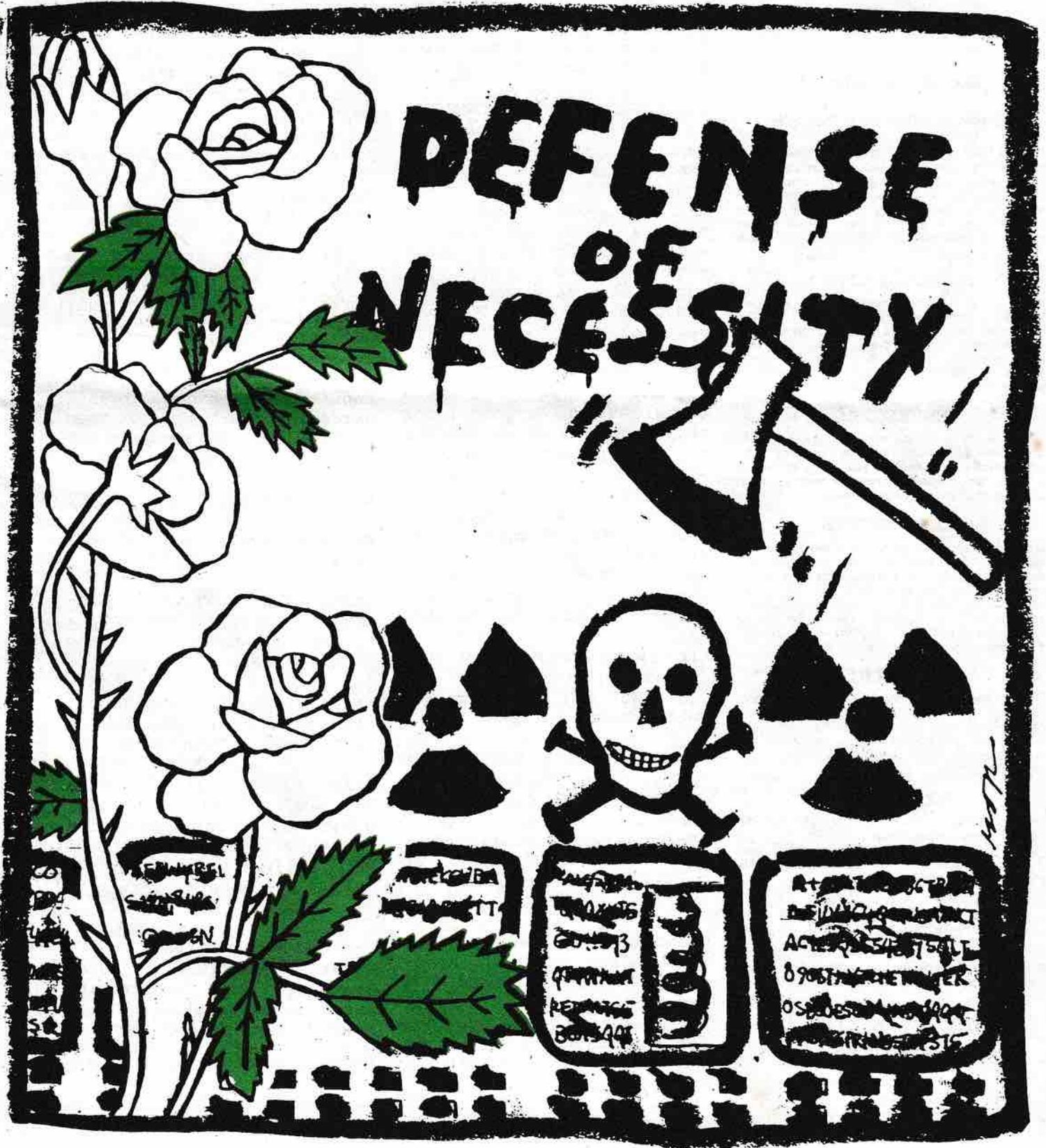


GREEN *Line*

GL71 / APRIL 1989 / 60p

Katya Komisaruk: a saboteur
Black environmental network

Grassroots animal rights groups
Let's build a living greenhouse!



Britain's Green Monthly

GREEN Line

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 John French, Barry Maycock, Paula Casal, Graham Hooper, 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. Please let us know if your copy arrives in a mess. If you want an envelope send £1 which will cover the next ten 24-page issues.

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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 15th 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 **MAY 1ST 1989**. We need all news, articles, small ads etc by **20th April 1989**. In general all articles are read and discussed at a meeting of the collective in the middle of each month.

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postage). Send cheque/P.O./stamps to Paul Whymark, 37 Divinity Rd, Oxford.

THE BOOK THEY don't want you to read, The Naked Empress by Hans Reusch. Suppressed in the U.K., this valuable reference book exposes the intrigue behind atrocities committed in the name of science. Available from PO Box 20, Paignton. Enquiries welcome.

PURE WATER ON TAP! More efficient cost effective and convenient than jug filters. The "Evapure" system. Only £115. For brochure contact: Alternative Engineering (Dept GL), 8 Goldsmith St, Heavitree, Exeter. Tel: (0392) 51137

RADICAL CO-OP HOUSEHOLD is looking for new woman members. Interested in running a vegan cafe, local community action, promoting co-operative alternatives, participatory skills and knowledge sharing, organic gardening (and more)? Then contact us. We're part of the Radical Routes Network (formerly New University). Write or ring or visit ZAP, 24 South Rd, Hockley, Birmingham B18 Tel: 021 551 1679

GREEN LIGHT THEATRE company present "ADAM REDUNDANT", a 'light green' comedy by Kevin Laffan. 11th April to 7th May at Etcetera Theatre, "Oxford Arms" pub, 265 Camden High St, London NW1. Camden Town tube 100 yards. Details 01 487 4857
GREEN LIGHT invite writers to send scripts with any green political dimension to: Phil Lewis, 77b, Offord Rd, Islington, London N1 1EA. S.a.e ensures return

Cover illustration by Rop Zoutberg to commemorate Katya Komisaruk's White Rose Action - see page 12

THIS MONTH GL begins what is intended to be a regular page on the Poll Tax as a small aid towards fighting this iniquity. We want to provide information for local campaigns and receive news from those campaigns, so that we can get our act together across the country. Remember, time is short, so, if you're involved in a local group, please send your news, advice etc. To begin, we have some news of the goings on within Oxford Against the Poll Tax.

ALL TWITCH AND NO PROGRESS

WHAT GOES ON in the campaigning groups? How do they function? It requires a certain kind of steely-eyed detachment to appreciate the meetings of our group here in Oxford. It's a bit like watching a peculiar and unfortunate creature whose limbs try to move its body in several different directions at once: despite some ferocious twitching, very little progress can be detected.

One problem is that such a vital campaign has attracted the usual attention from various high-flying activists: so its component parts are formed from the SWP, RCP, Workers Power, Labour dissidents (or non-dissidents), greens, Democrats, Liberals (using the term advisedly), anarchists, Quakers and certain free-floating independents. All have different strategies, and the group is supposed to be broad enough to contain them all, however contradictory - its very bagginess thus ensures that it flops around without a strategy.

The SWP is urging strike action by NALGO workers; Workers Power advocates a General Strike and the formation of Councils of Action; the insignificantly represented RCP demands (unspecified) working-class action. Direct action, urged by anarchists and others, is condemned for its individualism, which is considered unrealistic - though of course options like a General Strike are the least realistic of all.

The most doleful and uneasy role is played by Labour Party supporters who oppose official party policy and their local council, but cannot really bring themselves to act with conviction against the party line. Dutifully they drag the campaign back from outright defiance into the usual elephantine process involving Trades Council resolutions and constituency party meetings. An important distinction here is often blurred: that it is not the task of an anti-poll tax campaign to apologise for Labour or provide a platform for official Labour policy - the Labour party is capable of doing that for itself. Our task is to challenge and defy the council at every opportunity, especially during the May local election campaigns.

However, in the group there is this sense at times of participating in the shadowy, twilight world of the political activist, whose activities are designed to keep up the morale of fellow campaigners rather than reach "the people" out there in the darkness; a demo is praised if the feelings of those

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involved are given sufficient release (What an angry démol So many fellow activists there!). Activism becomes a form of emotional discharge: politics as therapy!

At the moment, the group is working on an anti-registration leaflet which will hopefully satisfy all the emotional needs of the various groups, and contain all the different strategies; it will resemble a mosaic in which an acute observer will be able to identify the various tendencies: an anarchist sentence here, a Labour phrase there... In the end, it may end up as a shopping list of options ranging from a General Strike, armed struggle and civil war through to knitting an anti-poll tax tea-cosy and sending postcards to the local MP. There'll be something in this bag of liquorice allsorts for everyone: so take your pick. Compared to walking the tightrope of the local campaign and negotiating a safe path through the minefield of the local group, actually opposing the poll tax should prove to be a cinch!

In the whole of the Poll Tax saga, the most uncomfortable role is played by local opposition councils (usually Labour controlled). In Oxford for example, our own Labour council has produced a glossy leaflet, "The Poll

Tax and You", in the usual neutral tones of a local authority information handout. There is no suggestion, of course, that councillors who authorised it have actually taken part in demonstrations and spoken at rallies against the tax.

Although the leaflet is meant to be blandly informative, it features two notable omissions, in themselves enough to excite suspicion: for one thing, there is no mention whatsoever of the role of the "responsible person", whose task it is to complete the form and provide information on the residents in the household. When I phoned the council about this, I received a vague reply to the effect that we were all "responsible" for registration and payment - ignoring the fact that the "responsible person" has a key role (and a precise one) within the terms of the legislation. In addition, there was no indication of the role of Poll Tax canvassers, who will start knocking at our doors in the Summer to glean information that the initial registration process has been unable to obtain. If, as seems likely, there is a good deal of non co-operation, then the task of the canvassers will be very extensive indeed.

Both these aspects of the legislation have already provided a focus for angry protest; hence no doubt the evasions of the leaflet. Oxford City Council has provided a contact phone number for poll tax queries; it is important to use such numbers extensively and to harrass councillors and their apologists at any "information meetings" that are set up - so that they are aware of our opposition to the truly ignoble role they are playing: doing the government's dirty work for them.

BARRY MAYCOCK

Design: Clifford Harper

TAX FAX

* How will the poll tax affect certain individuals? Let us take, for example, two pensioners enjoying the autumn of their years in their Dulwich dream home. Let us call them, for the sake of argument, Denis and Margaret Thatcher. They would pay £61.75 a month in rates at present levels. Under the new tax they will be paying £17.

* According to draft Environment Department guidelines, local finance officers will have to decide whether people sharing a house are living as man and wife and are therefore liable for each other's tax, and whether couples have separated.

* Already the 'cost-cutting' tax is estimated to have cost each person in Scotland £5 to implement - the price of the new technology installed.

* The government has already announced that it wants all 600,000 full-time students to carry a 'Poll Tax ID card'. A compulsory identity card (to prove we're paying the tax) will not be far behind.

* A council that fails to recover unpaid tax could face legal action from an aggrieved payer of the tax.

* Landlords of hostels will be paid a commission for collecting the names of their tenants - scope for fraud and extortion. →

* Tory Westminster Council is employing 20 private snoopers to search for the 40,000 people not on the electoral role. The company, Midsummer Computer Agency, will get over 3m and its canvassers will have full legal powers to force people to comply.

* In February 130 people in Stirling had their bank accounts frozen for refusing to register. For non-payment, an extra 10% plus a £50 "collection fee" can be added on.

* The new opting out procedures in Baker's Education Act required schools to list both parents, or step-parents, of every child. Schools were assured last October that this information would not be used for any other purposes, and indeed Baker has explicitly demanded that anti-opting out campaigners should not get hold of the lists. Yet now the government is hypocritically overriding that previous assurance to allow council poll tax officers access to the information about parents.

* A useful booklet comes from the Child Poverty Action Group. A Tax on All the People: The Poll Tax by Carey Oppenheim describes the workings of the tax and what it will mean to poor people particularly. It costs £1.95 from CPAG, 4th Floor, 1-5 Bath St, London EC1V 9PY

* Information packs on poll tax resistance are available from Community Resistance to the Poll Tax, p/hole CR, c/o 11 Forth St, Edinburgh, Scotland. The Clydeside Resistance broadsheet is available from p/hole 30, 340 W.Princes St, Glasgow (s.a.e. or donation).

* Women will be particularly hard hit as a group: their average earnings are only 2/3 that of men, and unwaged women will be assumed to be paid for by their partner.

* Foreign students are already prone to harassment from their country's embassy for political activity. Now the register will allow these people to be traced to their homes from the comfort of the local library.

* British Telecom will be setting up a national Poll Tax computer to help local authorities track people's movements around the country - and help trace unpaid phone bills.

* The Post Office will get a tripling of business from the poll tax as council letters are sent out and forms sent back. So why not really help their profits and attach a nice heavy roofing tile to every prepaid reply envelope that you send back to your council: the Poll Tax is, after all, a weighty matter...

* Some of the fiercest resistance in Scotland has been organised by Militant. Labour's response? To suspend 13 Militant supporters in Glasgow pending an investigation.

* In some areas of Scotland, the councils' computer programs are in such a state of unreadiness that all voters have been billed for the full tax and told to claim rebates themselves. About 1.1m people are reckoned to be eligible for rebates of as much as 80%, yet less than 500,000 have so far claimed them.

* Defaulters will face criminal charges and fines including council costs for refusing to disclose their employer, their bank account etc. to council officials.

* Lothian Regional Council had its council chamber occupied by protestors last December for an hour and only left when councillors agreed to address them.

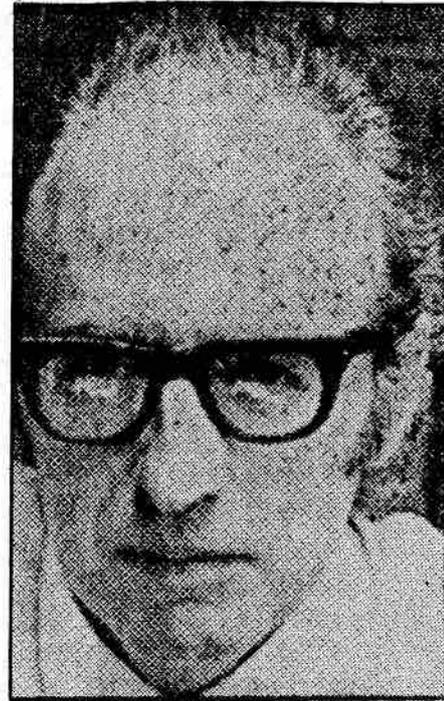
* At least the poll tax has forced the opposition parties to focus their attention on alternatives both to the tax and the present

rating system. Last year Labour announced its own proposals for abolishing the poll tax in favour of a tax on property supplemented by a local income tax. The property tax (perhaps as much as 80-90% of the total) would be based on up-to-date valuations, which would take into account the property boom of the last few years. Under these proposals local authorities would be able to fix their own budgets free from rate-capping etc but the proportion raised by the property tax and local income tax would be fixed by Whitehall, as would the central government grant. Within this framework local authorities would have their powers and rights restored, at least along pre-Thatcher lines.

* Douglas Mason of the Adam Smith Institute has been recalling the discussions that led to the poll tax: "A few of us were discussing rates and we realised that everything else in local government was based on a flat-rate charge: swimming baths, housing rents, for instance, so why not a flat-rate poll tax as well? It seemed so logical we were surprised no one had seriously pushed it before." It's O.K. for these right-wing gurus: being certifiably insane, they'll be exempt. Any regrets? "I only wish we'd thought of community charge. It sounds so much nicer."

