

GREEN *Line*

No 66 / OCTOBER 1988 / 60p



WHY ECONOMIST DAVISON BUDHOO RESIGNED FROM THE I.M.F
HOW THE E.E.C. SENDS RADIOACTIVE FOOD TO THE THIRD WORLD
WHY LIBERALISM SHOULD BE THE TRUE ALLY OF THE GREENS
PLUS - HUNT SABS, SWEDEN, MEXICO, TOES, ALF, and MORE...

Monthly magazine of Green Politics and Lifestyle

GREEN Line

No 66 / OCTOBER / 60p

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

Monthly magazine of
Green politics and lifestyle

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

SUBSCRIPTIONS

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

ENVELOPES

Whenever GL is printed with 24 pages we won't use envelopes so as to keep in the lowest letter rate. If you want an envelope nevertheless, please send £1 which will cover the next ten 24-page issues.

BULK ORDERS

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

ADVERTISING

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

DEADLINES

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

SPECIAL OFFER! BACK ISSUES

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

Small Ads

5p/word

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

FAIR EXCHANGE: good quality alternative community magazine. Autumn issue now out. Wide range of topics and interests covered. 50p and large s.a.a. (21p stamp). To 38 Exchange St, Norwich.

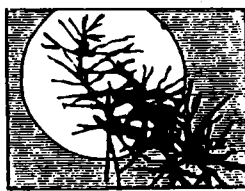
VEGETARIAN AND SINGLE? Introductions and social network especially for you. Information from Vegetarian Matchmakers on 01 348 5229 (or 14a Woodlands Rd, Isleworth, Middx).

CONSUMING ISSUES: Ethical Living in a Materialist Age. A Christian Conference will be held near Macclesfield 28-30th October. Interested? Write Christian Ecology Group, 2 Cuxborough Rd, Lichfield, Staffs WS13 7NG

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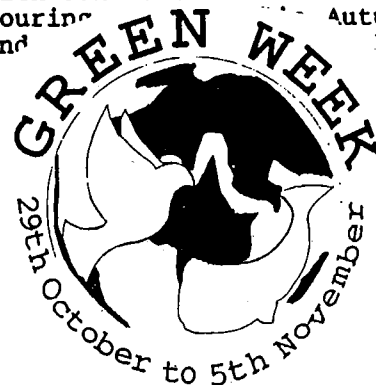
We make Japanese style mattresses, (single, double, king size, cot size), cushions, pillows, yoga/massage/shiatsu mats, to individual orders. All 100% cotton, range of colours. Pine bases.
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OXFORD GREEN WEEK

It's all going to be happening in Oxford between these dates:

OCT 29th-Nov 5th

with consumerism. It will be touring Autumn and 735



29th: recycling clean-up parade and Greenpeace support group benefit
30th: forest walk, Whytham wood
31st: Survival International Meeting, Green Week Benefit concert, FoE Benefit disco
1st: Acid Rain meeting, Community Links Fair
2nd: Alternative Careers Fair, video on factory farming
3rd: FoE Rainforest Campaign meeting
4th: Morning rush hour commuter race, Women in Development, Cabaret, Acid Rain balloon race from Didcot Power Station
5th: Animals Charity Fair, CND workshop on Britain in NATO, Animal Aid benefit gig

For more details on these events, venues, tickets etc. contact Oxford Student Green Action on (0865) 54530

New Cyclist

quarterly

Get on down that GREEN line without going off the rails. Read the magazine that's written by cyclists for cyclists. News and views, appropriate technology for the pedal powered traveller and cyclists' rights all lovingly crafted and delivered to your letterbox for £1.50 an issue or £6.00 for a whole year. The mag that makes all mountains downhill!

NEW CYCLIST (GL),
The Lees Stables,
Coldstream,
Berwickshire TD12 4NN.

Tel. 0890 3167 or 2709

NEWS COMMENT

Bangladesh - Pointing the Finger

Will normal services be resumed?

What was your reaction to the postal strike as you sat desperately waiting for your GL to arrive? The media certainly knew which side you were supposed to be on - with the U.C.W. constantly being put on the defensive in interviews, in contrast to urbane encounters with GPO management.

Despite the inconvenience suffered here at Green Line, I remain wholeheartedly on the union's side. The reason is that the basic issue over which the members struck - signing-on bonuses for recruits to certain areas of Britain - could end up affecting all workers in this disunited kingdom.

What GPO management are suggesting is that you should be penalised for working in an area of higher unemployment - in effect get paid less than someone in a more prosperous area where recruitment is difficult. The injustice of that dangerous idea spreading throughout the service sector should be obvious to all.

But there is a wider issue that inevitably got lost among the tales of carrier pigeons etc. The fact that the postal service appears to be getting chaotic in the South-east is simply an indication of the absurd overcrowding of industry and business in the South-east. Yet rather than take that as a cue to demand a proper industrial strategy that spreads prosperity more evenly throughout the country, people simply demand more and more from overstretched services - hardly surprising given our society's identical attitudes toward the environment.

This government, as we know, has no industrial strategy and presumably sees the 87% turnover of Post Office staff in the South-east as a healthy indicator of the operation of the free market. We must work towards enlightening people that it is not.

For the Postal Dispute is only one example of Thatcherism's bizarre attitude towards the nation's vital services. Inevitably the pressures on transport, water and sewage facilities in the South-east are going to reach breaking-point as projects like the M25 and the Channel Tunnel distort the geographical distribution of wealth even more.

Perhaps then, too late, the media will wake up and realise that the postal dispute was not a symptom of lingering bolshiness in the unions but rather a sign of the chaos that follows ten years of the glorious free market.

JERRY SPRING

EVERY NEWSPAPER in the country has been publishing heart-rending accounts of the recent flooding in Bangladesh. Rather than just shedding tears for the unfortunate victims of this "natural" disaster, some more enlightened journalists have chosen to focus on the chronic deforestation in the Himalayan watersheds as the ultimate cause of the annual cycle of drought and flood.

They have focussed specifically on deforestation in India and Nepal, thereby presenting poor Bangladesh as the powerless victim of its neighbours' forest destruction. What they have failed to do is to look at Bangladesh's own environmental record.

In addition, President Ershad is portrayed as the loving father of the nation, his heart grieving while his people suffer, stirring up the international aid community and the charitable donors of the world to give, give and give, to provide food, drugs, waterproof sheeting, building materials, and to take them to where they are needed. It seems like only a short time ago that Bangladesh's students were rioting on the streets of Dacca, fighting for the overthrow of this brutal military dictator. But the floods have now given him what he wants - the ultimate PR relaunch and loads of lovely foreign money into the bargain (\$150m from USA, £7m from UK, more to follow...)

Meanwhile, back at the ranch...

But what of the Chittagong hills in Southeast Bangladesh? This region of hill forests and fertile valleys has been densely settled for many centuries by peaceful Buddhist tribal peoples (now numbering some 600,000), who contrast starkly with the dominant Muslim Bengalis of the lowlands. Under the British Raj the area enjoyed a special status conferring a high degree of autonomy and protection from outsiders. But since Independence and especially since the formation of Bangladesh as a separate state, the Chittagong hills, around 10% of the country's area, has been viewed as ripe for "development" and for settlement by Bengalis from the overpopulated lowlands. In the chilling words of one Government spokesman, "We want the land but not the people".

The process began in the sixties with the building of a huge hydro-electric plant in the Chittagong hills at Kaptai. Several thousand people were summarily evicted from the submergence zone, and the fast developing infrastructure of roads, electricity supply, etc, brought a flood of settlers into the region. The tribal people were forced into the steep-sided hills where the inevitable result has been appalling forest loss, both for unsustainable agriculture and to supply

the growing wood requirements of the settlers. The process has continued as the tribal peoples have been ousted from their traditional lands to make way for wave after wave of settlers, and has continued to the point where they are now a minority in their own homeland.

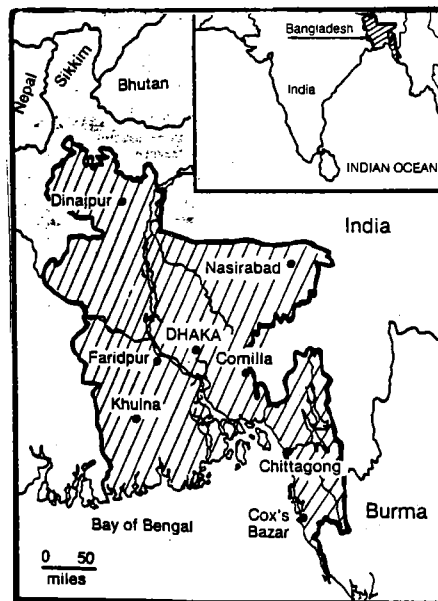
Any resistance put up by the tribals has met with savage repression, carefully kept out of sight as the region has been closed to visitors and journalists for many years. But reports nonetheless emerge of villages sacked by the army, the men shot or tortured to death, women and children raped and murdered, houses and crops burnt. These scorched earth tactics are applied with particular ferocity in areas where Shanti Bahini, the tribal's guerilla resistance force, is suspected to be active or draw its support.

And elsewhere...

The remainder of Bangladesh's dwindling forests have been no more fortunate, as the overwhelming concern of the government has been western style development. Forests are viewed as unproductive land and as mines for the raw materials needed for Bangladesh's expanding industry and population. As the demand for forest products has expanded, so the forests have shrunk. The dynamic newsprint industry (now exporting its "surplus") relies on wood from the mangrove forests of the Sundarban in the Ganges Delta, home of Asia's last remaining wild tigers. The coastal forest protects the low plains from seawater flooding during the frequent tropical storms, often accompanied by tidal waves. The protection disappears with the forests.

Meanwhile, think this one through: 25 million people have lost their homes as a result of the floods. Bamboo is the main housebuilding material in the country. It only grows in the forests of the Chittagong Hills. Forget Sport Aid, Oxfam and CARE. Save your money for Shanti Bahini.

OLIVER TICKELL



STRENGTHS, WEAKNESSES,

THE NEW ECONOMICS FOUNDATION which grew out of the TOES conferences is increasingly confident that orthodox economics is going to be superceded. The assumptions on which it was based can be seen to obscure, or even create, many of present economic ills. In attempting to join other rational sciences conventional economics treats individuals as mere building blocks, talks in terms of mechanical concepts of 'flow' and 'velocity', and concentrates on easily quantifiable aspects of the economy like money. In addition, at the time it emerged in the 19th century, economics could treat resources as infinite and pollution and waste as unimportant externalities.

Economics set out to be value-free; merely, scientifically to describe and model what it saw. But of course it was packed with values and prejudices, and has become a set of rules about how we should run the economy. The New Economics acknowledges this inevitability in its own formulation: that a New Economics should be holistic (dealing with a range of human needs), should encourage self-reliance, should be socially just, should be sustainable, and should be

As part of the current Action Plan, NEF have listed a very honest assessment of NEF's current state of development:

STRENGTHS

1. Unique in its holistic approach to the economics
2. Forum for a multi-disciplinary approach
3. Links with other organisations
4. Credibility established by TOES, The Living Economy, the newsletter and a series of successful conferences and seminars
5. Well developed criticisms of conventional economics
6. The mailing list
7. Dedication of core group
8. Financial commitment of supporters
9. Indicators project, religious project and schema for 'A New Economics by the Year 2000'
10. Charitable status of NEF
11. Financial solvency

WEAKNESSES

1. Lack of clarity created by different assumptions on what the new economics is
2. Greater clarity on what the new economics is may divide the organisation
3. Difficulty of raising core funding
4. Inadequate admin structure in the past means present structure is untried and fragile
5. Danger of personality clashes
6. Potential supporters see NEF as forbidding
7. Lack of activists, exacerbated by failure to involve supporters
8. Lack of support from influential people and professional economists
9. The obvious sources of alternative economic work that TOES collected and presented are now largely exhausted
10. NEF cannot campaign or lobby

For more info on NEF, TOES and the projects, or on how to join or support them, contact The New Economics Foundation at

OPPORTUNITIES, THREATS

flexible and responsive. For more details read *The Living Economy* edited by Paul Ekins.

NEF is now embarking on an ambitious new set of projects aimed at strengthening the New Economics' theory and policy and getting it more widely discussed both by greens and mainstream economists and politicians. Working groups are being set up on a range of subjects including consumer power, education, financial alternatives, Labour's policy review, needs and values, 1992, policy development and trade, aid & development. There are briefing papers available on some of these.

A number of larger projects will be started if funds can be raised. One on A New Economics by the Year 2000 and another on religions and economics have already been nearly funded. Some of the others proposed are on international trade and the implications of delinking from it as a self-reliant economy, the potential role of the 4Rs (repair, reconditioning, reuse and recycling) in the UK economy, how to use New Economics in public enquiries, resource taxation, the European Green Parties' economic policies and nationalised industries.

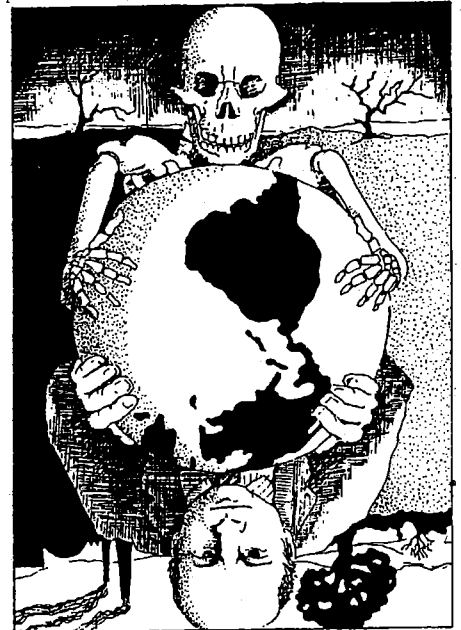
OPPORTUNITIES

1. There are many who find conventional economics morally objectionable, unsatisfactory or difficult
2. Changing climate suggests the time is ripe. This shows up in:
 - the religious world, e.g. inter-faith dialogue
 - the Third World eg. appropriate technology
 - politics, e.g. many greens want more than environmentalism
 - the obvious destructive effect of economic activity on the planet leading to a growing environmentalist lobby
 - growth of ethical investor and consumer movements
 - concept of local economic planning taking off
 - lack of viable alternative to Tory economic policy so opposition parties are looking for new ideas
 - the disarray in mainstream economic theory
3. Few organisations active in individual fields of the new economic theory are concerned to educate the general public
4. Widely scattered work relevant to the new economics that requires publicising and publication
5. International links could lead to worldwide network

THREATS

1. Economics seen as boring
2. Economic roots of problems likely to be overlooked, causing our natural allies to steer clear of us
3. Potential supporters may concentrate on small-scale local and individual projects and neglect the national and international dimensions
4. The opportunities listed above may pass because either people get used to crises and/or cosmetic changes provide temporary relief
5. The power of vested interests

27 Thames House, South Bank Business Centre, 140 Battersea Park Road, London SW11 4NB (01 720 8674).



Christian Ecology Group Conference
"Ethical Living in A Materialistic Age"
October 28th - see Green Diary

GREEN TALKATHON

Conference time is here again and the Green Party is meeting in Southport from 13-16th of October. The main business will be the manifesto for next year's parliamentary elections. Petra Kelly, Jonathon Porritt, a green MEP and an END speaker will open the conference. Other matters will include the knotty little problem of opposing the Poll Tax, soon to become more than a spectator sport south of Scotland. Could be interesting.

