

Campaigning against Trident Faslane: a focus for action

The Faslane Submarine base in Scotland has become a central point in the British peace movement, as awareness grows of what it represents as the home of the British "independent" nuclear deterrent. For over three years there has been a peace camp near the base, building up the campaign against both Faslane and its twin base Coulport. As well as bringing the Polaris convoys to the attention of the peace movement, the camp has been organising the Rainbow Campaign (see below). In addition there are active CND groups in nearby Helensburgh and Dumbarton, and further direct action groups who regularly support the camp from Glasgow and beyond. So, with the Yellow and Green Actions in June and August, the International March in July, and the possibility of a major CND demonstration in October, Faslane is this year the target for a lot of intense peace campaigning.

What, then, are the prospects for all this effort producing any real results, short or long-term? Do the protesters find themselves, as so in many places, activists without significant local help? Is there a real possibility of building a large body of support for the protests from among the local population which might stand a chance of really changing the bases?

The first barrier which peace campaigners often come across when trying to win the uncommitted to their cause is sheer lack of interest, often because the issues which the peace campaigners find so important simply do not concern the person they are talking to. This is never more true than around military bases, where much local employment is either directly or indirectly dependent on the base.

ALTERNATIVE EMPLOYMENT

Unemployment in the Strathclyde Region stands at over 17%. Of the 5050 personnel at Faslane 1800 are civilians as are 1650 out of 1700 at Coulport; combining this with the number of local firms dependent on the two bases, any talk of closing them is unlikely to meet with much support without strong arguments to back it up. On the Trident issue, however, the chances are somewhat greater. The Alternative Employment Study Group (AESG), set up in 1982 by Helensburgh and Dumbarton CND groups, has shown that in the Strathclyde Region about 1500 temporary construction jobs will be created, but no long-term civilian employment. Very few of the promised 35,000 jobs have materialised: most of the major work is being done in the United States. The scrapping of Trident won't therefore have much effect on local employment—but the Ministry of "Defence" has skilfully given the opposite impression. Add to that the trend at Faslane to replace civilians with service personnel (who usually come from outside the region), and the carefully-fostered dependence on the military is clearly more perceived than actual, even when you take into account the effect of base personnel spending in local shops.

The AESG has also investigated the possibilities for conversion—applying the resources at the bases to socially useful production. However, much of the equipment is so specific that it could not so easily be switched in this way, although the expertise could certainly be used to develop alternatives.

The developments at Faslane and Coulport do not merely involve Trident, however.

work for the Coulport site is destroying hundreds of acres of forest and moorland, as will the access roads being built by the MoD for its own traffic. They happen to provide a bypass for Garelochhead at the same time, but also a 9½ mile temporary bypass of Helensburgh and Rhu for use solely by military traffic, which will be torn up in 1993 when construction work is over. The byelaws which currently cover both bases will be extended to cover a huge



Polaris submarine in dry-dock

Photo: Viv Kendon

Within the enlargements to both bases are hidden non-nuclear escalations (I see the use of "conventional" to mean non-nuclear as a clever device to make weapons seem "normal" and hence "acceptable"). At present Faslane is the home port for Polaris submarines, but also services nuclear and diesel-powered hunter-killer subs belonging to both Britain and other NATO countries. The Royal Naval Armaments Depot at Coulport is where Polaris nuclear warheads are removed from the subs to be transported to the Royal Ordnance Factory at Burghfield in Berkshire for "refurbishing".

Under the proposed Trident programme, through which Britain's "independent" nuclear deterrent is to be "modernised", both Faslane and Couport are to be greatly extended. At Faslane a torpedo-handling jetty, dry dock and a huge ship-lift are planned as well as other onshore buildings. The Coulport site is to be enlarged almost across the whole width of the Rosneath Peninsular, leaving effectively only an access road to the villages further down. More buildings and a giant floating jetty are also to be built. The amount of non-nuclear work is impossible to see, amongst the already obscure official disinformation about the plans.

Effectively, the MoD is taking over the area, and seems to have an extremely arrogant attitude about it too. The building

area, and almost the entire Gareloch may become a military area, so that even fishing in it will be illegal. Some of these moves may be too much even for those who otherwise would not oppose the bases.

LOCAL INTERESTS THREATENED

A local councillor has already started a petition over the MoD's plans to blast the Rhu Narrows at the entrance to the loch, as this will destroy a known Site of Special Scientific Interest. This is entirely separate from the camp's activities (indeed the councillor is not friendly to the camp) and is a sign that the MoD may be going too far. Issues which are directly affecting the local population might lead, with the appropriate encouragement, to more open opposition. Through campaigning work by local CND groups, the public is aware of many of the issues and does seem prepared to listen to the case put forward.

The MoD has another problem, of its own making, on the Faslane base itself. There are 70,000 tonnes of asbestos (from decommissioned warships) dumped on the northern part of the site, where the Trident extensions are planned. Plans to move it to a dump at Glenboig near Glasgow were prevented by a local action group last year, who had to use civil disobedience to do so. Recently, plans by the MoD to move at

least some of it to a site near the Cloch lighthouse on the south side of the Clyde have angered local fishermen, who are concerned about the proposal, and fear contamination of the Clyde.

These are all issues which the campaign needs to take up if it is to gain widespread local backing. The peace camp already receives a lot of direct support from local people, such as food from farmers and the free use of Rhu hall for some events, and from the council, who have legalised the camp. Strathclyde Regional Council is a Nuclear-Free Zone, and has also declared a policy of non-cooperation with the MoD over the Trident extensions. This was tested recently when the MoD erected a temporary fence on the main road past the Faslane base (see *PN* April 18).

This issue may have an effect on this May's local government elections; in any case there is considerable potential for the peace movement to work with the council and hold it to its promises.

The peace camp's relationship with the local population is by no means all good. Most of the local pubs don't like campers, and of course the service personnel and their families are unlikely to be supportive. Many civilian base workers probably feel threatened by calls to close it—here is one of the crunch points for campaigners to contend with.

ANGLO-SCOTTISH RELATIONS

There is another factor applicable to Faslane, and that is the resentment felt by many Scottish people towards London rule. Although many English people often forget it, Scotland is *not* England, and the Scottish cultural identity is quite distinct. The extent to which Scottish industry has been run down, whilst military spending has increased, angers many. With the link between arms spending and declining social services clear to a lot of people, there is a growing feeling of discontent which could find an expression in protest at Faslane. At the same time, English peace campaigners need to be aware that they cannot just go to Scotland and expect to campaign as they do at home without taking the cultural differences into account.

Per head of population Scotland is one of the most heavily militarised countries in Europe. This could contribute to the development of a much more consciously anti-militarist movement out of the ex-



Photo: Viv Kendon

Campers caravan at the North Gate Peace Camp, Faslane.

isting anti-nuclear one. However, in the short term, Trident is the main issue, and it is one which the peace movement nationally, ie as a British issue, can win, although in England it may first have to take on its own anglo-centricity that says that Scotland is "up there", and not a national issue.