You can see the attraction of all this to the Tories: if local government can impose a flat rate tax, then why not central government as well? Why should poor people get away with paying less towards the NHS, the schools and the police?

But rather than retreat in the face of this grocery store approach to paying for services rendered, we could extend the rebates into real grocery stores: if you're on Poll Tax rebate then just take 80% off the bill next time you're down in Tesco's. In fact, it seems so logical it's surprising no one's pushed it before!



Douglas Mason: barking mad

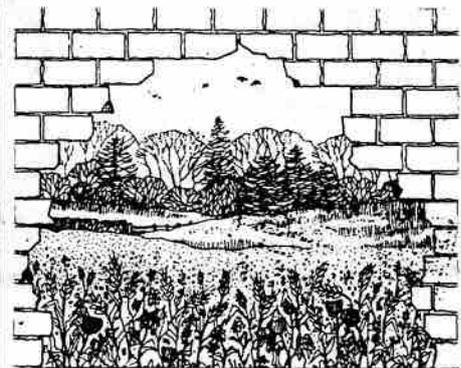


NETWORK

GREEN GROWTH IN SOUTH LONDON: THE CENTRE FOR ENVIRONMENTAL INFORMATION



NEWS HAS reached GL of an exciting project in South London started by Sutton & District FoE with support from the local council. The Centre for Environmental Information is the hub of green activity in Sutton being involved with a multiplicity of projects around the town and surrounding area. It can claim a number of achievements.



CEI assisted the council with its Environment Statement and continues to monitor its progress; it pushed for a council recycling policy and a borough ecology centre; it has produced an Environmental Education Report and linked with councillors, teachers, students and other voluntary groups as well as the general public; and it has laid on numerous exhibitions and workshops.

CEI is involved in several areas of green concern: nature conservation is a priority as reflected in activities like increased hedgerow planting, especially in schools, the creation of meadow areas in parks in preference to cut grass; the monitoring of chemical pesticides, weedkillers and fertilizers.

Recycling has taken off with bottle banks well established and a Neighbourhood Recycling Centre to be opened this year to deal with rags, papers, cans etc.

Improvements for pedestrians have been pushed, with cycle paths, safe school routes, and traffic calming measures.

The council banned CFCs and promised to minimise tropical hardwood use last year and it is hoped the whole council car fleet will be made lead free and that it will switch to ecological detergents and cleaning materials; healthy eating has been encouraged through social services and schools.

The centre works closely with the council, sitting on several council committees such as the Ecology Working Party, the Urban Improvements Working Party, and traffic committees.

So if you want to know more about Sutton then contact Vera Elliott or David Tozer at CEI, 24 Rosebery Rd, Cheam, Surrey Tel:01 642 3030

DON'T QUOTE ME...

AS WELL as the revelations of the mendacity of Exxon, some choice quotes have come out of the disastrous beaching of their oil tanker in Alaska.

An unnamed U.S. marine expert called in to help clean up describes the context in which the disaster took place: "What is going on is all about politics and big bucks. It's the oil industry versus the Alaskans and guess who's going to win. Nobody is asking about the steady pollution down at the refineries in Baton Rouge and everywhere else. That might be just as bad in the long-term. We as a nation could not afford to prevent the problem. But the bigger bucks are up there in the wilderness areas and no one's going to let that amount of oil lie around for ever."

On the other hand, one of a group of oilworkers was heard to remark "I dunno what all the fuss is about."

10lb PER PERSON

THIS IS the amount of chemicals going up the chimney every year in the U.S. Of the 320 chemicals investigated, 60 are officially described as carcinogenic, yet the Environmental Protection Agency has the power to control emissions of only 6. These figures do not include car exhaust emissions or waste dump leakage.

Despite this, the Senate Energy Committee voted down proposals to require car manufacturers to increase car m.p.g. from 26.6 now to 34 by 2000. Petrol still costs only about 60p a gallon; and Americans still use nearly twice as much energy per head as countries like Britain.

RENAULT GOES GREEN

Better news from Europe: state-owned Renault have broken ranks with other carmakers and will introduce U.S. standard catalytic converters in all new cars by 1993.

DAM BLOCKED

Brazil is about to announce in a round about way that the hydroelectric dam project that has caused so much protest will not go ahead, at least with World Bank money. Their \$400bn loan will instead be used on energy conservation and measures to protect tribal lands in the Amazon. FoE claim this to be "a turning point in our battle to save the planet's greatest natural resource."

Let's hope so.

SO MUCH FOR ECO-CAPITALISM

Last week should have seen a conference of business and industrial representatives in London on the "challenges and demands for environmentally benign products." Unfortunately it had to be cancelled due to lack of interest.

GREENS STRIDING ON

Congratulations are due to the French greens for their excellent showing in the recent French elections. Could the Soviet Union be next? An opinion poll showed that 74% of respondents were in favour of having a green party, and 16% said they would vote for a green party if it existed - putting them second behind the communist party itself.

the Ethical Consumer

AN ALTERNATIVE Which guide has been set up to give all the info you need to avoid products and companies that leave a bad taste in the mouth. In issue one, *The Ethical Consumer* tackles petrol, fruit juice, toothpaste and batteries. Brand names are assessed diagrammatically on categories like South African involvement, trade union relations, land rights, environment, irresponsible marketing and animal rights. In addition the mag features boycott news.

It's available by subscription at \$8.00 per year for six issues. Write to ECRA Publishing Ltd, 100 Gretney Walk, Moss Side, Manchester M15 5ND



THE MAN FROM DEL MONTE

GREEN PLASTICS? WHAT ROT!

"BIODEGRADABLE" PLASTICS are finding their way onto the market now. At first sight this seems a welcome development, but these "green" plastics are not so biodegradable as they are made out to be. According to the FoE Local Groups Newsletter (No. 171):-

"The first, 'Ecolyte', will break down only when exposed to sunlight, the other 'bioplastic' will break down when buried in the soil. The basic materials for both types are ordinary oil-based polymers of the type found in any plastic bag. However 'Ecolyte' reacts to sunlight because every so often along a chain of plastic polymers a single monomer is added that is sensitive to ultraviolet light. When left lying in a hedgerow this type of plastic will break down into very small pieces but the basic plastic still remains. If this product gets buried it will not degrade at all. 'Bioplastic', on the other hand, needs to be buried in the soil before it will break down. The polymers are mixed with starch. When buried the starch will be broken down by bacteria (in the same way as any organic material) but the plastic polymers remain in the soil.

A truly biodegradable plastic is being developed by ICI (based on sugar rather than oil) but a lot of research is required before it could be made into plastic bags.

If plastic is used at all for packaging materials, the industry should develop methods of recycling it. 'Biodegradable' plastics can't be recycled nor can they be mixed with ordinary plastics for recycling."

WASTE TREATY

A RATHER pathetic compromise was reached in Basel, Switzerland last month at the UN Convention on controlling the movement of hazardous waste. Third World proposals to allow inspection of ships were thrown out. Of course, the real problem is that Europe's industries are allowed to continue creating the waste while not being able to dispose of it. European ports are piled high with dangerous wastes that are waiting in the queues for incineration or burial.

Following the Karin B saga, several documentaries have appeared chronicling the passage of waste from the rich to the poor nations via unscrupulous profiteers to whom waste is just another commodity. This trade will continue unhindered by the new treaty: many Third World nations cannot afford to turn down lucrative dumping contracts in their current state of indebtedness.

GREEN HOLIDAYS

PLANNING YOUR holidays? The Sunseed Trust are organising green working holidays for between a week and a month in Southern Spain, helping to green the deserts. For 40 per week (32 low waged etc.) you can take part in tree planting, organic gardening, devising simple devices for the hungry etc., with expert supervision. You live in their research centre in an idyllic mountain village, and, since the work is for only four hours a day, you have time to enjoy the spectacular country, swimming, sun, wholefood and good company. For full details, send 1 to Sunseed Desert Technology, PO Box 2000, Cambridge.

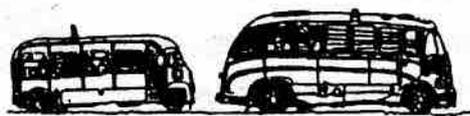
RAINBOW CAMPS

As well as the Oak Dragon Project (see Green Diary), another group is organising summer camps on various themes. This group is the Rainbow Circle.

Camps planned for this year are:-

- * Beltane: 29th April - 7th May.
- * Music & Dance: 27th May - 4th June.
- * Healing: 8th - 16th July.
- * Astrology & Self Discovery: 22nd - 30th July.
- * Ancient Crafts & Green Futures: 12th - 20th August.
- * Children's Camp: 26th August - 3rd Sept.
- * Celebration of Life: 16th - 24th Sept.

For more information about the Rainbow Circle and the camps, contact Lyn Lovell, 18c Frogal Lane, London NW3 7DT.



John Peel on a green future: I take a very pessimistic view. I had an argument with my 12-year-old son - he wanted to buy some hairspray, he's very keen on his hair, and I'm envious because I haven't got very much, but he wanted the (CFG) propellant-driven hairspray, and I said, "Well, I'm not paying for it" - and he got really ratty and I said, "Which is more important - like the death of humankind, or the death of the planet, or you having a neat hairstyle?" He decided that, by-and-large, he'd sooner have a neat hairstyle.

GREEN STUDENTS

ACTIVISM AMONG green students grows each year as does the green caucus at the National Union of Student's conference. But as greens recognise, growth brings problems! The centralised hierarchy of NUS is readily apparent. It can only be influenced through the conferences which are effectively controlled by two major factions: the Kinnockite NOLS and the leftist SSIN. Each, with varying degrees of support from Militants, Democrats, Revolutionary Communists, Socialist Workers and Trotskyists attempts to get their ideas passed as policy, their candidates elected to the Executive, their motions prioritised, and attempt to exclude all initiatives from other quarters.

The animosity this causes between the hacks and sheer frustration it causes among ordinary (sentient?) delegates, should mean that the green challenge to NUS is clear: the need for decentralisation; for consensus decisions; for breaking up hierarchies and taking power away from party political hacks.

But in practice NUS poses us a challenge - how are we to organise effectively, but without reproducing the power structures that ultimately stifle participation and debate? This question has to be re-examined each time greens progress. So far, the latest calls to organise under the aegis of the Green Party's youth wing have fallen on stony ground. But once this barrier is crossed, our presence should be felt at NUS.

ANDY SPRING

For more info on green student organisations contact Green Student Network, c/o Birmingham Greenworld, Dept. External Studies, Birmingham University Guild of Students, Birmingham.

NORTHERN IRELAND GREENS

A REQUEST for new member has been made in order to get at least 26 candidates for the EEC elections, which will guarantee party political broadcasts. The Green Party of Northern Ireland's membership secretary is Peter Doran, 128 Inisclairn Rd, Foylhill, Derry (0504) 269608

QUESTION YOUR MEP

MARK KINZLEY has a questionnaire to assess the green colouration of Euro-election candidates. The results will be compiled and sent to the press. Send sae to Mark at 7 Gaysham Ave, Gants Hill, Ilford, Essex, IG2 6TH for details.

CALLING SOCIALIST GREENS

A QUARTERLY newsletter of the Association of Socialist Greens is available from Derek Wall, 35 New King St, Bath BA1 2BN. Can you afford to miss it with a quiz for prospective GP candidates including questions like "How would react to a bottle bank? (a) Put a bottle in it (b) Put 20kg of semtex in it (c) write Bourgeoisie compromise on it." Or "What have the following in common: bonsai, bottle banks and kissing?"

EURO-SHIRTS

DOES YOUR local Euro-election campaign need a boost? Oxford Green Party have designed a T-shirt with "Vote Green" in the EEC languages adorning its front. Excellent publicity material: get them at £5.30 inc p&p from 11 Bridge St, Osney, Oxford. Phone 0865 249949 for bulk order enquiries.

ENVIRONMENTALISM SATANIC SHOCK!

HERE'S A rather amusing missive to the BBC magazine *Wildlife in March*, which came our way via S.P. Croucher.

"My son has been a subscriber to your magazine for a couple of years but until this morning I had never actually bothered to read it myself. Even though I have never been very interested in wildlife, I thought it was a harmless-enough subject for a 12-year-old. But when I looked inside the February issue I was shocked.

In the first two articles that I read - about two of the most disgusting kinds of animals I have ever heard of, tenrecs and hyenas - you mention Evolution at great length and treat it as though it were scientific fact. You ask your readers to believe without question that tenrecs and hyenas descended from some other animals over the course of millions - millions! - of years.

We are taught in the Bible that the world began between five and six thousand years ago, and that all the animals, including tenrecs and hyenas, were created on one day intact. I believe this because God is a lot more reliable as an authority than a mere mortal, Darwin, and I insist that my son be allowed to believe this too.

I was also dismayed to see that you also seem to have an implicit allegiance to that other heresy, Environmentalism, which puts Nature above Man and is thus no different



Three evil ones: Parkin, Wall and Lambert

from witchcraft or voodoo. God gave Man a mind so that he could control Nature. He also gave man a limited time on earth before the Day of Judgement. Environmentalism attempts to postpone that Day - Armageddon - and thus is sacrilege.

Your magazine not only supports these twin blasphemies, it also manages to be violent and pornographic. We are treated to pictures of hyenas covered in blood while being told that females have male organs - and then that tenrecs have an abnormal number of breasts. Even in the marmoset article there is speculation about who might be the babies' father.

I have cancelled my son's subscription and have told him never to bring another wildlife magazine into the house."

Readers will be reassured that GL can be left on any coffee table without embarrassment: as you'll know, we, like Mrs V. Hamlett of Wandsworth, are (not quite so strongly) suspicious of environmentalism, and would certainly never mention hyenas, except perhaps as metaphors for certain government ministers...

APRIL

14th. Green Wedge concert at St. James', Piccadilly, London. Clifford White; progressive instrumental music. 7.30pm. £4.00/£2.50.

14th. Start of new series of "Muck and Magic", organic gardening programme, Channel 4. The new series is to include Bio-Dynamic horticulture in a major way, with a visit to a BD small holding on 12th May (we think).
15th. Travellers' Skool Bus Reggae Benefit Party, Canon Frome Court, nr Ledbury, Herefords. Rhythmites, Another Green World, Classical Indian Music. 3.

15th-16th. People's Land Group. Meeting at Hockley House, Birmingham. Details: PLG, c/o Jo, 58 Clarence St., Burnley, Lancs.

17th & following 2 weeks. Green Books Fortnight.

18th. 7.00pm Talk on Women and development: cash crops and the implications for women by Joan Davidson of UCL at the London Ecology Centre, 45 Shelton St WC2. Organised by Women's Environmental Network 01 490 2511

20th. 7 Kevins, Battersea Arts Centre, London.

22nd. Stonehenge Campaign Benefit, The Golden Lady, Albion Road, Stoke Newington, London. Featuring: Stone Cold + support + disco. 8pm. £3/£2 (73 bus)

22nd-May 1st. National Environment Weeks.

22nd. "Break the Nuclear Chain". Demonstration at BNFL Capenhurst. Contact: Merseyside CND, 051 708 7764.

22nd. TRF Day of Action, this year with a focus on the role of rainforest destruction in adding to the Greenhouse Effect. Details: FOE, 01 490 1555.

22nd. Ecology Building Soc. invites you to "Ecology Day", Sheffield Polytechnic, Pond Street, Sheffield. 11am- 4.30pm. Talk by Jonathan Porritt. See alternative:- medicine, education, transport, leisure, lifestyles, cosmetics, books. Details: 0535 35933.

