

AGENDA

A JOURNAL OF ANIMAL LIBERATION

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NOTES

AGENDA, a quarterly journal of animal liberation, is devoted to fostering greater cooperation and unity within the animal liberation/rights/welfare movement. We provide a forum in which the movement can exchange ideas and discuss the problems and issues before it. We strive to activate and facilitate two processes vital to the building of a more effective, progressive movement: (1) the refinement and filling of our theoretical base, and (2) the evolution of strategies and tactics for political change. *Agenda* is independent of any animal welfare or animal rights organization. Our publishing costs are borne by Animal Rights Network, Inc. as one of its movement-building activities. It should not be assumed, however that Animal Rights Network, Inc. endorses any of the ideas, reports, or other material published in *Agenda*. Nor, for that matter, should it be assumed that everything published herein reflects the views of the editor and staff of *Agenda*; we provide space for discussion, that's all.

While we will continue to discuss sexist language policy, linkages to other cultural and political movements and other matters important to the development of our theoretical base, this issue is devoted more to the nuts and bolts—the tactics of political activism. The other discussions must continue, of course, but it's time to act, and to think and talk about action.

When you send letters or articles to *Agenda*, please add a sentence or two telling us about your form of activism and your local activist group. We're not interested in boasting, but we think it helps the movement to know what others are doing out

there. It helps also to link up people who are working on related matters—and that strengthens our movement.

Agenda would like to be receiving book reviews from you. We shouldn't be the only ones who read and value books of importance to the movement. We can't begin to cover all of the publications of interest to animal rights people, so please help us out. We would prefer that you try to limit your review to 1,000 words and that you follow the form of the reference given at the beginning of Jim Mason's review of *Woman's Creation*, page 10, *Agenda* #4.

We've been asked more than a couple of times now to be more specific about the "related struggles" with which the animal rights movement should join hands. We think the past issues and this issue of *Agenda* clearly identify feminism and the women's movement as one of these. The movement for peace and disarmament—particularly nuclear disarmament—is another natural ally to our cause. Think about it: what does our obsession with nuclear superiority and "first-strike" capability mean to animals? It maintains radar systems that fry migratory birds, it trains dolphins to blow up submarines and underwater mines, it diverts a huge share of society's profit and technology toward machines of death and destruction, it maintains an edgy world in which people can't afford to think and be concerned about the plight of animals.

When the nuclear bombs go off—and it's getting more and more certain that some will somewhere soon—animals, as well as people, will be killed and wounded. A 20-megaton bomb creates a 3,000 square mile firestorm that uses up all the oxygen in the air. Those that survived the burning and asphyxiation would envy the dead, for they would face a devastated world.

The rotting corpses of the millions of dead would spread diseases and taint food and water supplies not already contaminated with radioactivity. If any of the bombs hit nuclear power plants—and quite a few are aimed at them—the destruction and poisoning would be multiplied. Clearly, there would be death and suffering on a scale much larger than we can imagine.

The main problem about all of this now is that people are so complacent, so numb about it. This was brought home to me recently when a friend took a job working on the new MX missile system. When I asked him how he felt about earning a living at building one of the most expensive and sophisticated weapons systems ever conceived—one that might someday blow away most of life on the planet—he said, “Well, we all gotta go sometime.” The same question and the same response, almost word for word, came to my attention about a year ago during a television program about people living near a town in Texas where U.S. nuclear warheads are manufactured. It’s scary enough that the human species has conceived of such utterly horrible tools as nuclear weapons. It’s scarier still that we have gone ahead and built them. But it’s scary beyond belief that now we sit around bomb plants and missile silos unconcerned, numb—as if we were anesthetized.

There may not be too much time left to wake up and think about what we’re tolerating. According to Dr. Helen Caldicott, president of Physicians for Social Responsibility and a prominent advocate and speaker for nuclear disarmament, the U.S. will have a launch-on-warning system in another three years—the Pentagon’s computers will make the decision to return a real or mistaken Soviet missile attack. Caldicott tells also of a report by the Joint Chiefs of Staff that says we have a 50 per cent chance of avoiding nuclear war by 1985.

If we’re to have time to improve legislation protecting animals, to develop humane alternatives in science and technology, to achieve a human society and economy free from exploitation of animals, we’re going to need time; we’re going to have to do something about the bombs and missiles.

Conference Update

Meanwhile, not far from the Pentagon on December 6 in the Capitol City, the second in a series of planning meetings brought the fall 1981 conference (discussed in AGENDA #4) closer to reality.

As can be expected whenever gathering dozens of animal rights activists in one room, each with a unique and separate perspective, the meeting had its ups and downs. Two major areas of dispute arose but were resolved: 1) who (what group or individuals) should be our target for promotion (all animal groups and activists?? selected individuals and organizations only?? persons involved in other progressive movements??) and 2) what emphasis, if any, should be placed on vegetarianism in the final program to be adopted? The decisions were to promote to a large spectrum of animal rights/welfare groups as well as other progressive organizations, and to keep vegetarianism as a sub-heading along with the other animal rights issues.

In addition, the conference title and statement of purpose were adopted as follows:

MOBILIZATION FOR ANIMAL RIGHTS: CONFERENCE ‘81

building a movement for the 80’s

“To make use of new and existing human and financial resources to establish a viable movement towards general acceptance of animal rights. To constitute an action-oriented

coordinating body, comprised of several task forces to devise and implement one-, five-, and ten-year plans of action”

Several non-affiliated animal rights activists were present as well as representatives from *Animal Liberation Collective*, *Animal Rights Network*, *Animal Rights Network-Berks County*, *Fruitarian Network*, *Lifeline for Wildlife*, *People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA)*, *Coalition to End Animal Suffering in Experimentation (CEASE)*, *Vegetarian Action*, and *Vegetarian Information Service*

Four committee and a coordinating board were formed to carry out the ongoing conference planning. Committees are now working up their respective plans to be submitted at a later date to the general body for ratification. This (3rd) general planning session is expected to take place in either late February or early March to review committee decisions.