There are firms carrying out contracts for Trident all over Britain. The employment arguments—that Trident does not create many jobs at all, and those for conversion and spending on constructive work, have already been made by the peace movement. What is needed is that they be put to use in a way which draws in workers and unions behind the call to scrap Trident. The Rainbow Campaign has started that process, by providing the information to campaign with. This will undoubtedly contribute to the longer-term aims of removing not only Faslane and Coulport but also

other military bases all over Britain, only by virtue of involving people at the point at which the issues directly concern them.

Parallel to this effort, the ways of working which the nonviolent direct action movement has developed—consensus decision-making, affinity groups, and so on—also need to be worked on, so that we can evolve, and demonstrate the type of non-hierarchical society we want to create. That's a tall order for a movement which has too many issues to deal with already, but, particularly related to Faslane, I see it as being possible, and an exciting challenge.

ROBIN H

The Alternative Employment Study Group's report *Polaris and Trident, the myths and realities of employment costs* £1.50 from **Russell Fleming, AESG, Old Academy Building, Church Street, Dumbarton G82 1QL (tel Dumbarton 31521).**

PLANS FOR ACTION

The Yellow Action from May 31 to June 2 is the third action in Faslane Peace Camp's Rainbow Campaign to stop Trident. The Rainbow Campaign is a series of seven mass nonviolent actions, each linked to a colour of the rainbow, so that we build a rainbow as we dismantle Trident.

On June 2 we intend to blockade the Trident construction site on Peaton Hill, to stop work all day. This is the site where the MoD are building a road to link Faslane and Coulport bases, and where they plan to build silos for Trident warheads. The blockade will be on a Monday so that the workers don't lose money if their work is disrupted.

We invite people to come for the weekend beforehand. There will be a ceilidh in the evening on Saturday, and on Sunday, workshops, NVDA training and meetings to decide what will happen on the Monday. We'll provide legal support, a creche, vegan food and a women-only camping space. We'll need volunteers for the creche etc, so if you don't want to risk being arrested, your involvement is just as vital. Please come with tents, bedding, eating utensils, water container, musical instruments; and transport if possible.

Most of the Trident contracts are due to start this year or next, and they have penalty clauses written into them where the MoD or the firm have to pay a fine each day the start is delayed. This could mean that by the end of this year it will be more expensive for any government to cancel Trident than to go ahead with it.

We plan to vigil and leaflet at the site from May 26-30, to talk with the workers. We'll need help to do this, so please come if you can.

On Friday May 23, we're asking groups to do actions in their home towns to highlight the amount of Trident work going on nationally. We're asking people to vigil and leaflet firms which are doing work for Trident. Many of these companies may have a local office in your town: Tarmac, Taylor Woodrow, Wimpey, Balfour Beatty, Biwater Shellabear, Briggs Amasco, Cementation, Fairclough Engineering, French Kier Construction, Laing, Alfred McAlpine, Robert McAlpine, Miller Construction, Norwest Holst, Edmund Nuttall. . . the list is endless. Almost every town in Britain has connections with Trident. Please protest at the factories and offices, contact local Trade Unions to discuss alternative work, and make May 23 a day of publicising the Rainbow Campaign and also the start of a dialogue between the peace movement and people who work in the weapons industry.

We have lists of contractors at Faslane and Coulport and we're now compiling a national list of firms working for Trident. If you want a copy, send us 25p plus postage. For more information, contact **Faslane Peace Camp, Shandon, Helensburgh, Dunbartonshire**, or tel **(0436) 820901**. Faslane is on the A814, six miles north of Helensburgh on the Gareloch. Trains run regularly from Glasgow Queen Street to Helensburgh Central. The 134 bus goes from opposite Helensburgh station and stops outside the Peace Camp.

FASLANE PEACE CAMP



Photo: Jeanne Iae Faslane

The Orange Action—a rooftop occupation of the Radiation Monitoring Station at Rhu

No more Vietnams

No more Vietnams first appeared in *PN* on April 30, 1976—a year after the end of the Vietnam war. The *PN* introduction, and the article by a Vietnamese Buddhist, look back at the role and work of the Buddhists during the war and under the new regime.

A year ago on April 30, the Vietnam war officially ended. For many of us in the West, in Vietnam we saw the hideousness of counter-insurgency warfare: children screaming with napalm burns; prisoners paralysed in tiger cages; indiscriminate bombing of people and villages; the devastation of a once-beautiful country by defoliants; the bombing of the dykes; the land sown with "anti-personnel devices", not seeds but bombs which would fragment and scatter, maiming whoever they hit; people shunted into "strategic hamlets"; and the massacres... Increasingly, the war was computerised, but the suffering was always human. Through photos, TV films, newsreels, first-hand accounts, we witnessed the horror, and many people came to question and resist the very system that required such degradation; we came to resist and later tried to disaffiliate ourselves from Western technological barbarism.

Yet in the Vietnamese themselves, both those in the National Liberation Front and the third way Buddhists, we saw qualities of humanity that could inspire. Whilst Western protestors often couldn't help but hate the rest of their society, and many people became inured to the violence they were being shown on TV, both NLF and the third way people consistently stressed that they did not hate the American people.

Where many on the British Left backed the NLF, *Peace News* warned of the consequences of their programme of armed struggle—how it would lead towards centralisation and hierarchical structures of organisation; how it would lead to dependence on outside powers for the supply of arms and heavy technology; how it would destroy the peasant way of life. North Vietnam's General Glap, far from looking for victory through guerrilla warfare, saw the necessity ultimately of a regular army winning by conventional means.

The nonviolent Buddhists took "the way which refuses to kill", and actively resisted without spilling any blood except their own. Many were imprisoned; many were killed; some set fire to themselves. Now, however, the government ignores their role in the liberation struggle and seeks to monopolise all aspects of social administration. It is not seeking total State control of the economy yet, but to maintain private ownership of farms and factories operated "with the capital of the national bourgeoisie at home and foreign investments". In doing this, however, the government has actively suppressed socialist alternatives. For instance, it disbanded a Buddhist co-operative farm, divided the land up into plots, and then offered the plots for sale to the individuals who had previously farmed them co-operatively. A typically Western response by supporters of the Buddhists might be to condemn the new State and be indignant on the Buddhists' behalf. Here a Vietnamese Buddhist responds differently.

PN COLLECTIVE

The great joy of a peace waited for for so long cannot prevent the deep anxiety we feel when discovering how the socialist government is acting towards a community of devoted Buddhist workers who wish only to contribute all their energies to reconstructing our country and reconciling their compatriots.

In North Vietnam, the communist government has never met with the kind of Buddhists that are in the South. In the South, after colonisation, there followed a series of governments which in no way tried to look after the

interests of the people. Because of that, these people who could not support these governments sought other ways to survive and to have a heart to live in such a society. Building strong Buddhist community for that purpose was the natural thing to do...

Surrounded by an artificial Western way of life, something inside me began to revolt against it. But in trying to reject all of it, I clung to Marxism as the only way to solve the problems of Vietnam. But then the war broke out in my home province where the NLF was formed. Violent clashes started to take

place and every day dead bodies floated in the river. I was uneasy seeing all of this violence but I did not know how to act. Then one day I met some young Buddhists.

