rules of big business and the state. In fact, to win we must break those rules, and the way to do it is by creating autonomous local animal rights

groups to educate the public in the reality of animal persecution and to support direct action. Most local groups are dependent for materials and campaigns upon national societies who starve them of resources. The wages bill of all the nationals is over £4m annually, and they receive donations, legacies and subscriptions from people who never join a local group. Moreover, they expect locals to pay for the privilege of handing out their leaflets that contain their names and addresses, thus benefiting them alone.

The way forward is for the national societies to be dissolved and their assets shared out amongst the locals. The sums involved would be vast - the BUAV alone has £4m in assets - and each group would get several thousand pounds - more than enough to begin good campaigns. Some of this could be used to set up resource centres to be shared by groups within a certain locality. Each would contain facilities such as a library, information files, typewriters, photocopiers, duplicators etc. which are the tools of local campaigning.

Every local group should have access to a cheap means of producing local leaflets, for leafletting is the fulcrum of any local campaign. When someone reads a leaflet such as "Every six seconds...", which attacks vivisection in general terms, they may feel horrified; but they won't feel as personally concerned as they would if it told them about a laboratory five minutes' walk from their home. Only local animal rights groups can expose the thousands of animal concentration camps scattered throughout the country. Remote, centralised national societies are unable to do this, which is why they are so attracted to remote, centralised institutions like parliament. Delegates could be sent to regular regional meetings, to allow sharing of ideas and experiences. Locals would be in constant touch with others in their area and region, thus preventing isolation and parochialism.

### Economic sabotage

Local groups must educate the community in the necessity of boycotts and direct action. Boycotting products and companies that exploit animals is an effective and legal form of economic sabotage. Because 3 million people in Britain no longer eat meat, hundreds of millions of animals don't suffer and die for them, and meat factories are closing down. Local groups must highlight cruelty-free ways of living, and if no decent wholefood outlets exist in their neighbourhood, they should consider selling vegan produce at their resource centres. They should also give full support to illegal economic sabotage and other ALF activities.

Sadly, the most effective strategy, direct action, is the most underfunded. Local hunt sabs can't

afford a secondhand van, while LACS wastes thousands, and most ALF groups don't have the equipment they need. To conduct a successful raid requires vehicles, CBs, tools, animal holding units, and permanent homes for the animals. Activists also need to know that if caught their legal fees and fines will be paid, and if imprisoned their families will be looked after, their mortgages paid, etc. The nationals have starved the direct action wing of resources, whilst exploiting its publicity to suit its own ends - political campaigning. They don't believe in it because its notion of change coming through the struggle of ordinary people is counter to their belief in animal rights being given to us by those in power - judges, politicians, etc. Local groups and direct action, however, are complementary; the publicity from an ALF action could ignite a local campaign, and the local group could give financial and propagandistic aid, as well as recruit, to the ALF cell. In this way our movement could become a self-supporting structure, able to develop and meet new challenges as they arise.

#### • What you can do

Join your local animal rights group if you don't already belong to one. Discuss the issues raised here, and suggest they boycott national societies and print their own leaflets. There are two excellent books on printing: 'The Alternative Printing Handbook' (Trewick and Zeitlyn with the Islington Bus Co., Penguin), and 'Print: How you can Do it Yourself' (Zeitlyn, £4 from InterChange Books, 15 Wilkin Street, London NW5). Also read 'Animal Liberation - the Road to Victory' (75p from London Greenpeace, 5 Caledonian Road, London N1), and 'Against All Odds' (£2.30 from ARC Print, 265 Seven Sisters Road, London N4). Both books elaborate on the themes expressed here.

Finally, don't get discouraged; animal and human liberation will not be achieved without hard struggle, but we must intensify that struggle now for the sake of the oppressed everywhere. •

[This article is taken from a leaflet published by the Animal Liberation Front. For more information contact: ALF Supporters' Group, BCM Box 1160, London WC1N 3XX.]

• For news of Ronnie Lee and other prisoners, contact Support Animal Rights Prisoners (SARP), BCM 5911, London, WC1N 3XX. At the moment even letters of support and encouragement for Ronnie Lee are restricted: at present he can only receive and reply to a maximum of three letters a week.

To make use of his time in prison, Ronnie has decided to resume his studies, and the ALF Supporters Group has started a special fund to provide him with books and other materials. Individuals and groups wishing to contribute can send cheques or P.O.s (payable to ALF Supporters Group) to: Ronnie Lee Fund, BCM Box 1160, London WC1N 3XX.

# ANIMAL NEWS

## LOCAL ANIMAL GROUPS MEET

• Paul writes:

On May 31 the Federation of Local Animal Rights Groups had its first meeting in Manchester. Its aim is to build a network of strong local groups to wrest power away from the national societies like the British Union for the Abolition of Vivisection (BUAV) and the League Against Cruel Sports (LACS), who have wasted scarce resources in futile political campaigning and who duplicate each other's work (there are, for example, five separate anti-vivisection groups in the UK).

The Federation believes that the future of the animal rights movement lies in strong, autonomous local groups that develop as a permanent opposition to animal abuse in their area. Over the years the national societies have starved the local groups of resources to protect their power, and consequently most local groups are content to be mere appendages of the nationals, handing out their leaflets and seeing them get donations and members. But to be really effective in fighting animal persecution, locals must establish a distinctive identity within their community by educating the public and supporting direct action.

The Federation is organising a conference in Manchester in September, to which it is hoped all local groups will send representatives. There we will decide the best strategy for the Federation. At present there are two strands of thought: one favours taking over the national societies so their fortune can be divided amongst the local groups, while the other considers this to be impracticable and believes the Federation should ignore the nationals and go it alone.

For more details send a sae to The Federation c/o the nearest address to you: Gallagher, 48 Gleddoch Road, Glasgow G52; PO Box 16, Liverpool, Merseyside L24; or Greenpeace (London), 5 Caledonian Road, London N1.



## SEA SHEPHERD APPEAL

The Sea Shepherd Conservation Society is an organisation dedicated to taking direct action to save the lives of marine animals. Using its ship the 'Sea Shepherd' it has achieved many notable victories, including the ending of all pirate whaling operations in the North Atlantic, the halting of the dolphin slaughter at Iki Island in Japan, and the cessation of seal hunts in Scotland, Ireland, England and Canada. In November last year it sank two Icelandic whaling vessels and

destroyed their whaling station. All this has been done with volunteers, without a bureaucracy, without very much funding or resources, and - most importantly - without injuring any human or animal.

Sea Shepherd's two major campaigns for 1987 are against drift net fishing in the North Pacific by Japan, in which up to 100,000 marine mammals and 1 million sea birds are killed each year (this has just begun), and the barbaric murder of pilot whales in the Faroe Islands. In both cases the 'Sea Shepherd' will be despatched to physically prevent the massacre going ahead.

To continue its campaign Sea Shepherd urgently needs more funds, both to maintain the ship and to purchase another ship to protect marine life in the Pacific as well as the Atlantic. If you wish to support its work, you can become a Supporting Member by sending £8 (OAP/student/claimant £6. Charter Membership costs £50, and for those with a healthy bank balance it costs only £500 to be a Patron. You can also become a monthly contributor by requesting a Banker's Standing Order form. All supporters receive a newsletter. Please make all cheques/P.O.s payable to Sea Shepherd and send them to: Sea Shepherd, PO Box 114, Plymouth PL1 1DR. Donations are always welcome.

• BUAV is launching a campaign this month to highlight the use of animals in weapons research and related issues. This leads up to a national festival for peace and animal liberation on Saturday August 22 in Salisbury. Contact: BUAV, 16a Crane Grove, London N7 8LB (01-700 4888).

• In September, Compassion in World Farming, Animal Aid, The Vegan Society and the Vegetarian Society plan to launch the first Great British Meat-out Campaign. It aims to focus public attention on the four major problems caused by factory farming and a heavy dependency on meat: animal suffering, environmental devastation, world hunger, and human health problems. The campaign will also raise money for a Third World project aimed at providing the simple technology needed for producing leaf protein.

Final details are yet to be worked out, but there will be a Meat-out Beano in London with a band, celebrities and fund-raising action. More info to follow.

• July 1 marks the start of the Ban Live Exports campaign from CIWF. It aims to highlight the suffering of animals in transit, and the madness of exporting animals when the UK imports meat and meat products from other countries. Days of action are being arranged in the main ports from which animals are exported. A petition and fact sheet are available, together with campaign leaflets costing £7.50 per 1000. Contact CIWF at the above address.

• London Transport has refused to display a poster produced by the Vegetarian Society. Headed "Some of the things your butcher doesn't dare tell you", it went on to say that 80% of all bacterial food poisoning in the UK is caused by meat, that meat can increase your risk of various degenerative diseases, that animals are drugged, given antibiotics and tenderising injections, etc etc... and concluded with the words: "Meat: when you know what's in it - you're better off without it." London Transport said the poster was "unpalatable" and "potentially offensive to people generally". Unlike the sexist garbage they usually cover their walls with, presumably...

MORE OVERLEAF...

## ANIMAL NEWS CONTINUED

• Frogs' legs are imported mainly from Bangladesh and Indonesia. Frogs are cut in two while still alive, and the live torsos are thrown on a heap where they vainly try to crawl away. The legs are then frozen for export. International pressure forced the Indian government to ban the slaughter as from March 5, and CIWF are trying to bring similarly effective pressure to bear in Bangladesh and Indonesia. They are also finding that many importers and retailers stop handling frogs' legs once they are informed of the situation. Send 50p for 20 leaflets, or £2.50 for a campaign kit, to Compassion in World Farming, 20 Lavant Street, Petersfield, Hants GU32 3EW.



The front of the beer mat and carsticker now available. The reverse side gives details of the frogs' legs trade and advice on what to do.

## ARC PRINT

Arc Print, established in November 1985, is a voluntary animal rights' printers and publishers, whose main task has been to print leaflets for local groups, though it has also designed and produced posters and postcards. More time and resources are now being spent on printing and publishing - and Arc Print has now produced two interesting and informative books, 'Against All Odds', and 'Up Against the Law'. The next project is a major book on hunting and other bloodsports and the campaigns against them. The aim is to produce and publish a pamphlet about 3 times a year, and to commission a major book (240 pages) every 12 months - a very ambitious undertaking which needs all the financial help it can get. So the Arc Publishing Fund has been set up, with the hope of raising £5000 within 12 months.