VEGETARIAN CONVENTION

Vegetarians in the South Midlands are organising a meeting at Stratford-upon-Avon Youth Hostel on 28-30th October, aiming to bring together people concerned with the promotion of vegetarianism and veganism. There'll be practical workshops on campaigning methods; speakers invited include Juliet Gellatley, Youth Education Officer of the Vegetarian Society and Mark Gold, Director of Animal Aid and author of *Living Without Cruelty*. The cost will be around £30 including meals. Further details from Vegetarian Convention '88, c/o Sharland Close, Grove, Wantage OX12 0AF (see please).

FUR FACTORIES

A new group Operation Fur Factory has been formed to close a gap left as yet by LYNX's work. They aim to compile a list of all the fur factories in Britain along with as much information as possible about each one. This can then be used in the campaign to have them closed down. OFF want you to note the farm's size & location, the name, address and phone number of the owner, the type and number of animals, the farm's age. Collect this along with any photos and send to OFF, PO Box 87, Rochdale, Lancs OL16 1AA.

VEGAN ACTION AGAINST MUCKDONALDS

As some GL readers may know, October 16th is the annual Anti-MacDonalds Day of Action, a date for campaigning against the hamburger business and the animal abuse and waste of land and resources that lies behind it, including the destruction of rainforests for cattle ranching. The Vegan Action Group will be producing leaflets for the Day. If anyone would like to order some, they are about 90p-£1.00 per 100 plus postage, available from VAG, 136 Ingram Street, Glasgow G1 1EJ. Also available from VAG are some anti-MacDonalds and Wimpy posters.

Apparently, MacDonalds have forced the vegan caterers Veggies and Arc Print to revise their leaflet, produced for a previous anti-MacDonalds Day of Action, cutting out the words "torture and murder" and replacing them with "slaughter and butchery". They have also forced them to remove references to rainforests. Both Veggies and Arc Print can be sued for not complying. A foretaste of things to come in the struggle against commercial animal abuse?

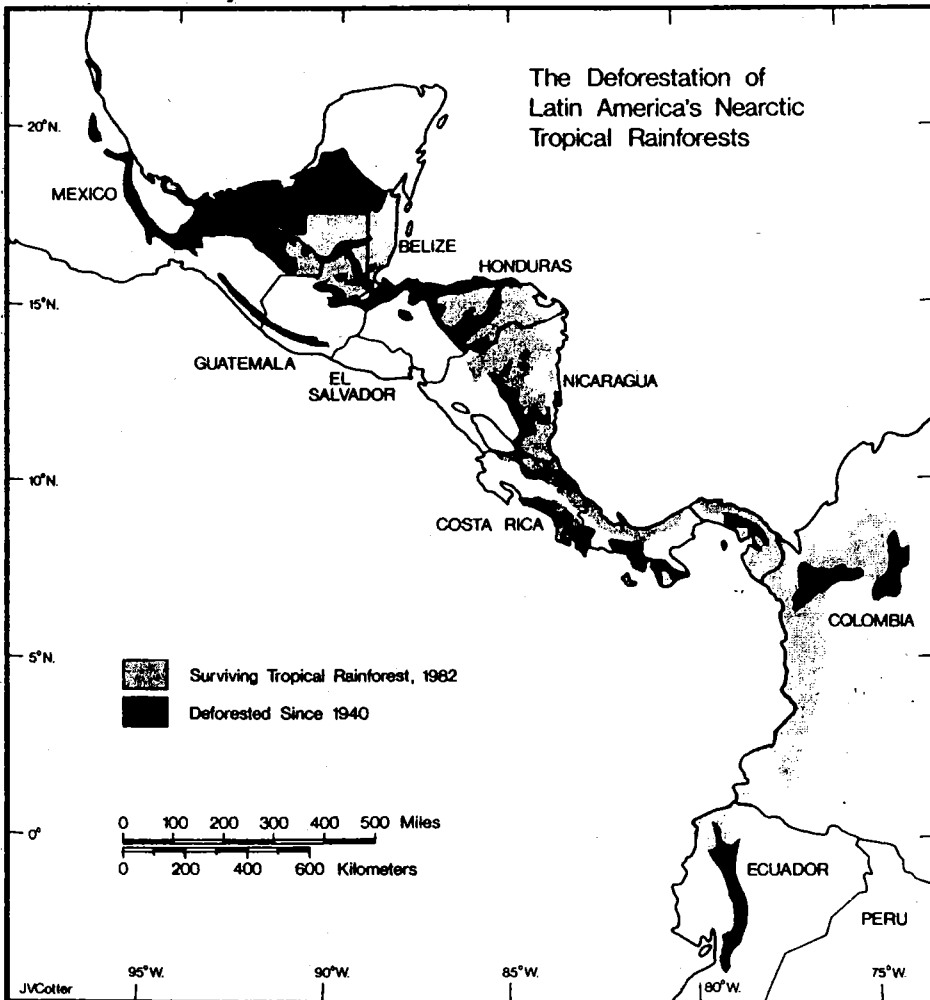
The VAG leaflet is the original version of the Veggies/Arc Print leaflet with new graphics, some minor improvements and references to other burger firms.

One reason that firms like MuckDonalds can threaten legal action is that under current legislation US imports of foreign beef, once approved by the US Dept of Agriculture, are stamped as US domestic produce. Consequently, the fast-food merchants have never had to substantiate their claims not to use rainforest beef even though the hundreds of thousands of rainforest carcasses imported into the US each year are known to be the staple of the fast food chains. A bill now before the US Congress, requiring the country of origin to be labelled on imported beef, could be just the boost we need to nail MacDonalds and their ilk to the floorboards.

FACT: Recent trials in Panama indicate ranching iguanas (a local delicacy) in rainforest as opposed to cattle ranching on ex-rainforest pasture produces ten times as much meat per hectare.

FACT: While Costa Rica's beef production has soared, per capita beef consumption in Costa Rica has actually declined.

FACT: The average Panamanian peasant eats less meat than the average US domestic cat.



BIGGER CAGES!

LONGER CHAINS!

SUPERMARKET

FREE-RANGE EGGS

There is some debate over whether supermarkets' free range eggs are really free range. Although the MAFF has recommended that free range hens should be stocked at no more than 150 birds per acre, all the big producers work to the EEC definition which allows 400 birds per acre on ground which is mainly foliage. The minimum floor space of their houses is no more than a battery cage although they have access to open ground.

The 400 birds/acre system has been attacked by Janet Graham of the Farm Animal Welfare Council as "not free range in the traditional sense" and "exceptionally misleading for consumers".

The supermarkets rely almost exclusively on the biggest producers for their free range eggs, so in all probability the free range eggs in your supermarket will come from a 400 birds/acre system. So, are these eggs really free range or are the producers trying to get away with the most intensive system that can vaguely be called "free range"?

To add some more confusion, the EEC has 3 other categories: semi-intensive, deep litter and perchery or barn - all even more intensive than the above.

CFC CAMPAIGNING INFO...

In July FOE published a report *Wrapping Up the Packaging Industry* on CFC use in packaging. It lists major users and producers of packaging with details on whether they use CFCs and what their policies are on this. A useful document for anyone campaigning on the ozone issue or wishing to avoid ozone-unfriendly packaging. The report is available from FoE, 26-28 Underwood Street, London N1 7JQ, 01 490 1555.

...OZONE WORKSHOP

FoE are holding a one-day workshop about "everything you always wanted to know about ozone depletion", on sat. Oct 22nd, at their Underwood Street office. The agenda includes health and environmental effects, science and policy, uses and substitutes, global warming, intro. to FoE's Ozone slide set, speaker training and much else.

WORLD BANK ON TRIAL

The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund have been holding their AGM in Berlin, commencing Sept 28th. Thanks to the Red Army Faction, Red Brigades and 40,000-odd demonstrators the conference is making the news. Isn't it delightful to see Lawson, that smug giver of advice, being lectured by the IMF himself?

But whilst we can always have a cheap laugh at the pomposity of these occasions, the situation for the debtor nations is desperate. As our article on page 10 of this issue makes clear, any attempt by the IMF at a new image is bound to be a charade. And then despite the World Bank's recent establishment of an "Environmental Department", there are still grave concerns, over many of the projects that it is funding or thinking of supporting (see below), and particularly over its lending policies.

A group of non-governmental organisations has organised a "People's Tribunal on International Debt" - a mock trial where evidence will be heard from victims of IMF/Bank activities. Also, a number of organisations, including FoE, have prepared a booklet, "Financing Ecological Disasters", detailing some of the worst World Bank projects and looking at how the IMF's activities affect the environment in the Third World. The booklet is available, price £1.50 inc. p&p, from FoE, 26-28 Underwood Street, London N1 7JQ.

POWER SECTOR

The World Bank, widely known for its environmental concern, is now considering a \$500,000,000 loan to Brazil's power sector. The loan would enable the construction of further huge dams in Brazil's Amazon region, one of which would flood an area the size of Switzerland, including the lands of the Kalapo Indians.

Dr Darrell Posey, an American ethnobotanist, accompanied and translated for two Kalapo leaders on a visit to Washington earlier this year. They were able to discuss their concern about the destruction of Amazonia with representatives from the World Bank, the State and Treasury Departments and the US Congress.

On their return to Brazil Dr Posey and the two Indian leaders were arrested. Dr Posey faces charges under a law forbidding foreigners from interfering in internal Brazilian policy, which carries a one to three year sentence on conviction. The Brazilian government was concerned that the evidence given would adversely prejudice the World Bank's decision on the \$500,000,000 loan.

ACTION:

1: It is now vital to maintain pressure on the World Bank to refuse the loan. Write to Mr Barber Conable, President, the World Bank, 1818 H Street NW, Washington DC 20433, USA, indicating that the loan is inconsistent with their environmental policies and that its approval would be detrimental to the human rights of Dr Posey and the Kalapo leaders.

2: Demand that the charges against Dr Posey and the Kalapo leaders be dropped. Write to Exmo Jose Sarney, Presidente da Republica, Palacio do Planalto, Brasilia, DF Brasil.

SARAWAK TRIAL LOOMS

ON OCTOBER 31st the 43 Penan tribal leaders arrested in last year's November crackdown will be brought to trial. Their offence: protecting the forests in which they and their ancestors have lived from time immemorial. Those on trial are held under the disgraceful Forest Ordinance Act see Green International, GL64) and there can be little doubt as to the eventual verdict. Meanwhile, Harrison Ngau, himself a Penan and director of Sahabat Alam (Friends of the Earth) Malaysia's Borneo office remains under house arrest.

The Penan leaders have asked for and badly need our help. Possible actions are:

- 1: write to YAB Datuk Patinggi Haji Abdul Taib Mahmud, Chief Minister of Sarawak, Chief Minister's Office, Petra Jaya, Kuching, Sarawak, Malaysia. Politely ask for the 43 Penan to be released and logging operations in Sarawak halted.
- 2: write to your MP calling for a halt to the import into Britain of timber from Sarawak.
- 3: write to Noburu Takeshita, Prime Minister, 3-1 Nagatacho, 2 Chome, Chiyodaku, Tokyo, Japan, calling for a halt to the import into Japan of timber from Sarawak. (Japan takes 80% of Sarawak timber exports.)



Balui, Sarawak: under threat (Picture S.I.)

IF YOUR LOCAL furniture or DIY store isn't being co-operative on hardwoods then Oxford FoE have plenty of "Think Rainforest" stickers with which you can adorn their nice new chairs and loo seats. 4 sheets (of 12 stickers) for £1, 30 for £5, 100 for £15. From Oxford FoE, 379 Meadow Lane, Oxford OX4 4BV. Get your local group out "shopping"!

RAINFOREST HABITAT

From the beginning of November, you will safely be able to enhance your own habitat without destroying that of harpy eagles, three toed sloths, macaws, anacondas, Sumatra rhinoceros or other creatures of the rainforest. This is because Habitat, the high street and shopping mall home furnishing chain, has announced the withdrawal from its shops of products containing hardwoods from tropical rainforests.

The Timber Trades Federation (TTF) and the International Tropical Timber Organisation (ITTO), are worried by this development which is threatening to spread to other retail organisations concerned about their environmental image. If the FoE campaign is successful, tropical hardwood replacement windows and other such frivolities will go the way of leopard skin coats. Unless, that is, the ITTO agrees to a sizable levy on the international trade in tropical timber to go towards establishing sustainable forest reserves and the restoration of degraded areas.



**RAINFOREST
ACTION NETWORK**

300 Broadway #28 • San Francisco, CA 94133

BELAU FIGHTS BACK

Belau has won breathing space in its protracted struggle against US imperialism. The Belau Supreme Court, which has US as well as Belauan Judges, overturned a Compact of Free Association (hathai) giving US exclusive military rights on Belau. This was the treaty over which the US has forced five referendums since 1983 when Belau adopted its nuclear-free constitution. The judges decided that the constitution should not have been amended to allow a simple majority, rather than 75%, to decide changes to its terms. The issue cannot be raised again till next month, when another election is due.