Those interested in participating or receiving progress reports should contact Alex Pacheco (PETA) at Box 56272, Washington, DC 20011.



Notes, letters, articles, comments and other written submissions are welcome and should be sent to *Agenda*, Box 5234, Westport, CT 06881. Please try to keep the length of your letters down as much as possible. If you have a lot to say, try to put it into article form or compose a piece for our “Comment” section. Our deadlines are the 15th of each December, March, June and September. We try to publish on the first of each January, April, July and October.

We cannot be responsible for the return of unaccepted material unless it is sent to us with adequate postage and a self-addressed envelope of sufficient size to hold the material.

Agenda people: Sunshine Beyer, Amy, Randy & Geri Gould, Jim Mason, Doug Moss, Pat Valentino

LETTERS

Unlike some of my colleagues in the animal rights movement I have maintained contact with friends and acquaintances who are not "with us" — they are not "against us" either, just mainstream members of our culture. Through them and through other means I try to keep in mind how those not (yet) with us view us and how we can best influence them. It is, then from a practical point of view that I am concerned about the increasing emphasis placed in recent issues of *Agenda* on Veganism and "purification".

It seems to me that there is a growing and unhealthy tendency in the movement to engage in a perhaps unconscious "one-ups-personship" (?) to see whose motives and actions are the purest. This leads to an atmosphere of animal rights as being a kind of exclusive club of those who *really* care (as demonstrated by various criteria selected by individuals). And it also seems to me that in this early stage of development we need instead to do more to reach out to new people with a way of life to which they can adapt without undue upheaval. Let's face it, most people in the U.S. at least are quite content with their life style, and if we encourage them to give up all red meat, fowl and fish this is already a major step for them. If we have readily-available alternatives such as quiches and omelettes (from free-range chickens of course), pasta, etc., we may get somewhere within a reasonable time. If, however, all familiar food options are tabu we will certainly lose a lot of people who might otherwise have joined us. For some, of course, the adoption of a vegan diet may not be difficult. But I suspect that for the vast majority of people in our culture it is a goal set too high. Let us take one step at a time.

I believe that this movement should be as broad-based as possible. This means that we need to focus our time, energy and attention on bringing in new people and eliminating the worst abuses instead of putting ever more emphasis on individual purity. What some people today might call "the purity trip" puts up increasing barriers between people in the movement and a barrier between our "in-group" and the others who are not "as pure". No movement grows with this kind of outlook or ethic. History tells of many of these "fringe" groups which died out in a relatively short time because of this kind of outlook.

I urge that *Agenda* readers give thought instead to new ways to reach many different kinds of groups—all, in fact, except those who are really strongly against us. We have, thus far, tried only a few tactics, such as demonstrations, pickets and petitions. There are many more ways we can reach out to change minds. Let's look into them and then let's *implement* them!

A P.S. to all vegan activists: if you perceive this as a tirade against veganism you are missing the point. It is a tirade against pettiness, divisiveness, and one-upmanship in the movement.

Esther R. Mechler, Trumbull, Connecticut

(We don't think AGENDA has "emphasized" veganism; we've merely brought it up for discussion. We don't try to put forth a "correct line"; we try to provide a forum in which the animal movement can settle issues and solve problems—and that requires the participation of the members of the movement.)

We agree that some individuals have overemphasized veganism as a tactic and an immediate solution instead of seeing it as a goal for society. Much of the veganism now going around is an individualist, purist trip that displaces the development of political action and consciousness needed to make us a true social and cultural revolutionary movement.—Eds.)

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

I am very pleased with *Agenda's* broad approach to the issue of animal rights. All the conditions of society are related; to see each issue as a separate battle is to not see the root causes, so you wind up fighting for band-aids rather than for significant structural change. I'd like to see even more analyses of the interrelationships between, say, giant corporate profits from animal abuses in experimentation and of the interrelationships among racism, sexism, ageism and speciesism.

Marilyn Frankenstein, Newton, Massachusetts

(The International Journal for the Study of Animal Problems, 2100 L Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20037, will publish an article later this year by Jim Mason of the Agenda crew entitled, "Animal Rights Politics: The Need for the Human Connection". The article discusses some of the historical and cultural connections among racism, sexism and speciesism.)

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Re page 2, (*Agenda*, Oct. 1980 No. 4) "the need for the U.S. movement to select a suitable target issue "and the strategy required. It was suggested the best all-round action might be one against Pentagon-funded research involving the use of animals to test bombs, poison gas or weapons. . . . a large sector of the public would . . . perceive this . . . as indefensible."

I'm not persuaded the public would see it as indefensible, if the Pentagon pointed out that we have to have "first-strike preventive weapons if necessary," i.e. weapons for use in a "the best defense is a good offence" strategy.

However, I do believe that if the public were made aware of the many clearly stupid and or repetitive "experiments" being perpetrated, and the fact that THEIR MONEY funds them, and if a campaign heaping ridicule on the idiots who hand over OUR money so readily to any body of "scientists" through grants were mounted, a lot could be accomplished.