23rd. International Anti-Fascist Day of Action.

27th. Skool Bus Benefit, Cricketers Pub, Kennington Oval, London. Jenny Chapman + friends.

28th-May 1st. Beltane Festival, Barbury Castle, 7 miles south of Swindon.

29th. Chernobyl Anniversary. Actions. FOE day of action, focussed on South West and Hinkley area. Contact: Nicola Ramsden, FOE SW Office, Arnos Castle Estate, Junction

Road, Brislington, Bristol BS4 3JP.
29th. Northern Green Fair. Leeds University Union, Woodhouse Lane, Leeds. 11am- 5pm. Contact: Ian Creasey, 20 Meadow View, Leeds, LS6 1JQ.

30th. Sponsored Bike Ride for Nicaragua, London to Oxford. Food, concert in Oxford, free accommodation, live entertainment en route, train service back to London. For more details and registration pack send large SAE to Nicaragua Bike Ride, 23 Bevenden St., London N1 6BH. Postal registration deadline is April 20th.

MAY

1st. "Green for GO". Huddersfield Green Party are running a train from Huddersfield to Carlisle (picking up at Leeds, Shipley, Keighly & Skipton) along the Settle to Carlisle Railway, the line that BR want to close and the Tories want to privatise. The line offers 113 miles of scenic splendour. For further details & bookings for this fun and aesthetically pleasing outing of protest, contact: Nick Harvey, 21 Holme Park Court, Berry Brow, Huddersfield, W.Yorks HD4 7NJ, 0484 661650 or 510045.

3rd. Stonehenge Campaign Meeting, 99 Torriano Avenue, London NW5, 7pm.

5th-9th. Centre for Alternative Technology - Windpower systems and engineering: a course for those interested in buying/building wind generators, pumps etc. Contact CAT, Machynlleth, Powys, Wales SY20 9AZ (0654) 2400.

6th-7th. "Dying Forests: a crisis in human awareness?" Weekend Tree Observation Workshop at Ruskin Mill, Millbottom, Nailsworth, Glos. GL6 0LA, 045383 2571.

12th-16th. Organic gardening course at CAT, Machynlleth. See May 5th-9th for details.

12th-20th. Oak Dragon Camp. "Spiritual Traditions". Many paths, ancient and modern, towards spiritual unity. Workshops and ceremonies. Adults 50, children 15. Details: Oak Dragon Project, Myrtle, Capel Seion Rd., Drefach, Llanelli, Dyfed, 0269 844272.

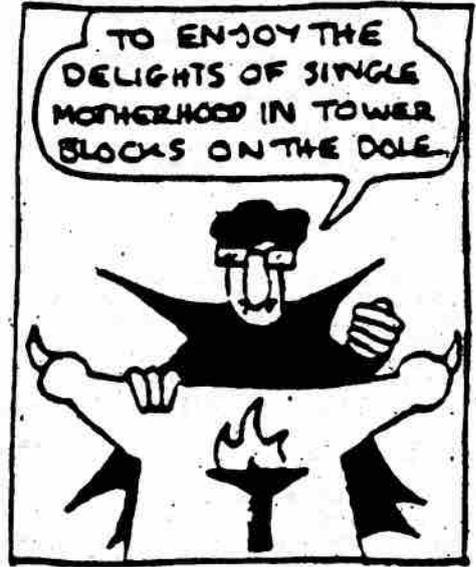
13th. Alternative Fayre; Church Hall, Church of the Holy Spirit, Fawcett Road, Southsea, Portsmouth. Crafts, stalls, food, music and more. Contact: 0705-731416.

12th-21st. Travellers' Skool Bus Children's Camp, Somerset. A self-help co-operative gathering for families with children out of school. Details: 0432 352133.

DOLE DRUMS



WANT ANY



HASSLE...?

RECENT MONTHS have seen the production of the first of hopefully many issues of "HASSLE". The idea behind HASSLE is to provide a free news sheet which can be handed out at any dole office DoSS etc. The news sheet/ mag is hoped to blend practical advice for people who are unwaged and/ or receiving (or not receiving) benefits with news and campaigning ideas. The producers hope that the sheet will "be a spur to annoyed but politically inactive claimants to get involved in the increasingly necessary struggles to defend even the basics of life."

The HASSLE editorial group are appealing for help with this project so that it can really take off. Suggestions of useful ways of helping out include taking copies of HASSLE

to local shops, community centres, gigs and other meeting places; distribution of a few hundred at the local dole office or DoSS; producing local supplement sheets for your area, and, contributing news to HASSLE. There may hopefully be a readers and contributors meeting if the mag takes off, possibly at the next Alliance of Unwaged Organisations conference? And, also quite importantly, the mag needs financial support, so any and all donations are most gratefully received.

If you want more information and copies of HASSLE, they can be contacted c/o Norwich Claimants' Union, St. Ann Lane, Norwich, 0603 661241 (office hours mon-wed 10-4, Sat 10-1)



GRAHAM'S SUNFLOWERY

1 mug wholegrain rice
1/2 mug or so of raisins or currants according to sweetness of tooth
sunflower spread according to taste

Gently cook up the rice in a large pan with two mugfuls of water plus a bit extra for the dried fruit and to leave a little "juice". About halfway through the cooking throw in the



CREAMY RICE PUDDING

dried fruit. Add a little water if the mixture dries up. When the rice and fruit are soft stir in a few tablespoonfuls of sunflower spread to make a nice creamy rice-pudding consistency. Serve up and enjoy.

Could be tried with tahini or peanut butter or with other variations? Anyone fancy experimenting?

NETWORK

LIFE CYCLE

COMMITTED ADVENTUROUS volunteers are needed to help organise a world bicycle tour to highlight the need for urgent international action for environmental survival. The tour will take in Europe and Asia to arrive in New York at the UN in a year's time.

If you can offer any help then write to Life Cycle, 17 Queen's Terrace, St Andrews, Fife KY16 9QF

LIVING GREEN STORIES

AS PART of a Quaker sponsored research project, Beth Cross is looking for accounts of people who are living a different, truly green lifestyle; how their beliefs are reflected in everyday life, relationships etc. Write to her at Cottage 2, Friends Meeting House, Meeting House Lane, Claverham, Avon BS19 4PB.

GREEN VILLAGES

EARLY NOTICE of a conference on September 24 on Green Villages of Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow. If you wish to attend or submit a paper contact Karen Watson at 19 Cawardon, Stantonbury, Milton Keynes, Bucks MK14 6AH.



The conference arises out of the ashes of the Greentown Group, who formed in 1979 to get funds for an ecologically harmonious and co-operatively managed community. Unfortunately discussions with Milton Keynes Development Corporation broke down and financial backing for the project was lost.

With the money left over, Greentown are hosting the villages conference to celebrate achievements like Lightmoor village in Telford and others, to learn from their successes, and plan for the future.

EDUCATING FARMERS

Norwich Education and Development centre (NEAD) is starting an ambitious project to go out and meet East Anglia's farming community and explain the nature of the global food system, particularly its internationalised nature, the effects on one country of agricultural policies in another, to describe the conditions of work in the Third World, to counter Eurocentric attitudes, to channel expertise and solidarity into support of overseas projects and to encourage the farming community to lobby for changes in CAP. For more information write to NEAD at 38 Exchange St, Norwich NR2 1AX



WIND AND SUN EXHIBITION

THE WIND AND SUN alternative technology exhibition is again available for bookings at events this Summer. The exhibition features working examples of the latest wind generators and solar panels, together with wide-ranging displays on topics such as nuclear power, nuclear disarmament, ecology, renewable energy and alternatives, accompanied by a colourful book and information stall.

Anyone interested in booking the display should contact Steve Wade as soon as possible so that their events can be included in this year's calendar. Write to The Howe, Watlington, Oxford OX9 5EX, or phone (0491) 613859.

GIVE KIDS A CHOICE!

A NUMBER of groups campaigning on animal rights and vegetarianism have joined together to force Local Educational Authorities to provide alternatives to meat for vegetarian/vegan schoolchildren. Just before being hauled off to the abattoir herself, Edwina Curry agreed that it was "especially important that growing children who wish to eat a vegetarian meal at school are offered a sufficient variety of foodstuffs".

North Yorkshire and Solihull LEAs have both led the way in providing vegetarian meals and the new campaign "Choice!" will build on this with information packs for children, nutritional guidelines and example menu plans for schools etc. The meat industry are clearly worried: Dewhurst is spending 122,000 on a teachers' "resource pack".

Choice have produced detailed guidelines on nutrition and a balanced four week menu planner, along with campaigning leaflets and class material. Contact Choice! on (0732) 364546 or (061) 928 0793 for more info or write to Parkdale, Dunham Rd, Altrincham, Cheshire WA14 4QG.

What does the school near you offer?

A somewhat way-out way in

After the Crash

Guy Dauncey

(Greenprint) £6.99

I AM A biased reviewer. I would rather be nuked than have anything to do with a Harmonic Convergence or the New Age. The idea that we are in crisis but "Behind every dark cloud there lies a silver lining, illuminated by the sun" is one that I find both trite and cliched. Statements like "A rainbow is caused when the light of the sun shines through the storm, bringing hope, beauty and the promise of better times ahead" make me reach for the sickbag. One suspects that more often than not, the light at the end of the tunnel shines from an oncoming 125. This is a shame because there is much that I really like about Guy Dauncey's book, although I feel that the book's format and some of the more way-out passages may put many people off.

The book's analysis of the mess that the global economy is in, with vast sums of money rushing around the world to make a quick profit on currency and share speculation, the debt crisis and ecological catastrophe is very good: summarising the often murky connections between high finance and environmental destruction. Instead of a global economy based on the pursuit of greed, Guy Dauncey argues that we need a whole series of local economies based in the community and controlled by local people. Instead of dividing the world into them and us on the basis of class, religion or football teams, we need to regain some kind of unity with other human beings, other species and nature. Unlike some advocates of such unity, Guy Dauncey admits that it may not be easy to achieve, and advocates an akido approach: trying to work *with* rather than *against* the energies of our opponents, while maintaining our own centre.

The book has a wealth of detail on how local economies can be created, although on occasions - especially when advocating increased tourism - "the blue of prosperity" seems to collide with "the green of ecology" in his rainbow. His ideas for local greening are good, suggesting that



activists should get together and gain support for detailed local plans for community business. Sadly, such planning decisions are being taken more and more by Nicholas Ridley and Urban Development Corporations, rather than local people. Still, even in these somewhat bleak times, it is better to light a candle than curse the darkness - and Guy Dauncey illuminates many practical ideas for achieving change outside of parliament or other elected bodies.

I am cautious of some of his ideas on what has loosely become known as 'Green Capitalism'. He stresses the need to combine the "traditionally right-wing values of initiative, individuality and enterprise" with those "traditionally left-wing values of caring for the worker and the community as a whole" - and I couldn't agree more. But what happens to the traditional right-wing values of greed, exploitation and hierarchy? The present decentralised business is a product, not of green thinking, but of post-Fordist ways of exploiting workers at home or through franchises.

We should not reject green business arrangements out of hand, but we should at least look at them with care. Perhaps it is more my suspicion of the form of the argument rather than its substance, but how seriously can we take a description of a Third Era where "...the laws of business are in accord with the laws of nature, honouring the need for evolution in both parts and the whole - the individual, the company and the world as a whole."

Despite my bias, I did find much of value in this volume. It contains useful descriptions of green finance, practical community development and LET schemes. But we still lack a description of a fully operating post-industrial, post-capitalist, post-socialist economic cycle. Would it rely on local production and barter, enhanced market mechanism, local or regional planning...? After the Crash extends the argument, if not answering all of the questions.

DEREK WALL

The search for a green light

The Unpolluted God

Guy Ragland Phillips

(Northern Lights, 11a Victoria Rd,
Pocklington, E.Yorks YO4 2BZ)

£6.95+70p p&p

THIS IS a belated review of a book published last year, which will make a welcome contribution to the ongoing debate about neopaganism, the Goddess, old religions and other aspects of "green" spirituality.

As well as being an interesting look at Britain's religious history, Guy Ragland Phillips' book is "a search for the means by which humanity may at the last minute avoid annihilating itself and instead build a fruitful and integrated life". He proposes a change in our spiritual values and a return to a pagan lifestyle and spiritual values where we relate to our god/ gods/ universal spirit as being inherent and immanent in all of nature rather than as an entity that is separate and somehow "above" it.

This message echoes those of a number of small (or not so small) voices within the green movement, including prominent neopagan authors like Starhawk. Guy suggests that this need not imply witchcraft or other pagan cults, but we must get more in touch with the natural world around us, relating to it as living and sacred rather than dead and of little consequence. Implicit in this message is the need for a green lifestyle.

In looking at our spiritual history, Guy establishes a long and thorough perspective. He uncovers a treasure trove of pagan relics in many of our older churches, along with evidence of both christian and pagan observance.

Indeed many of these churches were built on pagan religious sites whose antiquity goes well back into the stone age. From there, the author moves on to explore the oldest of religions, witchcraft and shamanism, and looks back to the dawn of even those religions.

He suggests that early "primitive" humans were very much in tune with the "universal divine spirit" without a need for middle-men, or women, such as shamans and priests, and that when religion was developed humans got more and more spiritually alienated (the Fall?). This suggestion gives food for thought, considering the variable fruits of religious developments over the centuries.

The book is quite well researched and avoids the dryness of many theoretical tracts with a fairly conversational style. For any green, or anyone dissatisfied with the current religious set-up and its attitudes to nature and our world, this book is



well worth reading. It can be ordered from Northern Lights (address above) or you may find it in a radical bookshop.

Northern Lights aim "to publish esoteric works of crucial significance to our times based on dynamic reappraisals of mystical, religious and folk traditions in Britain, Europe and the world in general." They believe that the solutions to mankind's problems lie in "the profound and radical reinterpretations of life, which can be glimpsed behind the activities and values of certain almost vanished cultures and traditions." They aim to present the best writing from these fields of study and concern. Send off for their booklist if you are interested.

GRAHAM HOOPER

How should the green movement deal with the issue of racism in Britain? A first step might be to recognise and demolish the barricades to black participation in the movement, as well as taking note of the very urgent social and environmental deprivation that black people disproportionately have to face. JULIAN AYGEMAN considers these issues and what lies behind them.

"It's as if the black experience is only lived in an urban environment. I thought I liked the Lake District, where I wandered lonely as a black face in a sea of white. But a visit to the countryside is always accompanied by a feeling of unease, of dread..."

WHY SHOULD INGRID Pollard, a photographer, feel so unwelcome in the Lake District, just south of the fort of Aballava on Hadrian's Wall where, in the Third Century AD, a black Roman division was stationed? Could it be because the public perception of the environmentalist is of an unleaded, Body-shopping, Ecover-using, cycling and recycling, earth-friendly, green-peaceful, middle-class white person? It seems that both the white physical landscape and the white personal landscape of environmental organisations have not adapted to the presence of black people.

Ask a conservationist or an ecologist about the idea of adding "alien" plants and species to our "native" flora and fauna: their response is likely to be one of muted hostility. This ecological parochialism has led Fenton [1] to conclude that *"perhaps dislike of alien species is indeed similar to racial discrimination - wanting to preserve the culture and genetic integrity of one's own stock (a natural human failing). Alien species are welcome in strictly defined areas (gardens) but must not be allowed to pollute the native culture (the wider countryside)"*. Black people in the countryside are the "polluting" human "aliens"; we are perceived as being out of place.