Central to the success of the court case has been the action of Belau's women elders. They have been sent printing equipment and a computer to get info around their supporters in time for the November election. WWNFIP in Britain have put up £3,500 get it sent immediately, but now urgently need donations to help pay off this money. Please send anything you can to Pacific Fund, (Belau Printer) c/o Sue Upton, 20 Colston Rd, Easton, Bristol BS5

BELAU TO BE SWAMPED?

The First Nation people of the Pacific have had a rough deal in recent years, the victims of colonialism, other people's wars and most recently nuclear tests and dumping. Now an even more intractable problem is looming. Many Pacific islands' highest points are only a few metres above sea level. Climatologists expect that sea levels will rise by around one metre by the year 2030 as a result of global warming from the greenhouse effect. Some islands will completely disappear underwater. Others will have their fresh water aquifers overrun with salt. Large waves could sweep right over some smaller islands, causing huge damage and destroying the ecology.

NETWORK

GET WISE IN DORSET!

For those in Dorset, or its surrounding counties, there's an excellent directory out giving news and contacts for local environmental, peace and Third World groups. Try and get it stocked in your local shop, get your own group listed (next issue deadline Feb 1989), help with distribution. If you don't live in Dorset - has your area got a directory? *Dorset-Wise* is available from Wendy Ashby, P.O.Box 18, Richmond, Surrey TW9 2AU for 35p.

WHAT'S GOING ON EAR?

Earth Action, the recently formed youth section of FoE, has produced its first newsletter, "Earth Action Report". It contains articles on nuclear power, waste and recycling plus news on EA's progress so far. EAR has quite an easy-to-read and interesting look about it, great reading for children of secondary school age. Get a sample copy of it for your kid(s) or those of a friend. Contact: Earth Action, 26 Underwood Street, London N1 7JQ, 01 490 1555.

LEAD-FREE PETROL

Petrol retailers and the Department of the Environment are blaming the apathy of motorists for the minimal 1% uptake of lead free petrol by Britain's motorists. More acute observers, however, might cite other factors: the insufficient difference in price between lead free and leaded petrol; the inadequacy of information on conversion to lead free petrol from garages, manufacturers and showrooms; the sparse availability of lead free petrol.

If Britain is to comply with the EC directive and get the lead out of our inner cities, motorways, and children's brains, the following action is needed:

Increase the price differential to at least 10p a gallon; make all new cars sold in the UK able to run on lead free petrol; make all motor dealerships keep conversion information on every model of car sold in the last 10 years, and provide fixed-price conversions across the country; make garages keep at least one lead free pump for every six pumps.

ACTION: Write to Virginia Bottomley (Environment) or her rather less intelligent husband Peter (Transport) at the House of Commons and tell them what you think.

BLACK PEASANT BREAD

3/4 hot water
4tbsp molasses
3/4oz dried yeast
1/4 pint warm water
1tspn raw cane sugar
1.5lb rye flour
1tspn sea salt
3tbsp vegetable oil

Mix the hot water and molasses and mix well. Dissolve the yeast in the warm water and add the sugar. Let it stand in a warm place for about 15 minutes.

Gradually add the wet ingredients to the dry to make a dough. Knead it for 10 minutes. Put the dough in a greased bowl and leave for about 90 minutes until it has doubled in size.

Put in a greased 2lb bread tin and bake in a preheated oven for 40mins at 400F/200C gas mark 6).

As rye flour is rather sticky you may prefer a wholemeal wheat flour/rye flour mix.

Thanks to TONY THOMSON, Green Umbrella

FAIR EXCHANGE

Just as relations between Mozambique and South Africa appear to be improving, following Mr Botha's undertaking not to support the Renamo guerrillas that have created 500,000 refugees while a third of the population starves, a new threat appears on the horizon. Right wing American groups such as the American Freedom Foundation and the Heritage Foundation are backing Renamo's all too successful efforts to destabilize "Commie" Mozambique. And Renamo's US Ambassador Tom Schaaf is negotiating with the US administration to provide funds for Renamo just as they have for Nicaragua's Contras.

EAT FOR PEACE!

If you want to help war-torn Mozambique, you could try their very crunchy Tahini marketed by Fair Exchange. And keep a close eye on Foreign Secretary Geoffrey Howe to make sure that Britain's small though not discreditable assistance package to Southern Africa's "front line" states doesn't get diverted, under American pressure, towards some very dubious causes.

GREEN DIARY

OCTOBER

3rd: Petra Kelly gives the annual Gandhi Lecture at the Friends House, Euston Rd, London NW1 £3. Phone 01 981 5017

4th: Hinkley 'C' enquiry starts. White Elephant Day. Phone SHE (0278) 422632 for more info.

8th: London Road Safety Alert workshop in London. Contact Roger Higman at FoE 01 490 1555

13th: Allotments talk by Colin Ward - whose book is to be reviewed in GL later this year. Part of an excellent series of lectures being held in Nottingham - see Oct 27th & Nov 10th 13-16th: Green Party Annual Conference at the Floral Hall, Southport. Will cover European Election Manifesto. Details from Green Party, 10 Station Parade, Balham High Rd, London SW12 9AZ 01 673 0045

15th: Peace & Justice Drop In Resource Day at Friends Meeting House, Albert Square, Manchester. Workshops, videos, stalls etc

16th: Anti-MacDonalds Day of Action. Leaflets from Vegan Action Group: see Network.

22nd: FoE Ozone Depletion workshop. Phone 01 490 1555

23rd-30th: One World Week "making peace with the planet" Phone 01 620 4444.

24th: Time Off For Women, an internationally co-ordinated action by grassroots women urging governments to implement the 1985 UN decision to count all women's work - in the home, on the land and in the community - in every country's GNP. Contact Kings Cross Women's Centre, 71 Tonbridge St, London WC1H 9DZ (01.837 7509/833 4817).

27th: Who Owns Britain? Talk by Marion Shoard at the County Library, Nottingham 7.30pm. Enquiries to (0602) 582506

27-29th: Pacific Writers Conference at the Commonwealth Institute to include performances, readings, talks and workshops on contemporary literature from NZ and the Pacific Islands. Phone 01 603 4535

28-30th Christian Ecology Group conference on "Consuming Issues" at Savio House, Bollington, Macclesfield, Cheshire. Info from Ken Wilkinson, CEG Treasurer, 2 Curborough Rd, Lichfield WS13 7NG

28-30th Vegetarian Convention '88 at Stratford-upon-Avon Youth Hostel. Tickets £30 from 57 Sharland Close, Grove, Wantage OX12 0AF.

31st: Hallowe'en Gathering at Bourne Woods, Lincs.

NOVEMBER

Oct28-Nov 4th: National Lead-Free Petrol Week. Details from Sarah Finch, CLEAR, 3 Endsleigh St, Lodon WC1H 0DD

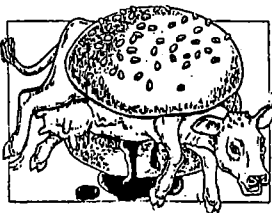
Oct29-Nov 5th: Oxford Green Week: masses of events; morning, noon and night. Phone Oxford Student Green Action for details (0865) 54530

9th: The Final Warning: no pwr, no nuclear clause. To mark electricity privatisation, a parliamentary briefing.

10th: Broken Dreams showing of Australian Aboriginal Rikki Shields' film A Journey of the Spirit in Nottingham - see October 27th.

VEGAN ACTION GROUP

~ FOR ANIMAL LIBERATION ~



PLEASE WRITE FOR
INFORMATION, OR IF YOU
CAN OFFER HELP.

~~~~~  
leaflets, posters, etc.  
~~~~~

A VOLUNTEER RUN LOCAL ANIMAL RIGHTS GROUP.

Room 16, 136 Ingram Street, Glasgow G1 1EJ

PASSING KINGS CROSS?

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

PERU'S VITAL HERITAGE

THE TAMBOPATA RESERVE occupies 5,500 hectares of virgin tropical rainforest on the headwaters of the Amazon in Madre de Dios, South East Peru. In 1977 it was declared a "Reserved Zone" by the Government and subsequent research has shown that it has the greatest diversity of wildlife yet discovered in the world. In the words of Dr Norman Myers, a leading conservationist and patron of the Tambopata Reserve Society: "I have no hesitation in saying that this sector of Peru is biotically the richest sector of the planetary biosphere. No other locality on Earth harbours so many species. The extreme abundance and diversity of life makes Tambopata - in my experience at least - a qualitatively special place."

The Reserve holds world records for the numbers of bird, butterfly and dragonfly species per unit area. For example 572 bird species, including hitherto unrecorded species, have been found on the Reserve. Other rare and endangered species are also found there, including jaguar, harpy eagle, black cayman and the giant Amazonian otter. At present the Reserve has very little protection against encroaching development. Forest clearance has proceeded right up to the borders of the Reserve, as a result of logging, agricultural development, cattle ranching and gold mining. The nearby town of Puerto Maldonado is a rapidly expanding "Wild West" boom town, and yet more settlers will be attracted when a new road passing through the region connects the Brazilian Amazon to the Pacific coast of Peru.



The Reserve is far too small to survive if surrounding forests are cleared. Proposals have been submitted to the Peruvian Government to expand the Reserve to 72,500ha and create an additional buffer zone for low intensity extraction. A "debt for nature" swap is under protracted negotiation. But meanwhile the following concessions in or near the area of the proposed expanded Reserve are under consideration: 16,500ha for electricity generation; 74,000ha for logging; 40,000ha for cattle ranching; 10,000ha for palm oil plantation.

A further problem is that the Reserve is unguarded, and poachers, both of wild animals and of valuable timber trees, frequently enter the Reserve.

By a bureaucratic oversight about 2000 hectares of the Reserve overlap with the nearby native community of Inferno. This potential legal quagmire has in fact resulted in the development of a project which not only conserves the forest but improves the health of the community and has resulted in

a revolution in attitudes towards the forest.

AMETRA (Aplicacion de Medicina Tradicional) was founded in 1982 by Guillermo Arevalo, a shaman of the Shipibo-Conibo in the Ucuyall region of Peru, to train young Indians in the use of common herbal remedies. In 1984 Didier Lacaze, then administrator of the Reserve, set up a branch in Tambopata, as the centre for the entire Madre de Dios region. It is largely run by the people of Inferno, and has exclusive responsibility for the overlap region between the Reserve and the community lands.

They were only just in time - the use of modern medicines and the inroads of Western "culture" had all but destroyed the medicinal knowledge accumulated over millenia, and the remaining medicine men were often living as outcasts, with no apprentice to whom to pass on their knowledge. Health standards had dramatically declined, with diarrhoea and intestinal parasites (the main causes of infant mortality) rife. The new drugs were frequently ineffective, rarely properly administered, and in any case far too expensive for the bulk of the population.

Many forest plants used for traditional remedies are now under cultivation, and regular training courses are conducted, spreading the valuable medicinal knowledge. One result has been a great improvement in the health of the community. A further result is that the community is no longer rejecting its "primitive" Indian origins in favour of an imported culture. The forest is being revealed as a source of health and wealth, the repository of their own culture, to be nurtured and protected, not just cut down for a quick profit.

AMETRA has progressed a great deal. An ethnobiological centre has been designed and the first building constructed; an office has been established at Puerto Maldonado (necessary for liaison with the local ministry of agriculture); training courses have been extended, with follow up trips to the trainees' native communities; an ethnobiological database has been created; and researchers are visiting native communities throughout Madre de Dios and Ucuyall to fill the gaps in their knowledge of traditional medicines.

But much work remains to be done: the completion of the ethnobiological centre; hiring a full time caretaker in the overlap zone; purchase of a boat and outboard motor to visit remote regions; making more traditional medicines widely available (including the oje fig tree latex, staggeringly effective against intestinal parasites); making a film about AMETRA and its work; and developing additional training courses.

A particularly interesting development is the research into and promotion of agroforestry techniques and other methods of sustainable agriculture in the region. This, maybe more than anything else, could help to secure the future of the forests of the Peruvian Amazon, and by example, other forests around the world.

To support AMETRA and the Tambopata Reserve and to assist intending visitors, an organisation TReeS has been set up. We are campaigning for the Reserve's expansion and raising funds towards the costs of its administration and protection. We are also the main organisation in Britain promoting AMETRA and its vital work - currently the main focus of our fund raising efforts. A quarterly newsletter is sent to members, containing the latest news about the Reserve and AMETRA.

To join TReeS just write to John Forrest, 64 Belzize Park, London NW3 4EH, with a cheque/P.O. to the Tambopata Reserve Society for £5 (£3 unwaged) for one year's membership. Contributions to AMETRA are gratefully received at the same address.



ANIMAL EVENTS

OCT 3: Public meeting, "Fighting the Fur Trade" with Mark Glover from Lynx. Slideshow and video. 7.30 pm at the Gillespie Neighbourhood Office, 102 Blackstock Rd, London N4. Nearest tube/British Rail: Finsbury Park.

OCT 7: Picket of Biorex Vivisection Laboratory, Canonbury Villas, N1 (just behind Essex Rd British Rail Station) from 4.30 to 6.30 pm, to confront the workers as they leave for the weekend. This is a regular picket on the first Friday of each month. More details of Islington Animal Rights events from: ARC, Box 17, 83 Blackstock Rd, N4.

OCT 7-8: "Caution Alert: The Bio-Revolution - Cornucopia or Pandora's Box?" A conference to investigate the options for humanity, animals and the environment in the light of recent advances in genetic engineering. Organised by the Athene Trust; at the Princess Anne Theatre, 195 Piccadilly, London, 10 am - 6 pm on both Friday and Saturday.

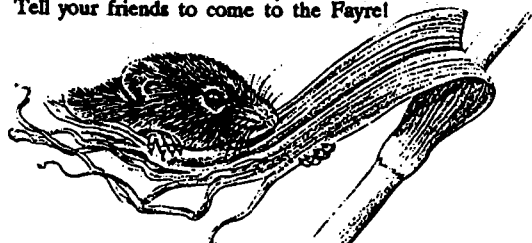
OCT 13: Street collection in Leicester for Lynx, 9.30am - 5.30pm. Help wanted. Details: Leicester Animal Aid, 0533 600402.