- 1) For these there is utterly NO excuse. And if they attempted any elitist arguments of "we know best" they would only elicit further public anger at this paternalism.
- 2) If the grantors found themselves *ridiculed* as well as criticized they might find their armor a little less protective;
- 3) Reference to *particular* social projects suffering budget restrictions while these mindless horrors receive thousands of dollars might infuriate the citizenry to good purpose.

I can see a campaign of "How come there's not enough money for Daycare Centres (for instance) while a grant was

issued to perpetrate this activity (followed by graphic and complete description with photos if possible, of one of these mindless horrors)".

Suggestion:

There should be a central library, equivalent to "Library of Congress" where *all* pamphlets, bulletins and newsletters of any organization, even to its own membership, should file one copy.

There, information could be co-ordinated and organized for ready access.

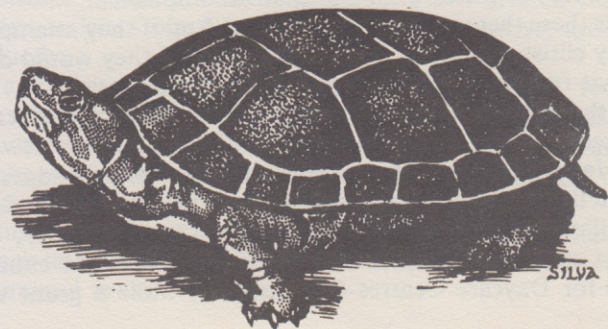
Esther Klein, Ottawa, Ontario

(We think you missed our point about the need to carefully plan and target our campaigns against animal abuse. There have been campaigns to ridicule the funders of vivisection; there have been campaigns to notify the public of stupid and repetitive experiments. These campaigns do serve their purpose, but more is needed to get through to other members of the public who are either not moved or confused by these campaigns. These campaigns have gone only so far in changing peoples' attitudes; we need to go the rest of the way.

The reason why we suggested weapons research as a target is because we think it would more cleanly expose the lie put forth to justify uses of animals in research. That lie is: "This is necessary to save human lives and to prevent human suffering." The public has absorbed this lie over the years and now applies it to every form of experimentation and testing involving the use of animals. We think this lie is most close to the surface in cosmetics testing and military research. These uses of animals obviously do not save lives and prevent suffering. Haven't people always been more easily persuaded by the obvious than by the confusing?

We must try, if we truly care about animals as beings and not just objects, to intervene in their exploitation as quickly and effectively as possible. We must not get stuck with favorite species, favorite abuses or favorite schemes of action. We must constantly review our work and assess our rate of progress. If we are going in circles or beating our heads against walls, then we must adjust our ways toward greater effectiveness in exposing the lies and attitudes that prop up animal exploitation.

Your suggestion that there be a central library is a good one. Argus Archives, 228 East 49th St., New York 10017, provides this service for the movement as far as they are able. Argus should be on every group's mailing list. Argus will help with research and reference work, but please arrange an appointment first.—Eds.)



Agenda is terrific! I want you to know that I (and others) appreciate the connections being made between animals and female oppression. It is good to know that others are fighting this battle. Rather unfortunate that other animal rights groups have been unable to see the wider political view.

Noel Giordano, Bridgeport, Connecticut

(We aim to aid their vision. It would help if people would open their eyes, feel, read, think and talk amongst themselves a bit more than they tend to do.—Eds.)

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

I have noted with satisfaction in your most recent journalistic effort that the public will now at least have the option of *not* receiving your magazine.

I would suppose that most serious readers of any publication seek two things from what they read: style and content. I am sorry to report that I have seen little improvement in either of these categories. Indeed, I seriously doubt your ability to prevent yourselves from descending each issue into the sort of superficial and distempered back-biting and name-calling I have thus far been an unfortunate (and amused) witness to in your pages.

On matters of style, for example, I believe you exhibit an unusual editorial incompetence. While frequently and dreadfully addressing yourself to the problem of gender references in the language, you demonstrate absolutely no aversion to the sort of pretentious jargon most of your writers toss about. Would you please locate "clarificative" in the OED? And how about "phallocrat"? Instead of so busily attending to real or imagined slights to the feminine, you might rather contemplate devoting some time to mastering the english language *per se*.

But in all truth, I should confess that at the heart of my problem with your publication is my perhaps instinctive distaste for the sort of sensationalistic, shrill and biased reporting I encounter in the pages of *Agenda*. The issues you confront are usually (but not always) timely and interesting. This is evidenced by the fact that you manage to obtain distinguished guest writers. But your last issue, well, it left something to be desired. I was happy to see that you had adapted what I had thought was an inflexible policy on style; but unhappy to have to have the issues blown up in my face again. Indeed I felt it was a non-issue to begin with. A sort of hobby-horse upon which the editorial staff had seated itself as steadfastly and unrelentingly as had Tristram Shandy's uncle. And hobby-horses are, to the uninitiate, always tiresome and a trifle laughable.

In a market of look-a-like products (there are dozens of animal liberation journals on the market) I am sorry to see that your magazine has done little better than to mark itself with the tar-brush of extreme eccentricity. Which is a terrible pity, because the cause you espouse is a great one—unity. I might point out, moreover, that it is unlikely that the humane movement will find its focus for unity in the editorial policy of a radical magazine. Not that there is anything wrong at all with radicalism. It is, I would guess, the primary, motive force for positive (and sometimes negative) change in our civilization. It is, however, rarely in the vanguard of societal change. Blake, Shelley, Wollstonecraft are names which meant little or nothing to the age in which they lived. It is only with the passage of time that we have been able to incorporate their radical notions of the human spirit into our everyday notions.