The philosophy of Arc Print is about enlightening and educating the public, aiming to reach people directly by helping to provide campaigning materials for local groups at a price they can afford. Interestingly, the books so far have been written for activists, discussing the problems of campaigning. It would be a challenge to provide books for the public that could be both very popular and very radical at the same time. For anyone interested in Arc Print, contact 265 Seven Sisters Road, Finsbury Park, London N4.

## BOURNEMOUTH FESTIVAL

Saturday July 25th - Living Without Cruelty Festival - Bournemouth Town Hall, organised by local animal rights / vegetarian groups. Vegan food all day!

# NETWORK

## IVYBRIDGE GREENS TAKING POWER

Following the recent local government elections, Ivybridge Green Group now has one third (5) of the seats on the Town Council - just by standing unopposed! Despite inexperience and the difficulties posed by the ruling Tory group and the Tory District Council, they say they are learning fast, and would like to make contact with other Green councillors whether inside or outside the Green Party. Ivybridge Green Group itself has no party ties, but this is in the South Hams constituency where Christopher Titmuss polled 1.9% for the Green Party in the General Election. If you would like to make contact, write to Stephen Soames, 22 Keaton Road, Ivybridge, South Devon PL21 9DJ.

## SELF-BUILD HOUSE

An organic vineyard in Sussex is the venue for a training course in self-build house construction lasting three weeks in September. It will be full-time, and the fee of £250 + VAT per household includes camping accommodation, food and wine. The house will employ a unique method of timber frame construction specially designed for self-build, and needing no previous knowledge of building trades. Many energy-saving ideas will be incorporated, and there will be a wood-burning central heating system. Contact Philip Bixby, Constructive Individuals Ltd, 53 Adys Road, London SE15 4DX [01-639 0140].

## SCOTTISH GREEN STUDENTS

Students in Dundee and Glasgow are attempting to set up a network of green students in Scotland. They want to get in touch with groups and individuals at all educational establishments in Scotland, with a view to arranging a day school or conference to share ideas and build links. Contact: Charles Kennedy, c/o 30 Southampton Drive, Kelvindale, Glasgow [041-334 3899].

## VIRAJ MENDIS

A national anti-deportation demo will be held in Manchester on July 11 (Crown Square, 12.00), with the call "Viraj Mendis Will Stay: Stop all Deportations Now". There's disabled access and a creche, and transport is being arranged from many areas. For details, phone 061-234 3168 (24 hrs).

## FOREST ACTION

European Youth Forest Action is running camps this month all over Europe: for £30 all-in you spend a week with young green activists from all over Europe. The UK camp is being held in the West Midlands from July 20 - 26, and will include pollution monitoring, how to stage street theatre, etc. If you're 16 - 25 and interested, phone Graham Lennard or Liz Parratt on 021-632 6909.

## BIDEFORD CO-OP

With support from the local CDA and the Co-op Bank, Torrridge Pannier Co-operative has recently been established in Bideford, North Devon. It will sell wholefoods and organic produce, and provide a cafe, small workshop facilities, and a meeting space. It is in the process of raising over £8,000 to secure a lease and buy stock: if you can help with a small loan, phone them on Morwenstow 421.

## BATTLE FOR THE PLANET

This international TV co-production is more than just another TV series: it's a campaign and an educational event too. It will use newspapers, books, education materials and public meetings, and there will be a strong emphasis on response from viewers. With the support of the Brundtland Commission, 'Battle for the Planet' forms part of the worldwide consideration of that Commission's report prior to its presentation to the UN in November. Screening of the seven 60-minute programmes starts on Channel 4 on Sunday September 13, probably at 7.15 p.m. Film sequences will be introduced and linked by Jonathon Porritt, who will lead a discussion in the final section of each programme after which viewers will be asked to write or phone their 'votes' on the theme proposition of the week. If you're interested in organising local public meetings on the themes, or spreading information about the series or copies of the free colour newspaper which will accompany it, write to 'Battle for the Planet', IBT, 2 Ferdinand Place, London NW1 8EE [01-482 2847].

↓ The themes for the seven programmes are desertification, population, reforestation, food aid, urbanisation, air pollution, and sea pollution.

## CYCLING GUIDES

Cambridge FoE have produced a comprehensive guide to cycling in the city, available price £1.50 from the local group. Oxford City Council have produced a free booklet with maps of the city's cycle routes and cycle lanes, and tips for cycling generally. Copies can be picked up in the Information Centre in St Aldate's.

## HUNGARIAN CAMPS

Ko-Ko, the International Esperanto Society for Nature Conservation, is organising two international meetings in Hungary in August. A nature camp in the mountains of northern Hungary from August 10 - 17 (registration about £8, food extra) will be followed by a 4-day conference on Ecology. Working languages are English, Esperanto and German. Info: R L Baross, H-1136 Budapest, Balzac u. 11., Hungary.

## ENERGY WITHOUT END

is the title of a new video from FoE, which goes into the potential for renewable energy. It lasts 20 minutes, and the hire charge is £6.50 inc p&p. A booklet (£3.50), slide show (£15) and exhibition (£16.50) are also available on the same theme. FoE Trading, 377 City Road, London EC1V 1NA [01-837 0731].

◦ Knocked off your bike? You might be able to get compensation for personal injury, damage to clothing etc., and for loss of earnings. FoE has a directory of solicitors around the country who may be able to help you claim, and who will give you a free initial consultation. Contact FoE's Cyclist Compensation Scheme at the address above.

◦ FoE have set up a London FoE Unit, focussing on recycling, pollution and road safety. Funded by the London Boroughs Grants Unit, the unit will work with the 30 FoE groups in and around the capital.

◦ Oxford's Labour City Council now uses recycled paper for all purposes, and has saved £4,000 p.a. as a result of the change-over.



## FOOD NEWS

- According to a Marplan poll launched by the London Food Commission in February, 93% of people do not want the current ban on food irradiation to be lifted unless there are tests to detect if food has been irradiated. Even the health food chain Holland and Barrett is refusing to stock irradiated food. According to the company, irradiation only kills some bacteria but doesn't destroy the poisons they create. It also causes some vitamin loss.

- The LFC has also criticised a government ban on artificial colours in baby foods, announced in March, because it doesn't go far enough. Tartrazine (E102) will still be allowed, as will a large number of colourings which have been linked to health hazards. Details: FACT, Room W, 25 Horsell Road, London N5 1XL.

- Local groups of people interested in Bio-dynamic agriculture (the Rudolf Steiner organic method) meet in Cornwall, Ilkeston, Paignton, Stroud, Hertfordshire, Canterbury, Whitby, Nottingham, Forest Row, Aberdeen, Edinburgh, and in Dyfed. Phone 0562 884933 for more details.

- British Organic Farmers are organising a walk/drive round Rushall, Barry Wookey's organic farm on Salisbury Plain, on Friday July 31. Details from BOF, 86 Colston Street, Bristol BS1 5BB [0272 299666]. Organic organisations will be represented at the Royal Show (Stoneleigh, July 6 - 9), where the Soil Association will be running an organic fast food stall in the Food Hall. And local organic producers will be represented at the Somerset Food Fair, held August 7 - 9 at Wick Farm, nr Weston Super Mare. BOF and the Organic Growers' Association have been encouraging the development of local organic growers' groups around the country, and many are now established: contact BOF (as above) for details.

- Heart palpitations, weight loss, headaches and shortness of breath are among symptoms recently traced by US doctors to the use of cattle thyroid gland in ground beef. The US government has now banned the use of thyroid in meat products, but no such ban exists in the UK.

- The burger chain, Wimpy, is selling a vegetarian 'Spicy Bean Burger'. But it's deep-fried along with meat and fish products...

- The Vegetarian, bi-monthly magazine of the Vegetarian Society, is becoming increasingly vegan. The last issue featured a double spread entitled 'Moving towards Veganism' in which Rose Elliott offered recipes "to ease the transition", and a survey of desserts available in the shops was tracking down non-dairy ice creams, yoghurts etc.

- 'Reprieve!' describes itself as "a task-force whose aim is to accelerate the process of change in our society so that the flesh-food habit becomes an unacceptable relic of a less civilised era." They have a video, presented by Hazel O'Connor, which presents the total vegetarian case and is particularly aimed at younger audiences; it costs £21.45 incl p&p from Reprieve!, 65 Bournehall Avenue, Bushey, Herts WD2 3BB.

## ANARCHY: DISPELLING THE ILLUSIONS

CHRIS HALL writes:

THERE ARE two popular misconceptions about anarchy that must be dispelled.

The first is that anarchy and any form of organisation are mutually exclusive. This is a gross misrepresentation of anarchist principles. Anarchists do not oppose organisation per se, but hold only that hierarchical forms of authority and organisation are necessarily oppressive. There is absolutely no reason why anarchists should not come together to work co-operatively. Indeed, anarchists are compelled to do so by their principles.

Anarchists can only be called 'libertarian' provided this is heavily qualified by the fact that we seek maximum individual liberty as a natural by-product of individual development within the community. We seek liberty and social responsibility as mutually reinforcing (rather than mutually exclusive) values.



As anarchists we provide coherent criticism of the centralised state as a cause of oppression, and no matter how it is modified, it will never be an ultimate expression of human liberty or potential.

The second great misconception concerning anarchy is that it promotes - even demands - senseless acts of indiscriminate violence. This again is untrue: anarchist morality shows us that only acts which increase the amount of anarchy (and therefore decrease the amount of oppression) in society, or bring about the complete and radical change of society to anarchy, are acceptable anarchist strategies. In other words, the means and the end must become one and the same: the latter does not justify the former. Blowing up people does nothing for their personal emancipation, and is not action which is in line with anarchist morality.

Unfortunately, there is the obvious discrepancy that people who call themselves anarchists, as well as people who have been called anarchists but who were not, have been involved in blowing up, assassinating, and generally depriving people of their right to live. There are several reasons for

this. First, anarchists have failed to develop effective strategies for social development. The use of violence is called 'propaganda by the deed', and was developed largely as a result of the failure of anarchists to conduct a successful revolution. Time and experience have shown us that such tactics do not work. Secondly, anarchists have at times become disillusioned by the use of non-violent attempts at social transformation, and have in times of desperation resorted to ill-advised acts of violence. Thirdly, anarchists have been made scapegoats for any form of anti-social or anti-government action which has been totally unconnected with anarchism.