OCT 14-16: Once again London Greenpeace has called for October 16th to be World Anti-McDonalds Day. As it falls on a Sunday this year, we are hoping for actions to be carried out throughout the weekend of the 14th-16th. We are calling on all green/environmental/anarchist/animal rights/3rd World Solidarity groups to get involved. McDonalds are responsible for many types of systematic oppression throughout the world. For full details of McDonalds' murderous activities, and how to obtain leaflets please send an sac to this address: Greenpeace (London), 5 Caledonian Rd, London N1.

OCT 22: Animal Aid National Demonstration against sight deprivation experiments in Oxford. There will be a march, and a rally addressed by Dr Ned Buyukmihci, Professor of Veterinary Ophthalmology at the University of California.

OCT 28-30: Vegetarian Convention '88, Stratford-upon-Avon Youth Hostel. Workshops on campaign methods, etc. Speakers include Mark Gold & Juliet Gellatley. Details: Vegetarian Convention '88, c/o 57 Sharland Close, Grove, Wantage, OX12 OAF.

OCT 29: Anti-McDonalds Fayre. As part of this year's Anti-McDonalds Campaign, and to celebrate life without the Big Mac, London Greenpeace is organising an Anti-McDonalds Fayre at Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London WC1 from 11am to 5pm on the 29th. There will be stalls, speakers, videos, cheap food, an organic brewery, and we also hope to get a puppetshow and theatre/cabaret. Groups invited include: Friends of the Earth, Animal Aid, Nicaragua Solidarity Campaign, London Food Commission, Survival International, Vegetarian Society, Minority Rights Group, and the Low Pay Unit. All this for free admission! The nearest tube to Conway Hall is Holborn. Tell your friends to come to the Fayre!



HUNT SABOTAGE: TIME FOR A CHANGE

THE HUNTING SEASON is upon us once again, and the sabs take to the "killing fields" with their usual courage and expertise. It is in moments of confrontation such as these that the state's "neutrality" is exposed as a sham: the police are hunt supporters, openly partisan, standing by when sabs are beaten up or when the hunt is openly breaking the law. But are traditional sab tactics due for a change? An article by CHRIS BISHOP and ANGELA MAJENNIK in the spring issue of the HSA magazine *Howl* poses this question, and tries to find an answer. The following is an abridged version of their article.

Most saboteur groups never progress beyond a very basic and short term level of sabotage, along the lines of some of the simpler "intervene when necessary" tactics detailed in the faithful Tactics Booklet. Each week's sabotage is an end in itself, a one-off affair rather than a single element of a planned campaign of interference. An animal is saved on the day, but no real damage is done to the hunt, bar a couple of hours' disruption that most packs nowadays will happily tolerate, in the knowledge that someone else will be on the receiving end next week.

Sabotage has to escalate beyond letting them hunt animals in the hope of intervening before they manage to kill one. The immediate aim should be one of preventing hunting altogether on the day, with sabotage the focal point of a campaign which will ultimately close down the hunt.

Consider the logistics of the situation: the key areas are those where hunting is already under pressure, and clearly the pack which offers the most in terms of vulnerable areas is the one to go for. Many of the most vulnerable packs exist near to areas of established, regular saboteur activity. The crucial development has to be escalating this beyond simply saving a life at a different pack each week, to hitting the same pack week in week out with enough people to stop it hunting altogether.

Rather than a mobile joint hit which does a guided tour of its local packs, sabotage has to become the opening move of a longer term strategy designed to close down a pack. Sabotage alone will never finish hunting, being only a single element of the pressure hunting faces. Successfully increasing the pressure from other directions spells the end - the question is how.

Our greatest failing is that after 25 years we remain small groups of young idealistic city dwellers; most HSA groups draw their active membership from a limited range of urban peer groups. In order to succeed, an HSA group has to become the rallying point for any opposition to a particular hunt, channelling this into a campaign to close the hunt down.

Rather than handing out leaflets with a picture of a fox killed by the Tetcott or Tynesdale, groups should communicate with publicity materials designed to focus opposition to hunting in general against their local pack. A good many of the much vaunted 85% of the population opposed to hunting live in your hunt's country, down the road from where it meets. Effective communication is not about handing out leaflets about stag hunting in a city centre 200 miles from the nearest stag hunt, but about giving people the facts about how hunting affects them and their area, channelling opposition against the local pack.

The line is simple. They're meeting in your town, killing your wildlife at eleven o'clock next Saturday morning - if you don't want them in your town, be there to stop them.

If you can get enough people to the meet,

they'll box up and go home. If you can do this every time they try to meet there, the meet will be abandoned. Once a hunt loses enough meets, it closes down.

Well thought-out use of the media, street displays, door to door leafletting, public meetings; all are vital to communicating with the public at large, letting them know the hunt's coming next week and they can stop it if they want to.

Will a shoot owner continue to host the hunt if he finds eighty people tramping through his best coverts after them every time...? Will a publican hold another meet if half his potential customers are visible amongst the angry crowd waiting for the hunt in his car park...?

Escalating sabotage against one pack, getting the local population involved; building up a protest wherever the hunt meets, whipping up adverse publicity in its wake. How long can the packs operating on the urban fringe survive this? There isn't even room here to discuss the middle ground, as yet practically untouched by HSA groups of campaigning locally against councils and large corporate landowners.

The potential's there, just waiting for us to take it. When are we ever going to start exploiting it...?

PRESS RELEASE FROM THE A.L.F - LATEST ATTACK ON DEPARTMENT STORES

ON THURSDAY, 18th August, we carried out our twentieth action against department stores selling fur coats. An incendiary device was planted on the first floor of Selfridges in Oxford Street timed to ignite at 1am and set off the store sprinkler system. This was the forty-second device used in a four year incendiary campaign against department stores which started at Rackhams in Sheffield. Since then stores have been targeted in Manchester, Cardiff, London, the Midlands and Newcastle. Because of an absence of publicity it is difficult for us to assess the level of success of this latest action. Increasingly we have found that the big department stores and the police conspire to limit media coverage of our activities. BUT THEY KNOW THE EXTENT AND EFFECTIVENESS OF OUR CAMPAIGN - AND THEY'RE GETTING WORRIED. Selfridges and the rest are determined that the public should not know what's happening - if they did they might start shopping elsewhere. We do not want these devices to injure the public. If they do not go off in the night we make sure the police are informed by the next morning. On this occasion we sent a statement explaining where the device was planted to Independent Radio News on Friday morning - but still no publicity!

However, we have a sympathiser working at one of the leading West End stores and we know that our latest attack caused considerable disruption to Selfridges' business. We also know that our concerted campaign is costing Selfridges, DH Evans and Harrods massive expense in increased (but ineffective) security. Even when a device is found that has failed to work there is a substantial loss of trade with whole or parts of stores closed to the public while police make safe the devices and carry out investigations. Our aim is economic sabotage, sufficient to make the sale of furs uneconomic.

Taking into account loss of trade and increased spending on security (security staff, videos in furniture departments, regular checks in stores for hidden devices which is

made worse when activists make hoax calls in addition to real ones) we conservatively estimate that our campaign has so far cost department stores £20 million. It has been enough to force Debenhams and Alders to stop their bloody trade in furs. They have suffered some of our most effective attacks (including the burning of Alders lorries). Now we are closing in on the remaining ones. We reckon that if we can reach a total of £30 million by the end of 1989 we will have forced them all to turn their backs on the fur trade. That is our goal and we are confident of achieving it.

Over the last two years the fur traders have been very busy behind the scenes trying to induce the department stores to keep their products in their shops. Everything comes down to money. Selfridges are not interested in the immorality of killing animals for their coats. They exist to make profits. So Edelson Fur Company has to pay them substantial sums to compensate for the losses we are making them. Our message to Selfridges is simple: we will not go away - our attacks will persist until the furs supplied by Edelsons are removed from your floor space. Why not take a lead from Debenhams and Alders? They are left in peace now.

Geoff Sheppard and Andrew Clarke are the latest of our comrades to be sent to prison for their parts in this campaign against the fur trade. They are brave and selfless people; we take strength from their courage and dignity. (It is worth noting that when the Harrow branch of Debenhams was attacked in July 1987 it was described in the press as resulting in "only minor damage" yet when Clarke and Sheppard were charged with doing it the damage was put at £1/2 million.)

None of us want to end up in prison. We have tightened our own security. The police have been able to make no important arrests for a year. We have separate and independent cells around the country all working on the same campaign. Only each cell knows when and where their next attack will be. We have learned from earlier mistakes. The quality of our incendiary devices is improving. We also have new tactics to try out which will stretch the stores' security still further. If they don't want to find out what it is they have only to announce that fur sales are stopping. We appreciate that if they did do they will have to explain it away like Debenhams did, i.e. by blaming it on decreasing sales. That doesn't concern us. We have learned to live without credit. Even the animal rights groups like Animal Aid will say we had nothing to do with it. So what? There are millions of lives at stake.

In April of this year Harrods of Knightsbridge was treated to the sprinkler system treatment for the first time. With all the expensive furniture in the shop we do not believe that "only minor damage was caused" as reported. We reckon it hurt them where it counts - IN THE POCKET. If the police had been able to arrest anyone for the attack then we would certainly have found out the true cost of the damage.

The Animal Liberation Front does not only target the fur trade. Our attacks on the meat trade, and the vivisection industry will be stepped up; we also attack the sick and brutal bloodsport empire. In the last four years animal rights activists have been sentenced to an aggregate total of over 100 years imprisonment. We are only too painfully aware that the courts and the police take our actions seriously. So why doesn't the media? Are they under pressure from the establishment? Do they just report the crimes that the police feed them? Must the public be protected from the truth about our actions and aims? Is the name of a ROYAL BABY so much more important?

Until May 18th 1988, DAVISON BUDHOO was a Staff Economist with the I.M.F., whose most recent assignment had involved him in the destructive and nonsensical adjustment programme imposed on Trinidad and Tobago. Here in the first of two extracts from his letter of resignation to Mr Camdessus, the Managing Director of the Fund, Budhoo exposes the cancerous philosophy that lies at the core of the I.M.F.'s history and practice.

Dear Mr Camdessus...

I AM FIRMLY CONVINCED that there is a close and indeed watertight link between our perverse role in developing countries and the epistemology that guides our action and the personal aspirations of our staff. There is a widespread perception among the Fund staff that personal progress and career advancement can best be served - indeed can only be served - by an attitude that would deny as being legitimate or valid, the aspirations of the 'teeming masses' of the South for a better life. The staff through time has twisted and changed whatever may have been the original epistemology of the Fund into a dogma that says that irrespective of reason, or conscience, or necessity, or professional etiquette, Fund staff have an inherent right, springing from the Bretton Woods philosophy of 1944, to emasculate the Third World, and particularly the economically underprivileged of the Third World, and to wield unholy power there, and to line their pockets with the good things of life for doing so, and to solidify the myth that they are above the law and that they are the New Nobility of the earth.

Let us proceed, hopefully in a systematic way, to unravel the various elements of Fund history and epistemology to see how our quest for a better-functioning world became ensnared into staff personal ambitions and lust for power and more material comforts. To do this we must go back to the very origins of the Fund in 1944.

The IMF as Nato's Foreign Office

The Fund was created in 1944 to oversee the return of the developed world to orderly multilateral trade and payments arrangements after the debilitating disruptions of the inter-war period and World War II. We never did as much pioneering work in the developed world as our founders

intended; from about the mid 1950s our attention turned increasingly to the developing world.

Of course the problem there was not the creation of workable arrangements for more world trade and freer capital movements, but one of economic growth and diversification, and the need for urgent change along the whole spectrum of income distribution and quality of life and social security and political instability and economic waste and poverty and hunger and disease and desperation. Yet this whole gamut of problems was never conceived when the Fund was founded in 1944; people then never realised that the institution would come to play the catalytic role in the developing world that it does today. This being the case, no mechanisms were built into the Fund's organisational system or policy structure so as to allow it to deal with specifically Third World concerns and priorities; recognition was not even given to their existence. And although an institution might be expected to change with time to meet new demands, the point remains that the Fund never did change, probably due to the fact that concomitant to a quite separate role in the developing countries, we continued to play our part in the process of coordinating economic policies and ensuring 'sustainable' balance of payments in and among the developed ones.

As we proceeded thus to serve the developed world, management of the Fund - predictably drawn from that World - began to develop the idea that our role in the South was nothing if not a symmetrical extension of our First World role. In the circumstances it was not perceived that any fundamental change in our outlook or in our way of doing things was required as we jetted from the affluence of one world to the disease and desperation of the other. Always, and under all conditions that may be

Proposed I.M.F. adjustment program for Trinidad & Tobago

Significant devaluation immediately with more to come, a la Jamaica; Removal of domestic price controls even on the most basic essentials used by the poorest of the poor (and creation of a brand of desperation and destitution unknown to the country before);

Further accelerated reduction in the real wage in each and every sector of the economy (a further precipitous drop in the living standards of the unskilled and semi-skilled and a drastic redistribution of income in favour of those most able to cope);

Total removal of import duty exemptions to all producers and investors, save exporters (virtual dismantling of import substituting and processing industries and those catering for the domestic market);

Subversion of the Industrial Court and the Public Utilities Commission, leading immediately and automatically to a serious erosion of constitutional and democratic rights of the people);

Removal of exchange controls on external capital and current transactions, so that the privileged few could legitimately drain the country of the remaining dregs of foreign reserves that it still possesses;

Spectacularly large cuts in the annual public sector wage bill through massive firing of people and drastic reduction in the nominal wages of those fortunate enough to remain employed;

Deep reductions in transfers to persons, inclusive of benefits and subsidies to the aged and the sick and the handicapped;

Deep reductions in social services, including health and education; Removal of import controls so that the domestic market becomes flooded with a plethora of consumption related imports from non-regional sources (thus putting another nail in the coffin of the local manufacturing and agricultural sectors and creating a new wave of unemployment and social unrest);

Systematic increases in interest rates, without relation to local economic conditions so that domestic producers, who constitute one of the major catalysts for enhancing income and employment throughout the economy become squeezed out of the market, and find it impossible to borrow domestic funds generated from domestic savings (leading to even more generalised business failures and bankruptcy in all sectors of the economy);

Structural changes in the taxation system to increase significantly its regressiveness, with indirect taxation as a proportion of total revenue escalating significantly through the imposition of a withering VAT and other taxes that fall disproportionately on those least able to bear it;

Massive and indiscriminate divestment of public enterprises, a la Jamaica, that reduces significantly the stake of nationals in the capital stock of the country, liquidifies, at outrageously discounted prices, public capital assets of for current consumption, eliminates overnight the social rationale for government action - all for the pleasure of momentarily satisfying the Fund and window dressing, unsustainably and fleetingly, the fiscal accounts and balance of payments.

encountered, the conceptual backdrop that we brought to bear on our work and the body of economic principles that guided our action, sprang overwhelmingly from the 19th century vision of Pax Britannica, now writ large as Pax Atlantica - that is: "perfect competition", "world allocation of resources", "international division of labour" and a "general equilibrium in the (western) world economy".