Do not expect to see the masses rally to your standard. Hope it. Similarly, do not deceive yourself by believing that *because* you are radical you are therefore right. You could be wrong. And while, for example, veganism may appear to be an interesting, radical alternative; you should not expect that it will be the only one.

I will continue to monitor the progress of your magazine with interest—although I feel that unless you seek alternative methods to unify the movement, you will end up alienating yourself from a mass of otherwise sympathetic listeners.

Graham Henderson, Manager-Administration, Toronto
Humane Society, Ontario

(Very briefly: We're more concerned with being accessible than with being stylish. We deliberately apply a light hand to choices of language in writings sent in—except where those choices recycle the prejudices that we oppose. You seem to be hostile to the idea of women's liberation from male dominant society and culture; you might serve the progress of justice better if you would try harder at exploring and understanding this feeling than at mechanically venting it. The only expectation that we have about veganism is that it be discussed in these pages; people out there in the movement will decide whether it is "The Way" or not.—Eds.)

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

I wasn't really happy with Kim Stallwood's solution to sexist language. In his piece, his use of s/he and wo/man end up, to me, as she and woman and since he is speaking of those who oppress animals (for the most part), it sounds as if they are usually women. I don't know what is wrong with "he or she", "men and women", or the use of "they". Communication is clear and not cumbersome, I think—Daryl Elliott used "person" in context just fine.

I did appreciate (Elliott's) discussion on veganism - it sounds so hard, but I am trying to think about it and to explore future eating habits avoiding dairy products anyhow.

Selma Miriam, Westport, Connecticut

(Good for your willingness to think about and tackle some of your habits. As others, we hope, will find out, the process won't kill you.—Eds.)

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Since attending a recent A.R.N. seminar dealing with animals and the law, I have had a chance to pick up and read all of the past issues of the Animal Rights Network newsletters, in addition to past issues of Agenda. I must sadly admit that I have some reservations or disagreements with some of the views and comments expressed.

Perhaps that which concerns me most are the oft repeated assertions that the Animal Rights Movement should "join forces with other movements (i.e. anti-nuclear, feminist, etc.)." While some human struggles are indeed just and deserving of support, I for one, am not a supporter or advocate of the Women's Liberation Movement. Were I to pay "lip service" to this "cause", it would be to simply say that I resent *very* deeply the audacity of leaders in the feminist movement to supposedly speak for myself and *all* women. Moreover, I believe that the so-called "women's movement" is greatly connected to, and in part, responsible for many of the social, moral, and value ills in our society. Such can not truly be viewed as relative and enhancing to the cause of animal rights, but rather, and more realistically, a contradiction to the *bases* of animal rights (i.e. "right to life, value of life, protection, nurturing, etc.").

While it may be productive for us to align ourselves with other *similar* causes or struggles, somehow I can't personally see the philosophies of "do your own thing", "love them and leave them", abortions at six months, and "more power, more money", to be in any way congruous or similar to the concepts and philosophies of "respect and reverence for life".

I furthermore, find it ironic, (if not actually a bit fascist) that leaders of a movement pretend to speak for all (women), when in fact, a recent Roper poll indicated that only 16% of the women in the United States like to be addressed by the term "Ms". (More that 77% preferred the terms "Miss" or "Mrs", while about 6% had "no opinion"). To add to this point, it is perhaps news to no one now, that there is a growing movement in the United States presently, of women *opposed* to E.R.A. While I personally don't agree with many of the extremist views of these groups either, I *do* feel that "equality" between men and women is something that is simply not realistic. There are vast biological, psychological, and emotional differences between men and women (not to mention our different and sometimes *opposing* needs and desires).—To attempt to legislate such matters is, to my mind, both ridiculous and contrary to natural law.—the Women's Movement has not helped relations between humans of different sexes; it has hindered, confused, and in some cases, destroyed them.

The Animal Rights Movement moreover, should study very carefully, exactly *what* "struggles" and philosophies we are indeed supporting!

Another area of disagreement I have with some of A.R.N.'s materials is with respect to political philosophy. (I refer in this point specifically, to the "*Comment/Editorial*" by Jim Mason, March 1980 *Agenda*). This article (in addition to other comments I have read from time to time in A.R.N.'s publications) "came off" to my point of view as being too far left. While I would be the first person to admit that many of the mass abuses occurring to animals are at the hands of large corporate and "big business" interests, this is not to say that all is well in nations of socialistic or communistic persuasions. (May I point out quickly here, that Sweden and Switzerland have *serious* problems in suicides and alcoholism; England, while seemingly humane towards animals practices oppression towards Ireland; and the Soviet Union practices a great deal of oppression both, towards humans *and* animals). While I agree, in general that the cause of Animal Rights can be safely regarded as a Liberal philosophy, I feel we also have to keep it in mind that it is the *mainstream* of American thinking that we are trying to appeal to, and in many cases, change. Somehow, I do not feel this can be accomplished if we should ever be so foolish as to let ourselves be labeled as "another leftists", radical, crack-pot, fringe group".

Remember that if its America that we want to change, then we must first learn to think as America *thinks*. And if its the Government that we want to influence, then we must learn to work within *its* laws.

Other than those comments, I tend to agree with the work and views of A.R.N. I do hope though, that you will reconsider some of the aforementioned points a little more carefully.

Patty Adjamine, New York, NY Activist and Worker in the Field of Animal Rights.