RESPONSIBILITY

These young Buddhists explained Buddhism to me like this: "The Buddha taught us that one should work to improve one's karma. Usually people think that performing good acts such as feeding the poor, refraining from stealing and lying and so on, is the best preparation for good karma. But we usually forget that there are two kinds of karma—the individual karma and the collective karma. Avoiding wrong deeds helps the individual karma but collective karma implicates your family, your town and your society as well. We are responsible not only for ourselves but also for our family, village, district, country and planet earth on which we live. Therefore, sharing difficulties with people in the slums is part of our own responsibility. It is not that there is someone who gives and someone who receives a gift. Sharing difficulties is a common responsibility for us all to help us overcome the difficulties of the family of human beings."

Although we shared the same concern for social justice as our compatriots in the NLF, we could not hate the soldiers on the government side. We knew that most of the Saigon soldiers were illiterate young men who came from poor peasant backgrounds. We knew they were not cruel or mercenary by choice. Although we and they had been born in the same collective karma, we had had the chance to get an education, to learn many things and have a better life. They had only known food, salary and the necessity to risk their lives and kill others in order to feed themselves and their families. Were we not somehow responsible for the bad conditions they were forced to live in?

We knew that these poor soldiers had been hired by some mysterious hand to kill us. But we knew that if they had not been poor, not been illiterate, if they knew who the real oppressors were and who the oppressed are, if they knew what we were doing, how could they kill us? They would not be able to because the buddha-hood lives in each person.

FAR-AWAY WAR-MAKERS

If we took weapons to join the guerrilla movement, who would be our first victims? It would be the weaponless villagers, the peasants, because violent clashes always bring fire, bombs, bul-

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lets and death. We struggle to bring justice to them and yet if we take up arms, they will be our first victims. The war-makers are far away—in the USA, in the USSR or China.

UNDERSTANDING

After enduring nearly two years (1966-67) of different violent attacks, we finally gained the understanding and support of soldiers on both warring sides. Whenever the Buddhist flag was hung, both sides tried to avoid causing difficulties to the Buddhist social workers and monks and nuns who were trying to help people in those areas. From 1967 to 1975, the Buddhist flag came to mean reconciliation and peace. Social workers who carried it were able to lead wounded persons across fire zones to safety.

In 1974, Buddhist workers built over seven resettlement centres in the midst of war (the kind of centre which the revolutionary government now calls "Vung Kinh Te Moi"—New Economic Areas—has built three of them).

The Buddhist workers also rebuilt over 40 villages destroyed by war. In the period from 1965-75, they set up three clinics, 370 medical centres in the villages and slums, 470 high schools, 1250 primary schools, 350 kindergartens and school-homes to care for children from infant age up to 15 years. Having chosen the nonviolent way in the midst of war, our friends have had to suffer death from grenades and bullets, have been put in jail and tortured—but our workers have never taken a life.

Some young Vietnamese people in 1960 thought that violent struggle is quicker and that after winning the war the guerrillas will have the power to bring social justice immediately to the oppressed. Oh no—please don't forget that not only the Vietnamese who have lived through these 30 years of war, but everyone who has a heart does not wish to see another Vietnam. To get rid of the US warmaker, the liberation movement in Vietnam had to use Chinese and Russian weapons, trying

to reach Washington through the bodies of over a million of their brothers in the Saigon army. Violence only begat violence.

Our beautiful land is scarred with over 3 million bomb craters and strewn with unexploded bombs which still pose a great threat. There are entire areas that cannot grow food for over 100 years because of the chemical poisons used in the war. The chemical poisons are still in our forests, our rivers and in the bellies of the fish where they will continue to bring countless consequences to people. Suspicion, hatred and anger have grown up everywhere. 800,000 children have been orphaned and more than 2 million have lost one parent. These children have been left to grow up without care, surrounded by violence. They bring frightful witness to this terrible war. And we are not sure that the tons of Russian and Chinese weapons were borrowed without incurring great debt.