The logic of Pax Atlantica was that the economic policies of Third World countries should be made to satisfy a 'means test', viz: that irrespective of what such policies did or didn't do for the general economic welfare in the developing country concerned, they must meet the key criterion of improving economic conditions in western market economies. Always our staff felt duty bound to judge their work in the Third World as 'good' or 'bad' in relation to that criterion. In other words, Pax Atlantica demanded that everything be done by the Fund in the Third World be reduced to a common denominator of maintaining and increasing welfare in the First World; all else was incidental.

Pursuing Pax Atlantica

"Let us search the shanty town for the Rubicon of the West" we seemed to say to all who would listen to us - and unfortunately, everyone was listening. But there was no Rubicon. If truth be told, the dream of a self-regulating world system tending always towards perfect competition was the dream of a few neo-classical economists, desperate for a return of western prosperity within the framework of Pax Atlantica. These nostalgia hunters would have us all return to the 19th century reality of master and slave, of colonial powers and colonised peoples dying in blissful submission to those who were divinely ordained to rape the heritage of others and drain their substance.

And for forty years we chased that western dream of more and more prosperity and economic hegemony for North America and Western Europe. We chased it in the most unlikely places and at incalculable cost to hundreds of millions of hapless people in the South. And we knew no justice or fair play, and we had no conscience or soul. And today, still in pursuit of that dream, we point our loaded gun at the Trinidad & Tobago economy and at the economies of scores of other hapless Third World countries, and commit statistical malpractices, and cheat and lie and wheel and deal on the rationale that this is the only way that can safely allow us to plug in "right" figures in our financial program - right figures that in turn will place us in a position to sing our theme song and fool ourselves that the nostalgic dream of our forbears may yet become a reality.

You don't believe me? Then I ask you to do one thing. Analyse critically our program for Trinidad & Tobago, ignoring all the lying and cheating we had to do there to put substance into that program; analyse it as a means of restoring "financial balance" and "structurally adjusting" the economy; analyse it, and the existing programs we have for Peru and Brazil and Guyana and Grenada and Venezuela and Nigeria and Tanzania and the Sudan and Vietnam and Bangladesh, Mr Camdessus, and come back and tell me with a straight face that what we are doing in the Third World is not a total farce that turns all economic logic on its head. Come back and tell me that the mess we are making of the Third World is not motivated by considerations that are alien to the needs and realities and aspirations of the countries concerned. Come back, Mr Camdessus, and tell me that - if you can.

When this analysis is undertaken, and the answer is in, one important question will arise, namely: can we retrace our steps back to 1944, recognise our tremendous errors

and start from scratch again? Can we do that, or must the world dump us in the garbage heap of history as one civilisation's greatest shames? It will be a brave and optimistic person who would say that we can change from within; I am neither that brave nor that optimistic. I do not think our problem is a matter of adaptation of epistemologies and organisational structures and financing mechanisms and operational criteria. I have gone through almost everything written over the past decade within the Fund in self-examination and on the need to alter our ways in response to mounting international criticism, particularly on 'conditionality' that we impose on Third World countries that become forced to use our resources. What struck me most in this review was the tone of self-righteousness and the seething resentment and the sense of affront that others could perceive us to do wrong in any aspect of our work. You know, we are so wedded to the Grand Illusion that we can turn, by sleight of hand, our lies and our deception into the Absolute Truth that the mere thought that there could be scope for self-criticism becomes a heresy, and anyone who suggests it

"Just how we managed to get away with such an assertion of irresistible power at the national level for several decades is probably one of the most puzzling and unresolved mysteries of twentieth century international politics"

becomes immediately an institutional outcast and a threat to the balance and sanity of the Fund. There is a halo of Superior Wisdom all around us. We can do no wrong.

The concept of Pax Atlantica had its counterpart in the 'core' people who populated the Fund (and of course its sister institution, the World Bank) and the subsequent hijacking of the Fund was undertaken by the self-same 'core' staff. The 'core' of our staff, and the overwhelming majority of our High Priests are still technocrats from the developed world, trained at prestigious North American and European Universities or their mimics from the developing world who aspire to be just like them. It is these people who, two centuries ago, would have gone into the Colonial Service of their respective countries as colonial administrators or migrated to 'their' colonies as entrepreneurs or plantation managers or slave owners. Times and employment opportunities have changed, but ingrained attitudes after hundreds of years of ruling the developing world as vassal states, and as contemptible appendages of the metropole, have not.

A lot of the seething contempt and the "holier than thou" and "natural right to rule thou" attitudes of our staff have their origin in the history and national mores and preconceived expectations of our 'core' staff. The White Man's Burden mentality that is the root cause of so much of the troubles of our age is as evident in the Fund today as it must have been in the United Kingdom or France or Holland or any other western colonial power three hundred years ago.

Of course, it goes without saying that service in the colonies meant privilege and social status and high emoluments and perks. So it was then, and so it is today. Within the Fund itself, as you must be aware, there is a very underhand and unwritten, yet highly effective system for promotion and career advancement that contrasts starkly with the formalised and written one. Unfortunately, racial considerations have played a very dominant role in

superimposing the former system on the latter. Within the Fund, racial relations are deteriorating further even as our relations with 'black' and 'brown' countries seem to worsen. I will ask one simple question: why is South Africa classified as a European entity in Fund organisational structure? Is it not in Africa? Shouldn't it be within the African department? Why is it administered by the European Department - a department as you well know that remains highly segregated along racial lines, in total contradiction to the international nature of the Fund?

The Divine Right of technocrats

I turn now to the rules of the game that we play so successfully in developing member countries to ensure our omnipotence there. Yes, Sir. In scores of countries around the world that are unfortunate enough to fall within our clutches through use of our resources, we hold simultaneously in our hand Legislative and Executive and Judicial powers over wide-ranging matters of economic and financial policy. We do our own tainted evaluation of economic and financial performance (an evaluation that is subsequently accepted as Bible Truth by our Executive Board and the international community); we write our own Letter of Intent [the terms of the loan] under the name of the country's Minister of Finance after minor modifications that we may concede. If he or she refuses to sign, our wrath can take very practical forms - the country may be made to join that group leper countries that no other international agency or financial institution will want to touch. And having thus 'negotiated' a program, we go about 'administering' it; this includes determining whether or not the country has met the performance criteria that we have established, and whether therefore it is eligible to draw down the financial resources we had committed and that other 'supporting' institutions had promised.

The whole process of determining what is 'right' for the country, from administering and monitoring the program to alerting the international community that a new outcast exists, is not only performed solely by the Fund, or by the relevant division of the appropriate Department of the Fund, but in most instances by a single staff member acting on the Fund's behalf. Such a staff member would hold the economic fate of the country concerned and its peoples in their hand. It is no wonder that individual staff members - and sometimes relatively junior ones at that - have achieved extreme notoriety in certain member countries. At the time of Peru's torment, one analyst reportedly insisted that at the mere mention of the name of the Fund staff member concerned, little children from the slums would run to their mothers, crying and disoriented, "as if they had just seen the Devil Incarnate or heard his voice."

You know, for forty years, we took a particular stance and acted as if the doctrine of the separation of powers - a doctrine that constitutes the true basis of everything fair and just in western political and economic and social systems - could never be made to apply to us in our dealings with the Third World. Amazingly, our assumption of the role of Monster Leviathan, wielding multi-dimensional economic power in the developing world, seems to have become crystallised as acceptable late twentieth century practice. Just how we managed to get away with such an assertion of irresistible power at the national level for several decades is probably one of the most puzzling and unresolved mysteries of twentieth century international politics.

A personal plea

Forgive me Sir, but I smile as I write these words, and I

shut my eyes, and I shake my head over and over again and I swallow and nonchalantly I thrust my pen into the cotton sheet of my bed and the ink spreads there slowly and as the blue blob grows and grows I think of how idealistic and hopeful I was 22 years ago when I first joined the staff of the World Bank, and how disillusioned I am today as I leave the International Monetary Fund. And I remove my pen from the sheet, and I throw it away from me and I say to myself: "Let it be, let it be. Don't write another word. Go outside instead. Take a brisk walk in the cold. Try to calm yourself tonight."

But I can't do that. I cannot bring myself to conclude without at least begging you, Mr Camdessus, to affirm that we share something in common as members of the human race. For only if we can admit existence of that minimal commonality can there be any hope of being able to re-evaluate the state of our institution from the backdrop of some acceptable code of civilised behaviour. We are not the cold and dispassionate technical inter-governmental agency doing cold and dispassionate and technical things unrelated to the broad stream of human life that flows through our planet; we are part and parcel of that tide. We make or break human life every day of every year as probably no other force on earth has ever done in the past or will ever do again in the future. And we've botched it all up; there's dust and ashes everywhere. The only things that grow in size are the corrupt body of the Fund and those who suck at it.

I want to ask some questions about our common humanity. If I'm insistent, it's only because I'm worried; very worried. Sometimes I have nightmares and I wake up in a cold sweat and I say to myself: "Maybe Mr Camdessus will not understand; maybe we are on entirely different wavelengths. I fear that he will never see my point of view." So let me find out now Sir; let me find out once and for all, and let your answer pitch me into further dismay or provide a new hope.

I don't know if you have ever become nonplussed as you wish your staff Godspeed and send them to roam the Third World every day to create new chaos there. I don't know if your heart did ever bleed to see all around you in the Fund such an easy divestment by human beings of their birthright of humanity and such nonchalant denial of their capacity for compassion and fairplay toward others. I don't know if you ever felt uneasy in an environment where there is such evident joy and self-satisfaction of the over-privileged in tormenting further the innocent and the hapless and the diseased and the malnourished and the little children of the South. I don't know if you ever sensed the dark and dank cloud of shame that hangs around us all the time; stifling us, blotting out all vision beyond our physical and material gratification, mirroring faithfully what we are and what we do to others. I don't know if you ever saw terror in the eyes of at least one of your staff members and thought to yourself: "My God, my God, maybe there's some devil that they see that I cannot see as yet; I wonder if it is more than a hallucination that I see in their eyes?" I don't know...

I don't know, I don't know. I wish I did. I wish I could be reassured. For I want to stop addressing you as an economist, or as a central banker, or as an appointee with a mandate for Pax Atlantica and to subsume all your variegated roles as Fund Boss into the much bigger context of one human being seeking to establish dialogue with another on matters of overwhelming mutual concern that test our soul and prove or disprove our common humanity.

Our thanks to Bandung Productions for passing us a copy of Davison Budhoo's letter of resignation. Next month: the Honeypot - corruption throughout the I.M.F.

Green Line has recently been passed two documents concerning abuse of human rights. Firstly, the testimony of ex-Mexican soldier ZACARIAS OSIRIO CRUZ, recently granted provisional political refugee status in Canada, could change Mexico's undeserved "Mr Clean" human rights image. Secondly, there is the case of MARTIN FORAN, who, apart from the great doubt surrounding his original conviction, appears to be suffering disgraceful victimisation as a result of protesting his innocence. He's a victim of British injustice.

Inhuman Wrongs in Mexico and Britain

OSIRIO CRUZ, a private in the elite Fusiliers Paratroopers Brigade at Mexico City's Military Camp #1 from August 1978, deserted in May 1983. He emerged from hiding in Canada in 1987, and was held at Montreal's Parthenais prison for five months awaiting an immigration appeal hearing. During this time he was badly beaten by prison guards, and, with the help of young attorney Stewart Stanffy, filed a brutality complaint. This nearly proved his undoing as the complaint triggered considerable hostility from the immigration authorities, who vigorously opposed his application. It was in the face of this that, panicking at the prospect of being returned to Mexico, he revealed his role in death squads operating from his military base. In his own words, "It doesn't matter any more because I'm a dead man now." Thus it was that the immigration appeal hearing in Montreal in March became the scene for Osirio, the son of a campesino from Veracruz state, to confess publicly the secrets that he thought he would take with him to the grave.

Osirio was a member of one of three death squads that escorted hooded prisoners, known only by their numbers, from secret prisons to the military jail in Mexico City. On receipt of orders from the National Defense Ministry, between four and seven prisoners, now hooded and handcuffed, would be loaded onto a covered military truck and driven to the execution site. "The order that I received was to make these people disappear, to make them die because they were bothersome for the high command" Osirio told the immigration judges.

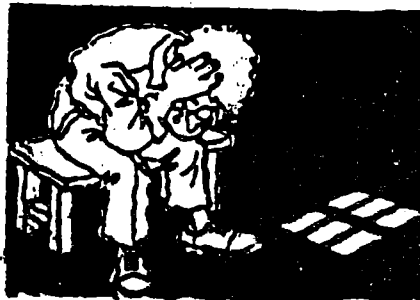
Most often, they were taken to an unmarked military firing range near the town of San Miguel de los Juguayes near the border with Hidalgo state. Because the range was used day and night, the gunfire would attract no attention. The truck was parked and Osirio, the corporal, and the officer in charge marched the prisoners up behind a hill. "The officer and I were in charge of firing against these people. We formed them into a row. When they fell, we took off their handcuffs. We went there only to kill them. Other people picked them up. Because of the impact of the bullets, these people were blown half-way apart. I don't know what kind of people they were that we killed. There was nothing we could do about it anyway... they were already dead."