(Like it or not, the second wave of feminism is one of the most important intellectual and cultural developments in the twentieth century. If one has any interest in the future, one should conscientiously try to understand what feminists are saying and what they are trying to do. I sincerely doubt that so many people over the generations would work so hard at promoting evil and destruction. Judging from the points made in

your letter, we suspect that your understanding of feminism is based more on information from cynical, hostile, male-dominated media and institutions than from feminist writings and feminists themselves. You might want to look into what feminists are really saying about abortion, differences between women and men, treatment of animals, "natural law", and other matters.

As for our left-leaning ideas, we're not surprised at this comment; we've heard it before. But we prefer not to think as America thinks. We'd be a part of the problem rather than a part of the solution then, wouldn't we? The point here is that the entire spectrum of political opinion in the United States has been dislocated to the right. If you don't know this already, it would behoove us all for you, and others, to find out about it. True "center" political views appear "left" on the American scale and true "right" views pass for center thinking; true "left" views are neither acknowledged nor allowed. In this constrained, twisted body of political opinion, it's hard to imagine how long the American ideal of democracy might work. Please remember that the architects of this ideal were labeled "as a leftist, radical, crack-pot, fringe group". We'd rather stick to ideals than to labels.—Eds.)



ARTICLES

Abolishing the Rabbit Blinding Draize Test

by Henry Spira
August 23, 1979

- To challenge the archaic ritual whereby regulatory agencies force the testing of every chemical on tens of millions of animals every year.
- To focus on a single, grotesque, massively used and particularly vulnerable animal test, the Draize eye mutilations, as a specific, concrete target.
- To set the precedent of replacing crude, painful and outdated methods with elegant, modern, non-violent science through a realistic, effective and winnable campaign.

The Draize Test

The Draize Test, named for John H. Draize the experimenter who developed it, is the routine, standard use of the eyes of conscious, restrained rabbits to test every substance which may be hazardous to human eyes, from cosmetics to lye. Rabbits are used because their eyes are more sensitive than the human eye, and they have no tear ducts which would cause tears to wash the substance from the eye. The animals are immobilized in stocks and the chemical placed in one eye of each rabbit by pulling the lower lid away from the eyeball to form a cup. The eyes are examined for injury at 24, 48 and 72 hours. The current, revised guide also suggested grading at 7, 14 and 21 days. The increasingly severe reactions observed are: "Ulceration of the cornea; opacity of the cornea; inflammation of the iris; hemorrhage; gross destruction." The ultimate injury to animals whose eyes have been seared with corrosive chemicals is death.

"Consider how very painful it is to get a mildly caustic substance, like face soap, in your eye. Think of how a child cries when this happens. Now imagine a dose of an increasingly caustic substance regularly administered directly to your eye. And imagine that nothing is done to alleviate your pain and that, as a result of this routine, your eye is burnt out of its socket and you become blind. And imagine, finally, that throughout all this, you are confined in a specially constructed box, so that only your head protrudes. Then think again of the burning pain and frustration, the panic and anxiety that attend being unable to escape. If we can get this fresh in our minds, then we might catch a glimpse of the laboratory life of the rabbit."—*Technology and Animal Rights* by Tom Regan.

Program-Rationale

Our American Museum of Natural History, Amnesty International, and Metcalf-Hatch Repeal victories were necessary to shift animal welfare from defeatism and frustration towards self confidence. We raised awareness and consciousness. We established our credibility, expertise, organizational capacities and tenacity. Still, the struggles were limited and basically symbolic.

Thus, unless we use our successes as stepping stones for bigger struggles and more significant victories, we'll create a false sense of complacency among people who care about animals,—and betray the billions of animals who suffer from birth to death.

The Problem

Focusing on the one hundred million laboratory animals, the largest number is used for safety testing, which is a rapidly expanding field. But it is also an arena where we can be effective

catalysts. We can turn it all around by encouraging the research community to pursue alternatives, instead of misusing animals as "lab tools."

To date, despite massive publicity and significant funding, not one single animal test has been displaced by alternatives, even though much research has been generated concerning the accuracy and reliability of alternatives.

This resistance to change, this straightjacketing, is perpetuated by the bureaucratic inertia of regulatory agencies. They force the scientific community into the routine, repeated testing of all chemicals and household products on live animals. And these crude rituals discourage innovation. Except for pre-screening, there is little incentive for industry to unleash its scientific creativity, to develop efficient and economic testing breakthroughs, as long as government agencies insist that, regardless of alternatives, they must, in addition, continue to perform the archaic live animal tests.

But the regulatory agencies are coming under tremendous pressure because the animal tests are crude, cumbersome and expensive. Not only are they unreliable, but they require such great expenditures of time and money that it's impossible to test the large number of chemicals we live with.

And that's why Senator Kennedy is calling for greater efforts with alternatives while the former head of the Food & Drug Administration, the General Accounting Office, *Science* magazine, leading industrial and military toxicologists are increasingly critical of animal tests—but nothing has changed.

The Focus

The Draize test, unchanged during the past 35 years, is both grotesque and dramatically unreliable; it is, therefore, totally indefensible and vulnerable.

The Draize test forces every chemical and household product, from shampoos to oven cleaners into the eyes of conscious, totally restrained rabbits, to then observe the damage done over a period of days and weeks. And despite this obscene torture producing unimaginable suffering, the results are neither reliable nor meaningful. A comprehensive study by Weil and Scala of 25 laboratories, found "extreme variation" in evaluating the same chemical.



Because Draize is such an obvious perversion of science, even Dr. D.H. Smyth, head of the British Research Defense Society, which promotes animal experimentation, admitted that developing alternatives to Draize "is a good project which would not be difficult to organize."