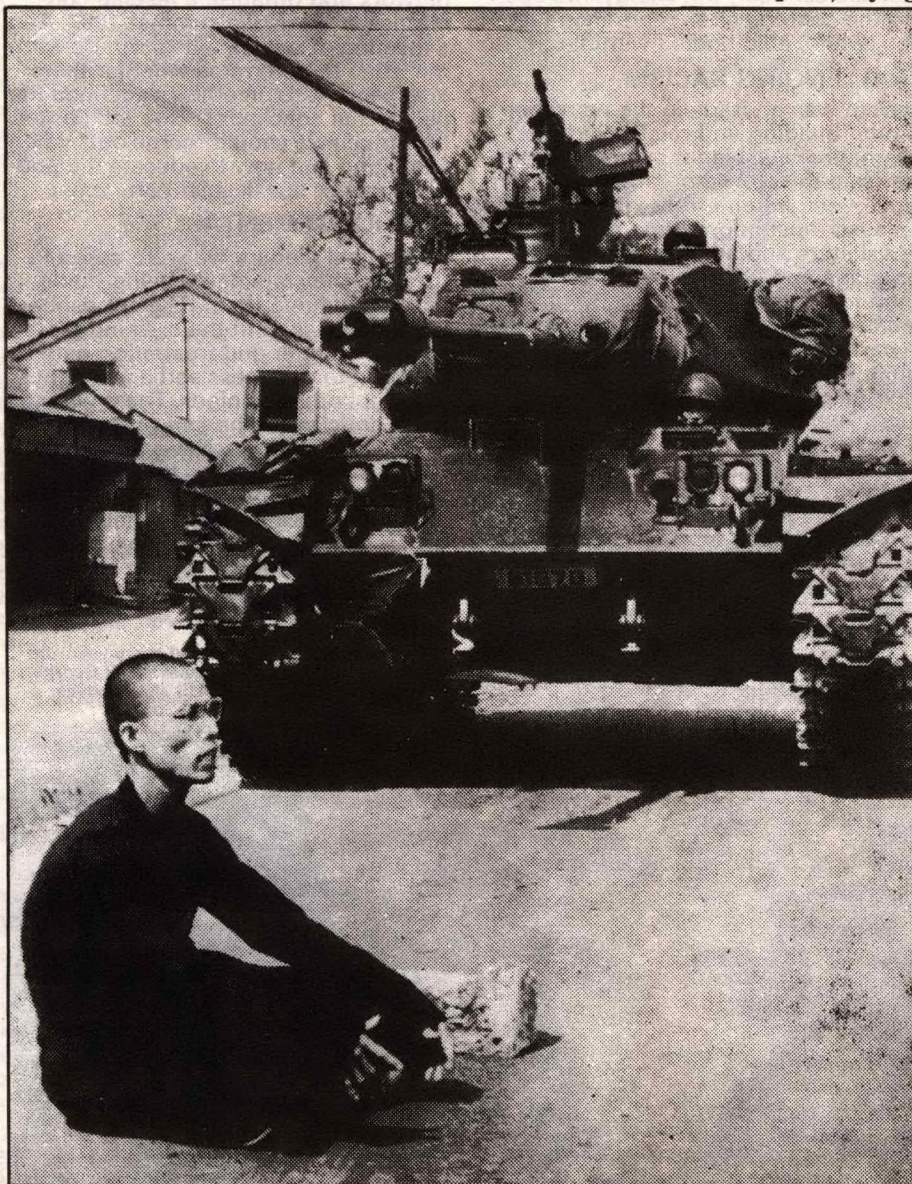
SYMPATHY

We think of the new government in Vietnam with great sympathy. How can they bear the burden of all these bitter fruits of the war? Life has become so unbearable that many have committed suicide. Perhaps this is because the new people responsible for the whole country are from the North and they do not yet know the potential help of the Buddhists in the South. 10,000 Buddhist social workers and the fruits of their past works have been completely ignored by the new regime. Money raised for the realisation of reconstruction projects has been blocked and Buddhist social workers are not allowed or encouraged to continue their work. This is one of the main reasons the revolution has not been able to advance yet.

We have learned that Buddhist workers are trying in the most humble and gentle way to make their ability to serve known to the new regime. They try to understand the common difficulties of the country and do not yet reproach the government. But that does not mean they go to sleep and let the government do everything without helping, observing and offering criticism.

We learned that the government has met with less difficulties in the rural areas and we are proud that thanks to the lessons in self-support and self-change that our workers brought in order to change society from the base up, the government does not meet with difficulties when they invite people to participate in improving their own village.

No more Vietnams was taken from Seeds of Peace, a Thai Buddhist magazine. Since this was written, Vietnamese Buddhists have been subject to increasing harassment, imprisoned in some cases as American or Chinese spies. Anyone wishing to bring organisational or diplomatic pressure to bear should first contact: David Arnott, Buddhist Peace Fellowship, "Gillets", Smarden, Nr Ashford, Kent.



The eighth international lesbian conference in Geneva

The International Lesbian Information Service recently held its eighth conference in Geneva. Here **Fiver** reports on the conference and the issues which it raised, particularly racism on the personal level, which seemed to affect almost all aspects of the conference in some way.

From the start the strange mixture of comparatively wealthy but also politically aware Swiss lesbians organising the conference became clear. There was food organised in a wimmin's restaurant set up for the duration, but the prices weren't on a sliding scale, and so were unaffordable for some of us. Neither negotiation nor confrontation helped, and only a donation from Geneva Wimmin's Peace Camp made it possible for some of us to eat.

Entry to the conference was free, and so was the accommodation, but free meant staying in nuclear bunkers! Switzerland has bunkers for 90% of its population and while they are not "needed" they are rented out as cheap accommodation for conferences. While for some activists the chance to have free access to a nuclear bunker is what they dream of, sleeping behind 16-inch steel doors with constant fluorescent lights and filtered air reminded me too much of Holloway prison. When it was mentioned at the opening plenary that many wimmin couldn't bear staying in the bunkers, local wimmin offered private accommodation.

FILMS BANNED

The opening plenary also showed the atmosphere surrounding the conference: some lesbian films hadn't been allowed through Swiss customs, among them *Broken mirrors* (the latest film by Marleen Gorres, who also made *A question of silence*). As wimmin from different countries introduced themselves and spoke about their situation we heard over and over again, "There is no lesbian organisation in our country, although lesbianism is not illegal, we are being persecuted, we are invisible, political refugees". Not only wimmin from countries like Chile, Mexico, Bangladesh and Thailand said that, but lesbians from Finland, France and Japan felt the same. A demonstration on the Saturday demanded the right of political asylum for lesbians, who are not officially recognised as political refugees. Near the beginning of the plenary a Swiss television crew (all male) walked in and started filming without even asking for permission. They had to be forcibly removed—many wimmin couldn't afford to have their pictures published as participants of a lesbian conference.

UNITY OFTEN FORGOTTEN

The conference's main aims were to "consolidate that which unites us (resistance to patriarchy)" and "to discuss that which divides us (racism, classism, ageism and other discriminating 'isms')". During the four days we mostly seemed to forget that there are things

which unite us, which make it possible for 600 dykes from 30 countries to come together.

Racism was a main theme throughout all the workshops. For me it is a new subject, one that I haven't been confronted with much before. I felt overwhelmed, especially by how confrontational the discussion was. The organising wimmin had invited 14 Black and Asian lesbians, who felt they were only token blacks—the percentage of black lesbians present was so small—an exotic addition rather than a sign that ILIS seriously put energy into opening the conference to more than just rich, white, able-bodied wimmin.

CHALLENGING RACISM

Racism was an issue in the workshop about "building and reinforcing the international lesbian movement": wimmin said the workshop and the lesbian movement weren't truly international, because most information networks, newsletters and archives are English-language and not easily accessible. Therefore non-Western, non-English speaking lesbians aren't given a chance to participate. In an ad hoc gathering of white wimmin who wanted to confront their racism we tried to make positive suggestions about what we could do. When we were through blaming each other and the black wimmin for the problem, and after sorting out the English-language imperialism (by organising Spanish translation), we came up with constructive ideas: to change the constitution of the conference so that the next one will be more open to all wimmin; to take personal responsibility to challenge racism when we see it; to give up the power we hold as privileged (white) wimmin.

There were other groups to whom the conference was not accessible: lesbian mothers (and others) were surprised that no childcare was provided. And wimmin from the London-based group GEMMA (for lesbians with and without disabilities) came to the conference to share their experiences, but were forced to spend most of their time talking about access (the university building has many stairs, and the lifts weren't always working; there was no sign language provision, texts weren't available in Braille).

AFFINITY

Only a few workshops emphasised our affinity, like the one for Latin American lesbians, which decided to set up a network and organise a lesbian conference in Mexico in summer 1987. And a meeting of lesbian artists, where wimmin tried to determine whether there are special lesbian ethics, redefined the patriarchal concept of "fine art", asked how much we should "come out" when exhibiting and how to educate the public to accept our (lesbian) art.

NONJUDGEMENTAL

In the final plenary we were asked to listen to the statements being made without judging them. The atmosphere was calmer than in the opening plenary; the anger and frustration had changed to openness and a willingness to accept other opinions. There was still more criticism of the part played by the organising wimmin. Nevertheless the lesbians who organised this conference accomplished a major task. Throughout all the discussions about what divides us, we must, as a Black womyn from the United States put it, "keep in mind who our real oppressors are".

FIVER

The secretariat of ILIS is rotated every year; the current address is: ILIS, 5 Boulevard St Georges, 1205 Geneva, Switzerland. ILIS also produces a bulletin in English, French and Spanish.



We have covered the faces of women not known to the writer, as it could be dangerous for them to be publicly associated with a lesbian conference.

reviews

The cold facts

NUCLEAR WINTER: THE EVIDENCE AND THE RISKS, Owen Greene, Ian Percival & Irene Ridge (Polity Press) £4.95.