Anarchy does not belong to any one class. Whilst we share the hatred of capitalism with socialists, we do not see any one class as being innately more democratic or predisposed to emancipation than any other. We are neither biological nor economic determinists. The partial anarchisation of society must be seen as a viable anarchist strategy. Anarchy, both as a personal creed and a social movement, has to be made available to all, so that we can bring about the ultimate demise of the state.

### MORE TO MILK THAN MEETS THE EYE...

"ONE WEST Country farmer with a dairy herd of 150 said: 'Quite a lot of the farmers use this product down here. I have been buying it myself for a about a year. I get it through the post... It is a brown powder which arrives in a glass phial. When I accidentally milk a cow which has just received antibiotics, I mix up the powder with water and pour it into my tank.'"

This press quotation is a reference to penicillinase, an enzyme added to milk by (some) farmers to disguise the fact that it has been contaminated with antibiotics. Farmers give cows suffering from mastitis and other bacterial infections penicillin or other antibiotics, which are injected into the udder. If an injected cow is then milked, the whole milk quota for that day will be contaminated, and the farmer may lose £200 - £300. The Milk Marketing Board tests milk samples to prevent contamination, and the object of the penicillinase is to prevent detection by the Board by literally breaking down the penicillin.

There is much controversy over the effects of this on the human consumer of the milk. A Bristol-based group, Protect Our Food (Box 21, 37 Stokes Croft, Bristol, Avon), is collecting evidence of possible poisoning and contamination. But their list of likely symptoms is consistent with allergic reactions generally; 5% of the population has a lactose intolerance with a further percentage being allergic to milk proteins. It may be that the penicillinase is safely broken down in the small bowel before any dangers arise, and that what is being observed is the too often unrecognised fact that many people are simply made ill by cows' milk!

We'd like to hear from any readers with further knowledge or experience of penicillinase.

I WAS charged with criminal damage and asked to be in court on Monday 16 February in Devizes, where I pleaded not guilty. I had insisted on all the prosecution witnesses being there, and said that I wouldn't accept any of their statements being read as evidence. I wanted the men and women there to be cross-examined by me.

We've come into contact a lot with Devizes magistrates court recently, and had some pretty shitty treatment - I suppose because it's a total culture shock for them. Devizes is a small market town; the only crime it's used to is a bit of drunkenness, some petty thieving, a few kids wrecking bus shelters... and suddenly along come these crazy people who persistently break the law and cheerfully say, "Yes, we did it, and we'll do it again." The worthy, wealthy farmers and the retired military people who are the magistrates there, after an initial honeymoon period in which they were actually quite lenient with us because they thought of us as poor saintly fools, finally lose their patience with us, decide they won't tolerate it, and give us heavy fines. You can tell from the look in their eyes that you're guilty before you've even said a word.

So I decided I was going to risk everything by negotiating with them, so that I could start off on an equal footing. I asked for a "MacKenzie" (a friend who can sit with you and advise you, and give you support emotionally or practically) which they said I could have: all the other Cruisewatchers being out on the Plain. A friend offered: I accepted, and she came and sat with me. Then I said that I wanted a table and the same facilities as the prosecution, because in this court you have to sit on a chair in the middle of this square space, surrounded by tables - it's like the Spanish Inquisition! It's certainly disempowering, I said I wanted the table to be the same distance back so that we could all be equidistant: the magistrate said, "Yes, certainly. He does seem to be rather on top of us, doesn't he?"

I then said I wanted to know all their names before we started. They all looked surprised: why did I want to know that? I said it was just a matter of common courtesy; they all knew my name, I would like to know theirs. So they all introduced themselves. The chairman of the bench said sarcastically,

"Well, now we're all acquainted, Mr Lee, perhaps we can start."

"There is just one other thing," I said. "I know the American witnesses are not here alone. They have a legal observer here, and if that person is in court I'd like her to be identified and asked what her purpose is."

The magistrates looked dumbfounded at this, so I explained that six months earlier I'd been at Banbury magistrates court where there had been such a legal observer, and I had been certain that this person had been indicating the answers to certain questions to the USAF witnesses; that I had watched this going on for about an hour, and that when I had pointed it out I had been dragged out of the court. I simply wanted to prevent any possibility of that happening again.

The magistrate told me that this was a public hearing, and that anyone had the right to be there provided they behaved themselves. I pointed out that I didn't object to the woman being there, I just wanted her to sit out of the line of sight of the witnesses. The prosecutor jumped up and said, "The woman Mr Lee is referring to is simply the driver. She brought the three American witnesses here."

I pointed out that as the three Americans managed to drive enormous vehicles around at dead of night, it seemed very strange that they couldn't drive themselves to Devizes in the middle of the day; also that for a driver the woman was very well dressed and had an attache case full of files, but that perhaps USAF drivers were really well qualified these days. The point went home, and she was called in and asked if she wouldn't mind sitting outside.

photo by BOB NAYLOR

# CRUISE C



IAN LEE was among a number of Cruisewatchers following a group of cars on the edge of Salisbury Plain, so Ian got out of his car. They wound up their windows and looked away from the cars. They drew peace symbols on the windows with a white marker pen and drove off, and Ian continued Cruisewatching. A court later arrested him on suspicion of causing criminal damage.

Then we got started and the prosecution called in the witnesses: three USAF men, one RAF man, and three police, all about 20 or 21. After the prosecution had asked them questions to get the evidence out, I cross examined them - and some really interesting stuff came up.

## ● Under USAF command

Not one of them would look me in the eyes. I managed to draw attention to this once by hesitating in my questioning and saying,

"Can you hear me?"

His eyes flickered towards me and he said, "Yeah."

I said, "Well, I just wondered because you weren't looking at me. Will you please look towards me when I speak to you?" He didn't reply, but his eyes swivelled away as though there was an oil-on-water effect. His eyes just would not stay on me, and it looked really shifty on their part.

I asked the RAF man if he was the only RAF man there. He replied: "There was one of us in each vehicle."

I asked what had happened when they were stopped. He said: "All the RAF got out."

"Was that one of your duties?"

"Yes."

"Why?"

"It is one of our duties to come between you and the

# OFF!



Following Cruise Support vehicles as they dispersed, I blocked the road in the village of Shrewton, and used this van to talk to the men in the convoy vehicles. I wrote messages to them on the van, so he wrote messages to them on the van, so he wrote messages to them on the van. The convoy eventually dispersed a couple of hours later a policeman "found" him, and he was taken to a police station. The story continues in Ian's own words...

Americans."

"One of your jobs is to protect the Americans from coming into contact with the British?"

"Yes."

"Whose command were you under at the time?"

"I was under the command of an American."

"Does British military law apply to you when you're under American command?"

He looked confused at this and said he didn't know. This was amazing! The fact that he admitted that he was under USAF command! We had known for some time from documents we'd stolen that parts of the RAF were under direct American control, but it had always been denied. This was the first time we'd had official confirmation of it. Then he went on to say:

"The Americans didn't get out of their vehicles because they had no jurisdiction."

"If you were under USAF command, then what jurisdiction did you have?"

Again he looked confused. I asked the USAF men the same sort of stuff: why wouldn't they get out of their vehicles, were they afraid of having contact with us, or were they told not to speak to us? Could they look at us? The security guard who had been driving, a really vicious young man, just glared at me and spat out:

"We got orders, we ain't even to acknowledge your existence."

The magistrates looked pretty shocked at this. Meanwhile my MacKenzie was thinking up more questions, and we found out a lot about how they work which is helpful, but which I won't go into now. I kept asking them about why they were there, and all their answers to this were evasive. The prosecutor kept standing up to say it was irrelevant and political. The magistrate said, "Yes, you must restrict yourself to the facts of the case." To which I replied,

"Well, the facts of the case do include the convoy, what it was part of and what it was preparatory to. My defence later on will be based on the nature of the convoy, what its intention was, and I will show that this justifies what I did; so I must elicit this information."

I managed to ask about half the questions I wanted to. What was crazy was the evasiveness of the USAF witnesses:

"You were an advance party for the Cruise Convoy coming out that night, weren't you?"

"I have no knowledge of this."

"Well, you know that a Cruise Convoy did come out that night?"

"Maybe."

Another had said, "I can't tell you for security reasons."

"Surely you can tell me other vehicles joined you?"

"No."

"Look, it was announced on radio and TV by us that a Cruise Convoy was expected that night, and the media reported the next day that that had indeed happened. Are you aware of that?"

"No."

I went through this routine with all the men, and after a while the magistrate interrupted wearily: "Mr Lee, I think everyone knows that a Cruise Convoy came out that night."

"Well, in that case why do these men keep denying it?"

He just said, "Professional ignorance, I suppose." He wasn't on my side, but I could see he was getting a bit pissed off by their blinkeredness, their ability to cut off from 90% of reality.

Then the police witnesses came in and I cross examined them. I asked the investigating officer whether he took my voluntary statement as an admission of 'guilt'. He said, "Yes," so I asked:

"Does that mean your investigations were complete by the time you had my statement?"

"More or less, yes."

"Do you know of any reason why I should be kept for 22 hours, when I had made that statement within 2 hours of arriving at the police station?"

"No."

That went home to the magistrates.

All this was happening in the morning, and I realised that if I wasn't careful I'd end up with half an hour before lunch and they'd say, "Right, present your defence," and it would all have to be squeezed into a corner and they'd rush to make a decision. So I started to go really slowly, and got them to agree to adjourn for lunch.

## ● Lawful excuse

After lunch I started off on my defence. I said I didn't consider it to be damage really, and if it was, then it was trivial. Certainly the USAF didn't seem to consider it major: these things happen quite a lot, and the paint can easily be removed with a paint scraper. My main defence, though, was that I had a lawful excuse, and to explain this I would have to refer to the Criminal Damage Act 1971, Section 5, which defines lawful excuse and the four criteria necessary to this, namely:

(i) An act must be to protect property, and that property could be anyone's, not just mine;

(ii) That property must be in need of immediate protection;

(iii) The means of protection must be reasonable in all

the circumstances;

(iv) This must be my honestly held belief.

I distributed copies of the Act and indicated where these criteria were written into it, and gave them copies of a legal textbook I'd found in a university library which amplified and explicated these criteria so that they could be in no doubt as to what it meant.