This alienisation of people is not however a purely British phenomenon. Doughty [2] describes the reactions of Americans to the immigration of the "alien" house Sparrow in the mid-19th century. He notes that, in the popular perception, both sparrow and immigrant *"had 'low morals', reproduced at amazing rates, and appeared to be plotting and conspiring to exploit the United States"*. He goes on to point out that *"in contrast, native birds were clean, tidy and hardworking. They preferred country living and fulfilled the 'Yeoman myth'"*.

So, where is our place?

Apartheid

There is, it seems, a process of containment in operation, similar to Fenton's botanical notion of "strictly defined areas". It keeps us in certain, (officially) specified parts of urban areas. Witness the recent case of a south London estate agent prosecuted by the Commission for Racial Equality for not allowing black families to view properties in genteel "white" areas. In contrast, our "place" is largely environmentally impoverished in terms of housing, pollution, playspaces, (semi)-natural greenspace and traffic density; it is often dehumanising and stark. *"It's no wonder*

Where is our place?



Photo: Lambeth Council

people around here never go out on their own. It's not the kind of place you want to sit and relax in. Everything is neglected... and we feel it", said a West Indian woman in Stockwell, south London.

Figures from the CRE document Housing & Ethnic Minorities: statistical information attest to this environmental disadvantage: 30% of London's homeless are black and this rises to 60-70% in some inner London boroughs; 19.8% of black households are overcrowded (more than one person per room) rising to 60% among Bangladeshis in Tower Hamlets. The rate of overcrowding in the population as a whole is 3.6%. Add to this the global environmental insecurity experienced by black people who suffer disproportionately from drought, deforestation and desertification, flood and famine; or more localised problems such as the Italian toxic waste dumped in Nigeria, the proposed dumping of similar U.S. waste in Guyana, and the proposed French dumping of "low level" nuclear waste in Benin, and there is clearly cause for alarm.

Or is there?

Environmentalism as leisure

In Britain, how much research has been done by the Countryside Commission specifically on black people and the countryside? How much has been done by environmental organisations on the campaign participation of black people? How much has been done by the Department of Environment on the environmental quality enjoyed (sic) by black people? A DoE official, when asked this question, replied: "No, it's not the kind of research we do. It doesn't come under our auspices". Official alarm only occurs when there is empirical evidence - but due to a total lack of research the evidence is largely circumstantial.

Certainly, one problem is that the environmental movement has historically been dominated by "wildlife people" in the public (and media) perception, not by people who believe that environment starts where you are - dog-mess, graffiti, litter and all. This has led to the setting of campaign agendas "in house", by the environmental movement alone, devoid of any grass-roots input. It has also led to the academicisation and professionalisation of the issues, which has excluded all but those who share the "privilege of concern": that is, those with the relevant colour, knowledge, skills, confidence and time. Whilst most local environmental action may be regarded as a "leisure" activity by those (professional) people with time on their hands, the real environmental issues affecting many people are far more urgent; resolution of these issues is an absolute necessity for an enhancement of their quality of life. Because of the professionalisation of environmental issues, one of the most accessible aspects of environmental action to city dwellers - urban greening - has all but passed black people by. Even within our "strictly defined area", our "place" we are not creating, on a large scale, the kind of environments that we want to live in.

So is there a green path ahead for black people? The problem is complex, but there are two major routes: social justice and resources.

Justice for all

In an article by Alexander Cockburn [3], Steve Schwartzman of the Environmental Defense Fund in Washington DC pointed out, in relation to the killing of the Brazilian trade unionist Chico Mendes, that "social justice and environmental protection are inseparable in the Amazon". This is borne out by a forthcoming study of the Brazilian greens: they jointly campaign for the rights of indigenous forest dwellers and against commercial deforestation. Similarly, the threat of nuclear waste dumping in Benin has resulted in the formation of a Benin

human rights and environmental organisation - again, a joint concern for social and environmental justice.

This concern for social justice is not shared in the British environmental movement, which is almost entirely concerned with the achievement of a given *product*: recycling more bottles and cans, or saving a threatened wildlife habitat, with scant regard for the *process* of community environmental involvement, enablement or action. An example of this lack of concern was recently shown by FoE who, after returning from Nigeria where they had been inspecting the dumped Italian toxic waste, omitted to send press releases to the black and ethnic minority press. Was the issue not of interest to Nigerians or other black people in Britain?

A social justice perspective must be included in green campaigning agendas because, short of coercive measures, true environmental well-being will only exist when there is human well-being.

The second route is through adequate resourcing. 1987-1988 was European Year of the Environment (EYE). The UK EYE committee awarded the princely sum of 5,000 to the National Council for Voluntary Organisations (NCVO) for an Ethnic Minorities Award Scheme (EMAS). The scheme was vastly over-subscribed by black groups. But did any black groups get grants under mainstream EYE funding?

The EMAS projects for which funding was given fell into three categories: trips to the countryside (safety in numbers?), general greening (e.g. tree planting, litter clearance) and the creation of "cultural ecological gardens" - areas representing the flora of the groups' countries of origin. Such a garden, part funded by Lambeth Council, was created by the schoolchildren of Walnut Tree Walk Junior School, Kennington, south London.

None of the recipients of funding under EMAS had ever applied for funds from mainstream grant bodies for environmental work before. The untapped creativity and imagination within the black community for environmental improvement is vast. Under EMAS, black people began to set an environmental agenda, albeit an under-resourced one.

A recent conference organised by FoE and the London Wildlife Trust (although originally suggested by black activists), was attended by over 100 people. The event, "Ethnic Minorities and the Environment", at which the Rev. Barry Thorley of Faith in the City and Jonathon Porritt spoke, saw the birth of the Black Environmental Network (BEN). Organisations such as the Caribbean Ecology Forum, who aim to put green issues on the Caribbean agenda, and the Association of Black Planners, a pressure group for black people involved in, or interested in planning, are represented in BEN. BEN itself aims to support black people who would like to work in or are already working in environmental organisations and professions. It will disseminate information to the black press and public and present a black agenda for environmental action.

For more information write to BEN, c/o 76 Strathleven Rd, London SW2 5LB.

References:

- [1] J.Fenton "Alien or Native" *ECOS* 7 (2) 1986, p20. (Packard, Chichester).
- [2] R.Doughty "The English sparrow in the American landscape: a paradox in 19th century wildlife conservation" *Occasional Papers in Geography* #19 (1978). (School of Geography, Oxford University).
- [3] A.Cockburn *New Statesman & Society* 6.1.89

This article is the full version of Julian Aygeman's piece in *New Statesman & Society* of 3.2.89. Julian Aygeman is Senior Environmental Education Officer for Lambeth Council in London.

This month we hear from KATYA KOMISARUK, who in 1987 destroyed a Navstar (Navigation System Time and Ranging) computer complex on Vandenberg Air Force Base in California, notorious for its role in testing U.S. ICBMs targeted on the Marshall Islands. The Navstar system is intended to provide the accuracy required for U.S. military strategists to consider launching a genocidal first strike, and this was why Katya Komisaruk, who had already been arrested 31 times for civil disobedience, chose it as her target. She named this act of sabotage the White Rose action after a group of dissident students in Nazi Germany who used the same name for their protests against the Third Reich. They were eventually caught and executed for their actions.

The White Rose action

DURING THE EARLY hours of June 2 1987, Katya sneaked onto the Vandenberg base toting a tool bag containing crowbar, hammer, boltcutters, drill and similar tools. She walked for an hour through the darkness before arriving undetected at the Navstar complex. She went through the facility's open gate and used a bicycle lock to secure them behind her. At the gate she left flowers, a box of Mrs Fields' cookies and the following poem:

I have no gun
you must have lots
let's not be hasty

have a cookie and a nice day

Why? "Well if nothing else, they would spend an extra ten minutes defusing the box of cookies before going any further."

Katya painted the outside walls of the building with phrases from the Nuremberg principles. Since above every door was the sign "Electronic Alarm System in Operation", she first decided to climb onto the radar dish atop the complex to make dents and holes in its surface. After this she broke into the building and, assuming she would be arrested within minutes, went to the large mainframe computer cabinets and broke up their components, emptying a fire extinguisher into the cabinet she couldn't open causing it to short-circuit. As a final act, she painted the mainframe with more messages relating to the Nuremberg principles.

Despite these two hours of extensive equipment destruction she went completely undetected by the "advanced" security system, walked off the base and hitchhiked back to San Francisco. The next day she held a press conference and voluntarily surrendered to the FBI.

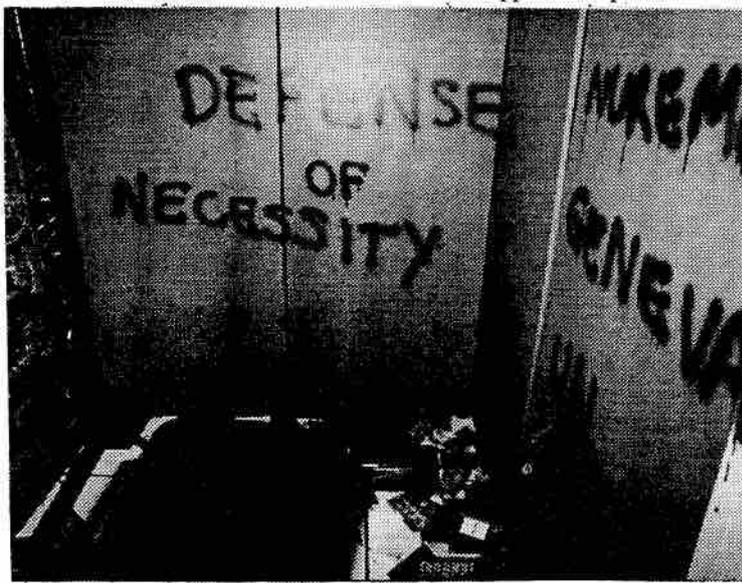
SO HOW DID a nice Jewish American Princess get herself in such a fine mess? There you were an MBA student, with a promising career as a corporate executive. No doubt most of your former colleagues now see you as a terrorist in the same league as Ghadhafi. What happened?

Strangely, an important part involved deciding it was time to get serious and start a career. I was 21. You know, it was the time when most young Jewish women are told to marry a doctor or a lawyer. I thought, well, instead I should just be one. I decided to go to business school at U.C. Berkeley. Within a month it hit me how incredibly corrupt the business world was. I'd lived in this complete fairytale up until then, where I didn't even read the paper: I just didn't have a clue. Suddenly I'm reading all these case studies, like Nestle's and the baby food scandal - literally hundreds of cases, one after another - and all the exercises were just appalling. There was nothing about taking care of the environment, the worker, the consumer. I began challenging my professors: "Who takes care of these things? Who monitors corporate responsibility?" They said, "Well nobody really." It became clear to me that in the corporate world there is no way there is going to be any responsibility. All through business school the buzzword was "maximise profits and long-term stability." In every class that was what they would say. It was a constant refrain all through business school; it was almost like you were supposed to sing it.

My first response was to drop out. So I went to talk to my counsellor; she can tell me what to do. I tell her all this angst that has just hit. She says, "Well dear, sometimes business school can be very competitive, and the business world in general is very competitive, and not all women can really cope with this amount of competition. I can understand a lot of women have trouble with the maths, and maths is really hard here; so maybe you would be better in the English department." [Fake vomiting reaction, followed by laughter]

So after lines like this I turned on my heel and walked out, telling myself I too can do this... I can do this... I can do this... and I completely bypassed the whole problem I

NAVSTAR decentralised Photo: White Rose Support Group



came in with. I don't know if the counselor did this on purpose, or it was simply her own intolerance and stupidity. But I ended up plodding through another two years of business school, hating every minute of it. I was doing this out of pride to show them mummy's feminism did its work. I wanted to prove I could do this business stuff. So I'm slogging through school and every day and every week I'm hating it more because I was having to read and write and say and just spend countless hours learning how to maximise profits and long-term stability. Each week I was getting more and more polarised, and feeling more and more strongly about environmental, political and nuclear issues.

But given the coursework required by a full-time MBA programme, how much time did you have for political activism?

I didn't have any time! But I also didn't have any guidance because I had no friends who were political - at all. Certainly not in the business school programme, I'll tell you that. Nobody I knew was even close to being an activist. I had friends who might have circulated petitions, but that's it. By the end of the MBA programme in June of 1982, I was feeling so conflicted with what I was studying and writing and what I was privately thinking that finally I decided I just had to do something. I was walking along the street and I saw this poster on a telephone pole describing a protest at Livermore Weapons Lab. You know, I had never thought about actually demonstrating, but I saw this poster and I thought, "That's it. I will go to a protest."

What I had in my mind were scenes from television in the early 70s - I imagined huge milling crowds of people chanting and screaming, bricks being thrown, and tear gas and dogs. At the bottom of this poster it said that to participate, you had to go to nonviolence training - I had no idea what this was. However, they probably arranged car pools at these things and I had no way to get to Livermore otherwise. They told me to come wearing loose clothing. I get there, and after about a half hour, it suddenly becomes clear that this was a well-planned civil disobedience. The trainers are explaining affinity groups, direct action, nonviolence and the legal system, and we do all these role plays and arrests and everything. I thought, this is great; this is the answer. I'll get arrested - this is it. It was my first demonstration, my first arrest, and it was incredibly empowering.

So this began literally scores of large public demonstrations for you as a peace activist. You've said your experience with mass civil disobedience has consistently been empowering. Why then did you organise the White Rose action as an isolated, individual act?

Partly because to do this type of sabotage action as a group requires about a year's worth of meetings and retreats. Now, I do respect the need for meetings, and in fact some meetings can be very good. They may be few and far between, but it is possible to have great meetings. They are a really important way for us to have participatory democracy. In this case, I just didn't feel up

to it. I also felt it would be a lot easier to sneak into a military facility as one person rather than a group. As it turned out, I could have gone in with a troop of girl guides trailing crumbs.

You must have been completely shocked to have your way with the Navstar nerve centre without the slightest interruption.

I imagined I would have three minutes in which to destroy things before being caught. The entire time I was doing it, I thought: they are coming, they are at the gate, they will be here any second. Every minute I had to work was a complete surprise. I had no idea I would be able to



Kayla drops in on Vandenberg Photo: White Rose Support Group

walk away from it.

...what made you stop?

I was exhausted! There was really nothing left to do. *You mean you destroyed every piece of equipment in the Navstar facility?*

All gone... Bye-bye... No more! The computer system I trashed was in five wardrobe-sized cabinets and I used my crowbar to haul out the chips. I piled them on the floor, jumped up and down and did a dance over them. There was one cabinet I couldn't get into and I thought "Coffee! Coffee!" The image of management screaming about having coffee near a computer came to mind. Since that wasn't possible, I thought I should go to the bathroom and fill a wastebasket full of water and pour it on the thing. But then I spotted a fire extinguisher... There were four fire extinguishers on the wall. I picked them up, pulled the pins and squirted all this electronic equipment and threw the switch on. It sizzled and popped and shorted everything.

My advice to someone planning a similar sort of thing is fire extinguishers are perfect, and they are bound to be right at hand. You need to use the water type extinguisher. It's necessary to have everything turned off while you are soaking the computer. Get it soaked and

then turn it on, preferably from a distance so you aren't hit by the arcing electricity. Rubber gloves and shoes are also a good idea.

Was part of your preparation for this action to learn the techniques of "computer irrigation"?