Generating alternatives to Draize is a realistic target because Draize has so few defenders. And this project will set an enormously significant precedent; the first replacement of a specific animal test with reliable batteries of elegant non-animal methods. It could reorient safety testing from medieval tortures to productive science at the frontiers of modern technology.

Scenario

As with our previous actions, we need a variety of approaches.

- Through Revlon and/or Avon we'll pressure the cosmetic trade association to tax their members one hundredths of 1% of the industry's \$11 billion gross. This \$1.1 million to fund, through an established research institution, such as the Chemical Industry Institute of Toxicology in Research Triangle, the development, on a crash basis, of alternatives to the Draize test.
- To promote a bill which mandates regulatory agencies to encourage innovation and optimize safety testing by accepting reliable non-animal methods as they are developed. In addition to phasing out animal suffering, such new technologies can lead to more effective health and safety standards for humans. As with our Metcalf-Hatch campaign, we'll mobilize public support joined with a united humane community to contact legislators. We'll urge them to cosponsor our bill and request congressional hearings.
- We'll make our voices heard at congressional oversight, authorization and appropriation hearings dealing with regulatory agencies. Accountability demands the effective use of our research capabilities. Thus, regulators need to encourage new, faster, more reliable methods to facilitate the massive testing of chemicals.
- We'll contact legislators to facilitate meetings with scientists and high level regulatory officials to encourage the approval, as they are developed, of reliable alternatives to live animal tests.

Step by Step

- Prepare fact sheet and articles (as with Metcalf-Hatch).
- Develop a bill in conjunction with Washington legislative aides, Elinor Molbegott, Esq. and others.
- Organize a Coalition for Alternatives to the Draize test.
- Organize (a coalition of) Scientists for Optimizing In Vitro Safety Testing.
- A national campaign focused on the cosmetic industry; escalating, until they fund, on a crash basis, the development of alternatives to the Draize test.
- Research regulatory agencies through the Freedom of Information Act.
- Provide media with press releases, photos, film and other original material.
- National campaign to introduce bill in House and Senate.
- High level meetings with cosmetic industry.
- High level meetings with regulatory agencies.
- Impact on regulatory agencies through legislative committee hearings.

- Contact executive department to issue a policy statement.
- Contact government agencies concerned with national research requirements, including: General Accounting Office; Office of Technological Assessment; Office of Science and Technology Policy; National Toxicology Program.
- Legislative hearings with input by coalition of scientists.

Short Range Goals

- Introduction of bill in the House and the Senate.
- Statements from regulatory agencies.
- Statement from Scientists for Optimizing In Vitro Safety Testing.
- Cosmetic industry funding the development of alternatives to the Draize test.
- Congressional hearings with media publicity.
- Passage of bill.

Long Range Goals

- Development of a viable alternative for the Draize test in the cosmetic industry.
- Injunctions against all private and government labs using Draize tests. There being an alternative, this now constitutes unnecessary cruelty with no human health impact.
- Coalition for alternatives to the LD50 and other traditional major animal using testing methods.

The underpinning of this proposal includes a coalition,—the combined, united energies of these considerable constituencies linked with citizens who are concerned with the suffering of others, all focusing on one target to provide the necessary political clout for effective action.

And we're approaching this effort with the expertise and confidence developed through initiating, researching, conceptualizing and organizing to victory, actions focusing on Amnesty International, the Museum of Natural History and Repealing Metcalf-Hatch.

A victory in the Draize campaign, made possible through the evolution of science, will have an enormous real impact—a possible beginning of the end of live animal safety testing.

Henry Spira is the New York animal rights activist who planned and led successful campaigns against the infamous cat-sex experiments at the American Museum of Natural History, Amnesty International's pig-burning experiments, and the repeal of New York's Metcalf-Hatch pound seizure law. He is involved currently with the Coalition to Abolish the Draize Test, 40 Central Park South, New York, NY 10019. - Plans are now to shift energies to Avon. Henry Spira asks all readers to begin putting pressure on them by writing to: William Chaney, Avon Products, Inc., 9 West 57th Street, New York, NY 10019.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Call for a Moratorium on Cosmetic Development

by Doug Moss and Patrice Greanville

Revlon's recent research grant of \$750,000 to Rockefeller University in response to public pressure for the development of an alternative to the firm's Draize rabbit-blinding test has been erroneously and deceitfully publicized by the major media as "an indication of Revlon's social conscience".

Although the corporation's action represents a clear victory for the animal rights movement, it arises more out of concern for its public image and, hence, its "profit conscience" than of any real commitment to eliminating animal suffering in the production of frivolous items such as hair dyes, lipsticks, etc. . . A similar case can be made about the media's sanguine collaboration in clearing up Revlon's image - a deliberate whitewash of the company's real motives which it hides rather than illuminates - to protect their vested interest in a major advertiser rather than act on its proper duty of presenting the issue in proper balance.

Why bicker with what is obviously a tremendous step forward and tactical victory for animal welfare? Simply because of this: though the grant indicates some responsiveness on the part of industry to public demand and at the same time adds credibility to the reality of alternatives to animal testing, unexamined acceptance of Revlon's action by animal welfare supporters makes us willing partners in what amounts to our own cooptation. For the reality is this: The grant is a token, a drop in the bucket as Revlon's strategy is to forestall further harassment from animal welfare supporters. The Draize test can now continue indefinitely into the future, this time with the blessings of the movement.

In addition, the related question as to whether our society should continue indefinitely to produce brand variations that represent pseudo-differences in the already over-supplied toiletry-vanity market, with all their exploitative connotations for both sexes, remains unasked.