I then explained how my actions had fitted the criteria... the first being that such an act must be to protect property, so I explained first of all what I was protecting that property from - which was the destructive effects of Cruise. I explained how destructive Cruise was, how many Hiroshimas, that it is part of a first strike policy of the US government. I talked in more detail of the consequence of using these weapons, not just the immediate effects, but also the long-term environmental consequences. So by my actions I was protecting property in Eastern Europe and Russia, which I assumed the missiles were targeted at. I was also protecting my own property and that of my friends, since the Soviets had said they would respond to such an attack with a massive all-out nuclear retaliation: the use of those missiles would thus set up a train of events which would result in the destruction of my property.



I went on to the second criterion, that the property must be in need of immediate protection. I said that in my evaluation the danger was indeed immediate as I had watched those Cruise Convoys for the past three years, and I was certain that this was an advance party for a full Cruise Convoy coming out later that night which would be protected by masses of police: I would have very little chance of getting close to the drivers or their vehicles, so effectively that small advance party was my last chance to intervene in the train of events and alter them. The need was immediate because I had no way of telling what was practice and what was real. The example of the US raid on Libya had shown us how a routine military exercise could turn into the real thing half way through.

Since Cruise is a first-strike weapon, I argued, there might be no prior warning, no signs at all. The launching of a Cruise missile would be the first thing to happen. I asked the magistrates to consider what I had said about the destructive effects of Cruise and the consequences that would follow from using Cruise, and then to consider what I had done: writing with a fine white pen on a few windows. I asked them whether or not, in all the circumstance, my actions seemed reasonable or not. Were they not restrained, extremely reasonable? I went on to give an example, which went something like this: if I knew of a man who intended to commit a murder, and I had seen him leave his house with a weapon, and I wrote on his windscreen, "Don't commit murder" - which is in effect what I did - then nobody would accuse me of criminal damage. They might even accuse me of not taking enough steps to prevent him committing murder. In which case, why was it so vastly different when murder was being prepared on a vast scale by many men?

Finally, I dealt with the last criteria, the parts of the Act and the textbook which made it clear that all this came down to my beliefs. I told them that I hadn't come to this position lightly, quickly or easily; I had come to it after many years of working and raising a family; that it was my sincerely held belief that what I had done was necessary.

### ● People like me

One of the things that had brought me to this position was a journey I took to Germany as part of my work, visiting medical companies, talking to doctors about publishing medical papers. One particular, rather elderly doctor who was on the point of retirement, after we'd finished talking about business started chatting with me about Britain and Germany. Then he went silent briefly, and asked, "Do the British still hate the Germans?" I remember feeling quite embarrassed about that question, and I replied, "Of course not - except maybe in kids' comics." He replied:

"You should be, because it was our fault. Not just the Nazis, it was the fault even more of people like me." He went on to say that I probably couldn't imagine what it was like in Germany in the '30s. It was just after he'd graduated from medical school and Hitler had come to power. He said: "Hitler wasn't a dictator, you know. That's how everybody thinks of him. He was elected to power and he had massive public support, like your Margaret Thatcher." This was just after she had been elected for the first time. "It took a very brave man to stand out or stand against, so very few did." He described how many people, his friends and colleagues, had a really sickening feeling in their guts that something awful was being prepared without knowing what, "but we all ignored it, we didn't speak of it. If it came up at a dinner party or somewhere, there would be a silence, then it would be passed over; each one of us thought it was our individual problem because there was no focus for it.

"What allowed Hitler to build the concentration camps and for many years to prepare and carry out a policy of genocide was millions of ordinary people like me not having the courage of our intuitions and not having the courage to act. For God's sake don't make that mistake again. If you do, it will be the last failure of imagination, the last failure of courage." The world today was like Germany in the 1930s, and the genocide was on a global scale instead of a national or continental scale. "If I were in better health I'd be out there with the Greens tearing down the nuclear plants. There is nothing better you can do with your life."

I told the magistrates that this had stayed with me, but that I had come back and kept my work for another eight years. But it had stayed with me and linked with other things, and it had got to a point where I simply couldn't turn over in bed and keep my fingers crossed. I said,

"You may not agree with me. I hope you do, at least in part, but please do not insult me by doubting my sincerity and the responsibility and the care with which I have acted." I asked them to think of all the things I could've done, crashing a car into the convoy, smashing the windows, ripping the tyres, attacking the men - I did none of these, I did the most restrained and peaceful thing I could think of to dissuade the men from what they were doing, and, failing that, to write my appeals for peace on the window.

I was aware that, when in different cases (not peace cases) this defence has been used in the past it has been disallowed when the damage caused has not been to actually prevent something, but has been a gesture to draw attention to a state of affairs - so if I had set a hedge alight to draw attention to a passing convoy, then case law says I would not have had lawful excuse. So I explained that I perceived the dangerous aspect to be the men themselves and not the machines, and I was

trying to speak with them to change their minds, and that writing on the windshields was part of the same act - it was not a mere gesture but was in actual fact an act of protection. I asked them why on earth it was necessary for those machines to come out twice or three times a month. I said that I had come to the conclusion that it couldn't be simply to test the machinery, to make sure the wheels went round and the missile tubes went up and down since the machinery was not that unreliable. The real reason was in fact to drill those men into blind obedience, so that by the time they were told to perform an unimaginable act they will have practised it so many times that it would have lost its significance for them, and that even if the convoy wasn't to be used that night, I was still interrupting the numbing effect that was systematically being exerted on those men.

That went home too.



This was about two hours worth, and that was it, I said they should find me not guilty, that it didn't matter to me personally but that it mattered very much generally and morally. The decision to prosecute me was American, the main witnesses were American, we had an American legal observer there - so was it right that the magistrates should deny to another British person a legal defence actually written into the Act simply because it was an American genocide convoy that was involved? I also reassured them that what I had said didn't mean that it was a free-for-all and that anyone could do anything and get away with it simply by saying, "Oh, it was my honestly-held belief, Guv!" The criteria I had mentioned were really quite strict. Also in another part of the Act it makes it clear that these criteria only apply to actions which do not endanger life and are not likely to, so this was not opening the floodgates, as it were. I thought they might be quite concerned about that.

The Prosecutor stood up and I couldn't look at him for some reason - I'd gone so far into myself during all this that I couldn't make eye contact, but my friend said later that he was really flapping about, picking things out of the air. I seemed to have established strong lines between the magistrates and myself so that everything else seemed to be side-lined, and perhaps the Prosecutor felt this too. The Chairman of the Bench, who was the Headmaster of the local Public School, had been looking at me in the morning as a sixth-former who'd been getting out of line and might need slapping down, but by the afternoon he was just taking it all in, not taking his eyes off me and looking extremely disturbed. One of the magistrates just sat back and closed her eyes part of the way through, looking sick - and part of me at first thought she had switched off and was really irritated with me. But it wasn't that; her imagination had taken hold of her. The other magistrate was fiddling with a pencil. He seemed like a 'short-attention type', and he fiddled more as time went by, and I thought he would interrupt me, but he too was just drinking it in.

After the Prosecutor had finished, the magistrates went out and we sat there quietly waiting to see. I had no expectation that I would be found Not Guilty. I simply hadn't considered that possibility. Everything had been focussed on me being able to say what I wished to say, I hadn't considered the verdict. So by that stage I was pleased I had done it and it was now an academic matter of waiting to see how long it would take them to find me guilty and how much they would fine me. I had decided I would not pay the fine. About twenty minutes later they came back and said "We've decided to dismiss the case. Do you want any costs?" I just didn't have the heart to accept costs, it would be like rubbing salt into a wound.

The Prosecutor was gibbering afterwards saying, "I'm sure they're going to appeal, they can't let this stand, they can't." Other people were trying to talk to him but he was speaking uncontrollably. The Clerk of the Court came over to me and said in a supercilious way, as if to say we had got away with this one by a sleight of hand, "I think there's certain to be an appeal, I'm going to ask my magistrates to set down their brief reasons."

We couldn't laugh or smile or be jubilant until ten yards down the pavement, then we found ourselves jumping up and down. I looked at the sign I'd written on my van, and at the top it said,

They will protect us they say  
But we have never been as endangered as now.

[This article was first published in the Spring 1987 issue of 'Threads', the newsletter of the Interhalp Network. 'Threads' helps sustain a network of strong relationships whose work is to explore ways of transforming this time of personal and planetary crises into an opportunity to create new and sustainable ways of relating to each other and the earth." To get the next 6 issues, send £3 to Threads, Monybuie, Corscock, Castle Douglas, Kirkcudbrightshire DD7 3DY.

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# So you want a revolution?

**BENEDICT GRAHAM** wants to see a coherent ideology to give intellectual integrity to green policies. He looks to past revolutions for guidance, and considers the meaning of democracy under a revolutionary Green government.

The irreconcilable struggle between Capital and Labour which Marx defined in the heyday of liberal capitalism has now expanded to include an ecological dimension not so pressing at that time. The hegemony of industrialism over the entire planet with its ruthless exploitation of people and nature has put into question the very future of life on Earth. This growing concern for the environment under destructive attack by industrial forces is leading to a new, Green ideology which challenges fundamentally the precepts of present society, and - significantly - expresses itself politically. That this Green ideology is truly revolutionary explains why its political concomitants cannot fit neatly into the conventional left-right political spectrum (despite much soul-searching in some quarters!) Well might the Greens cry, "Not left, not right, but forward!"

It is absolutely essential for the Green movement to develop its own ideology and independent political action. This is not to deny the experience of the past, but to enrich it with the ecological perspective relevant to present conditions. However, many Greens hesitate to take such an unfamiliar path. They believe their aims can be pursued through conventional routes - either political or nonpolitical - within the present system. Such people remain trapped within bourgeois ideology, or cling doggedly to revolutionary shibboleths from the past.

Many groups and organisations confine themselves to single aspects of the general ecological problem. They do sterling work of a propaganda nature by criticism, exposure, and often by practical example. They may even score localised and limited successes; but sooner or later they will always come up against the political barrier. Ideological limitations may deter them at this point, in which case they would be acting as a mere safety valve for public anger - and in so doing they would effectively be counterproductive to the general cause. As Bahro once said, "There is no point in saving the Black Forest if the rest of Germany becomes a polluted wasteland."