Jonathan Schell, in his *The Fate of the Earth*, speaks of the necessity of the peace movement becoming "historians of the future". Since it has always been possible to count on more conventional historians to blow the dust off the same documents and somehow come up with diametrically opposed versions of the past, this is a recommendation which needs thinking

about. If the recorded past is so malleable, what about the future?

Writers on nuclear winter confront one possible future. The importance of the theory they discuss cannot be over-estimated, since it promises to quell the idea of winnable nuclear war; it attracts supporters and opponents in just those quarters one would expect. The question is: as students of the future, how do we assess the arguments and the crucial but indigestible scientific data underpinning them?

What is needed is a good honest primer, and Greene, Percival and Ridge give us an exemplary treatment, informative and readable. The more detailed scientific explanations are set apart, to be skipped and returned to later if preferred; while the text itself, though ultimately a grim litany of "the human cost", also frankly admits and thinks through the uncertainties built into models of the effects of nuclear war on climate and the consequent impact on species and ecosystems. The case for nuclear winter as an outcome to atomic warfare seems, finally, overwhelmingly made; as the authors say, "there is no escape into bunkers in the ground or into the bunkers of the mind".

ALASDAIR PATERSON

What's CND's line?

CHANCE OF A LIFETIME (Video—VHS format), West Region CND (7 Quarrington Road, Bristol) £6.00 including post and packing.

This video has been produced for use in CND's "Basic Case" or "Extended Public Information Campaign" (EPIC). It presents a number of important facts about the nuclear arms race using the format of a TV quiz show.

The use of a "quiz" to present facts makes them more interesting and accessible than if they were presented in a traditional documentary style. Anyone watching this might discover, and remember, that five nuclear warheads are produced every day, that arms talks have not removed one single nuclear weapon, that many people have died since Nagasaki as a result of nuclear testing. A "commercial break" provides an opportunity for a different style of presentation: Matthew Kelly tries to sell us a "deterrent" burglar alarm which explodes if your house is burgled (you have two minutes to get out). Bill Owen tells us he's been smoking for forty years and not had cancer, therefore smoking protects him from cancer. A "vox pop" shows us that people are frightened by nuclear weapons.

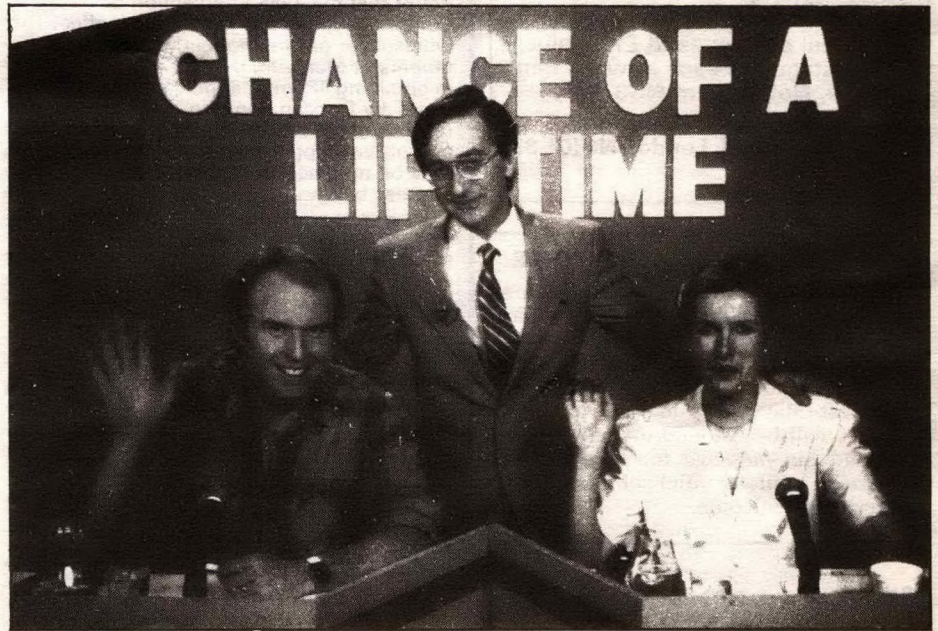
If the quiz was intended to be funny, as the presentation suggested, then it failed for me. It wasn't sufficiently "over the top" to distinguish it from the worst of the genuine quiz shows. And I was baffled rather than

amused by the wearing of a radiation suit and gas mask by the "score girl", muffling her speech (though it was a relief that she wasn't presented in the sexist way normal to quiz shows). Anyone expecting to be amused by this video might have ended up bored instead.

Finally, I'm not sure who this video is aimed at. In my experience, such videos

are usually only seen by people already committed to nuclear disarmament, and this one certainly doesn't have enough intrinsic value to attract a wider audience. Can Trade Unions, Mothers' Unions, youth clubs and other community groups be persuaded to watch it? I doubt it. I can only see this being used as a tool for those already committed to CND, particularly those who are less involved and don't attend any meetings, to learn more of the facts.

LINDA PEIRSON



"Work" alternatives

VERY NICE WORK IF YOU CAN GET IT, edited by Collective Design Project (Spokesman) £4.95.

Very Nice Work If You Can Get It is a practical guide to socially useful production that invokes the aims of that movement, surveys the developments and argues against capitalist "logic" for economic growth.

By being practical and relating the aims of socially useful production to the specific needs in the 1980s that particular people have—young, old, black, white, women, men, healthy and unfit, skilled and unskilled, oppressed and liberated—*Very Nice Work* succeeds in mounting a realistic challenge to profit motivated production.

Though political theories and social ideas are at the heart of the book, by reporting on real and existing projects, like the initiatives of the GLC, Sheffield City Council and West Midlands County Council, no charges of Utopian idealism can be levelled against the writers.

A great strength of *Very Nice Work* as a guide to the socially useful production debate is the enormity of its information on contacts, research and work that it contains—something many similar ventures of a practical nature lack.

As the editors state in their conclusion, there is "no simple object, movement or project which completely contains and delimits the term socially useful production". There is rather a need to *think* in

that alternative way in an attempt to reverse the trend that has become a way of life under Thatcher and the Tories: from public ownership to private profit. That does not necessarily mean a return to tired old Labour Party ways. In her introduction, Audrey Wise makes a point that we should not overlook in any of the fields of communications, energy, transport, education, health or social services:

A Labour Government needs to build relationships with workers as producers of goods and services, to enable them to use their skills and knowledge of their own needs as workers and consumers.

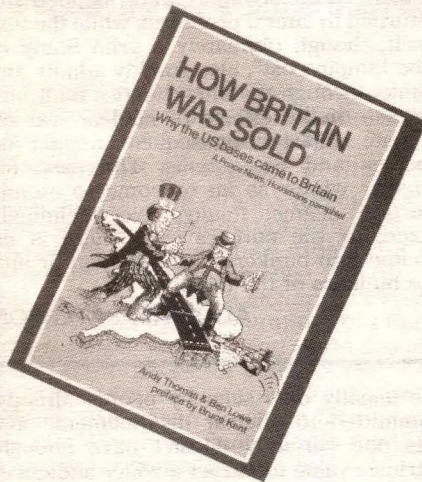
That, it seems to me, is the inescapable message and potential benefit of socially useful production.