No, it was serendipity. It was easy: fire extinguishers are meant for carrying around and squirting things. Why not computers?

Individual & collective: secret & public

I'd like to look at the issue of secrecy in doing sabotage. People engage in clandestine sabotage at their workplace. It's relatively easy; you don't have to go to lots of meetings; you don't have to be organised with a large number of people; and you can still gum up the works. In the White Rose action you decided to do an individualised act from which you could have walked away unnoticed. Why were you willing to be arrested for it, indeed turn yourself over to the police?

Not getting caught is crucial to an awful lot of work that gets done. I've done plenty of clandestine actions, probably as many as I have public ones. I am as happy with them as I am with the White Rose action. Had I realised the lousy level of security at Vandenberg, I might have felt differently. It's just that in this time of my life, I wanted to do something public. Had I done this type of thing and not gone public, no-one would now be hearing about Navstar. It is a crucial issue that I wanted to raise both to the general public and the anti-nuclear movement.

But there is certainly a lot of clandestine sabotage that goes on. People just can't advertise sabotage, and by that very fact we don't hear about it. We know, for instance there was a fair amount of sabotage going on at the Diablo nuclear power plant while they were building it. Lines half cut through, things deliberately built wrong, jammed, messed up.

This addresses a criticism of sabotage: that often sabotage is misdirected angst which comes back as more work for the worker and marshals the forces of paranoia, justifying drug testing, increased surveillance, tight security systems, and even worse. In the case of Diablo, the plant was still put into operation - but as a much greater public threat.

The best sabotage, of course, is less than perceptible. Sabotage is a nasty word, but it can be really effective in certain situations. There are many different kinds: the most typical is "inventory shrinkage" (the euphemism used by the business world for employee theft) which must be secretive. Other sabotage actions, such as what Earth First! types do, must necessarily be public. For instance, with tree spiking [hammering bolts into trees to stop them being chainsawed], it is incumbent upon the saboteurs to get the word out. Since the goal is to stop the removal of trees, tree spiking is bloody useless unless you inform lumber companies that it has been done.

But what I did was a very different kind of action. I assumed that I would be arrested very quickly. I had not carried it out in a way which would have allowed me to go undetected. My fingerprints were everywhere...

...why didn't you wear gloves?

There is a lot more to escaping detection than wearing gloves. There is a very good book about this called Without a Trace. It explains all the police tracing techniques: fingerprints, voiceprints, fibre analysis... There are hundreds of ways they can trace you. It is very sophisticated. But if you read that book thoroughly, I'm sure you could plan and execute the kind of action I did without getting caught.

One group of French saboteurs calling themselves Clodo have described how their actions were clandestine and highly publicised. One way they both effectively disarmed and drew attention to the tools of war was to blow up large computer facilities and leave communiques explaining that corporation's relationship to the war economy. The public definitely heard

about that!

I definitely disagree with blowing things up, at least in the U.S. - and I'd say in Europe as well. Now, it is very different in Central America where strict adherence to non-violence would be a joke. But bombs and arson are uncontrollable and the very best of intentions often don't work out.

What I did, I did with my two hands and I had complete control over what happened. I don't think that if somebody had seen me destroying that Navstar equipment they would have been terrified that their own person was in danger. The reason I left the flowers, poem and cookies at the gate was because I was afraid that the guards would respond to an alarm - that there might be these soldiers dashing in with their automatic weapons, and it would be like Kent State, where young mindfucked men who had been through army boot camp, and had a lot of brainwashing, were suddenly faced with an emergency and did what they were trained to do - which was pull the trigger. I didn't want to be the target. I thought one way to get around that would be to have them come across the flowers, poem and cookies first: anything to distract them and make them stop and think for a few minutes before they went swarming in there.

I do believe very much in nonviolence.

...in every instance?

I don't feel willing to prescribe for other people what their form of resistance should be. I know that for me, for what I want to do here and now, nonviolence makes the most sense. I wouldn't prescribe nonviolence for an activist in El Salvador - that's absurd - but in the U.S. I don't believe violence is the best way to create social change.

Nonviolence: tactic or principle?

Sometimes in the U.S. the level of violent confrontation can be similar to El Salvador. In the 60s, the Black Panthers demonstrated how fighting back (sometimes violently) can be essential for escaping the role of powerless victim. And this really helped empower the black community. It wasn't only about arming yourself for defence against police violence, although that was important, but also developing alternative community organisations for mutual aid: health clinics, food conspiracies, street schools, and such. So for me, the question of violence or nonviolence varies with the situation. Violent confrontation certainly doesn't make much sense at a military base or a police station. Very rarely does it make any sense for me except as self-defence in overcoming my own oppression. But don't you think there are other contexts even here in the U.S., such as combating the activities of the Klu Klux Klan, where violence may be necessary?

It gets really tricky. It's hard to know if nonviolence is for sure the best mode for society in general and social change in particular. Usually, in a violent revolution, those who end up in power are those who are best at being violent, not the ones who have the best social or political talents. I know I'm not ready at this stage of my life to have blood on my hands.

Many in the peace movement see nonviolence as a philosophy of life rather than a political tactic that can change depending on the circumstances. A significant number of these people also believe property destruction is an act of violence that should never be used. Obviously you don't.

If my neighbour was experimenting with germ warfare in his basement and had a bunch of petri dishes full of interesting devices, I would feel more than entitled to say "This is a danger to me, to the community and to this maniac" and to deprive him of that property. He might scream "Those are my petri dishes and my viruses" and in the same way, the U.S. government is playing around with nuclear weapons that are a danger to me, my friends and loved ones, and I don't think they are entitled to play with them. Anything so dangerous that it can kill everybody

should not be owned by anybody.

The argument around property destruction is often put in these terms: if we cut the fence around a military base, nuclear plant etc., the surrounding community won't understand or will be offended. I think that is a problem - but I also think the community will be more offended if they all get blown up. One has to change one's standards and ties from community to community, especially in a cosmopolitan community. People get pretty jaded about protestors sitting in their road and blocking traffic. They may even feel it is very idealistic and vaguely reminiscent of the 60s. In this case, for civil disobedience not to be co-opted it sometimes necessary to escalate to version of controlled property destruction.

by Robert Thawley



Finding your limits

You have been arrested over thirty times, mostly doing civil disobedience at large public protests. What you did at Vandenberg was of course quite different. Was this a response to the current limitations of mass civil disobedience? How predictable it's become? How thoroughly orchestrated it is, both by the police and organisers?

...it is a ballet of co-optation, right?

Is it even that artistic? A prison march might be a more accurate description. The actions have become so predictable, especially those stale confrontations where the authorities establish a line that is illegal to cross, protestors sometimes cross it and assume some form of stasis, and the police herd them away like cattle to be processed.

I feel that no mass civil disobedience can ever be discounted. As with Rosa Parks, the march on Washington, the Vietnam War protests, often you cannot effectively calculate the outcome of your actions. Sure, I have been dissatisfied with civil disobedience actions. But it seems that for all of us who are jaded, there are a lot more people for whom it is as meaningful as any act could be.

For me, the experience of mass civil disobedience is similar to LSD. The first time - wow! It was an intense, transformative experience to feel the power, the tremendous solidarity when large numbers of people collectively rebel against authority. Incredibly empowering. So I see it as important for people who have never tasted anything like that before. But once you get acquainted with the system of police/jails/courts, and with how affinity groups within a large participatory decision-making process can, within certain limits, engender resistance against that system, what is the value of repeating the same old script?

If nothing else, there is the self-empowering aspect of saying for once: "I don't have to follow the rules; I don't need to cower in front of authority". For those that feel the thrill is gone, there is organising the first civil disobedience in a rural town. I remember helping with a civil disobedience action in Battlebro, Vermont. Only three locals were willing to get arrested, but it was a very significant event. A debate over the function of the town's main employer raged for over a year. It was front-page news in the local papers, big photos, everyone talked about it. So what seemed like a trivial type of action turned out to be very significant. I would never do civil disobedience without feeling it was worthwhile. If the type of political activity you are doing has become boring or tepid, you should do something else.

The aftermath

The White Rose action was hardly tepid. Yet, like civil disobedience, getting arrested was essential in your strategy to publicise the odious nature of Navstar. You fully expected to get apprehended within minutes of starting the sabotage. Since that didn't happen, did you consider turning yourself over to Vandenberg security right then?

No. I was utterly sweaty and dishevelled, and the thing I most wanted was a shower... and breakfast. I knew that if I called security at that point, they would just want to interrogate me through the night. I certainly didn't like the idea of being interrogated by military officers all night - much less going without a shower.

Yet the next day you turned yourself over to the authorities...

I feel the effect of what I did was maximised by a lot of publicity and especially, regarding the public at large, the flavour it gets by me turning myself in. It reaches some people who wouldn't otherwise listen if they didn't perceive that somebody felt seriously enough to risk getting locked up for 20 years. They may think: "Oh, the poor girl, such a nice young thing. She is going to be old by the time she gets out. She must have really believed in this. I wonder what it was she cared about so much." And then maybe they listen. And they won't hear without a virgin sacrifice [laughs] like me. It's a pity...

...aargh!!! Isn't that merely misplaced masochism?

In a calculated way.

So you're politically correct, although masochist?

I'd prefer you didn't use that particular line, however good it looks. The point I wanted to make is that people could do this kind of action in a secular fashion. It's certainly very much part of the Christian tradition for people to suffer for their beliefs. It's often highly regarded as religiously correct to defy secular authority for the sake of following God's law. But this is seldom done on a philosophically secular basis.

You mean defying government law for your personal set of morals?

My personal set of ethics reflect certain international ethics as exemplified by the Nuremberg principles. This can go round and round, but obviously I thought my actions would have beneficial effects on me as well as on whoever it affected in the public at large.

The whole issue with any kind of direct action is what you are going to do with it.

You face up to ten years in prison for what you did - was it worth it?

Absolutely.

You seem undaunted about doing time in prison. Aren't you afraid of the brutality and harassment you might receive? Or do you think you can largely avoid that?

Until I start looking for trouble. Then I'm sure I will be able to find it. For instance, I can't see any reason to work. I know that prison authorities feel there is an important economic and rehabilitative effect to working. But the day I work for 11 cents an hour...

"There is tremendous pressure to capitulate, to say and act the way they want you to. It eventually becomes a form of self brainwashing. That's the greatest tragedy of all: to brainwash yourself"

You must feel very strange to be articulating your future life in prison. Here you are now, planning and thinking about it.

Thinking about it? I dream about it! It will definitely have a pronounced effect on my life until I get out. I'm not naive about what I'm facing, and the fears I have are grounded in experience...

How many times have you ended up in jail or prison?

Probably a dozen. I have been in one prison and a lot of jails. The jails are a lot worse.

For short periods or longer?

I was in one hell-hole in Los Angeles for a month, where prisoners were constantly baited, beaten and abused by the guards.

Since you know to some extent what you are in for, what is your strategy for psychic and emotional survival?

Reading and writing; especially corresponding with my friends. I've always wanted to write a book; I think maybe I'll write a utopian novel. But it will be corresponding with friends that will give me the reality check I need. If I were to accept the standards of the oppressor, the guards of the institution, if I tried to get on with the programme, it would be fatal to my integrity and my sense of worth. There is tremendous pressure to capitulate, to say and act the way they want you to. It eventually becomes a form of self brainwashing. That's the greatest tragedy of all: to brainwash yourself. You have to always remember that the struggle isn't the day-to-day struggle to get petty privileges from assholes in uniforms.

That applies equally well to those of us outside the institutional prisons.

The key is keeping a lifeline with your community. Community is where my identity comes from. It doesn't have to be physically present; as long as I'm in communication with my community I'll be O.K. In prison my lifeline will be my correspondence. That's what will keep me sane.

On November 16 1987, Katya was found guilty on charges of destruction of government property by an L.A. Federal court. The judge would not allow a defence based on international law and the Nurenberg principles. On January 11 1988, she was sentenced to five years in jail.

If you wish to contact her, write to White Rose Defense Collective, 1716 Felton, SF, CA 94134 U.S.A or White Rose Support Group, c/o Milan Rai, Youth CND, 22/24 Underwood St, London N1 7JQ

This interview first appeared in the American magazine *Processed World*.

IF YOU LIVE near some useable land and have access to some willow suitable for coppicing, now is a good time of year to cut some willow to plant for landscaping, windbreaks, future basket and fencing materials, and/or... a living greenhouse!

Last year I decided to set up a plastic dome greenhouse in a sheltered part of our field garden - a small meadow with pond, some young willows and two cherry trees. In September I started covering the plot with flattened cardboard boxes and newspapers, held down by wood slices about 2.25" thick made specially while cutting the winter's logs, and camouflaged with coarse sawdust. Gradually this grew into a mulched area about 17ft across that stayed down all winter. (I got the wood slices idea after seeing the greenhouse floor in the Machynlleth Centre for Alternative Technology).

On a walk this February I discovered, not 200 yards from home, hundreds of birch and willow thinnings lying discarded on forestry land in between a few dozen privileged young conifers. Deciding then and there to use what I willow I could, I trimmed the 20 longest rods I could find (most about 12-15ft long) and brought them back, setting them upright at 2ft intervals around the perimeter of the mulched area. I used an old sharpened spade handle and mallet to make holes as deep as possible - about 18" - and put rooting hormone powder on the base of each rod, to encourage them to take root.

It takes about half a day to prune the rods, bend them over, and weave and tie them into a dome shape about seven feet high. I have tried various ways of doing it - the way you choose should depend on the size of your structure and its exposure to the wind. If any side could receive a real battering then you need to use good strong rods, maybe 1.5" thick. They are at their most vulnerable of course when their roots are just forming. There is also the consideration that thick rods have a lower probability of rooting successfully than small cuttings. I put a little cutting at the foot of each rod as a kind of long-term insurance to cover this. If you plan a large dome, it is probable that the rods, where they meet overhead, are not strong enough to take a battering from the wind or a layer of snow. You will therefore need to add some extra strength on top. I used some of the birch, in 12-15ft lengths.

However you do it, aim at a kind of loose basket or coracle shape that you can lean against without it collapsing. Don't forget to leave space for a door. I wove a door about 5ft high and 2ft wide, facing East, as with a sweat lodge or tipi, away from the prevailing wind. Use good strong string for the ties. Prune the structure again when it is complete, looking out for any sharp protuberances that could pierce strong plastic. Don't worry about the thin tips if they are not pointing outwards: they will look beautiful with leaves on.

At this point, before covering, I removed the mulch with



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OAK DRAGON PROJECT Contact Sue 0269 8114272
MYRTLE, CAPEL SEION RD, DREFACH, LLANELLI, DYFED

Spring is in the air - or at least it was as we went to press. TONY WRENCH offers a green project for all of us who'd like a greenhouse, but don't like/can't afford those vaguely post-modernist straight glasshouses. So get on the phone to your local council or forestry commissioner and get to those willow cuttings while they're still living!

A living greenhouse!



Photo: Tony Wrench

a hay fork, piled the wood slices up outside, added a few cwt. of manure, dug it all over, took some topsoil from the centre and added it to the surround and then set the wood slices in the centre area leading to the door to form a kind of tiled floor.

I then dug a trench all round the outside, one spade width wide and one length deep. If possible, do it so that each block is still attached by a grass hinge on the outside, giving it added strength to hold down the plastic later. The plastic - heavy duty UV (slightly green) - is stocked by agricultural suppliers. Never try to do it in more than one whole piece since maintaining any joins against rain, wind and snow is a nightmare (you can get plastic in 8 or 10m widths). A simple formula is to use a piece almost twice as wide as your dome to allow for the curve, tucking in, and Murphy's Law. For my 16ft wide dome, I bought a piece 10m by 9m, plus a roll of heavy duty 3" clear silo tape for £54. That has been my only expense.