## Rush to destruction

It has been a source of wonderment, and some distress, to many that the capitalist system has adapted with patent success to various crises and changing situations. As the tide of revolutionary hope faded, there was a tendency to sit back in the fond hope that capitalism would collapse. Instead, it has rapidly increased production to meet the demands of the consumerist paradise, which seems to have superseded the earlier hope of a heavenly one. All this is done in full view of the catastrophe which is overtaking the world. The ecological disaster eats away at the planet, insidiously destroying the organism. Only the most dramatic and sensational "accidents" cause a flicker of public unease. The political representatives of industrialism blandly reassure the public, making sure that they remain in that cocoon of somnolent ignorance.

Some perspicacious souls have never been fooled by the specious cornucopia proffered by industrialism. Over 50 years ago Sir Albert Howard, in his 'Agricultural Testament', foreshadowed the disastrous development of modern agriculture, unless it was based on natural organic principles. Over 25 years ago Rachel Carson's 'Silent Spring' marked a turning point in popular enlightenment. Even Marx, though he welcomed the liberation "from the idiocy of rural life", was appalled by the unnatural confinement of people in the new industrial slums, living in dichotomy with their natural origins.

Today there is sufficient evidence and published literature to convince an increasing body of concerned opinion that effective action must be taken to avoid a lemming-like rush to destruction. At its highest level this expresses itself as political involvement. The big political guns of industrialism are brought to bear to emasculate this incipient Green movement, even to adopting certain of its policies as a cosmetic sop to the electorate. If the movement becomes a real threat to the rule of Finance Capital, then we shall see more brutal measures used.



At present bourgeois ideology is still entrenched in the minds of the population, fortified in some more impoverished countries by religious obscurantism. Not that people do not notice the more outrageous violations foisted upon them, but they are brainwashed by that old slogan "you can't stop progress". This particular "progress" can be roughly defined as whatever is calculated to make money. It rests in turn on technological innovation, the child of applied science. The only criterion used is the financial one. Many worthwhile developments are completely ignored. The ruthless use made of technical advances seems to give them an irresistible intrinsic will of their own. This phenomenon was brilliantly explored by Jacques Ellul in his 'La Technique' over 30 years ago: his gloomy predictions are, alas, coming all too true. The micro-chip has given the industrialist a marvellous tool in his quest for surplus value. The rationalisation of industrial processes, of machine and man, leads in Professor Galbraith's view to the concentration camp - albeit an affluent one! Much of this feverish production of manufactured commodities is unnecessary, trivial and positively harmful - quite apart from the criminal waste of finite materials. The only excuse for it is the continuous appropriation of surplus value.

## The transition

Apart from analyses of modern society, and syntheses for an alternative, the Green movement has to face the transition. In what manner may the necessary changes be instituted?

This is the question which vexes and divides the Greens. Many, even those who see the necessity for political action, prefer to work within the existing institutions. This view inevitably concedes the role of gradualism, perhaps over many decades. It smacks of the Fabian fallacy. To achieve the Green society, it means that a change of quality must be made in the historical process. The final break must be made with bourgeois ideology and political dominance. It will be signalled by the advent to power of a Radical Green government. In Britain at least this might be accomplished through the electoral process. We could speculate that such a government would be an amalgam

of various elements brought together following some public trauma. But its success would remain in doubt for some considerable time.

The objective conditions and imperatives already exist for a Green society, but it is the political fetters which must be broken before it may flourish. It would be a dangerous pastime to spend one's time in zealous construction of ideal social models into which everyone is expected to fit. The next stage is compulsion! The great historic task for Green politics is to break the power of Finance Capital. This power is embodied in the financial, economic and industrial organisations: the state bureaucracy, the judiciary and the police/military establishment. Some Greens start to quaver at such a task, and timidly enquire whether a possible restricted term of five years in office would be long enough to enact the necessary legislation! Jon Carpenter sees such a government being universally regarded as eco-fascist. Jonathon Porritt skips over this unpleasantness by affirming that the apologists for industrialism can be won over by sweet reason. The truth is that all these viewpoints are confined within the scope of bourgeois ideology.

A Green government would not be hamstrung by the tortuous workings of parliamentary practices, with its interminable "debates" and pointless "divisions". The "independent" civil service would not be allowed to sabotage its programme. A Green government would be a revolutionary government, not to be confused with bourgeois counterparts. In contravariety to fascist practice, there would be an immediate shift of power to decentralised organs of administration and legislation, thus releasing untapped energy from millions of people hitherto denied any responsibility for their own affairs. The press and media would be taken out of the hands of bourgeois ideologues and democratically dispersed to ensure the free expression of a plurality of opinion.

The programme of the French socialists was frustrated, notwithstanding an absolute electoral mandate, by the machinations of the financial oligarchy. Many governments with pretensions to reform allow themselves the same fate - because they are at heart good bourgeois. A Green government, having no filial attachment, would instantly "take the bankers by the throat". With the banks and major financial institutions



now under state control, and the stock exchange closed, the ruling class will be thoroughly alarmed and will prepare their trump card: a military coup.

To forestall such a move, it will be necessary for the government to treat the military establishment with caution in its early days. The aim must be to isolate them by gaining massive public support, and to clip their wings by financial control. In addition, it would be essential to have built up a citizens' militia under local command, which would be a formidable deterrent to military adventures. It is important to remember that an important part of British army training is concerned with "civil control". A great deal of experience has been gained over the years in Ireland.

It is instructive to recall the events in Chile before the military take-over. Alone among Latin American countries, Chile had a tradition of democratically elected governments. The army, well disciplined in the best Prussian manner, steered clear of political involvement. Even an avowed Marxist government, having won the

election, was allowed to take office unmolested. Dr Allende began to implement his programme of reform, including a measure of state ownership. He was a man of great personal honour, a prized attribute of the upper class from whence he came. He assumed the military were also men of honour and would play according to the rules of the game. A lorry drivers' strike, organised and paid for by the CIA, caused chaos and disruption throughout the country giving the ruling class the excuse they needed to bring in the army. Allende had failed to prepare for this eventuality and found himself defending the presidential palace alone, with a single sub-machine gun. The gun had been a personal gift from Fidel Castro, who had been appalled at Allende's trusting nature. The lessons are obvious.

The Green movement has already spawned several political groups and parties, the most successful being the German Greens. A residue of bourgeois ideology has clouded their judgement, and they have come perilously close to compromising their principles. Tactical compromises with other parties may well be justified at times, but there cannot ever be any compromise on principle. If this were so, the Green Party would eventually stand in the same relation to political ecology as Plaid Cymru to Welsh independence, or the Labour Party to socialism! - a sentimental talisman, but of no account when taking the spoils of office. The Green movement is nothing if it is not an international movement; the world is indivisible in its ecology. It would be naive in the extreme to hope with Trotsky for a simultaneous victory throughout the world. The political breakthrough will come in a single nation-state. The effect would still have world-reaching consequences. A small country like New Zealand has created a real impact by its courageous stand on nuclear weapons.

Each national party has therefore to formulate a policy particular to its own national conditions. The Green Party in Britain has so far failed to formulate a comprehensive and identifiable programme to put before the people, despite its concentration on electoralism. It is perhaps because of its middle class bias that it has failed to communicate with those very sections of the population who are potentially its staunchest supporters. Socialism appealed unequivocally to the proletariat, Toryism is unashamedly on the side of wealth and privilege. Green ideology transcends the narrow class basis, which was concerned with the distribution of material wealth. The affluent society has blurred the subjective boundaries of class divisions. Many of Marx's "gravediggers of capitalism" have become its staunchest supporters. The Labour Party still claims the poor and dispossed as its own special concern, but many have already fled this condition and given the chance it is the dream of the rest to do the same.

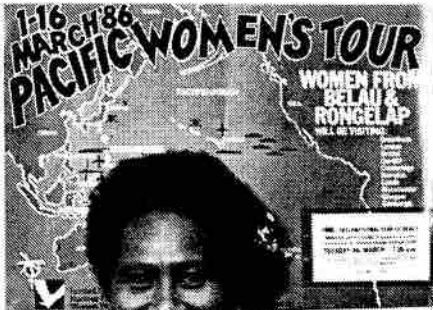
The overriding question confronting the world today is the ecological one. It is ironic that the regime of Finance Capital, which is dedicated to the production of material wealth, has failed to provide the world's inhabitants with the basic necessities of life - namely potable water, wholesome food and adequate shelter. It does however provide industrial pollution on a global scale, unrestricted population growth, and the threat of nuclear annihilation. To the Greens, who would avert such a catastrophe, history would vindicate their entry into the political arena.

But time is not on our side.



# Pacific Women Speak

LIJON EKNILANG is from Rongelap in the Marshall Islands. She represented her people at a US Congressional hearing, and has addressed major conferences in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Her British tour in March 1986 was funded by British nuclear-free zone local authorities, and the following talk was given during that tour. On March 1 1954 the US exploded its first H-bomb, codenamed BRAVO and 1000 times larger than Hiroshima, on Bikini. The wind was blowing towards inhabited islands, including Rongelap...



I WAS seven years old at the time of the Bravo test on Bikini. I remember that it was very early in the morning that I woke up with a bright light in my eyes. I ran outside to see what had happened. I thought someone was burning the house.

Soon after we heard a big loud noise, just like a big thunder, and the earth started to move - the ground started to sway and sink. The loud noise hurt our ears. You can never imagine. We were very afraid because we didn't know what it was. Some people thought that the war had started again. A little later in the morning we saw a big cloud moving to our islands. It covered the sky.

Maybe two or three hours later, about ten o'clock, we started to feel itchy in our eyes - it felt like we had sand in our eyes. Then came the fallout. It was white and to us kids we thought it was white soap powder. The kids were playing in the powder and having fun, but later on everyone was sick and we couldn't do anything. We wanted to drink water so bad, so we went to the water drums and the water was changing colour. But we drank it anyway because we were very thirsty. For many hours poison from the bomb kept falling on our islands.

Late in the afternoon I became very sick, like I would throw up, and I had a bad headache. The other people on the islands experienced the same problems; our eyes itched terribly and towards the evening our skin began to burn like we had been out in the hot sun all day. I remember we ate some fish and drank some coconut after the fallout covered the island.

The next day the problems got worse. The big burns began spreading all over our legs, arms and feet and they hurt very much.