Osirio remembers making 30 or 40 such trips with between 4 and 7 prisoners. This means that his squad alone was responsible for around 200 murders. The two other squads may have despatched similar numbers. This corresponds with figures from the National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners, Disappeared, Exiled, Persecuted. They know of 547 political people who have disappeared without trace since 1971. A further 118 disappeared people have been seen alive in secret jails, have surfaced in ordinary prisons or have been released. A great many more unreported disappearances are likely. And "disappearees"

are not all opponents of the PRI (Party of Institutional Revolution), which has run Mexico for 60 unbroken years. Others include people within the PRI structure who knew too much for their own good.

Meanwhile the official response is unsurprisingly dismissive. "Utter fantasy", according to Mexico's embassy in Ottawa. Miguel de la Madrid, Mexico's outgoing president, has repeatedly denied all human rights abuses - executions, disappearances, secret jails, torturings - and has taken a forceful stand against such practices in other Latin American countries. But the government twice prevented Mexican human rights worker Antonio Hernandez from flying to Ottawa to speak to Osirio, and Mexico's tame press has maintained a stony silence on the entire issue.

Of course, it is possible that Osirio's story is a fabrication designed to ease his entry into Canada. But the circumstantial corroboration is considerable. For example



the sheaf of affidavits that Hernandez keeps at the headquarters of the Workers Revolutionary Party. These are from young revolutionaries and politically active farmers from Morelos (the home state of Mexico's revolutionary hero Emiliano Zapata) taken to military camps and subjected to unspeakable tortures in damp basements, during the precise period of Osirio's executions. And in Mexico City's Zocalo outside the Cathedral, a brave and unbowed collection of friends and relatives regularly collect to publicise the disappearance of their loved ones and ask the question: where are they now?

MARTIN FORAN, incarcerated in Parkhurst Jail, is fighting to clear his name of a robbery conviction. He is currently serving an eight year sentence for a crime he didn't commit. Martin was arrested on 10th Sept 1984 and charged with the robbery of a pub in Birmingham. The publican had described the robbers as three coloured youths with Birmingham accents. Martin is a white Irishman, with an obvious accent who fits none of the publican's descriptions. The police failed to hold an I.D. parade and

fifteen people have given statements concerning Martin's whereabouts on the night of the robbery. There is a great deal of controversy concerning the alleged time of Martin's arrest and whether or not he was actually interviewed by the police.

Despite serious health problems, Martin has maintained he is innocent; first by a rooftop protest, and then in desperation by taking a prison warder hostage in Wandsworth Jail. Prior to this he was moved a number of times just before a specialist was due to assess his health problems, and finally he had to have a colostomy operation. Three weeks later, he was assaulted by prison officers who wrenched off his colostomy bag and kicked him in the spine.

In consequence, he became seriously ill due to infection spreading from the colostomy wound and fellow inmates at Long Lartin Prison had to smuggle out a letter to warn his wife Valerie that Martin was close to death. When lawyers finally got to visit him they declared to the Birmingham Law Society that he had "a very nasty injury visible for anyone to see which gives some evidence to his suggestion that he is being inhumanly treated." In November 1987 Martin was given an extra six years for, ironically 'false imprisonment' of a warder.

Martin is still very sick and may have to undergo further operations. He is being given thoroughly inadequate medical treatment. One visitor was told how the colostomy bags he has been given have openings that are too small to fit the colostomy wound. When he was caught using a razor to widen the opening he was fined, although he still wasn't given the right bags. Martin is presently extremely frightened of having any further operations done in the prison given this history of mistreatment.

Presently he is asking for immediate medical treatment in an external hospital; a retrial; and a lifting of restrictions on his letters which are currently being tampered with.

The case of Martin Foran is a classic example of how the more you protest your innocence, the more the authorities consider you to be a deranged nuisance. You can help in several ways:

- write to Martin Foran C51796, HMP Parkhurst, Newport, Isle of Wight, PO30 5NX, with letters of support
- write to the Governor of Parkhurst at the same address, as politely as possible
- write to John Smithson of 'Rough Justice', Kensington House, Richmond Way, London, asking the RJ team to look into Martin's case.

The campaign for Martin Foran's release is being organised by Sunshine, c/o Raven, 75 Piccadilly, Manchester, M1 2BU, who can supply leaflets, and donations can be sent to The Martin Foran Support Fund, c/o Leeds Black Cross, Box JAG, 52 Call Lane, Leeds LS 6DT.

Please do all you can.

The irresponsible dumping of toxic waste in the Third World by EEC countries has been highlighted by the Karin B controversy. However, as FELICITY ARBUTHNOTT and TONY WEBB report, the EEC is also dumping food contaminated by Chernobyl's radioactive fallout. It is a story that once again exposes the hypocrisy of the rich countries' approach to safety standards, both in food and nuclear technology.

Radiation for sale

A 6,000 tonne shipment of beef is currently anchored off Rotterdam awaiting orders. The ship was directed to sail from Venezuela after thousands of people took to the streets of Maracay demanding that the meat be returned to its countries of origin - Eire, Northern Ireland and Denmark - because of its level of radioactive contamination. The Venezuelan health authorities declared the meat unfit for human consumption, and confirmed that the radiation levels were unacceptable. The Irish and UK Governments, however, claim the radiation was within "acceptable EEC limits".

This is not an isolated case. Our research has revealed that some 17 developing countries (see map) have had Chernobyl-contaminated consignments of food dumped on them over the past two years - food that should have been condemned and destroyed. In many cases the radiation levels were unacceptable; in some cases the food was part of international 'aid' programmes; in a few cases the consignments were carefully and deliberately mixed with uncontaminated food to dilute the contamination level to just below EEC limits.

Nuclear babies

In February 1988, Eire admitted that a 37,000 tonne consignment of dairy produce was rejected by Mexican authorities and had been returned. Bord Baine (the Irish Dairy Board) admitted on an RTE programme that the

level of contamination was 3,750 Bq/Kg. The EEC limit is 1,250 Bq/Kg for all radionuclides with more than a ten-day half-life, and 370 Bq/Kg for caesium in milk intended for infants. They had initially stated that the radiation levels were within EEC limits. They emphasised that taking back the consignment was a "goodwill gesture" in view of the importance of trading links with Mexico, and that this would not affect a major trade deal that had just been negotiated.

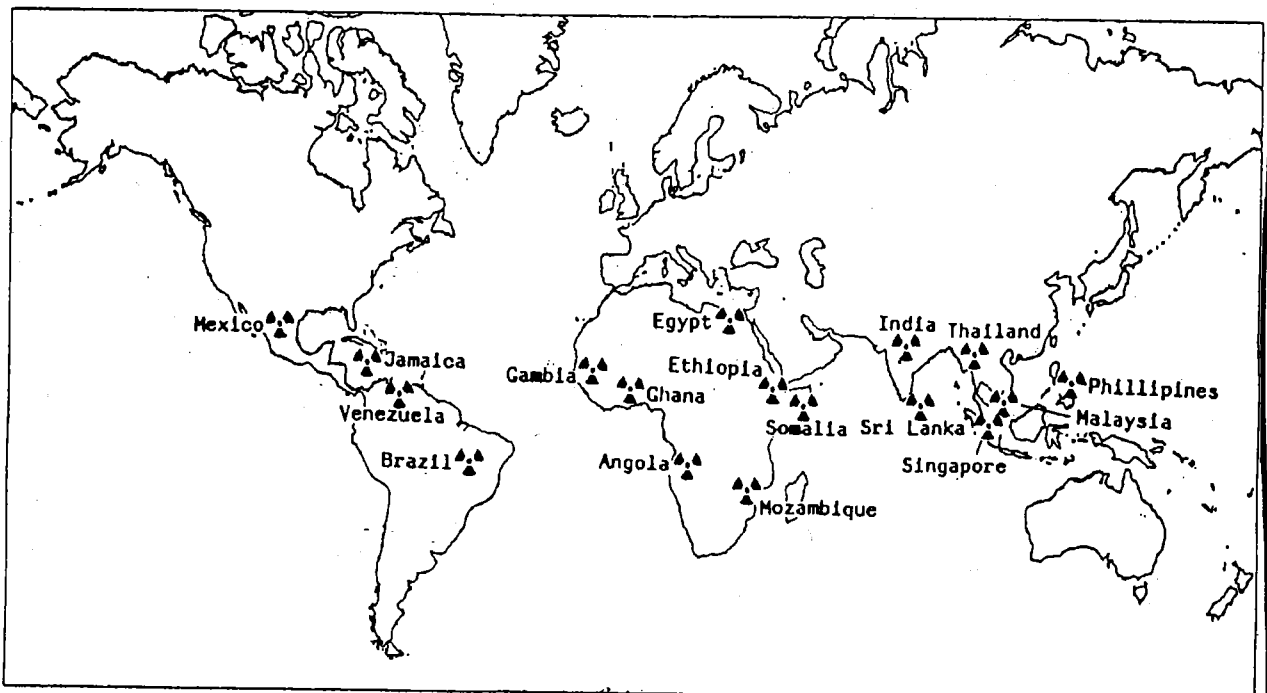
Powdered milk from Cork's Golden Vale Co-op, worth an estimated IR£100,000, was also rejected by the Philippines. Bord Baine claimed this was because the Philippines wouldn't accept EEC level radiation guideline, and implied that the rejection was instigated by Australia and New Zealand dairy producers. Later their Chief Executive revealed that batches of powdered milk had been mixed with uncontaminated milk powder to reduce the levels.

The Philippines also received contaminated milk from the Netherlands. Teh Chin Chai, a journalist with the Consumers Association of Penang, claims in a recently published book that in July 1986 loads of dairy produce arrived in the Philippines covered by safety certificates from the Netherlands. Tests revealed they contained unacceptable levels of radioactive caesium.

In September 1986 the Malaysian Government found high levels in six other brands of milk powder, four from the Netherlands and one each from the UK and Eire. The

Countries which received produce deemed unfit for human consumption:

Angola
Brazil
Egypt
Ethiopia
Gambia
Ghana
India
Jamaica
Malaysia
Mexico
Mozambique
Phillipines
Singapore
Somalia
Sri Lanka
Thailand
Venezuela



Malaysian caesium limit is 180 Bq/Kg. The situation caused real fear; one mother wrote to CAP asking; "Please help me find which brand [of milk] is safe, our stock is running low and I don't know which brand to choose."

Hot pasta

Egypt is known to have rejected five consignments of pasta flour before introducing stringent import regulations.

However, according to Mrs M Mizbah at the Egyptian-British Chamber of Commerce in London, a consignment of flour from Italy, manufactured from Greek wheat, was accepted by a pasta factory on the Red Sea. Subsequently it was found to be so highly contaminated that the factory was closed down. Decontamination methods are still being sought.

In West Germany, workers in Bavaria refused to handle 260 goods wagons containing 5,000 tonnes of whey powder with readings as high as 8,000 Bq/Kg. After spending some time in a siding, the owners, Meggle Dairies, were compensated several million Deutschmarks and ordered to 'destroy' the powder. However, it found its way to a trading company, Lopex, based in Frankfurt. Lopex allegedly attempted to export it to Egypt as cattle food and to famine-stricken Angola for human consumption. The powder was subsequently moved to the security of two army camps for safe-keeping.

In October 1987, 750 tons of EEC dairy produce, donated as food aid to Ghana, were found to have radiation levels as high as 5,459 Bq/Kg. Ghana's finance minister, Mr K Botchey, who had responsibility for the shipment immediately contacted the media and warned the public. This action led to a serious dispute with the EEC ambassador to Accra, who insisted that the shipment was within EEC limits before it left Hamburg.

EEC arm-twisting

Despite assurances that all interested parties could be present, Ghana was excluded from the test conducted by the International Atomic Energy Agency in Vienna where his consignment was cleared as safe for consumption. As one official put it; "There is some cause to wonder whether official reports of EEC countries are always accurate. Disposal of unacceptable things in Africa has been going on since time immemorial. There is a lot of pressure from the EEC on us over this and there is a Ghanaian saying 'We have our hand in their mouth - what can we do?'"

In August 1986 the Brazilian authorities claimed 3,150 tonnes of butter and milk powder contained 1,000 times the Brazilian limit. The bulk of this produce was allegedly from Eire although Denmark, West Germany and the Netherlands were also implicated. A Board Baine spokesperson denied levels exceeded EEC standards. Eire's Ministry of Agriculture said a certificate was issued for export based on analysis of milk and milk powder from the area where the produce originated. However, it has been suggested that they were unable to identify the specific area.

Brazil came in for some arm twisting. A senior executive of the Nuclear Energy Board visited their Ministry of Agriculture. Irish press reports suggest that the Brazilian authorities were reminded of the importance of EEC trade. On the official's return it was stated that a second test by Brazilian Government chemists found the consignment to be within acceptable limits. Despite this retraction, the head of the Brazilian Agricultural Society, who made the original claim, maintained that the levels were too high. He was accused by a committee of senior Brazilian Government scientists of having vested interests.

The consignment was accepted in September 1986.

Media reports suggest that EEC famine aid to Angola, Ethiopia, Mozambique and Somalia, has been contaminated; Sri Lanka and Thailand were reportedly pressured to relax their permitted radiation levels; Singapore had rejected 240 consignments by October 1986.

EEC hypocrisy

It is a matter of record that a number of countries have been very concerned over the level of radioactivity found in produce shipped from Europe since Chernobyl, and the initial claims of unacceptable levels in these countries have frequently been followed by visits from officials of the originating country. In some cases these visits resulted in a subsequent statement casting doubt on the original measurements.

There is also a suspicion that in some cases, shipments of food contaminated at unacceptable levels have been diluted with other produce to bring them below permitted levels. If this is the case then most of the contaminated food could eventually be disposed of this way. Such a practice is to be deplored as presenting an unnecessary risk to the people who consume it. There is no 'safe' level - diluting the foodstuff merely results in a greater volume of material containing the same radioactivity, so the dose represented by that contamination is spread over a larger population.