By the way, please don't be put off by all the numbers - I didn't actually measure anything!

Putting the cover on is easy and fun, provided you give yourself enough time before dark and choose a calm day. Thought is required on where to put folds and the door. I chose to incorporate the door into the piece by gathering as much material as possible round by the door. Start in the West, cutting round the edge with a knife to leave about 3ft spare, rolling that up in stages and 'tacking' it down with a few of the soil blocks until you know it's going to be right. Work round until you reach the door.

Aim at a couple of folds on each side and a big one where the door will be. If happy so far, put all the soil blocks back, tread them in firmly, go inside and do any neat sticking you want to with the tape before condensation beats you to it. Leave some folds to provide future ventilation flaps, but don't cut them until you've seen how the dome behaves in bad weather.

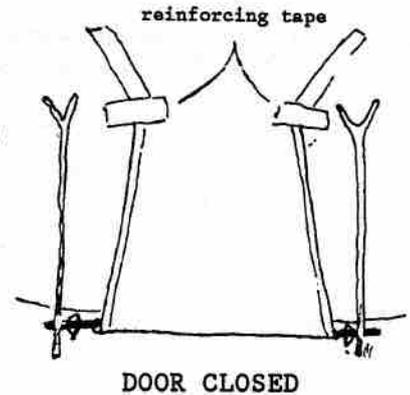
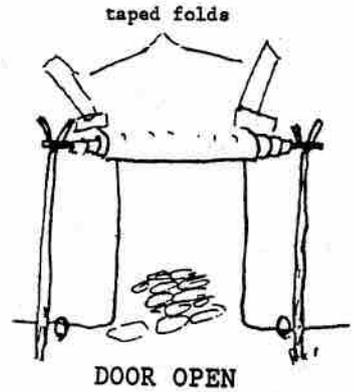
There are as many door designs as there are dome builders. I like a tipi feel, but using the fold as the door itself, thereby eliminating a join above the door. However you do it, I recommend that you build a little model first, using twigs and plastic and sellotape. It's not easy to think in 3D and it is only too easy to make that first bold cut into the plastic without considering all the possible consequences.

The door rolls up and is held in place by two forked willow rods which will, I hope, also take root. They do not touch the dome. The door flap is about 9" wider than the door space itself, including a hem of plastic tape. The bottom is wrapped around a stout birch rod and taped so that the rod extends by about a foot each side. There is a rubber band (from an old camping tent) staked into the

ground about 9" to each side of the door, to hold the door shut by going round each end of the door pole.

Last, but not least, we are left with a great pile of willow cuttings of all sizes. I pruned and selected these to end up with maybe 200 cuttings of 2-3ft long, which now form a double or triple arc around the west and north-west and north and north east sides of the dome. These will one day provide a good windbreak and visual shield for it. In planting cuttings in bulk, I have found a good way is to make the holes, preferably into wet ground, with a garden fork. Small cuttings can go in each hole, or larger ones in one in every four.

I water the bases of the rod supports each day. Now the greenhouse is a big, warm space. Mother Earth and Father Sun willing, the supports will sprout leaves in a month or so. In August, plenty of leaves will supply shade from the midday sun, but there will still be ample light. In November, Autumn will arrive late inside the dome; the leaves will fall to allow more light until next year's early Spring. After four or five years, when the soil is a bit tired, I will simply remove the plastic and have a magical bower inside a growing willow coppice.





ANIMAL EVENTS

APR 15: National Primate Action Day. There's a march against vivisection at the Institute of Psychiatry. Meet 11.30 am at Geraldine Mary Harmsworth Park, Lambeth Rd, London SE1. Tube: Lambeth North. For more details phone 01.274 1644 (days) or 01.356 9755 (evenings).

APR 22-23: World Day for Laboratory Animals. March, vigil and Festival: contact NAVS on 01.580 4034.

MAY 8: Hackney and Islington Animal Rights Campaign Public Meeting with a speaker and video from the newly formed environment group, Ark (a breakaway from Greenpeace International). 7.30 pm at the Gillespie Neighbourhood Office, 102 Blackstock Rd, London N4. Tube/BR: Finsbury Park.

JUN 17: National Anti-Angling Day: for a NAAD information sheet send a SAE to Campaign Against Angling, Dept N, PO Box 130, Sevenoaks, Kent TN14 5NR.

JUN 16-18: Third London Living Without Cruelty Exhibition at Kensington Town Hall. Contact Animal Aid, 7 Castle St, Tonbridge, Kent TN9 1BH.

NEWS ...NEWS ...NEWS

The Home Office speaks

A RECENT publication by the Home Office of new statistics on animal experiments in Britain 1987 provides a mass of interesting, if depressing, information; above all, these figures (see the compilation list in Animal Aid's Outrage) show that the new Animals (Scientific Procedures) Act of 1986, was yet another 'Vivisection's Charter', legislating for, not against, animal abuse - as indeed animal rights critics insisted all along. The total number of animal experiments is only slightly down on 1986, and remains around the 3 million mark; there is a vast increase in tobacco experiments (using mice and rats); and it is also clear that all the campaigns concentrating on the 'soft' issues of cosmetic research have not really dented the numbers still used in these experiments.

What the figures do show is the extent to which vivisection is built into the structures of commerce and industry; and also that around 700,000 of the experiments are required by British and overseas legislation - in other words they must be undertaken because the law requires it, not on account of the whims and kinks of 'sadistic' individuals. Despite the

fact that various procedures were supposed to be tightened up by the act and more properly scrutinised there were actually LESS visits made by inspectors than in the previous year. The smallest numbers on Animal Aid's list are at the bottom: there were NINE reported infringements of the law; a grand total of ONE licence was revoked; while the number of resulting prosecutions was a resounding: (wait for it) NIL.

Don't take it on Trust

THE DEFEAT of the anti-hunting resolution at last year's National Trust AGM was only a setback: the struggle to reverse Trust policy continues. There is a growing awareness that the anti-hunt lobby needs to be more prepared and better organised next time round, above all in mobilising anti-hunt sentiment within the Trust in a more systematic way before the next ballot. At the meeting itself the anti-hunt position was poorly represented and much less coherently expressed; as far as voting was concerned, many opponents of Trust policy had (wittingly or unwittingly) even thrown their ballot forms away!

There is no reason why we should be quite so inept; although the pro-hunt lobby has vaster resources at its disposal, its commitment and organisational expertise can usually put us to shame. I have some painful experience of this: at an anti-hunt meeting organised at Oxford to help launch the newly formed Oxford Anti-Death Sports Society (OXADSS), the BFSS bussed in coachloads of supporters from all over the country; they all arrived early and swamped the meeting, while their opponents, straggling in late as usual, found the hall full and the doors shut.

As Ralph Cook notes (see HSA's mag Howl) a "ban on hunting on Trust land creates 'sanctuaries' which the League Against Cruel Sports does not have to buy or maintain and is by far the best form of sabotage." So join the National Trust! (Contact the Membership Dept., PO Box 39, Bromley, Kent BR1 1NH).

In order to ward off another confrontation on this issue the National Trust is moving towards a compromise position which will demand stricter controls on bloodsports within the 600,000 acres of Trust land - including a ban on some foxhunting methods, the prohibition of mink hunting, and a possible end to beagling or coursing. These proposals are under consideration by senior members of the Trust's ruling council. All this is to be welcomed, though of course any 'compromise' position is designed to block a complete ban. So we must keep up the pressure.

Stop clowning with animals

IT'S TIME to finish off those circuses which use and abuse animals; they are already under pressure, and every year their popularity declines. There are plenty of opportunities to sabotage circus advertising, and to leaflet and picket the circus itself; but the most effective strategy is probably to aim for a council ban, while at the same time promoting the idea of animal-free circuses. Contact CAPS (Captive Animals Protection Society), 36 Braemore Court, Kingsway, Hove, East Sussex BN3 4FG; ARMIS (Animal Rights Movement Information Service) 14 High St, East Budleigh, Devon EX9 7DY.

Circus poster in Princeton, Devon with "Don't be fooled. Ignore false claims that the circus has been cancelled" on the back, plus offer of £200 reward for information about hoaxers.

The end of The I

PAUL JAMES describes the history of two grassroots animal rights networks during the 80s and assesses their effect on the campaign and their future.

THE FEDERATION of Local Animal Rights Groups (FLARG) which was born in May 1987, had its final national meeting last November in Leicester. FLARG began at a time of increasing dissatisfaction within the grassroots animal rights movement over the role of the established national societies such as BUAV, Animal Aid, League Against Cruel Sports etc.

Many activists thought that they had failed the movement by diverting scarce resources away from campaigning local groups and into their own bureaucratic structures and campaigns. In particular, there was a great deal of resentment over political campaigns such as Mobilisation for Laboratory Animals, into which hundreds of thousands of pounds had been poured but which had been abject failures. Critics said such money could be better spent by strong local groups running their own campaigns.

But FLARG was about more than just money. Radicals believed that the whole idea of national societies was wrong anyway. They were remote, centralised organisations that depended on local groups to hand



Federation and the growth of CAW

out their leaflets - most of which were inappropriate to local campaigns - but did not give anything back to the local groups. They fostered bureaucracy and corruption and, to a large extent, they duplicated each other's work (see the article "Animal Action: the Local Resource" in GL54 for a detailed discussion of these criticisms).

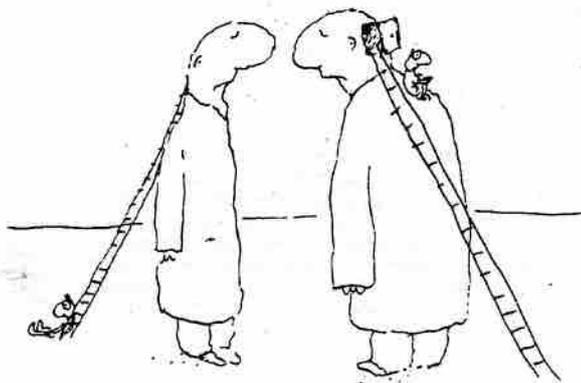
The Federation, then, was set up in direct confrontation to the national societies and held its first national conference in Manchester in September 1987, but from the beginning it had problems. Firstly there was a disagreement over its strategy; while everyone agreed in strong local groups, some believed that this could only be achieved by FLARG trying to 'take over' the nationals in order to split up their assets to local and regional groups, whilst others argued that while this sounded fine in theory, in practice it would prove unworkable and instead FLARG should concentrate on encouraging the autonomy of local groups from the nationals.

This basic split was never really reconciled and it surfaced time and time again at meetings. When the 'take over' theory was put into practice, however, it failed both times, firstly with the Scottish Anti-Vivisection Society in 1987 and again with the BUAV the following year. These organisations could simply make up their own rules as they went along and the power-hungry individuals within them were not going to stand by and see their empires threatened.

The 'take over' strategy adopted by some within FLARG had some very harmful consequences because it allowed our opponents to portray us in such a negative way. The July/August issue of the Liberator, the BUAV's journal, had an article entitled "Up for Grabs" which was essentially just a smear story about the Federation. Though it responded by sending out its own propaganda to local groups, most animal rights supporters and local groups still trusted the nationals and were prepared to believe these smears. Had it from the beginning simply put forward proposals to build a network of strong, independent local groups, the nationals would have had very little to smear it with.

Most campaigners in local groups, while perhaps suspicious and cynical of the nationals, still lacked the confidence to see how the movement could function without them completely. It is a pretty huge step to go from a movement dominated by national societies to one without any at all, even in the three years FLARG

allowed, and the majority of local groups, I think, could not see how they could survive without Big Brother watching over them. Unfortunately during its existence the Federation did little to weaken the dependence of most local groups on the nationals. Those groups who were most active within it were ones who were pretty independent anyway even before it was formed. The bulk of the others were not attracted to it.



And then there was CAW

Soon after the formation of the Federation, another umbrella group to encourage local groups was formed, Co-ordinating Animal Welfare (CAW). This group, however, did not take an adversarial stance with regard to the national societies and one of its aims was "To bring together the active members of all animal rights societies and work for unity in the movement." Right from the start CAW looked more moderate than FLARG and the nationals seemed to give it their blessing, mentioning it in their journals' listings and sending representatives to its meetings. This they did partly as a ploy to build up CAW as a more acceptable alternative to FLARG, but CAW itself certainly wasn't formed with the intention of undermining it.

The people behind CAW were honest and determined activists who also ran the Western Animal Rights Alliance which was itself affiliated to the Federation. The reason they chose to set up another network is perhaps that they thought FLARG didn't have enough acceptance within the mainstream animal rights movement. What is certain, though, is that the formation of CAW made it far more

difficult for the Federation to succeed.

The Federation and CAW were the products of a period of self-examination. Animal rights had burgeoned during the early '80s on a wave of optimism that animal liberation was readily achievable in a short space of time, but by 1986/87 with over thirty people in prison and the political campaigns of the established societies looking increasingly feeble it was clear a rethink was needed. Books like

Against All Odds and The Road to Victory

attempted to analyse the situation and both came to the conclusion that an upsurge in local group activity would be vital for the movement's regeneration. It suddenly became fashionable to talk about independent local groups and almost inevitable that the national societies would respond in some way.

The first such response came from the National Anti-Vivisection Society (NAVS) who in 1987 launched their Biohazard campaign which focused on the dangers of the release of harmful pathogens from laboratories. It was unique in that NAVS would collaborate with local groups on a specifically local campaign, which involved the former making a substantial financial commitment. More recently we have seen Animal Aid's Primate Action Day in which local groups' details can be added to a leaflet produced by a national society. Clearly some of them have woken up to the fact that local groups are more than mere appendages, and it isn't always as easy now to take the confrontational stance that FLARG took two years ago.

The Federation itself gradually ran out of steam, weakened both by the continual disagreement over tactics and also by its failure to penetrate the mainstream of the movement. Because of its decentralised structure it also suffered from problems of organisation and communication. One meeting, for instance, did not have its venue finalised until just a couple of days before it was due to take place. At the final meeting last November the majority of those present decided to disband the Federation and instead work within CAW. This ignored the difference in attitude of the two groups towards the nationals, though even in the Federation there were those towards the end who were willing to

take a more tolerant line.

Despite the demise of FLARG there is good reason to feel more optimistic about the animal rights movement than there was two years ago. The number of active independent local groups seems to have increased, with more putting out their own leaflets and running good local campaigns. Through its regular bulletins and meetings, CAW is an effective way for local groups to share experiences and resources, even if like the Federation it does not attract anything like the majority of local groups that, on paper, exist in this country.

Of course the national societies are as firmly entrenched as ever and, despite some nods in the direction of local groups, their attitude is largely unchanged: "...it remains an unfortunate fact that many of the societies are not putting anywhere near the level of commitment into local groups..." (CAW Bulletin No.3 Oct88). Just because the Federation failed in its objective to create a movement without national societies does not mean that its critique of them is any less valid, and nor does it mean that radical campaigners should still not strive for the same end.

Trying to take over the nationals - in any way or form - is clearly not the way to approach the problem because we can only confront them on their own territory where they are powerful. The way to do it is to create local groups that are so autonomous that they no longer need to rely on the nationals, who will then be superfluous. This has to be a long-term goal, however, as most local groups will still need to use the nationals in one way or another. It is the way they use them that is of supreme importance. Instead of being in a relationship of seville dependence, local groups should try to utilise what the nationals have to their own advantage. This may mean, for instance, a local group taking a national society's leaflet if they think it's good and substituting their own group's details for the information about the national society and then printing it themselves.