IAN DUCKETT

HOW BRITAIN WAS SOLD

why the US bases came to Britain

by Andy Thomas and Ben Lowe, with a preface by Bruce Kent.



The Peace News/Housmans pamphlet that explains the story behind Britain's "occupation" by the United States military. How and why the government agreed to the permanent establishment of US bases in Britain. Especially relevant today—essential reading for all peace groups!

Individual orders: send £1.20 plus 20p postage to **Peace News, 8 Elm Avenue, Nottingham NG3 4GF.**

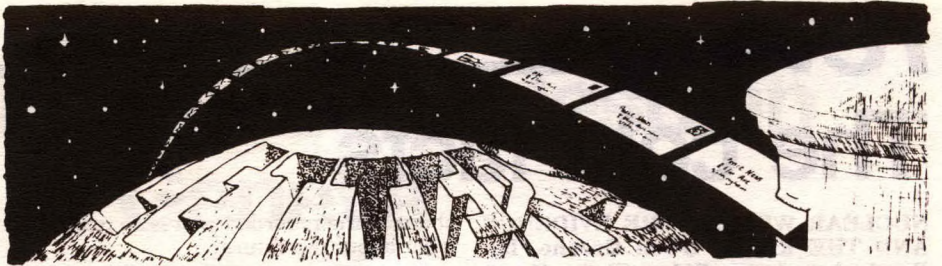
Trade distributors: **Housmans, 5 Caledonian Road, London N1 (01-837 4473).**

CONWAY MEMORIAL LECTURE

The 62nd Conway Memorial Lecture will be given by Lord Fenner Brockway in the Large Hall at South Place Ethical Society, Conway Hall, 25 Red Lion Square, London WC1R 4RL on Wednesday 21st May 1986, at 7.00 pm. His subject will be "Moncure Conway, his life and his message for today!" The Chairman will be Michael Foot, MP. Everybody Welcome.

peacemeal
WHOLE FOODS

**10 CALEDONIAN RD.
KINGS CROSS
10-6-30 M-SAT**



Letters marked * have been shortened. Please keep your letters under 300 words so we can carry a wide variety of contributions without having to edit them.

MENWITH'S SECRETS

In a couple of articles in *Peace News* I referred to Menwith Hill as the NATO Communications Centre. It is not. Regrettably I have been passing on the lie told to members of Otley Peace Action Group when we were invited onto the base in 1983. I was brought up to believe what I was told and I still find it tragic that lying appears to be a way of life for some people.

The Americans working for the National Security Agency at Menwith Hill are running the world's largest satellite signals intelligence receiving terminal, hiding behind their "respectable" NATO smokescreen. It is the CCCIs, the command, control, communication and intelligence centres which now receive prime attention of nuclear weapons targeters as the military now realise that the huge arsenals can never be used without killing both themselves and their "enemies". So they are concentrating on obliterating the lunatic brain—the C3Is.

While on the subject of Menwith, I have no doubt that the 1985 Interception of Communications Act will have no effect whatsoever on the monolithic telephone tappers at Menwith. If anyone has difficulty in obtaining "Phone-tappers and the security state" by Duncan Campbell which contains reprints of his articles in the *New Statesman* and proves tapping beyond doubt, copies may be obtained from me for £1.20 at the address below.

Love and peace
Christine Dean
5 Garnett St
Otley
West Yorkshire

CONSUMER CAMPAIGN

In response to your article on Consumers Against Nuclear Energy (the Consumer Campaign) in *Peace News* April 4, the contact address for anyone wishing to learn more about the Campaign is: PO Box 697, London NW1 8YQ.

Also, I would like to correct the impression given in your article that only people willing to withhold a proportion of their electricity bill can become involved in the Campaign—we are currently trying to broaden our activities, and many of our supporters, who either can't or don't wish to withhold, show their opposition to nuclear power in other ways. These vary from paying electricity bills

on "anti-nuclear" cheques, to making a direct protest to the CEGB or local electricity board.

Whilst the Campaign is still small in terms of numbers, it is growing rapidly. It offers the ordinary consumer, who might not have the time or energy for more active opposition to nuclear power, the chance to make their protest felt.

Yours, working for a nuclear-free future
Julie Wood
11b Crogsland Rd
London NW1 8AY

MATERIALS NEEDED FOR PEACE EXHIBITION

Nonviolent Direct Action Group (NVDAG)—WRI Sri Lanka Section—has proposed to organise Peace Exhibitions, in observance of the International Year of Peace, in July 1986. NVDAG requests materials such as posters, pamphlets, stickers, booklets, T-shirts etc. Please send what you have to the address below.

K Jeevagathas
Secretary, NVDAG
PO Box 2
Chavakachcheri
Sri Lanka

TURKEY—THE SICK MAN OF EUROPE*

Two recent letters in the *Guardian* drew readers' attention to Turkey's appalling record on human rights, particularly with regard to the members of the Turkish Peace Association. Reading this made me look more closely at an article which appeared in the German magazine *Quick* on November 21, 1985. Entitled "Blackmail in Turkish", it gives details of a very sick set of negotiations currently under way between West Germany and Turkey.

In the economic boom of the 1960s, an agreement was signed between the European Economic Community (EEC) and Turkey, the provisions of which would allow Turks total freedom to seek work in EEC countries after 22 years, coming into effect on December 1, 1986.

As 90% of Turks who enter EEC countries go to West Germany, the West Germans are very concerned about the effect this possible influx of Turks might have on their economy and society. West Germany considers the Turks to be among the most disruptive and



difficult to integrate of its foreign workers and has already made great efforts to repatriate as many as possible.

An added complication is the general election in West Germany next year. If the present government fails to prevent a flood of Turks arriving in December 1986 and early January 1987, their chance of election success will be considerably reduced.

Turkey therefore feels itself in quite a strong position to exert some pressure on West Germany. In return for promises to limit and/or postpone the influx of Turkish job-seekers, the Turks are prepared to accept (before Dec 1) 7 thousand million Marks worth of weaponry (currently c3.50DM to £1), including 40 Tornado aircraft and 150 Leo 2 tanks. Two further conditions are that Turks already in West Germany must be treated as full citizens of the EEC, and that Germany must press for Turkey's acceptance as a candidate for the Community, despite the fact that the European Parliament recently decided this was not acceptable because of its record on human rights.

In return West Germany will also get the right to train test pilots over Turkey and the West German army will get brand new replacements for all the weaponry exported to Turkey. As usual, it looks as though the only people to benefit from this whole sorry episode will be the arms manufacturers.

Hazel Costello
17 Lisker Avenue
Otley
West Yorks LS21 1DG

USING OUR COLLECTIVE STRENGTH*

I would like to suggest that *PN* considers widening its scope—and hence its circulation. Revolution—peaceful or otherwise—has to get down to thinking how one gets from here to there. One gets the impression that *PN* does not look far beyond the strict confines of a hierarchical society; there appears a tendency to look for salvation in one particular contender in the party power struggle.