Late in the second day Americans came to evacuate my people from Rongelap to the American base on Kwajalein Atoll. Some of them tried to explain what was happening but there wasn't enough time for us to understand because we were very sick and we

IN JULY 1947 Micronesia, one of the three large island groupings in the Pacific, was designated the world's only United Nations Strategic Trust Territory, and was to be administered by the US. The fierce fighting to control these islands between the armies of the US and Japanese governments during the second world war reflected their crucial strategic role in the Pacific.

The US administration was obliged by the UN agreement to positively and constructively help the islanders improve and protect their physical and social well-being, leading to their eventual political independence. Many of the traditional island and clan communities had suffered through various colonial invaders. However, far from fulfilling its obligations, the US government has used Micronesia to develop and test its nuclear weapons technology and expand its strategic military presence in the area. The US has no intention of relinquishing its economic or military presence.

This is reflected in the terms of the recent agreements to end the UN trusteeship, negotiated under US pressure between the four new political entities in Micronesia. In 1969, when negotiations began, US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger remarked, "There's only 90,000 people out there: who gives a damn?" Of the four nations emerging from the artificial political boundary of Micronesia, three - the Republic of the Marshall Islands, the Federated States of Micronesia, and the Northern Mariana Islands - have each signed different agreements that tie them closely with the US and deny them access as independent nations to the UN. The agreements grant the US government almost perpetual and exclusive rights to the military use of the islands, control their external relations, and strengthen the islands' dependence on the US economy.

The trusteeship over the whole of Micronesia cannot be formally terminated until all four nations have signed their own political agreements with the US. The nuclear-free constitution of the fourth nation, Belau, has critically delayed the proceedings as it has flawed the US military designs for the islands.

**"Many people suffer from thyroid tumours, still births, eye problems, liver and stomach cancers and leukaemia... there are eight women who have given birth to babies that look like blobs of jelly."**

couldn't pay attention to anything. We had very high fevers and felt like we wanted to drop. We had very ill people - they couldn't pay attention even to their own kids.

We stayed on Kwajalein for three months to receive medical treatment and observation. After that we moved to

Majuro in the Marshall Islands and we stayed there for three years because Rongelap was too dangerous to live on so soon. In 1957 the US Atomic Energy Commission doctor came to tell us that it was safe for us to return back home.

It was a few years later, in the early sixties, that we began to experience all of the illnesses we are having now. Many people suffer from thyroid tumours, still births, eye problems, liver and stomach cancers and leukaemia.

I will tell you something of my family. My grandmother lived to 107 years old. She died in the 1960s because of thyroid cancer and stomach cancer. She could have lived to 109, maybe 110. My father, a first captain in the Marshall Islands, had already died on June 30 1954 because he was somewhere around the area when they were testing the bomb. My cousin died of tumour cancer in 1960. In 1972 I had another cousin die of leukaemia. Two of my sisters have had thyroid surgery in 1981. In 1978 I went to Cleveland, Ohio, USA to have my thyroid tumour removed. Now I have to take medicine every day of my life.

And I have had seven miscarriages and stillbirths. Altogether there are eight other women on the island who have given birth to babies that look like blobs of jelly. Some of these things we carry for eight months, nine months. There are no legs, no arms, no head, no nothing. Other children are born who will never recognise this world or their own parents. They just lie there with crooked arms and legs and never speak. Already we have had seven such children.

Sometimes I feel that I have a baby inside me. I feel very happy that I will have a baby, but then I am afraid what kind of baby it is going to be. I live in two separate kinds of worlds: one part of me I want to have a baby, but this other part of me is scared to have a baby.

We have asked ourselves a question. Why, why has this happened? Every year the US Department of Energy doctors would come to Rongelap to examine the people. They would tell us that everything was OK - that we didn't have anything to worry about. We told them we didn't feel any better and that our bodies felt weak all the time. We believe that the sickness is caused by the radiation from the Bravo test. Ever since we returned to Rongelap in 1957 we have been worried about living on our contaminated island. In 1978 the Department of Energy doctors did a special study of Rongelap Atoll and another island in the Marshalls. After the study they told us that we were not allowed to eat the fish, coconuts and other food from the northern parts of Rongelap. The US government have told us that it is now safe for us to live in the southern parts of the atoll where there is low-level radiation. These studies made the people of Rongelap very scared for the future of their children. Since that time we have wanted to leave Rongelap.

So we planned to move from Rongelap. We signed a petition on the island - everyone signed it - to send to the US government asking them to help us. They refused. They said that the island was completely safe and that there was no reason for us to leave the island. Our own government, the Marshall Islands government, is very closely tied to the US government, and they wouldn't help either. We are fighting our own government. So in 1985 the people on Rongelap evacuated themselves from the Atoll to another island in Kwajalein Atoll with the help of the Greenpeace ship, Rainbow Warrior.

There are now 350 people living on tiny Mejato Island. It is only one mile long.





Three of the children who were evacuated from Rongelap, on board the Greenpeace ship, Rainbow Warrior.

There was nothing on the island when we got there. We had to build shelters for the babies, women and oldest people from the things we carried from Rongelap. It was very hard to leave our island behind, especially for the elder people. It wasn't easy for them to leave their home. Three of them just went inside their huts and never came out until the day they died.

Life on Mejato is not easy. There is not enough food on the island for my people. Only a few coconuts and some fish. There is only about one acre that will grow food because there's not enough soil. Mejato is mainly sand and coral. The US government is supposed to give us food but they only bring about one week's supply every three months. Most of the time the boat has been delayed.

We have to get our supplies from Ebeye twice a month. Ebeye is another small island right next to Kwajalein Island, the US base for the world's largest missile range. Going there is not easy. We have to do it by slow boat which takes eleven hours and costs us \$900.

I was thinking of living on Mejato with my people, and so were other Rongelap people on Ebeye, but there's not enough food on Mejato and if we all went to live on Mejato how would we get our supplies? There has to be someone living on Ebeye and Majuro taking care of things for the people on Mejato. We don't know for sure how long we are going to be on Mejato, but if we are going to stay there we are going to need a lot of support. We are very dependent on people outside Mejato.

Many people don't really think that our tiny island of Rongelap is very important to us. But it is our home. We are meant to be there. Our land is everything, our medicine, our food, our houses, our everyday supply. Our land is everything

**"There's only  
90,000 people  
out there; who  
gives a damn?"  
(Henry Kissinger  
1969)**

and it has been ruined by the US government. It wasn't easy to leave Rongelap. We had to give up everything. Our land is our memory of those people we've lost. It's in that land - their spirit. But we had to plan ahead for our children. I know it is too late for me and the others, our lives have already been ruined, but it's the future we're thinking about. We don't want our kids to receive all the sickness we are receiving now.

I didn't come all the way here for you to cry for me. I'll cry because it hurts me a lot. But I don't want to see the tears in your eyes. I want you to be strong because my tears will not help my people. I can't bring them back to life. I have come to share my experience with you because I want you to see your future - what it is going to be - through me.

I am living in a contaminated land, with contaminated water. But what is your future going to be if this city will fill with nuclear waste and everything? Where are your children going to live and work? How can you live in the future? -

TITEWHAI HARAWIRA is a Maori woman from Aotearoa (New Zealand). She is involved with the Waitangi Action Committee and the Pacific Peoples' Anti-nuclear Action Committee. The following extract is from a speech given during her tour of Britain in March 1985.



AND DESPITE what's happened to us and is still happening to us today we are standing strong. We are fighting for a nuclear free Pacific and, more importantly today, it's a nuclear free and independent Pacific. Because we know that it's the only way we're going to get rid of white oppression, of colonialism, and the whole nuclear madness that's going on. That's the way we see it. We don't see the white nations as our friend any more. You're going to have to earn our trust. We're going to have to see results.

We have a government which has a nuclear free policy and it's a people's

WHEN YOU look at a standard map of the world, you will notice that the Pacific Islands are split in two, metaphorically falling off either side of the world. This graphically illustrates the lack of interest or concern that the West has extended towards the Pacific, and the inhabitants of its islands. This is highlighted by a now infamous statement made by Henry Kissinger when talking about US involvement in Micronesia (one of the three largest island groupings in the Pacific) in 1969: "There's only 90,000 people out there. Who gives a damn?"

Since 1947, the USA, Britain and France have been using and still continue to use the Pacific as a site for nuclear testing, the dumping of nuclear waste, and supporting western-based TNCs in their mining of uranium on traditional Aboriginal land. All of this taking place in complete disregard of the lives of the Pacific people. All in disregard of the effects on the environment. All



in a complete informational vacuum, both within the Pacific, and in the rest of the world.

When the Women Working for a Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific invited some women from the Pacific to come to Britain, one of the first statements made was, "Why haven't you known for forty years what has been happening?"

This pamphlet attempts to briefly outline what we haven't known. The history of the systematic oppression

PACIFIC WOMEN SPEAK: Why haven't you known? Edited by Women Working for an Independent and Nuclear-Free Pacific. Green Line, £1.95.

of the Pacific people by these nuclear colonisers, looking at key regions within the Pacific, and particular events such as the London Dumping Convention. In addition, the pamphlet contains the testimonies of women from the Pacific who came over to Britain from 1984-6, outlining their involvement in the grassroots based struggle for real independence in the Pacific. Their stories are gripping, powerful, and clear in their message. The fight must be for peace AND justice. We cannot continue to be blind to this struggle.

I strongly recommend this book. Go out and buy it. There is a list of contacts for the solidarity campaign in Britain, so there is no excuse for not getting involved, finding out more, and supporting their initiatives to continue to raise people's awareness here, and actively to support the struggle in the Pacific.

o JOY TAYLOR

mandate. We worked for ten years for that policy. We worked, we fought, we got arrested. We went to prison, we did every damn thing that people say is not acceptable. Our government knows that if they start sidestepping they're going to get dumped.

But on the other side of the coin, for 140 years the government of Aotearoa have had government sponsored celebrations of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. And our people have been saying, "Stop these celebrations and honour our treaty." We march every year. We get arrested every year. We march again. The police, like they turned out on the miners here, they turned out like that on us. So does the army - the armed defence squad. And we know, we know, that when a few people march and they turn the state out like that, we know that what we're doing is right.