Again, our purpose here is not to belittle the ground won by those who worked hard to bring about this action, but to suggest a longer-term and perhaps more fundamental demand regarding these cosmetic giants. Thus, our proposal is to call for a *moratorium* on the brand development of all such products, until such products can be proven to satisfy a genuine human need unmet by the market. Does our society really need another shampoo or hair dye?? What right do these corporations have to be given a Carte Blanche to develop any products they see fit when they must continue to sacrifice animals in a process which amounts only to an exercise in maximizing their profits??

We believe that it is time that supporters of animal welfare/rights recognize the clear and undeniable connection between corporate greed, economic freedoms, and animal enslavement, and move to the vanguard of a movement which will make of our society a civilization responsive to higher ethical norms — those which will substitute reason and compassion for the single calculus of profit. We must begin to focus our attention on the workings of a system which takes for granted the autonomous rule of the corporate giants in deciding what gets produced, by what methods, and at what price to the well-being of our society and the rest of the other species still subject to our reckless and brutal exploitation.

On Revlon

by Mortimer Frankel

I view the Revlon action of donating money to Rockefeller University for the development of alternatives to using live animals in product testing as a deeply significant victory for the cause of animal rights and welfare. The Revlon people, notwithstanding their hypocritical posture of self-generated virtue, have caved in to public pressure and agreed to do precisely what Henry Spira and his forces demanded: to fund a development project for non-animal testing procedures.

I believe it makes sense to assume that an institution with the standing of Rockefeller University will conduct the project honestly and seriously, and with a good chance of success. It will be time to holler if and when we are hurt. Spira and his forces did not set out to abolish all animal abuse and all wrongfulness at one magical swoop. What they did undertake to do, and achieved brilliantly in my opinion, was to complete the necessary first step by breaching the hitherto impregnable wall against reason and decency maintained by what Charles Magel has called the BEBPIG: the "Behavioral-Educational-Biomedical-Pharmaceutical-Industrial-Governmental complex. (See: Magel, C.R.; *Humane Experimentation on Humans and Animals*, or... *Muddling Through*. 1980, distributed by National Antivivisection Society, 100 East Ohio Street, Chicago, IL 60611.)

A major industrial firm and an outstanding biomedical research institution, both exploiters of live animals in research and testing, have publicly acknowledged that there can and should be a better way, and that they have a responsibility to seek it out. To have brought about such a concession and such an acceptance of responsibility is achievement enough for anybody's lifetime. All defenders of animals, all believers in justice and mercy toward the living creation, have reason to celebrate.

Mortimer Frankel is the editor of Compassion, an independent newsletter which reports on progress in the animal liberation movement. Compassion is mailed 15 times a year for \$10.00, seniors & students, \$7.50. Group subscriptions are also available: 3-9 are \$9.00 each, and 10 or more cost \$8.00 each. Write Compassion, 234 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011.

"On Making Politicians More Responsive to Humane Causes"

by Christian Eilers

Most scholars of the American political process now agree on at least one point: politicians typically have a very strong desire to be elected or reelected. Election is an overriding concern among politicians, since it is a necessary prerequisite to the enjoyment of the various prerequisites of elective office.

With the aforementioned electoral assumption in mind, I submit that one potent means by which elected public officials could be made more responsive to the concerns of animal welfare organizations would be through the dissemination of information (e.g., voting record) to certain selected (pro-animal welfare) members of their respective constituencies. Such an

effort would require the establishment of an organization whose goals it would be to develop various questions that people in the diverse animal welfare/rights groups would like to see addressed by politicians. This method might best first be employed to develop pro-animal welfare ratings for members of the Senate or the U.S. House of Representatives. This organization would then develop a questionnaire which could be sent to House and Senate members.

This polling organization would doubtless need the help and input from many individuals and groups whose goals involve the promotion of animal welfare. I believe that with such input, questions could be asked which would touch on many of the basic concerns of people who are concerned about the welfare of animals. Questions could be put into either a "Yes, no" or a multiple-choice format. In fact, there would be no reason why either format modality could not be put into quantitative terms, so that, for example, a "Yes" response favorable toward animal protection might receive a "1", while a "No" would receive a "0" score.

While considerable organizational work would be required to develop such a questionnaire, there is no reason why it could not be developed. And there is no reason why some kind of numerical assessment (probably a negative one) could not be assigned to a questionnaire item left blank, or to the action of failing to return a questionnaire.

Such a procedure, although inevitably somewhat arbitrary, would have two great advantages. It would inform activists in the animal welfare/rights movement of members of congress whom they might help to elect—or to defeat. But, the implementation of such a procedure would also help to remind such members of congress that when they vote on an issue related to animal welfare, their votes will be made known to interested members of their constituencies. Hence, the gathering and publication of such information cannot but help to put animal welfare/rights issues on the political agenda.

Animal Welfare Advocacy in the Bureaucratic Arena

by Christian Eilers

It is very unfortunate, but true, that in an age in which the administrative branch of government has so great an impact upon both human and animal welfare, few people understand that fact. The complexity and need for specialization in the modern industrial state has, in both America and the European democracies, led to a significant expansion of the powers of governmental bureaucracies.

The administrative branch—the bureaucracy—is that part of government charged with carrying out the laws of any particular governmental entity, whether federal, state or local. It is a commonly accepted fact by students of American government that laws enacted at the federal and state levels are typically "skeletal" laws, and will need to be "fleshed-out" by the actions of administrative agencies. The manner in which administrative agencies flesh out any particular law is by the process of promulgating administrative regulations. Such regulations usually draw out in considerable detail the manner in which a law is to be implemented and enforced by bureaucratic agencies.