The argument promulgated by the EEC nuclear powers, that these countries are incompetent at the simple task of measuring radiation levels in food correctly, simply will not wash. If it is the case then it makes a nonsense of IAEA assertions that these countries are fit to administer and control nuclear energy programmes, food irradiation plants and similar technologies. They can't have it both ways - either they are competent for all nuclear applications, or they are not competent for any of them.

This latest outrageous example of 'dilute and disperse' policy for radioactive waste disposal must be exposed and contested. And in the meantime here are several questions that still remain unanswered following Chernobyl: How much produce was contaminated by Chernobyl fallout and to what degree?

Where is such produce stored and can these stores be inspected?

If it was destroyed then how and where was it done, and what was done with the residues - were they burned, buried or dumped at sea?

What decontamination measures were used for the containers involved in the transportation of food?

Were food-handlers checked for contamination and are they being monitored now?

This article first appeared in SCRAM the journal of the British safe energy and anti nuclear movements. It is available from 11 Forth St, Edinburgh EH1 3LE

In GL55 last year, TIM COOPER and FELIX DODDS suggested that greens should be looking for closer links with Liberals and Social Democrats. Here TIM COOPER updates the arguments, setting out the links between the Liberal tradition and green politics, the problems with socialism and suggesting how we might proceed into the 1990s.

Greening Liberal traditions

THE MAIN BRIDGES between liberal and green thinking were put in place in 1848, 1979 and 1988. In 1848 the liberal philosopher John Stuart Mill created a vision of an economy which took account of the limits to growth. "The increase in wealth is not boundless," he argued, "the stationary state of capital and wealth... would be, on the whole, a very considerable improvement on our present condition." He opposed the materialism of the politicians of his time: "Those who do not accept the present very early stage of human improvement as its ultimate type may be excused for being comparatively indifferent to the kind of economical progress which excites the congratulations of ordinary politicians: the mere increase in production and accumulation." Human improvement would instead come about through "all kinds of mental culture and moral and social progress"; broadly speaking, to use Mill's terms, the 'Art of Living' rather than the 'art of getting on'. Herman Daly and E.F. Schumacher both draw heavily upon such thinking.

In more recent times a growing awareness of the deepening ecological crisis led the Liberal Party at its annual assembly in 1979 to approve a motion which declared that "sustained economic growth, as conventionally measured, is neither feasible nor desirable." For a moment it seemed possible that the Liberals might recover a sense of urgency and vision and move towards adopting a radical green programme. But the leadership steered the party away from reviving the idea of a zero growth economy, and such radicalism was destined for the dustbin when links began to be forged with the SDP. The alliance with the SDP led critics such as Ian Bradley to point out that: "The Liberals have become a party of too much organisation and too few ideas. Tactics tend to predominate over policies. This is out of keeping with their historical role as the seekers of new wisdom for a new age."

Aware that many Liberals had become increasingly disillusioned at the blandness and compromise created through the party's links with the SDP, I formed Green Voice in the Autumn of 1987 as a network of Liberals and greens who wanted the main alternative to the Tories and Labour to combine the best traditions of radical Liberalism with the emerging analysis of the greens. At the first Green Voice public meeting in January this year, Liberal MP Simon Hughes made it clear that his understanding of liberalism is essentially similar to green politics when he described his politics as about "working with all creation, holistically, respectfully, to do the best I can to ensure that every living creature has the best possible quality of life. My daily concern must be to lead people away from the distraction of believing that, apart from the basics of food, shelter, clothing and health, other materialistic possessions are fundamentally important or necessary to true happiness, self-discovery or self-fulfilment."

The preamble to the Liberal Party constitution states that its "chief care is for the rights and opportunities of the individual", while the starting point for the Green Party

is to acknowledge the vital importance of our whole environment - a distinction which reflects differences in the era in which the parties were founded: the Liberal Party at a time when the key issue was the need to liberate the individual from the power of the state and the church; the Green Party in an era of ecological crisis.

To accept that all life is interconnected is to accept the inextricable links between each individual and the environment. We can then take liberal politics and green politics beyond their separate starting points and see how the philosophies relate. Liberalism without a green dimension threatens to offer individuals the freedom to destroy the planet - such a philosophy would promise the liberty of self-destruction. Green politics without a liberal dimension leads at best to a misguided framework for understanding the natural order - in which, for example, ants might be accorded equal rights with humans - and at worst to an implied eco-authoritarianism whereby the protection of the planet is put before the need to maintain civil liberties. Thus there is an essential bridge between liberalism and green politics. Divorced, the philosophical implications are positively disturbing.

Problems with socialism

One of the aims of our political strategy must be to convey to the public a greater depth of understanding of the nature of ideologies and their implications. Sara Parkin, in a speech to the Third Congress of the International Greens described it thus: "We are trying to shift the cleavage so it becomes a green/non-green one instead of a left/right one." Socialism is thus rejected alongside conservatism.

Authentic green politics denies certain fundamental premises of socialism, in particular its class-based analysis and strategy. Rudolf Bahro argues that the historic mission of the proletariat is an illusion because Marx did not foresee that the contradiction between capitalist production and nature would become acute. The socialist goal of the general emancipation of humankind is now impossible without overcoming the ecological crisis. Thus Bahro calls for a "fundamental regrouping of forces" revolving around long-term human interests, putting "life interests" before "class interests" and involving a "historic compromise... between all forces that seek the preservation and further development of... civilisation." The ecology crisis will result in the end of capitalism but it will not be through the 'working class' rising up against the capitalist system; rather it will be through the widespread adoption of a new order of values in response to ecological constraints, and a move away from materialism.

Socialist thinking presumes that the increased consumption of material goods and services, even beyond the basic necessities of life, brings greater human fulfillment, whilst at the heart of the new agenda must be a rejection of such an assumption. People are not liberated through affluence and riches. To quote Mill: "The best state for human nature is that in which, while no-one is

poor, no-one desires to be richer, nor has any fear of being thrust back by the efforts of others to push themselves forward."

A further subtle distinction can be made. Conventional socialist analysis promises liberation for particular sectors of society perceived to be disadvantaged. Green politics, in contrast, aims to liberate all, *including the rich*. Socialism, being essentially materialist, sees no need to liberate rich people; its assumption is that their wealth has already made them fulfilled. A similar argument can be applied to sexual politics. While socialists tend to emphasise the liberation of women, greens wish equally to liberate men.

Our strategy is thus rather different from a realignment of the left and certainly involves more than just a coalition of the dispossessed. Our realignment must from the outset be welcoming to all, even those from the right who express a sincere interest in restoring fecundity to the earth and bringing liberty to all its inhabitants through democratic and non-violent means.

The Green Party has only 8,000 members. It is not enough. We need to inspire and draw together a much more substantial group of like-minded people. One priority must be to gain the support of the three million members of environmental groups in Britain. While not all environmentalists accept the radical implications of green politics, Philip Lowe and Jane Goyder are right to suggest in their book *Environmental Groups in Politics* that "Perhaps the greatest failing of environmental groups in the 1970s has been their inability to translate their massive numerical support into an appreciable political force."

Testing the parties

One of our tasks must be to unite people from different political backgrounds. However, prior to the formation of the SLD (Social and Liberal Democrats) it became apparent that even those within the Liberal Party who felt an affinity with green thinking intended to stay within the new party until after the first or second of its assemblies. Only once these were over would they consider leaving it. At the same time, despite a disappointing 1.4% in the 1987 General Election, there has been no inclination among Green Party activists to leave the party and seek to influence the direction of one of the larger parties.

One mechanism to consolidate Greens in one or other party might be for a target date to be set. Greens in the SLD should create a litmus test for their party (those in the Labour Party could do the same). The test should be the acceptance by the party of four fundamental policy stances by the end of the decade:

1. **economic policy** must be framed around an understanding that sustained economic growth as conventionally measured is neither feasible nor desirable, and acceptance of the need for a substantial redistribution of wealth;
2. **defence policy** must be based on a non-nuclear strategy and unilateral steps must be taken by Britain as a contribution to global nuclear disarmament, including the immediate unconditional cancellation of Trident;
3. **energy policy** must focus on conservation, increased efficiency and the development of renewable sources, with all nuclear reactors to be shut down within four years;
4. **agriculture policy** must encourage organic methods and a reduced use of chemical fertilisers and pesticides, and factory farming methods should be quickly phased out.

This list is necessarily highly selective, but incorporates essential priorities of the green movement. Were members of the SLD to be successful in gaining acceptance of these policies, and it proves to be a party with principles, there might be no need for a separate Green Party. The party is only a means to an end: the creation of a sustainable, just,

decentralised, peaceful society. We cannot afford party chauvinism. If however the new party fails to develop an inspiring and visionary programme as outlined above (which currently appears more likely) its green members will only retain their integrity if they leave and join the Green Party. A conference at the turn of the decade might facilitate this process - the Autumn 1989 SLD Assembly could, with so much at stake, prove a very interesting event. If there is convergence, might there not be scope for a greater degree of electoral cooperation between members of the parties? Nationwide pacts agreed by party leaders are unlikely, however local parties might consider informal agreements. These have already occurred in the past; in May 1986, Green councillors were elected in two local authorities after the Alliance decided not to field opposing candidates.

Outside parliament

In order to achieve a society which is both liberal and green we also need to operate outside of the electoral arena. The process of change must be non-violent, but I believe that we must reject the argument of Fritjof Capra when he suggests that "conflict should be minimised in times of social transition." The conservatism of British people is one of the crucial obstacles to the kind of social and political transformation that we are seeking. We must engage in the kind of tactical grass-roots civil disobedience which has been the hallmark of much radical protest,

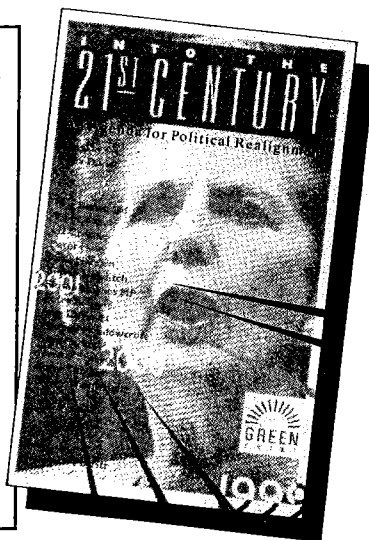
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I N T O T H E 21ST C E N T U R Y

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because it has proved a necessary prerequisite for the realisation of the vast bulk of progressive change in society. This will inevitably result in conflict.

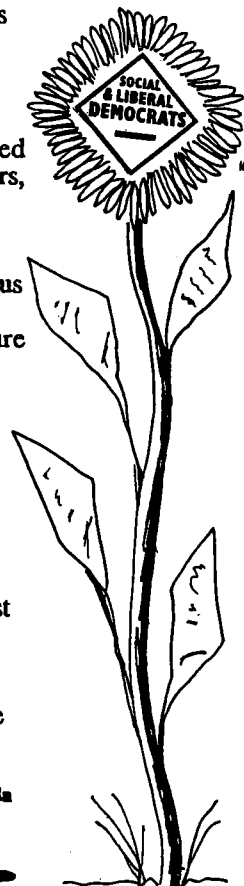
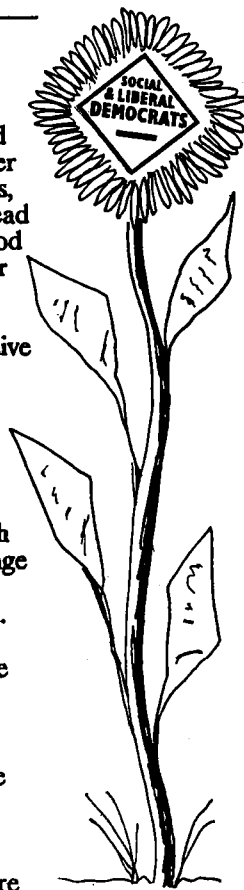
We must extend the kind of displays of protest carried out by Greenpeace into new areas. Pedestrians who suffer fumes and noise from passing heavy lorries or aeroplanes, patients who are sent swiftly away with useless pills instead of true remedies for illness, shoppers who are offered food contaminated with pesticide residues - all should look for highly visible forms of protest to express their innermost passions against the present system. We should not shy away from publically embarrassing those who inflict massive social and environmental costs upon the public, whilst reaping the economic benefits.

Another means of transforming society is to encourage millions of people to take part in active boycott of all products which are unnecessary and environmentally destructive. One of the characteristics of modern Britain identified by Jeremy Seabrook in GL56 is a growing faith in the power of money. We can turn this to our advantage by treating seriously the possibility of transforming the production process by acting *en bloc* as green consumers. This has been very effective in, for example, making the food industry reduce the amount of additives it uses. The green movement could build upon this success by leafletting shoppers on other issues. A leaflet with photographs of factory farm conditions would prick the conscience of any civilised person. This is not to propose support for 'green capitalism'. There is a very substantial difference between the conventional understanding of a green society and a capitalist system characterised by expansion of production, consumption and profit. They are far from being compatible; the methods and motives of capitalists, as typically understood, are utterly at odds with the restraint and non-aggressiveness of greens.

The kind of comprehensive green philosophy which will enable the liberation of humankind and the whole planet from the forces of destruction is still in need of development. The task of clarifying the practical implications of our basic principles is urgent. Our politics must be worked out in the light of the changes in the political climate during the 1980s. Former MP Michael Meadowcroft has condemned the failure of liberalism to capture the "anti-collectivist" agenda in the late 1970s, arguing that it led to a Conservative Party which promoted *individualism*, self-advancement whatever the cost to others, rather than *individuality*, appreciation of and encouragement for diversity within humankind. The distinction between the two can and must be defined in terms of how the environment is perceived and used. Thus Simon Hughes and Nick Townsend conclude their 1987 Radical Quarterly essay: "The political battles of the future will be between, on the one side, the politics of liberty, community and what might be called 'greenery', and, on the other, the politics of arbitrary, extreme inequality, sanctified by an elaborate ideological disguise labelled... economic choice."

Our task is therefore to define fully the nature of the attack on liberty, community and ecology and to provide an alternative. Anti-materialism has rarely been tapped effectively by politicians of the left and the right, whose constant appeal is to people's instincts of greed. We must in contrast, address our appeal to their anti-materialist instincts, which are far more widely held than most politicians appreciate. In all things we must be bold and courageous, innovative and fun-seeking. Only then will we succeed.