One of the conclusions we've come to is that colonial powers and Christianity are the two power forces that have forced our people into submission, to be nice and not to speak out. Decolonising our people's minds, that's the biggest program we have got. The State and the Church are one. The time of being nice to the churches and just having the government on is over. I've worked with the National Council of Churches in Aotearoa, they don't suck me in. I've worked with them because I know they hold a lot of power. In a lot of areas they've had to make changes. For 150 years the churches came along and blessed the celebrations at Waitangi, with a military turnout and big celebrations, reminding us of that military takeover, 150 years. And as a result of my working with them for two years, last year they refused to participate. A good statement - the government didn't know what had hit them. So this year the discussion is, "Give back the land that my people gave to the church." And that discussion is going on.

So don't tell me it can't happen. It can happen and it's got to happen. These power people have got to be made to give a Christian response - that's what they call it - and not be allowed to be comfortable - off all our backs.

Kia ora everybody. To the women who supported us coming here. You know, if it's been a shock for you, well I feel good about it. The women are strong throughout the world. As first nation women, as white women, women are strong and they move to stop this nuclear madness. What are the white men doing about it? There needs to be a commitment to challenge the structures that keep this whole cycle going and that power and those structures belong to white men. Don't ever let anyone say that it's too big and it can't happen. It can happen, but through commitment.

And when you fight for peace it has got to be peace and justice, otherwise you're just kidding yourself. Because to survive, this nuclear issue needs land, it needs sea. Whose land and whose sea? Ours! Or yours. It's important to have a national and global response to peace. It won't just happen if you're nice. Colonialism isn't nice, racism isn't nice, the nuclear issue isn't nice. We've got to forget about being nice people and that's one of the good things that is happening in the Maori world today, we're no longer nice. We don't apologise, we're up front there, and if anybody thinks they're going to cross us they'd better try it. Because that's the urgency we're talking about; not a nuclear war

tomorrow, but one we've had for forty years. Not oppression tomorrow, but one that we've lived through, in my case for 150 years. White people, white nations are hell bent upon destroying the land, the trees, the people, the oceans, the food in the oceans. Destroy yourselves by all means, but don't take us with you.

And the challenge is: why haven't you known for forty years what's been happening?

**MEDICAL EXPERTS** in Australia are seeking assistance from the New Zealand government, the WHO and the Red Cross in carrying out a thorough and impartial investigation into the effects of radiation from the French tests at Moruroa on Tahitians. The survey would be coordinated by the Canadian low-level radiation expert Rosalie Bertell, who has long been urging the Tahitian Territorial Assembly to conduct a health survey. She believes Tahitian doctors should do most of the work themselves. Politically this is difficult for them, and things move slowly in the Pacific.

Together with Greenpeace, the experts (who form the Australian branch of International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, IPPNW) feel that the French Polynesian population is too small for a statistically significant health study, and that an anecdotal approach to the study would be best - interviewing, preferably on video, people who may have suffered radiation related illnesses. Some effort is being made to examine for radiation teeth pulled by the Tahitian dental service.

The physicians condemn the Atkinson Report of 1984, which the French quote as evidence that their tests are harmless to health. They say the medical statistical basis of the report was totally inadequate, because Tahitian health figures for cancer are patchy and tests for radiation in the water were incomplete.

For more information, contact Norwich Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific Support Group, 10 The Drive, New Costessey, Norwich [0603 742484]; or IPPNW Secretariat, c/o Wellington Hospital, Wellington, N.Z.

## Pacific Women Speak

NINE INDIGENOUS PACIFIC WOMEN VISITED EUROPE FROM 1984 TO 1986, AND THE ABOVE ARTICLES ARE EXTRACTS FROM THE TALKS GIVEN BY TWO OF THEM.. THE COMPLETE TEXTS, WITH PHOTOGRAPHS, MAPS AND BACKGROUND, APPEAR IN PACIFIC WOMEN SPEAK, A 40 PAGE PAMPHLET JUST PUBLISHED BY GREEN LINE.

AVAILABLE IN ALTERNATIVE BOOKSHOPS PRICE £1.95, OR DIRECT FROM GREEN LINE, 34 COMLEY ROAD, OXFORD OX4 1HZ PRICE £2.15 INCLUDING POSTAGE.

## ABSTAINERS' MANIFESTO

A people get the government they deserve. We have become a shallow, failed, greedy, philistine people and yesterday we got our proper deserts.

The little hope that remains resides in the few who were not deceived by the election pantomime and refused to vote. Few? In some constituencies, including the Prime Minister's, abstention amounted to 30% - so there is a little health left in us.

Why does the media ignore 25% of the electorate?

Mrs Thatcher will not be in control. She leads a caretaker administration, taking care of this country for the US. The international scene will decide our future and it looks as though the decisive moment will be well before the next General Election.

By domestic standards Mrs Thatcher is a success. She promotes and panders to petty materialism and in the short term it works. But by international standards she is a non-starter and will fail. As a committed Atlanticist she has no answer to the impending American military/financial crisis, nor can she relate to the explosion now building up in the Soviet empire. She has nothing of consequence to say about the future of Europe, the Middle East or the Third World.

There is no way out for us short of a break with our absurd, quaint insularity. There is a job to be done. Someone, some people, some movement, some government has to act as a catalyst to dissolve the Cold War, send the Russians and the Americans home and invent a new autonomous, demilitarised, decentralised Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals. We can either pick that up or continue in our present colonial ignominy. There is no third way.

It is now up to the few who can see past the shallow insular shambles of parliamentary party politics.

Peter Cadogan  
3 Hinchinbrook House  
Greville Road, London NW6 5UP

## HETEROSEXISM IN THE BIN

I stopped buying, reading and lending out copies of your magazine a few months ago in protest over the decision to publish an appallingly heterosexist letter.

I threw the offending piece in the paper-bucket, and with it the offending issue. I cannot, and would not, wish to quote from it.

I raised the subject of the letter, my reaction to seeing it in print and my reaction to seeing it in the pages of 'Green Line' with other lesbians and gay men as well as with women and men sympathetic to our concerns. I received much support and witnessed much disgust.

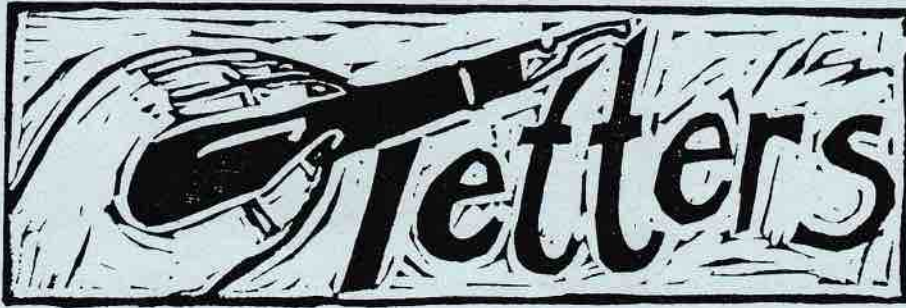
It is largely through the warmth of that support and the force of that disgust that I now feel strong enough to write to you with the following demand.

Accommodate the sound policy of all progressive publications: DO NOT GIVE SPACE to such offensive material. 'Disclaimers' tacked with liberal pins to racist, sexist and heterosexist abuse are an inadequate response to damaging assaults upon our lives and sensibilities. Do as I did. Recycle waste for better use.

And, for reasons that should be obvious all round, do not include my address below.

Norma Barclay.





## THREAT OF THE LAW

In February, Ronnie Lee, the former press officer and co-founder of the Animal Liberation Front was imprisoned for 10 years simply because he spoke the truth concerning the persecution of animals.

The sentence imposed upon him was wholly political because the things he said affected the profits of the multi-nationalists and Governments alike. A large number of people within and outside of the movement were deeply shocked at the time, but most people soon forgot about Ronnie who is now waiting to complete a further six years in prison. He already served a year before he was found 'guilty'. At present the police, courts and Government (the greatest conspirators) are intent upon a modern-day witch-hunt; this time the victims will be anyone who threatens the vast financial gains made as a result of abusing and killing animals. The meat industry alone makes a profit of £120 million a day. Fortunately, the ALF keeps the meat industry under constant attack and in two recent actions over £500,000 worth of damage was caused to premises. The ALF Supporters Group which works entirely separate from the activists of the ALF is the most vulnerable. The voluntary workers in the Supporters Group produce detailed fact-sheets, leaflets and reports of actions as well as newsletters and merchandise. Even though everything is first checked by two different solicitors before it is distributed one of the Supporters Group 'staff' has been charged with conspiracy to incite others to commit criminal damage. All have been kept under close police surveillance and even sympathisers to the cause have been visited by the 'special animals rights squad', set up at Scotland Yard.

How long can a situation like this be tolerated, and if the ALF Supporters Group is forced into submission, who will carry on the work? If the concerned people of this country let the oppressors take complete control of the lives and their beliefs, they will find that it's not only the truly defenceless, the other animal species, who will suffer at the hands of these legalised murderers, but all who stand in their way.

Christopher Oakley  
Press Officer, ALF Supporters Group  
BCM 1160  
London WC1N 3XX.

## TEMPERING CAPITALISM

Penny Newsome (GL51 & 53) is right to suggest that 'The Living Economy' reveals several areas in which TOES' thought and discussion has been deficient. Her arguments, though, are greatly weakened by suggesting that the 'new economics in the making' (The Living Economy's subtitle) has been infiltrated by the New Right.

It seems to me that Penny has failed to distinguish between alternative forms of economic organisation to those prevailing in the modern world, which are locked into enhancing national economic status and blinkered by narrow financial definitions of wealth. The socialist alternative, evidently preferred by Penny, is one of state ownership of the means of production; an approach reliant on planning, and which experience indicates is likely to be characterised by inflexibility and people and communities lacking direct control over their own lives.

Another alternative being explored by TOES is a form of capitalism in which competition and the profit motive are reduced to prevent the disastrous situation which the losers (the economically weak and the environment) currently face, and in which the social and environmental costs of economic activity are minimised by legislation and taxation.

Central to this new economic approach are the necessities of ensuring that industrial activity is not alienating or exploitative, and of equitably distributing sustainably generated wealth. Here Penny usefully highlights deficiencies in The Living Economy. Campaigning pressure and codes of conduct do seem ineffectual tools for reducing the power and lack of social and environmental responsibility of vast Transnational Corporations. And not enough discussion is devoted to the advocated "redistribution of income and redirection of the tax burden away from jobs and work and onto the use of capital and resources" (p 222).