Yet every community action group or protest movement is confronting a common enemy—concentrated power. If *PN* could provide a forum for all these movements so that their common interest becomes apparent to all, we might get somewhere. With a network of peace and similar groups, it would be no great problem to arouse awareness of the

PEACE CAMP CONTACTS:

FASLANE PEACE CAMP, below St Andrew's School, Shandon, nr Helensburgh, Dunbartonshire, tel Rhu (0436) 820901.

GREENHAM COMMON WOMEN'S PEACE CAMP, outside USAF Greenham Common, Newbury, Berks.

MOLESWORTH: Earth Camp and Peace Corner Camp, Peace Corner, Old Weston Rd, Brington, nr Huntingdon

MENWITH HILL PEACE CAMP, outside US Spy Base, Menwith-with-Darley, nr Harrogate, North Yorks; or Chressy, tel (0532) 576569.

BISHOPSCOURT PEACE CAMP, outside RAF Bishopscourt, Ballyhouran, nr Downpatrick, Co Down; or Rob Fairmichael, tel Belfast (0232) 647106.

UPPER HEYFORD PEACE CAMP, Portaway, Camp Rd, Upper Heyford, Oxon; or tel Steve Chasey (Steeple Aston) 40321.

CRUISEWATCH, PO Box 28, Newbury, Berks; or Campaign ATOM, tel (0865) 726441.

POLARISWATCH, c/o Campaign ATOM, 34 Cowley Rd, Oxford; or tel Janet Convery, CND, 01-250 4010.

These are long-term addresses only. For details of temporary camps and contact addresses, see At the Bases, page 4.

potential if each openly supported the efforts of other groups within its community.

I believe the time has come when we must recognise that endless snippets about peace movements and rights campaigners are not going to offset the power of the transnationals and international financial institutions which mock the sovereignty of any democratic government. In particular, the military/industrial/technocrat complex has made us all accessories to the state butchery in Tripoli just as we have been to the state terrorism in Latin America, Central America, the Pacific Basin, Southern Africa...

Our government is typical of the elite which rules any Third World commercial colony, and despite all the hot air spilled by the Labour Party, they can change nothing; the Alliance cannot make up its mind whether it actually wants to change anything. At home the social fabric is being torn asunder.

Unless we get together, forget our tribal loyalties and use our collective strength to manipulate the democratic process we have left to us and so to change the course of government, we shall fall prey either to our social divisions or to those whom we have bled so long—always assuming the mushroom does not get us first.

We need communication to share awareness and mutual confidence. Where else can we look for this apart from *PN*?

Yours in peace—temporarily—and not too much hope
Cyril Appleton
Frome, Butts Meadow
Lower Hardres
Canterbury CT4 5NU

MOWLEM AND MILITARISM

Further to Helen Trask's article about the militarism and racism in the Indian Ocean (*PN* March 21), readers may be interested in the activities of the international construction firm, John Mowlem.

Not only have they been awarded a major contract at Molesworth, but they are also working on the US naval facilities in Diego Garcia. It would be interesting to know if Mowlem's work in Diego Garcia is in line with the terms of the UK lease of the islands to the USA. Meanwhile readers could let the company know what is happening in Diego Garcia. The head office is at Foundation House, Eastern Rd, Bracknell, Berks RG12 2UZ.

Yours for justice and peace
Dave Pybus
17 Bader Close
Westwood
Peterborough PE3 7JZ

FACING UP TO VIOLENCE

I am afraid I am not a pacifist. I read *Peace News* as a voyeur on another belief-system. An outsider's view of one's activities is often valuable, so I hope you will take this as constructive.

I cannot let the most significant item you have published slip into obscurity. Boffo's description of the violence experienced by hunt saboteurs has been completely inadequately dealt with—handling this question is the *fundamental problem of your beliefs*. It is the same as the *What about Hitler* and the *What about the Russians* questions. There are people who are natural violent aggressors—as Boffo found, *real no holds barred violence* rapidly makes theory irrelevant. Is pacifism ultimately a viable response? Peggy Owen suggests they give up, what sort of response is that? It's an option that might not be available in other situations.

Come on, let's not conveniently forget this too uncomfortable problem. From my point of view pacifism only works in a civilised society with humanitarian rules, and that you can't bank on; it's a luxury.

Yours faithfully
Roger J Morgan
15a Kensington Court Gardens
London W8 5QF



EARMIGGINGS

Down at Greenham the other day, Earwig was idly toasting her lentil-burger against the fence when a sudden wave of nausea struck her. "Must be the zapping again" she thought, and so she asked a passing GI whether she was being bombarded with microwaves. "Gee no", he said, reassuringly, "we're just irradiating you to keep you fresh." Earwig removed herself and the charred lentil-burger to a safe distance.

* * *

Still at Greenham, it seems that Mr J Thompson, Sales Director of Gateway Books Ltd, 11 Newarke Street, Leicester, has come to an arrangement with the USAF to run a bookshop inside the base for two days a week. It's good to hear of such attempts to spread culture and literacy among the forces of occupation. Perhaps local peace protestors might like to make some suggestions to Mr Thompson as to suitable reading matter for the Greenham men?

* * *

Earwig thought for a moment that the campaign for the rights of other species had been dramatically extended when she heard that a greengrocer's shop in Coventry had had its windows smashed by animal rights activists. But it turned out that the shop was owned by the same man as the butcher's shop next door—he'd already boarded up the latter as a precaution against attacks, which seem to be happening regularly in Coventry. Ten other shops—all selling meat—had their windows smashed the same weekend.

* * *

Earwig's award for the least snappy headline of the year goes to a recent press release from the School of Peace Studies at the University of Bradford which announced: "Conventional Balance of Forces not as Disadvantageous to the West as Traditionally Supposed Says New Study". It's not quite as catchy as the *Sun*'s appalling "Thrilled to Blitz!" last week, is it?



EARWIG



AGENDA

LOW-LEVEL RADIATION CONFERENCE

There is to be a (second) national conference on the health effects of low-level radiation in Barrow, Cumbria, on **June 14, 15**. The aim is to provide an open forum in which members of the public and "nuclear workers" can discuss these effects, with specific emphasis on human-made radionuclides. The idea will be to put a complicated subject in layperson's terms, whilst at the same time drawing on expert knowledge.

Speakers will include epidemiologist Alice Stewart, a radiobiologist, a GP from the Windscale area, and a Japanese geneticist. The conference fee is £5. Further information from: **Cumbrians Opposed to a Radioactive Environment (CORE)**, 80 Church Street, Barrow-in-Furness, Cumbria (tel B-in-F 33851).

LONG MARCH FOR PEACE

Bruce Kent, Vice-Chair of CND, is to undertake a "Long March" from the nuclear submarine base at Faslane to the nuclear weapons factory at Burghfield (a distance of about 500 miles) from **June 30 to August 6**—Hiroshima Day. The march will make the links between disarmament and world development, with proceeds from sponsorship going to CND and War on Want. By following the route from Faslane to Burghfield, Bruce Kent also hopes to draw attention to the Polaris warhead convoys whose existence the government still denies. Further information is available from **CND, 22-24 Under-**

wood St, London N1 7JG (tel 01-250 4010).