Above all, local groups must use their imagination and realise their own power. THEY are the real backbone of the movement and should be in the forefront of the struggle for animal liberation. AT their very best national societies are open to exploitation by local groups, but at their worst - which is usually the case - they do them positive harm.

The next CAW meeting will be on APRIL 29th at the Earlsmead Community Centre, Broad Lane, Tottenham, London N15, starting at 1 pm. CAW's address is: PO Box 589, Bristol BS99 1RW.

PEACE NEWS



TYRANNOSAURUS WRECKS

LET'S HOPE that CND's London demo on April 2nd hasn't been too embarrassing; that two model tanks transformed themselves without a hitch into a tractor and a hospital bed(!), to the accompaniment of whoops and wild applause; that the sacks of paper doves were handed in without too much derisive laughter from MoD officials; that the sacks of fake money were passed successfully to the other end of the chain, and not intercepted by subversives wishing to distribute them 'symbolically' to the London poor...

And what opportunities for alternative street-theatre: a large cardboard dinosaur, made from discarded Weetabix packets, trundled towards Underwood Street; bits falling off it to reveal a large dove constructed from all the paper doves left over from Aldermaston 1988; this in turn collapsed to reveal a young APA activist, grinning impishly. The dinosaur represented CND bureaucracy, which gave way to a new and dynamic grassroots movement... but then I was joggled awake as the bus trundled back into Oxford.

Incidentally I must admit to feeling a bit worried about the 'dinosaur' image as applied to NATO and the Warsaw Pact, especially as dinosaurs quite clearly did not die out through obsolescence or inadequacy but were destroyed (along with vast numbers of other species) in an outburst of volcanic activity, or a meteorite bombardment, or a combination of the two - in other words in a kind of massive holocaust. Let's hope this remains simply an inappropriate analogy...

BARRY MAYCOCK

...SNIPPE TS...SNIPPETS...SNIPPETS

* About 30 people attended the SCANN Conference on Disarming The Seas on 11-12th February, and it seems to have been a great success. Above all, it is clear that SEA ACTION, a group formed to engage in Direct Action at sea, will continue to make an impact throughout 1989. Sea Action wants to expand its activities and encourage people to set up boat groups on other parts of the coast. Disarm The Seas week, from MAY 26th-JUNE 4th, will provide another focus for actions against the naval nuclear arms race. For Sea Action contact Mike on 0703 781299 or DI on 0703 554434.

Direct action in the U.S: n

A DIVERSE and thriving segment of the disarmament movement in the U.S. continues to engage in the practice of civil disobedience and nonviolent direct action. The examples noted here offer a glimpse of the state of the resistance and point to a dynamic future.

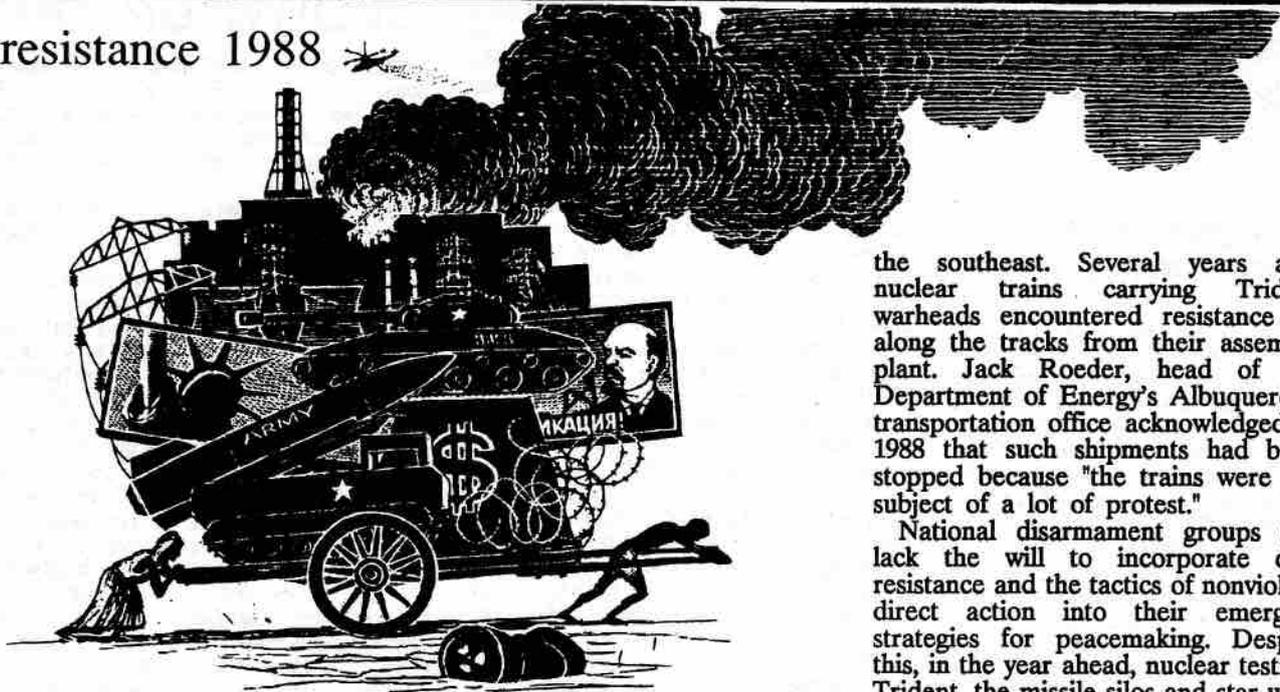
The Nevada nuclear weapons Test Site continued to be a national focus for nonviolent direct action in 1988. Despite its geographical isolation, nearly 2,800 arrests were recorded there last year. Reclaim the Test Site, a series of actions in March, brought at least 8,000 people to the territory of the Western Shoshone Indians, whose 1863 Treaty of Ruby Valley with the U.S. government was violated with the establishment of the test site. More than 1,200 people were arrested during the largest single action of the year on March 12, when a human wave more than one mile in length passed through the barbed wire fence and flowed out to reclaim the desert.

Late in the summer, the Missouri Peace Planting '88 simultaneously occupied ten nuclear missile silos in that state. A subsequent statement observed that "the Missouri missile silos are scattered in farmers' fields like razors in a loaf of bread." Fourteen people were arrested and released without charge, but many in the group repeatedly returned to occupy some of the same silos, and six others, over the next few weeks, each time causing the temporary deactivation of the nuclear missile sealed below. Eventually, federal authorities filed multiple charges of trespass, plus destruction of property (the \$2 padlocks) in some cases. By mid-January 1989 eleven had been convicted and four sentenced to fines, lengthy probation, and jail terms up to 25 months.

Resistance to the Trident nuclear submarine and its first-strike D-5 missile provided several significant venues for protest in 1988. In Omaha, Nebraska, three religious resisters sought sanctuary at local Catholic churches. Rather than appear for

* It seems likely that the 1989 NAN Conference will be held in Finland on the 17th-20th September. Ideas for inclusion in the conference programme should go to Kate Cameron-Daum, 37 Wordsworth Rd, Salisbury, SP1 3BH, 0722 330916.

* The greening of the so-called royal family is proceeding apace: they've become very concerned about the threat to THEIR planet, and possible damage to their vast estates. But such glimmerings of awareness haven't extended yet to issues of militarism. Brenda Herself is visiting Portsmouth for the rededication of HMS Invincible on MAY 18th - an opportunity for certain appropriate actions in and around the harbour...



sentencing in federal court for trespass at the nearby headquarters of the Strategic Air Command (SAC) at Offutt Air Force Base, the resisters challenged church leaders to take a stand on the morality of nuclear targeting plans drawn up by SAC, in the light of Catholic moral teachings. The local archbishop and other clergy denied sanctuary for the pacifist resisters and refused comment on the moral issue. The three eventually served one to six months in jail.

The first Plowshares action of 1988 occurred aboard the USS Iowa at Norfolk, where it sat docked on Easter Sunday, just back from six months in the Persian Gulf. Fugitive Epiphany Plowshares activist Greg Boertje surfaced with three friends to pour blood on the Iowa's nuclear-capable box launchers. The four then let hammers fall, heeding Isaiah's call to beat swords into plowshares. Despite damage done in full view of a touring public, only trespass charges were filed. The Nuclear Navy Plowshares were told by FBI interrogators that more serious

charges were avoided to deny the activists a "showcase trial".

"Home detention" emerged as a new type of sentence for a Colorado woman, arrested twice for trespass at the Rocky Flats plutonium processing plant. An electronic shackle on her ankle linked to her telephone served to keep Katherine Hunziker imprisoned in her own home for three months. The punishment permitted her to care for her children and continue managing her wholesale herb business at home.

Looking ahead, George Bush has declared his opposition to a comprehensive test ban treaty, assuring that the Nevada Test Site will continue as a focus for nonviolent direct action. The American Peace Test, organizer of last year's Reclaim the Test Site (RTS) action, is gearing up for Reclaim the Test Site II, with the major action planned for Tax Day, April 15th.

Direct opposition to the Trident submarine system will continue in 1989, picking up particularly through

the southeast. Several years ago, nuclear trains carrying Trident warheads encountered resistance all along the tracks from their assembly plant. Jack Roeder, head of the Department of Energy's Albuquerque transportation office acknowledged in 1988 that such shipments had been stopped because "the trains were the subject of a lot of protest."

National disarmament groups still lack the will to incorporate civil resistance and the tactics of nonviolent direct action into their emerging strategies for peacemaking. Despite this, in the year ahead, nuclear testing, Trident, the missile silos and star wars will be major targets of protest, as a network of communities and groups continue to use nonviolent resistance to confront the arms race in their own backyards. Many of those arrested will continue to bring International Law into court, claiming the Bomb itself is an illegal weapon of mass and indiscriminate destruction which citizens are obliged to resist.

JACK and FELICE COHEN-JOPPA

This article first appeared in The Nuclear Resister, PO Box 43383, Tucson, Arizona, 85733, U.S.A.; \$15/ten issues, free sample.

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)

PEACE NEWS

APR 16: No! to NATO Nuclear Modernisation: The Belgian peace movement has announced a demonstration in Brussels on the 16th, the Sunday before the NATO Defence Ministers' Meeting; meet at Brussels Central Station at 2.00 pm. Information from VAKA, Muntstraat 8, 2000 Antwerpen (010 3232 325381).

APR 22: Break the Chain at Capenhurst. Opportunities for nonviolent direct action. More information, action pack, posters and leaflets from Capenhurst Watch, Merseyside CND, 24 Hardman St, Liverpool L1 9AX, tel: 051 708 7764.

APR 22-23: The Nuclear Mentality - Dynamics

and Change. Medical Campaign Against Nuclear Weapons national conference. Registration and details from MCANW, 3 Stamford St, London SE1 9NT (01.261 1266).

APR 22: NATO into the nineties - a non-nuclear future? Scientists Against Nuclear Arms conference. Details: SANA, 9 Poland St, London W1V 3DG (01.734 5281).

APR 23: Hants CND demo...against NATO. RAF/USAF Oakhanger 1 pm. March of the dinosaurs/monsters from Alton Market Sq to Oakhanger, depart 10.00 am. Bring Kites...Details c/o SCANN, 119 Orchard Rd, Southsea, PO4 OAD, 0705 811603.

* This year the PPU commemorates the 50th anniversary of the purchase of Dick Sheppard House. At present the electric wiring at DSH needs replacing, and this will cost between 10,000 and 12,000. Please give generously to the PPU, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, WC1H 0DX, 01.387 5501.

* "The fascinating part of CND conference-watching is judging it as a barometer of a wider movement. The sudden invisibility of those who took an environmental angle on nuclear disarmament was interesting. The grass is greener elsewhere these days."

(from Peace News, Dec88)



THE NONSENSE OF COMMONSENSE

I MUST ADD a few comments to John Papworth's letter (Whither GL?, GL69), while feeling no need to ape his pomposity of manner. The collective's own article, Whither GL? in GL68 was I thought, deliberately self-deprecating; confessing that we don't pretend to have the answers, and inviting debate and more participation. The reference to "lazy sods" was actually meant to be a joke, a device perhaps unfamiliar to Fourth World. Or perhaps not: a recent issue of that magazine contained a wonderful spoof article comparing John Papworth's pamphleteering to that of Tom Paine - this at least made me howl with laughter!

In John's letter, it is strange to find "Common Sense", the nonsense of prevailing orthodoxies, evoked as if it were wisdom itself. This is essentially a conformist position: the illusion of those who want capitalism without its lethal effects. The ideology of "common sense" needs to be subject to the same critical scrutiny as any other body of ideas: "it is common sense which produces all the ills we have to cure" (Sigmund Freud).

It is equally odd to find John, who normally wrinkles his nose at "the masses", putting his faith in mass democracy and the wisdom of voters. Surely the choices presented to voters are entirely spurious: in a contest between capitalism and capitalism, it is not surprising that capitalism tends to be chosen!

His view that certain adversarial positions - capitalism/communism, liberalism/labourism - have somehow been left behind, is belied by his own contemptuous use of the word "lefty": suggesting that he's not so much a greenie but perhaps an old rightie at heart. It's interesting how "left" theories are scorned for being old, and then ideas are recycled that are older still (e.g. deriving from the reactionary romanticism of the late 18th century).

And "giantism", plucked out of the hat with a flourish at the end of the letter, is another mystification: to detach the scale of the process from the process itself is to tinker once again with the symptoms rather than the root causes. There is no easy escape into the 'local' or the 'small': the 'large', the national, the international etc. penetrate the local to its very core. Our opposition must be, not to the consequences, but to the very premises of the present state of society.

Barry Maycock,
Walton Well Rd,
Oxford

JOHN PAPWORTH writes in his usual breezy, confident style, but the points he makes in Whither GL? do not stand up to serious consideration. He asks why ordinary people vote for capitalism, implying thereby that this proves that capitalism is acceptable yet he himself rejects important aspects of modern capitalism. It is not obvious that millions of ordinary working people are making such distinctions.

However, the answer to his question isn't that simple. People are very conservative: they stay with what they know (unless they are very unhappy) rather than take a step into the unknown. And, of course, they have no realistic alternative: democracy has been tacked on, minimally and grudgingly, to an already firmly established and powerful capitalist system.

As for millions of Russians, his conclusions are based more on wishful thinking than on hard evidence. Has anybody asked millions of Russians what sort of set up they would vote for, given the chance? Perhaps, they too would vote for giant, monster, multinational and monopoly capitalism! Furthermore, whatever might be happening in the USSR, all of its leaders maintain that socialism will prevail.

John's acknowledgement that these objectionable forms of capitalism have developed, is difficult to reconcile with the idea that "common sense", which showed the door to one set of ideas, allowed this "disease of giantism" to take hold in the first place. Why did common sense allow this "curse of our age" to be inflicted upon us?

The truth is that common sense has never played much of a part in the world's affairs; not at the macro level at least.

My opposition to the capitalist system, a system which isn't fully explained by the dictionary definition used by its apologists in letters to GL and elsewhere, is that it only has one objective: to maximise profits. To achieve this it is necessary for costs to be minimised or offloaded where possible. These costs settle elsewhere in society and have to be paid for by somebody.