This is an edited extract from *Into the Twenty-First Century: an Agenda for Political Realignment* ed. Felix Dodds, recently published by Green Print.



MAKING A MARK FOR PEACE - WITH AUTONOMOUS PEACE ACTION!

IS THERE ANYONE alive who can still remember the Great Blockade at USAF Upper Heyford, which took place in that far-off spring of 1983? This event, organised by the peace camp itself and not by National CND, extended over four days, with staggered actions by different peace groups from all over the country; on the first day alone there were many hundreds of arrests. The Base, with its protecting ring of nervous police, was truly under siege; high on the excitement of it all, we at last understood what mass NVDA, and what grassroots organisation, could achieve. There were those who were sceptical, reluctant to join in the dancing and the celebrations that went on long after the event had finished, but even they could reflect that this was only the beginning, a foundation on which to build; even the disappointment of the demo in the following Autumn, a ritual CND plod through London, and the cringing embarrassment of having to listen to Kinnock's windbagery at the rally, could not dispel the optimism.

But Upper Heyford '83 was not the beginning; it turned out to be the end, the culmination of four years of angry protest which the established peace organisations had barely been able to contain. Once mass NVDA had been incorporated into CND's bi-annual demonstrations, it effectively received its kiss of death; Direct Action became simply another option, one event among many in a day's activities ("do you mind if we have a little NVDA, officer, between 3 and 3.30?"). This is basically the situation this year at these autumn demos: if the 1983 Blockaders could have been magically transported forward in time to this year's event at the Base, they would have been truly shocked to find that the main 'action' consisted of a bit of noise, followed by the planting of a few bulbs. Perhaps there are no longer the numbers to 'blockade' any more - but NVDA has become so enfeebled over the years with its decline into 'symbolism' (via the Snowball campaign) that it is now more of a token gesture, 'making a mark' for peace.

This business of 'making a mark' should be properly understood; it is firmly within a tradition of 'peace witness' which is much more a matter of private (or religious) observance, like lighting a candle for the dead: it has nothing in itself to do with politics, and so is questionable as a focus for a political demonstration. Indeed it can function as a positive impediment to those who are itching to do something politically effective. I remember once visiting Moleworth with a minibus full of peace campaigners who spent the afternoon 'making a mark', tying all sorts of things to the fence. Before we left, we drove round the Base and could see that the MOD had taken a matter of minutes to remove everything that we had put there. It was as if we had never even visited the place. No-one seemed particularly disconcerted by this; it was considered a successful 'act of

witness'. This sort of thing may seem harmless enough, but it isn't: it takes those campaigners who are desperate to be active and effective and sits them down with a candle for peace or a paper dove construction kit, as if we were celebrating the virtues of acceptance and impotence. In a similar way religion is such a tool of power, especially when the poor are urged to embrace poverty, the coerced to practise obedience, and the downtrodden to place themselves under the jackboot. It confirms a suspicion that this sort of 'peace' movement has emerged, historically, in order to pacify revolt.

In the meantime, among all this dross, Autonomous Peace Action from Manchester have issued a statement outlining their intentions for the Upper Heyford demonstration, some of which reads as follows:

CND is dying on its feet; events such as these do nothing but hasten its slide into obscurity. One sign of hope was the events that took place at the Aldermaston 30th anniversary demo - where large sections of fence were pulled down by anarchists and other militants, amid much applause from 'ordinary' CND supporters, who whilst perhaps a little worried about taking part in such mass direct action, were obviously delighted to see it taking place.

We have to repeat this and improve upon it at the

forthcoming Upper Heyford Demonstration - although it is only a short while away, we have to learn to accept that we ARE angry at what is being done in the name of defence or security and we must be willing to act against it NOW.

We have very little information from CND about what they intend to be doing on the day, but we will be sending out further information when we receive any. However, what we suggest is that people assemble outside the Main Gate at about 12.30. Come equipped with whatever you feel confident with; boltcutters, hats, scarves etc; arrange false names and verifiable addresses for those you come with, and be prepared to resist any cops who attempt to resist people. Also, last time at Aldermaston, the cops were stopping and searching suspicious people, so try and blend in with the CND crowd - rainbow scarves are a must!

FIGHTING THE CHEMICAL BOMB



PAUL ROGERS has sent us details of a campaign against chemical weapons, which are increasingly being seen by NATO and Warsaw pact militarists as a legitimate part of their armoury. The Pentagon hopes to stockpile 1m pints of binary nerve gas by 1990. Britain of course is involved through its supplying storage facilities and research at Porton Down. There have been Snowball campaigns to publicise the hypocrisy surrounding the "defensive" experiments conducted at Porton, but much more needs to be done. It looks like NATO countries have little intention of signing a proper treaty on chemical weapons.

Porton supplies CS and CR gas to both British and foreign police forces (perhaps including South Africa) and has extensive links with universities and industry. CAMROC (the Campaign Against Military Research On Campus), see also Network GL59, has been exposing this web. Contact them at 190b Border Rd, Bow, London E3 for more info.

Action against Porton includes a Peace Camp and PortonWatch which has been monitoring the easily recognisable convoys of chemical and biological weapons trundling around the country. Northumberland recently declared itself a CBW-free zone and since then the convoys have stopped passing through the county.

Urgent action is needed over the Iraqi chemical attacks on the Kurdish separatists. It is important to remember that what is happening to the Kurds is a foretaste of what could happen to us unless we act for the Chemical Weapons Convention. From 1990 we could all be "living in Halabja".

The Kurdish-British Scientific and Medical Aid Group (BCM Box 5952, London WC1N 3XX) need money more than you do. Help resistance through the Kurdish Ambassador (BM Box BKMB, London WC1N 3XX) and CARDR! (Campaign Against Repression and for Democratic Rights in Iraq, PO Box 210, London N16 5PL). Hassle contractors like John Brown Engineering (20 Eastbourne Terrace, Paddington, London W2 6LE, tel. 01.262 8080) who built Saddam Hussain's gas bunker. Volunteer for our weekly picket of the Iraqi Embassy through Roger Dwek (01 607 7984). Now the Gulf War is ending, Iraq must be brought before an international warcrimes tribunal.

The Chemical Weapons Action Group (Box ZZ, 34 Cowley Road, Oxford 249406) have been kicking arse over gas for the last two years. Joining costs as little as £2.00. You'll get a bulletin that keeps you up to date with latest action and news. We also do a briefing pack, Make Britain CBW-Free! (£1.50), and The Porton Convoys (£1.00) with all the background and tips on resistance. Why not check them out?

PEACE DIARY

OCT 4: Bruce Kent meets Finchley/Barnet, Mill Hill and Golders Green CND groups, 7.30 pm in the Upper Hall, Christchurch, Oakley Rd North, High Rd, Whetstone.

OCT 8: Peace and environmental group leafletting, Andover Town Centre. Contact June Fairweather, 0264.55680.

OCT 11: Tory Party Conference (what's this doing in the peace section?).

OCT 13-16: Peace Brigades International Meeting, Sutton Courtenay, England. Details: 01.631 5173.

OCT 14: Portsmouth Women's Peace Camp in support of the October demo. Tel: Lynette Rees, 0705 829390.

OCT 15: MAKE YOUR MARK FOR PEACE! Three national actions at Faslane, Upper Heyford, and Portsmouth on the theme "No New Nuclear Weapons!" (we've got used to the old ones!). Details of the action at Faslane from Scottish CND, 420 Sauchiehall St, Glasgow G2 3JD (041. 331 2878); at Upper Heyford from Oxford Campaign Atom (0865 726441) or West Midlands CND (021.643 4617); at Portsmouth from Ian James, 2 Portland Square, Liss, Hampshire GU33 7LD (0730 892102). On the same day there will be a major demonstration of the West German peace movement at Linnich, where NATO is

currently building a new underground bunker that will serve as a wartime command centre.

OCT 16: Merseyside CND Fun Run for peace and the Third World. Contact 18 Orford St, Wavertree, Liverpool L15 8HX or Merseyside CND, 24 Hardman St, Liverpool L1 9AX.

OCT 21-23: "One World, Many Women" has evolved as the theme for a women's gathering at Greenham in October, during "One World Week". This gathering will be at the weekend beginning Friday 21st October; workshops will happen at Orange Gate on Saturday and Sunday. Women are available to come and speak to groups: contact Evelyn on 0635 253231. Please send donations to "One World, Many Women" account, Co-op bank plc, 149 High St, Southampton, Hants. For accommodation, call 0749 85470. For workshops etc, call 0703 554434.

OCT 22-23: Birmingham Youth CND Conference, Aston University. Contact Claire McMaster, YCND, 01.250 4010.

OCT 24-31: United Nations Disarmament Week.

OCT 28-30: Christian CND AGM: details from Underwood St.

OCT 29: Southern Region CND AGM, Friends Meeting House, Colebrook St, Winchester 2pm. Tel. Hamish on 0725 20210.



GREENS ARE IN SWEDEN!!

ON SUNDAY September 18th, 800 greens were elected into office in the Swedish elections; 20 to the parliament, 81 to regional councils and 700 to local councils. This represents a substantial increase on the vote that Miljöpartiet (the Swedish Green Party) had obtained in the last elections in 1985.

In the parliamentary elections they achieved a countrywide average of 5.5%, thus becoming the first new party for 70 years to break the 4% barrier in order to gain representation in the Riksdag.

In many places the green vote for local councils was even higher; for example in Gothenberg, which is now a green stronghold, Miljöpartiet gained nearly 12% in the election to the city council. It is noteworthy however that support for the greens increased very uniformly over the whole country and not just in areas more immediately affected by environmental problems.

It had been feared by the established parties that Miljöpartiet would hold the balance of power in parliament. Infact this did not happen; the Social Democrat government was returned to power with a small overall majority, despite the many scandals associated with it over recent years.

The prospect of the greens holding the balance of power had clearly frightened Sweden's political establishment. They had been spreading scare-stories about how it would cause chaos and economic collapse, and even compared it to the situation in Germany preceding the rise of the Nazis. And in the final week before the elections a concerted smear campaign against some of Miljöpartiet's parliamentary candidates was launched in the national press.

We shall never know if this reduced the green vote. But the fact is there are now 12 men and 8 women in the Riksdag, with the opportunity to put green politics onto the parliamentary agenda.

SUE MILES

SUE MILES will be back in GL next month with a full analysis of the Swedish political and environmental situation.

VERDANT ITALY

THE GREENS in Italy, along with the feminist movement, represent one of the most dynamic aspects of the Italian party system with a large potential for growth. They are already showing signs of considerable influence. Although the established parties organised along the old political cleavages of left and right, clerical and secular, continue to have a pervasive influence, the greens have undoubtedly made a profound and permanent mark on the Italian political scene. The greens first appeared in 1985 when in local elections they managed to secure 1.7% of the national vote.

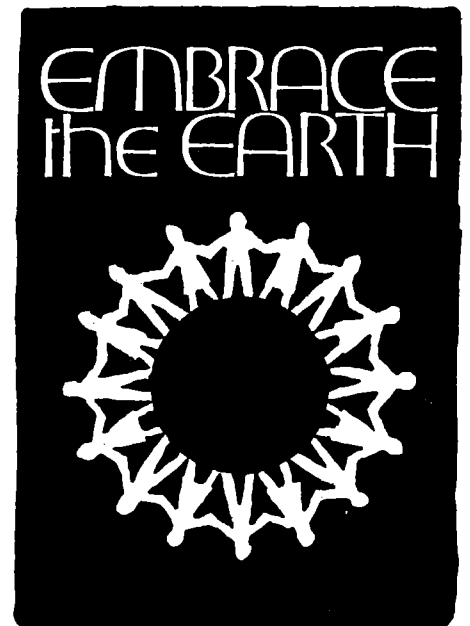
There is still no Green Party as such; the lists presented during the elections are lists of candidates presented by coalitions of various organisations. Prominent among them is the *Lega Ambiente* (Environment League) which has become a broad-based movement addressing major ecological issues and acting as the focal point of the Italian green movement. In the early stages the success of the Green List was hampered (and this is still true to some extent) by strong links to other parties, particularly the Communists. This created difficulties of presenting a coherent and consistent political platform based on such disparate and often conflicting groups.

In the 1987 national election the greens won almost a million votes (2.5%) and secured 13 seats in the Chamber of Deputies as well as one seat in the upper chamber. Support for the greens varied widely across the country; they did well in the urban industrial north (3.4%) and poorly in the rural south (1.1%), which follows typical patterns of green support throughout Western Europe. In general they did best in advanced industrial areas characterised by higher than average income, lower unemployment and a well-educated electorate. The greens did well among first-time voters and won over more than 5% of the 18-24 year-olds. A major part of their appeal is the anti-party image of rejecting the current norms that govern the Italian party system.

In the aftermath of their election success the greens were forced to face similar questions to those of their German counterparts, relating to organisation and in particular to the need to avoid losing their 'movement' identity and becoming bureaucratic. The other similarity they share with Die Grunen, indeed one which may affect all Green parties at a certain stage in their development, is the

division into 'reformists' and 'maximalists'.

In this year's local elections such problems do not seem to have affected the appeal of the greens. In the northern region Green List candidates polled as high as 4.9% and the older parties responded in traditional style by 'greening' their manifestoes. Chief among these are the Italian Communist Party (PCI) and the Socialists (PSI) who have both come out solidly behind the anti-nuclear movement and its opposition to any nuclear reactors. The force of this was evident in the referendum on nuclear power and a recent decision by De Mita's government to slap a moratorium on the construction of new nuclear power stations.



The greens are involved in numerous activities including a national information network on ecological issues and consumer affairs, the publication of a popular monthly - *La Nuova Ecologia*, a sustained and successful campaign against nuclear power; a highly successful campaign against aerosols and their harmful effects, and wide-ranging efforts to change the Italian political consciousness on environmental issues. This won't occur overnight and will require a major effort by the greens to combat the distortions and inadequacies of the Italian state and society. But it will in the end prove a vital contribution to both the political and physical health of the country and its people.

RICHARD BEATTY, Venezia