NICARAGUAN THEATRE

Teatro Teyocoyani, one of Nicaragua's foremost theatre companies, is about to embark on a British tour. Their theatre—musical, educational and political—celebrates the indigenous culture of Nicaragua and the struggle of the Nicaraguan people for self-determination. They will be performing in Deptford (**May 7-9**), Stockwell (**May 15**), Cardiff (**May 16-17**), Birmingham (**May 21**), and Glasgow (**May 23-24**). For further information contact: **Andy Wood, tel 01-853 5801.**

OXLEAS WOOD THREAT DEMO

The government's controversial East London River Crossing road scheme would mean increased pollution and congestion, the loss of homes, and also the destruction of a tract of ancient woodland—Oxleas wood, in Eltham—which is important for both scientific and recreational reasons. As part of the campaign against the new highway, Friends of the Earth has organised a picnic and demonstration at Oxleas Meadow on **Sunday May 11** at 2pm. The area is only 10 minutes walk from Falconwood BR station.

For those wanting to cycle to the site, meet at 11.30am at the National Theatre cafe, near Waterloo Bridge, London SE1. The picnic will include bands, speakers, children's games and maybe even a chance to hear the birds singing. For more information, contact: **Sarah Clarke, FoE "Cities for People" campaigner, 377 City Rd, London EC1 (tel 01-837-0731).**

PEACE PENTECOST

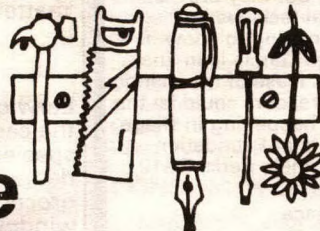
The main event of Christian CND's Peace Pentecost this year will take place in Glasgow on **Saturday May 17**: a procession through the city will lead to a rally and service on Glasgow Green at 2pm; a festival with music, dancing etc will happen in the evening. For those in the far south, there will be a procession from Aldermaston to Burghfield. Throughout the weekend, a peace convoy will travel from Burghfield along one of the routes of the Polaris convoy, with various events happening at bases and towns on the way. The convoy is due to arrive in Glasgow on the evening of **Sunday May 18**, when there will be a vigil outside the MoD building. On Monday the convoy will continue up to Couport (see pp10-11 if you don't know what's happening there!), where there will be worship and actions. For more details of this busy weekend contact **Christian CND at 22-24 Underwood St, London N1 7JG (tel 01-250 4010).**

PERSPECTIVES ON PEACE

The Concord Films Council is sponsoring a weekend conference entitled "Perspectives on Peace" as a contribution to International Year of Peace. It is also to mark the 40th anniversary of the United Nations Association in this country, which works to build support for the ideals of the UN itself.

The conference will take place near Bury St Edmunds, Suffolk, on the weekend of **July 4-6**; themes will include the future of the UN, and the role of the UN. The cost of the weekend, including residential charges, will be £35, though there may be unwaged reductions. Further details from: **Concord Films Council, 201 Felixstowe Road, Ipswich, Suffolk (tel Ipswich 715754).**

TOOLS for change



NO TO RADIOACTIVE WASTE

Humberside County Council has come out strongly against the government's policy of expanding the nuclear power programme, and in particular against their nuclear waste dumping proposals—one of the proposed sites, South Killingholme, is in Humberside. They have brought out an emergency edition of their newsletter, with a petition and an anti-dumping postcard (the Department of the Environment is receiving them by the sackful), and stickers—eight sheets of badge size ones available for £1. They have appointed a campaign manager, **Bob Hallas, tel 0482 860323**, and a special subcommittee. For further details contact **Humberside County Council, County Hall, Beverley, North Humberside (tel 0482 867131).**

RECLAIM THE DESERT

The International Society for the Planting and Protection of Trees (founded in Kenya in 1922, and somewhat right-offly titled "The Men of the trees"), has launched an appeal for funds. They want to train volunteers in agroforestry, the growing of trees alongside crops, and send them to work with villagers in North Africa. Their ultimate aim is to restore the land's fertility, turn back the advancing deserts, thus enabling people to grow their own crops and feed themselves. For further information write to **TREE 2000, PO Box 64, Crawley, West Sussex RH10 4GH.**

SISTERS

Sisters is the journal of the National Assembly of Women (NAW), and stands for Sisterhood and international solidarity to End Racism and sexism. It reports on women's struggles for equality and liberation throughout the world. NAW itself was founded in 1952, its aim is "the full social, economic, legal, political and cultural independence and equality of all women", and has an impressive list of campaigning priorities, tackling work, health, education, public spending cuts, immigration laws and disarmament. Contact: **Elsie Watson, NAW, 20 Watson Rd, Sheffield S10 2SD (tel 0742 686845).**

DUTCH ANTI-CRUISE COURT CASE

Legal proceedings were started in the Netherlands in November 1984 by 20,000 plaintiffs—individuals and organisations—against the Dutch state. The writ demands that plans for deploying or using cruise missiles in the Netherlands be stopped, on a wide range of grounds based on Dutch and international law.

The court case is working its way through the Dutch legal system. An English version of the case submitted, *Writ of Summons*, is now available for £7.50 from: **Housmans Bookshop Mail Order, 5 Caledonian Rd, Kings Cross, London N1 (tel 01-837 4473).** It should be useful for those using legal tactics as part of their anti-nuclear campaigning.

MEN OVERCOMING VIOLENCE

A Manchester MOVE (Men Overcoming Violence) support group, inspired by the Bristol group (see the article in *PN* January 24) are meeting weekly to discuss and confront male violence, both in themselves and in society. They feel it crucial to deal with the links between individual and structural violence. The areas they wish to work in are: one-to-one counselling for violent men who wish to change; running work-shops; and visiting youth clubs to talk about the issue. For further details contact **Neil, 73 Dorset Ave, Fallowfield, Manchester M14 7WR.**

THE RIGHT TO BE HERE

The above is the title of a newly-published campaigning guide to the immigration laws, produced by the Anti-Deportation Working Group of the late lamented GLC. It answers such questions as: what the laws actually say, where to get practical advice, how does the threat of deportation affect black people in Britain, and what are the political implications of different types of campaigning? It will be distributed free to people threatened by deportation, and to groups organising against it. Copies can be ordered from **King's Cross Women's Centre, 71 Tonbridge St, London WC1.** Please send 59p for postage, donations also welcome.

BILINGUAL FICTION

Side by Side is a small publishing company committed to producing multicultural reading material for children. *Running Away*, their first title, is available in either Bengali, Gujarati, Turkish or Urdu, each with English on the opposite page. The books can be used as picture storybooks; as an aid to someone learning any of the languages; for a class of mixed language pupils, so they can all enjoy the same book; or to enable parents unfamiliar with written English to get involved with their children's reading. Cassette tapes of the books are also available, from **Side by Side, 90 Palatine Rd, London N16 8SY (tel 01-249 0805).**

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