In every capitalist state where there exists some degree of democracy, the government has to spend time and effort legislating or persuading those in control of the system to accept more responsibility for these costs. Why should any society endure a situation where its dominant economic system constantly works against the best interests of its citizens?

The problem then is clearly the single-minded pursuit of profit which has led inevitably to the forms of capitalism which John Papworth identifies. A society's economic system should be an integral part of the society in which it operates, and should make the good of that society its first objective.

Providing employment and a decent income through the production of socially acceptable goods and services should become the first consideration of any enterprising person.

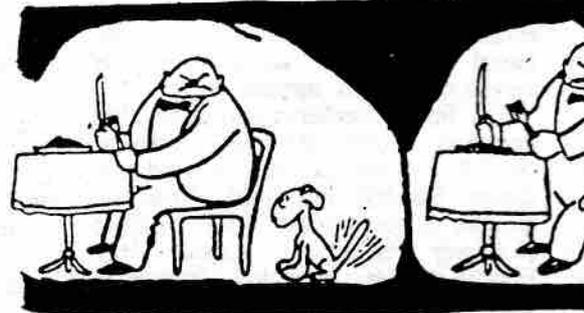
BLOWN UP OUT OF

THE EXPLOSION WHICH damaged the Senate House at Bristol University on Feb 22 also led, unfortunately, to a fresh breakout of irrationality in the media and amongst some animal rights representatives.

First of all there was a rush to make the ALF responsible for the incident, despite the fact that the telephone claim from someone purporting to represent the ALF referred to a "firebomb", which the Bristol explosion quite obviously wasn't. Secondly, there was free use of the word "terrorists" to describe the perpetrators of the explosion, despite the fact that no one was injured. It is not known that those who caused the explosion didn't take care to ensure there would be no injuries, so why was it presumed that the lack of casualties was merely a matter of chance? Demolition engineers and quarry workers also use explosives to destroy inanimate objects. One doesn't find them labelled as terrorists and lunatics in the media.

I do not wish to defend the Bristol explosion. I just don't know enough about exactly how it was carried out to be able to do so. But it does become immediately apparent to me that neither the media nor many animal rightists viewed the incident within the circumstances in which it took place.

Over three million animals suffer and die in painful experiments in this country alone every year. These tests are of dubious scientific value and,



The one essential ingredient necessary to bring this about, and to bring common sense to all levels of decision making, is the introduction of real grassroots democracy. Whilst elements of capitalism might continue to exist, the devolution of power to the people would ensure that what people today recognise as a capitalist economic system could not. What would exist would be a socialist system.

Martin Lake
87 Porchester Rd
Kingston upon Thames

ALL PROPORTION?

what is most important, completely contrary to morality. It is no more justifiable to carry out painful experiments on an animal than it is to do the same thing to, say, a young child or a mentally handicapped person. All are innocent and all are capable of suffering. Animal experimentation is a holocaust.

Now, were the situation one of cruel experimentation on children or the mentally handicapped, incidents like the Bristol explosion would be nothing out of the ordinary. Long ago, decent people would have risen in violent resistance. Groups like the ALF should not therefore be condemned for their violence but remarked upon for their restraint. In over 15 years of direct action, only property has been damaged, and no animal experimenter has been killed or injured. Would those people who condemned the Bristol explosion also have condemned the bombing of the administration building of a concentration camp by anti-Nazi partisans?

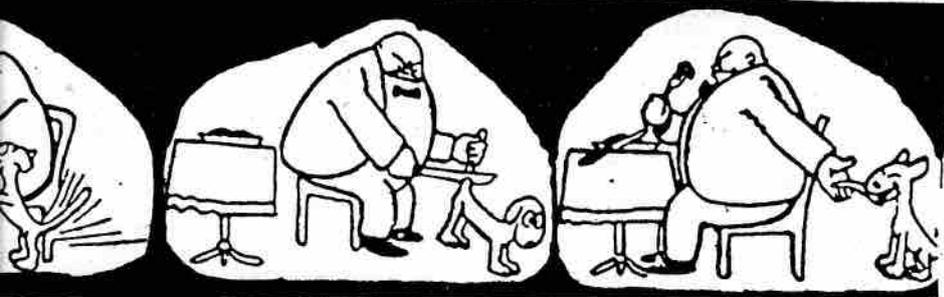
Of course one hopes that the animal liberation activists will always take great care that ordinary people are not injured in their actions. It is never right to make such people the victims of a battle. Yet I wonder how many people who condemned the Bristol explosion at the same time agree with Dresden, Hiroshima and the bombing of Libya? The animal liberationists responsible for the Bristol attack are

not "mindless fanatics". Without doubt they were driven to cause the explosion by the horror of animal experimentation and the failure of peaceful methods to prevent it. Even if their action is open to criticism, that doesn't mean they personally should be the objects of hysterical condemnation.

Peaceful campaigning and public education are vitally important in the battle against animal experimentation. But, whether or not the Bristol explosion was a good thing, one must never forget the important and necessary role played by direct action. From the beginning of this century the yearly figures for animal experiments rose constantly, despite political lobbying and peaceful protest. In the early 70s, they reached over 6 million. Since the advent of the ALF those figures have halved. Yet the ALF is accused of somehow harming the campaign!

What really does harm the campaign is irrational and hysterical attitudes taken by the media and some animal rights campaigners. The terrorism at Bristol University didn't start with the Senate House explosion; it has been going on for years in their laboratories against the animals.

Ronnie Lee
H.M. Prison
Long Lartin
Evesham, Worcs.



RECYCLED HISTORY

JONATHON PORRITT is the answer to all the British Green Party's problems. You didn't know this? You obviously haven't read Sara Parkin's new book about the green parties (Green Parties: an international guide (Heretic Books) 1989 5.95 with its instructive chapter on the British Green Party. Their failure to make a national impact is entirely explained by the unwillingness of party members to turn their party into a Jonathon Porritt appreciation society. Funny how I never understood this before. But it's very simple if you don't think about it too much.

Apparently, neither Green Voice (the green-liberal linking group) nor the Association of Socialist Greens ever existed, at least not in Sara's book. They disappeared into the recycling bin of history. Comforting how easily ideology vapourises in the presence of a profoundly apolitical analysis, isn't it?

What did exist, however, was Maingreen, the attempt by a small number of party members to create an elite, secret group of long-time hacks. The efforts of Party Council to publicise these militant green conservatives now stand starkly revealed in this book. That the subsequent Party Conference failed to condemn Party Council for their actions is now explained by the general green unwillingness to face unpleasantness.

I could have sworn that many area and local parties rushed to face the unpleasantness of Maingreen in a rather positive, if disrespectful fashion. But the crime of not liking the ideas of Sara's friends seems to have disappeared down another memory hole somewhere. It was indeed, heinous of Party Council to condemn a group intent on subverting the party to its highly unrepresentative views; it was even more deplorable that the vast majority of party members supported Party Council on this matter - democracy is, after all, inconvenient to Sara's thoughts and can therefore be freely condemned or abandoned. Such a beautiful simplicity of approach: to rewrite history whenever necessary! Machiavelli, you should be living at this hour.

I hope the former Co-Chairs condemned by Sara feel properly chastened. If other green parties have interrupted the unsullied certainties of Sara's thoughts with facts, or even worse different opinions, then they can only blame themselves. From her home in the little-known outer London suburb of Lyon, Sara has maintained a positively clairvoyant hold upon green politics in Britain, as elsewhere. Hopefully, green parties across the world will know how to reward such dedication. We may rest assured that the new green science of recycling history is safe in her hands.

Steve Dawe
12 Clyde St
Canterbury, Kent

[A review of Sara Parkin's international guide to green parties will appear in GL shortly]

>>more letters->

LEGAL, DECENT, DISHONEST AND UNTRUTHFUL

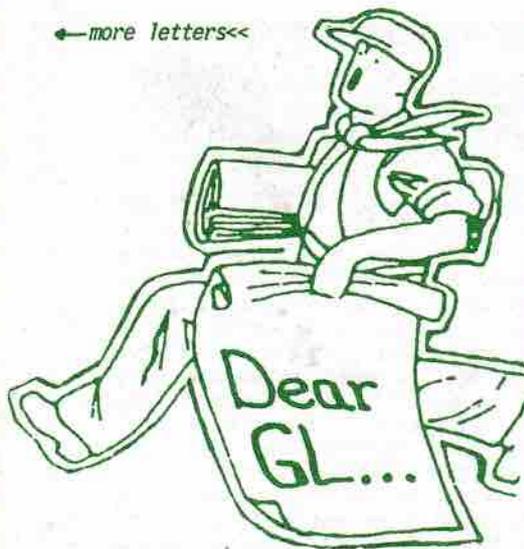
I GAVE A hollow laugh when I saw the (spoof) reproduction of the latest pro-nuclear advert and Mike Bell's letter (GL67). I had already written to the Advertising Standards Authority, with copies to The Guardian and the Nuclear Energy Information Group.

I wish that I had kept copies of the letter I sent, and the replies I received. The gist of my argument was that the advert was dishonest and untruthful, especially about the percentage of energy generated by nuclear power. Like Mike Bell, and The Economist in a recent article on energy privatisation, I worked it out at 16%. I also quoted a report by FoE and the CPRE as believing that Hinkley C is quite unnecessary.

I think the replies were as follows. From The Guardian, nothing at all. From

NEIG a letter saying that the advert's figure of 20% was correct if you include Scotland, and that FoE and CPRE were not considered reliable informants in government circles - whereas Lord Marshall and NEIG are, I suppose. From the ASA, a letter saying they felt they could not uphold my complaint as each side of the nuclear power argument had a right to put its view in the way it sought fit (!!!) - nothing about whether the opposition could afford full-page ads, and the implications of this for the supposed right of free debate. Perhaps I should have carried on with the dispute, especially with the weak-kneed response of the ASA, but I felt I just didn't have the heart.

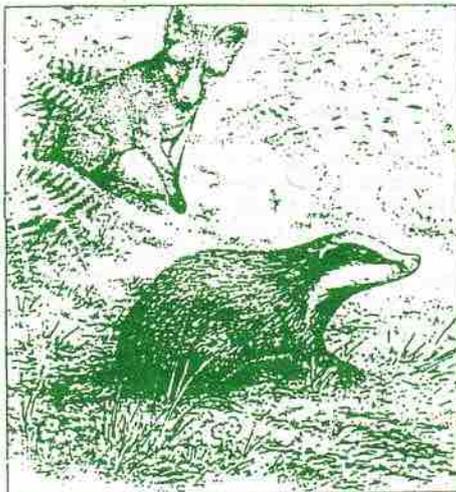
Sally Davis
London W3



BADGER YOUR M.P.!

GL READERS may remember our call a little while ago, to write letters to your MPs calling for a halt to the massive badger slaughter programme of the Ministry of Agriculture. Because of past protests some killing was stopped, but the policy of official badger killing goes on.

We now have some figures available on the cost of this operation which may shock, disturbed as you probably are by news of old-age pensioners who cannot afford to meet their heating bills, by cutbacks in human healthcare and the plight of the homeless. MAFF is currently spending 2 million of taxpayers money every year killing badgers, in pursuit of a policy that has been widely discredited.



Please write as soon as possible to the Prime Minister, 10 Downing St, London SW1, and to your own MP at the House of Commons, London SW1A 0AA, calling for the Ministry of Agriculture's badger slaughter policy to be halted forthwith, so that the money wasted each year can be spent on caring for human beings instead.

Brenda Charlesworth,
Dartmoor Badger Protection League,
Riverside Cottage,
Poundsgate, Devon

TARRED WITH THE BRUSH OF SOCIALISM

I FOUND your Comment (GL68) disturbing. You seem to equate green politics and the Green Party in particular with socialism and the left. Firstly, this is patently untrue. Even as I write, the Green Party is trying to emphasise its radical differences from the other parties by declaring the old left-right dichotomy obsolete. In the new terms of the Green Party, the distinction is between green and grey - and grey includes both left and right. Moreover, to deliberately translate the dynamism of a new and growing hope into the discredited and desolate dichotomy of "us and them" politics is a deliberate misunderstanding of the true nature of radical green politics, and deserves to be exposed as such.

Both left and right share the world conception which is the cause of the ecological and social malaise of this planet; anthropomorphic reductionism. This sees us as opposed to nature; we and our works are the only objects and criteria of value, therefore anything is allowed as long as 'man' (more specifically, those men on 'our' side) benefit, usually materially. It would be facile to state in detail the consequences of this world conception. We live with its failure every day.

The Green Party, and green politics, are different because the world conception that underlies them is different. Radical greens utterly reject anthropomorphic reductionism. Concern is directed to the network of life systems that sustain and make up the entire planet. Green politics is based on biocentric holism. The starting points of green and socialist politics are irreconcilable.

The Green Party is not a party "of the left" though it is "anti-capitalist", if not "defiantly" so. The Green Party is defiantly against their common progenitor - anthropomorphic reductionism.

The fact that you adduce two particular Green Party policies to prove the socialist nature of the Green Party is a selective and calculated misrepresentation. Undoubtedly it is possible to prove the Fascist or Liberal nature of the Green Party by this unscrupulous and unrepresentative method. On the premises of biocentric holism it is the whole that matters; it is the entire earth - not just two transient policies.

GL is right when it asserts that greens must come out from behind environmentalism and "show how social and ecological issues cannot be separated", but you make no mention of the political golden egg 1988 has given the Green Party in the environment becoming a hot political issue [although see Comment, GL67]. We should have been able to exploit it - we have so far failed to do so.

This year I have met many people hoping to translate their ecological concerns into political action only to be disappointed that the Green Party has nothing explicit to say on the subject. The fact is, the Green Party has come out from behind environmentalism

already, but has failed to show the inextricable links between ecological and social issues. In this way, we are losing environmentalist supporters while pandering to liberals and socialists (see GL66,68), diluting the radical green vision. We have doubly failed through lack of confidence in our own vision.

Yes, social and ecological issues should be emphasised as inextricably linked; this is the political expression of authentic green philosophy, of biocentric holism. In this, the Green Party and the green movement generally has the philosophical basis to change the very nature of European politics for good - if only greens themselves believed it! Left and right are proven historical failures even on their own terms. They are philosophically and electorally discredited. We need to ditch the outmoded political detritus of the 19th century which passes for politics today; their analysis is no longer appropriate.

The Green Party is diametrically opposed not only to the left but also to the right. Any common ground we share is, like in the movies, purely coincidental. To tar the unique vision of the Green Party with the brush of socialism (for what reasons I cannot conceive) is at best a corruption of nomenclature, at worst a failure of nerve, a corruption of hope.

Stephen Ely
Wakefield Green Party
South Elmsall
West Yorks

FOR GODDESSNESS SAKE!

I HOPE THAT the green goddess article and its introduction (Janet Biehl, GL70) doesn't represent some kind of editorial view. Surely, the Rushdie affair shows up precisely the dangers of autocratic and hierarchic Godfather religions, always abstract and alien as we were never within our father. It says nothing about the Goddess that Islam, Christianity etc. set out to destroy along with women and the earth.

Why has there been no article in GL about what Islam does to women. It preaches that they have two places: in the home and in the grave. This is what some Muslims want to introduce in Afghanistan amongst other places.

There are great amounts of archaeological evidence (read Mellaert & Marijia Gunbutas) of remains of Goddess cultures - always peaceful and egalitarian - and also massive evidence that male (upperclass and patriarchal) archaeologists have refused to tell the truth and recognise the evidence in front of their own eyes. Read Paula Gunn Allen's The Sacred Hoop for a discussion of women and goddess oriented cultures amongst native americans until very recently.

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