Overall, though, my evaluation of the work of TOES is that it has been one of the most valuable green initiatives. As it continues to develop, the New Economics requires contributors and constructive criticism, not conspiratorial sniping.

Dave Mansell  
89 Silver Road  
Norwich NR3 4TF

## DOWN TO EARTH?

I jumped straight into the General Election campaign locally after a decisive break from traditional Labour activity for over 15 years. I had hoped that our local Green candidate could secure the 5% vote which was and is a practical target for us. It remains our target everywhere as long as we first target our best areas to fight the conventional election game with the old parties.

As it turned out, none of our 133 Green candidates got close to the 5% hurdle. Local Green parties who cleared 500 votes, or better still the 2.5% threshold, should be congratulated; they have broken out of the "fringe". Those who got less, or stood in anti-Tory marginal seats - London examples are Islington South, Hornsey or Dulwich - should consider their position: did they strengthen or weaken the anti-Tory front? Some will say it's up to the local party to decide - but just on their own? We must have some national coordination.

Our local slogan was "Greens - Neither Left nor Right, but Down to Earth!" We thought it brought a light humorous note to our campaign. But the Green movement must be an anti-capitalist cause; we are on the left, let's admit it. We must become more radical. Our glossy, over-designed national manifesto I found to be liberal, full of qualifications and conditional statements. It's very weak on workers' rights - unlike Die Grunen, it makes no mention of the 35-hr week, health and safety, workers' control, etc. We appeared not to have any new posters, lapel stickers or even balloons which could have aided our positive alternative, and could have demarcated us from the old grey parties. Leaflets were single-sided ("Ten Reasons...") - what a waste! - or poorly designed - all black, little colour, or just green, for heavens' sake.

Elections are circuses, but with very serious outcomes. We did move forward, of course, but not far or fast enough. Continuing attacks on the Earth and its inhabitants must always require new energies. It seems that hundreds of Green members did not consider this fact.

As a Green socialist I very much hope that new radicals will join us - from the Liberals, from Labour, from the Left and from "outside". We must develop our social and economic practice, extend direct, non-parliamentary actions everywhere, link up with Plaid, the SNP, anti-nuclear and CND groups, the animal rights movement, and decentralists of all types.

One we have all got over the 'June disaster' the Green movement can renew its appeal with fresh activity, better coordination, brighter public literature ("Politics for Life" is still the best slogan and leaflet) and start a third phase on the way to a sustainable, green society.

From a rough, inner-city district such as Hackney I wish all Green activists new hope and vigour to face up to Thatcherism in the coming months.

Mark Douglas  
Election agent, Hackney Green Party  
103 Osbaldeston Road  
London N16 6NP

## ORGANIC FERTILITY

A late (but prompt!) response to your organic farmer, Alan Albon. Animals are not an essential part of the organic system. They are desirable for those wishing to profit from murder, rape, castration, infanticide, etc, but not essential. Organic fertility does not depend on domestic animals to process vegetation.

As for steep land being better left in pasture than ploughing - far better that the slopes are reclothed with trees and shrubs for food, shelter, fuel, conservation, flora and fauna habitats, building materials, etc. Butchering animals and consuming flesh and by-products is a habit that is chosen.

Peter Davis  
Aotearoa/New Zealand

## AN APOLOGY

We misquoted Penny in the middle of her own article (GL53, p 14)! Careful readers will have noticed that the boxed "quotation" on that page should have read: "An alternative to socialism, capitalism and the mixed market economy is a logical impossibility". As we, and Penny, know full well, there are alternatives to existing socialism...



## GERMAN CENSUS BOYCOTT

THE WEST German Greens' campaign to boycott the latest census is now in full swing. The Greens see the census as having little social value while being of great use to the country's already formidable police apparatus, as well as for war planning and measures against immigrants and the unemployed. The Greens also fear that the information is not confidential and could be passed on to third parties. So far the campaign has been very successful. In Hamburg alone, where there are 93 boycott groups and one coordinating office, the Greens have collected 40,000 unreturned census forms. In the country as a whole 750,000 census forms have been collected. It is hoped that 10% of West Germans will break the law by not returning their census forms. The government has responded defensively with a clumsy public information campaign arguing that the census is for the benefit of the people. In the larger cities many boycott activists have been raided by the police who have confiscated reams of blank census forms.

Following hot on the heels of the

Federal elections in January there were state elections in Hessen in April. The Green vote rose from 5.9% in 1983 to 9.4% increasing the number of Green seats in the 110 seat state legislature from 7 to 10. Unfortunately for the Greens their gains were at the expense of the SPD (right wing labour party) who also lost votes to the conservative parties. As a result the unsuccessful SPD-Green coalition was deprived of any chance for a second term. Fresh elections have been held in Hamburg. After the state elections in November the Greens' 13 women MPs held the balance of power between the SPD and the CDU (conservatives). The women's demands for coalition went too far for the local SPD who have governed the city since the war. The SPD, failing in their attempt to form a coalition with the CDU, called fresh elections. These brought a setback to the women's list (the first in the world) who dropped to eight seats as the FDP (liberals) re-entered the parliament and formed a government with the SPD. The Greens think many people may have voted for the FDP in the hope of avoiding a CDU government.

In May there were yet more state elections. This time in the Rhineland Palatinate, one of the country's smallest states. The Greens entered the state parliament for the first time with 5.9% of the vote, disappointingly lower than the 7.5% they polled in January. Limited by the strains of the recent federal election, the Greens tried to tailor their campaign to fit the diverse regions, holding public meetings on subjects such as agriculture and wine in the rural areas and pollution and the census (which proved to be one of the most emotive issues in the campaign) in the towns. The CDU's claim that the Greens are terrorist and wish to murder babies

no longer influences an electorate who have got to know and come to accept the Greens. The FDP portrayed themselves as the sensible alternative to the silly alternative. The number of seats held by right and left within the parliament was unchanged by the election, though within the blocks there was a circulation of votes leftwards as the SPD lost votes to the Greens and the CDU lost votes to FDP.

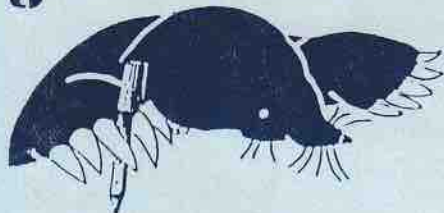
### AROUND EUROPE

Last year in local and regional elections Greens won seats all over Italy. On June 14th the Greens stood in national elections for the first time - a loose alliance of environmental groups, rather than a national party hoping for a dozen deputies in the House of Representatives. In the event they got 2.9% of the vote which gives them 13 deputies and one member of the senate. The Greens picked up many votes (particularly among the young) from those disillusioned with the Italian Communist Party which moved to the right, yet again, in an ill-fated attempt to broaden its appeal just before the election. The Greens join Italy's gaggle of parties as the eighth largest party just behind the Radicals who seem to have lost their status as honorary greens. Their success has been attributed to the increasing wealth of Italians who can now afford to care about the environment, and also to the side effects of Italy's fast industrialisation.

Earlier this year Austria elected its first Green MPs to parliament. In October Swiss Greens hope to win seats at the national level, repeating last year's successes at the local and Cantonal level.

• LEIGH SHAW-TAYLOR

## grassroot



◦ LINDA HENDRY writes:

SCOTLAND'S NATIONAL sexist newspaper, The Scotsman, has always done a fair job of giving Green / Ecology Party candidates equalish coverage in constituency profiles at election time. So I was a bit disappointed that mine gave my main objective as "trying to save my deposit", as I'd like to save the planet as well.

But a closer look at the statistics section showed that it missed out the Green Party performance at the May '86 local elections, so I dug out my elections file. Yes, we got 3.2% in Edinburgh Central, a fair jump-off point for 5% to save my £500. So how come, then, that adding up the Scotsman's Labour 41%, Tory 32.5%, Alliance 18% and SNP 8% only left 0.5% for the Green vote? Two phone calls to the Scotsman news editor and one to their statistician confirmed that the main parties' vote had been "rounded up" to get rid of the Green vote! My next letter is to the Press Council...

• Three all-party public meetings down, and three more to go. Even butterflies in the stomach can't keep me awake during all of my male opponents' tedious speeches. I soon realise the candidates don't even believe what they are saying. I found myself wondering why I have such an ungreen feeling of hatred for the fat-cat Tory and his yuppie stand-ins. Is it because of 3m+ unemployed, or the dead of the Falklands and Libya, or the industrial death of Scotland?

I've come to the conclusion that it was the death of Bobby Sands MP that put Mrs Thatcher beyond the pale as far as I'm concerned. I never met Bobby but Irish friends sent me his poetry book as lay dying of hunger in the H-blocks and I felt that, had circumstances been different, Bobby and I could have been friends. Time and again I wonder why it was impossible for him to be paroled or released on licence to do his time at Westminster as a duly elected member. He would probably have refused to attend and been sent back to jail, but picture the culture shock for many MPs of eating, drinking and peeing with a Northern Ireland terrorist, far less discovering he was not only human but also intelligent and a poet.

• I was shocked to discover that Tie Rack have given all four of my male opponents a free tie each, and I have not been offered anything. Should I request equality with a tie,

or ask for a scarf instead? Such are the dilemmas of politics.

Still, a lovely gift of 1,000 recyclable envelopes has cheered up our campaign. I've also threatened a community newspaper and the Anglican cathedral with interim interdicts if they didn't include me in election coverage. They did!

### AND THE NEXT

SCRAM have just published a country-by-country breakdown enabling you to pick your choice of the world's next large-scale nuclear accident ['Before and After Chernobyl: Nuclear Power in Crisis', Asa Moberg, £11]. What about India's Narora 1 & 2 in Uttar Pradesh, in an active seismic area a few miles from a geological fault? Or Pako, the Hungarian 2-reactor site built by Skoda of Czechoslovakia? Fervent anti-nuclear activists could also boycott Hitachi, Mitsubishi and Toshiba who build Japan's reactors as well as stereos and cookers. Let's hope, for the peace of mind of newsreaders, that it's not Novovoronezh in the USSR.

In 1982 the sensible Swiss were the first country in the world to pass a law that the owner of a nuclear power plant must have unlimited liability in the event of an accident. This may be the effective way of stopping nuclear power.

◦ Linda Hendry will be writing her own occasional column for GL, as well as - and sometimes instead of - Brig.