The Fifth Amendment to the United States Constitution requires that no one be "deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law". Since the courts have interpreted the Fourteenth Amendment as making the Fifth Amendment's Due Process Clause applicable to the states and all local governmental entities, the courts have required all administrative agencies to proceed in such a manner so as not to infringe upon people's due process rights. Therefore, in implementing the laws, whether through the promulgation of regulations (rule-making power), the licensing power, adjudicatory powers (quasi-judicial powers), or other administrative powers, actions of the administrative branch of government must comport with due process safeguards.

One way in which a bureaucracy may affect animal welfare is through the extent to which it takes an avowedly animal welfare advocacy position. Some agencies take a much stronger animal welfare advocacy position than others. Although the extent to which an agency becomes a viable defender of animal welfare/rights is, to a considerable degree, determined by the agency's mission and by the attitudes of its personnel, it may also be greatly influenced by the actions and attitudes of its clientele (the individuals and groups it regulates). Hence, while the New York State Dog Identification and Control Bureau seems to have an agency mission which is an avowedly pro-animal welfare one, the New York State Department of Environmental Conservation (DEC) is an unabashed friend of the hunting, trapping and fishing interests in the state.

Significantly, the Dog Identification and Control Bureau has no strong clientele whose goals are antithetical to the interests of animal welfare. The DEC issues several hundred thousand hunting and trapping licenses annually, and thus really has only three basic clientele groups with which it must be concerned: the hunters, trappers and fishers. Perhaps because it views hunting and trapping as "important [wildlife] management tools" (this according to the July-August '80 issue of the DEC publication, *The Conservationist*), the DEC has done little to help in the effort to ban the steel-jaw trap, a device which typically causes its victims to endure a very protracted period of suffering prior to death.

One very significant way in which a bureaucratic agency may affect the lives of animals is through its power to develop and promulgate rules which have the force and effect of law. Hence, the Regulations Co-Ordination Division of the Department of Agriculture, in an attempt to allow for greater equity in the transactions of buyers and sellers of cattle carcasses, very recently published in the *Federal Register* a proposal for a change of a regulation. The present rule requires that cattle awaiting slaughter must have access to water at all times. The new regulation would allow the withholding of water from cattle for up to 24 hours during their last day of life (Hopefully the efforts of the Society for Animal protective Legislation were successful in persuading a number of animal welfare advocates to write letters to the Regulations Co-Ordination Division in opposition to this proposal).

In addition to their rulemaking powers, administrative agencies may have a significant impact upon animal lives through their licensing and investigatory powers. For example, Article Five (5), Section 505 of New York State's Public Health Law bestows upon that state's Health Department the authority to license and inspect the state's research laboratories which use live animals in experiments. The law further authorizes the Department to promulgate rules setting forth standards for the care and treatment of laboratory animals. The Health Department's Division of Laboratories and Research recently promulgated new rules relative to the Division's licensing and inspection of such research facilities. Most importantly, the new

regulations set forth basic minimal standards for the care and treatment of laboratory animals. But, it is sad to note that Dr. Robert E. Case, who is on the staff of the Division, and who was the person primarily responsible for developing the new rules, informed this writer that not a single animal welfare/rights group contacted his division relative to the proposed regulatory changes.

Needless to say, there is a tremendous need for individuals and groups concerned about animal welfare/rights to become more aware of, and involved in, the activities of governmental agencies which affect animals. Since, as has been indicated, federal, state and local administrative agencies may, in a wide variety of ways, impact upon animal lives, there are substantial opportunities for animal welfare/rights activism in the administrative arena. If you wish to learn about the particular agencies, at whatever governmental level, whose activities affect animals in a manner which is of concern to you, you might begin your search for information by asking for help from the reference librarian of your local library. You should then proceed to learn as much as possible about the relevant agency's sphere of authority, and how it goes about regulating the area of particular concern to you.

Once you or your group have done this, and once you have developed a working relationship with the agency, you can begin in earnest to develop plans to alter the agency's practices to ones which are more in conformity with animal welfare advocacy ideals. Recently, Mr. Cyril Moore (an Assistant Attorney General for New York State), pointed out that there is often a lack of enforcement of animal welfare statutes, either because agency personnel are ignorant as to the intent of, say, an anti-cruelty law, or because they are generally unsympathetic toward goals fostering animal welfare.

It therefore seems that animal welfare/rights groups and individuals could perform a crucial education function through their efforts to enlighten administrative personnel in regard to either statutory intent or the extent to which animal welfare goals are being attained through governmental agency action. The extended interaction of animal welfare/rights activists in the administrative arena of government may lead to their having a salutary influence on agency practices through their input into the procedures involving the hiring and firing of agency personnel. Animal welfare/rights advocacy in the administrative arena could also lead to the hiring of greater numbers of personnel charged with enforcing animal protection laws and regulations.

Ideally, such involvement in the administrative process would facilitate the acceptance of the concept that the successful enforcement of animal protective legislation demands the establishment of agencies of government whose sole aim is that of fostering various animal welfare/rights concerns. A few such agencies are already in existence (the City of Los Angeles has one). One basic advantage of a governmental agency whose sole mission is that of advancing animal welfare/rights concerns may be that its personnel, goals and resources may not be easily compromised by other bureaucratic functions aimed at advancing human welfare.

Christian Eilers is an animal rights activist based in Albany, NY.

A report on the Operation "CB/I" at the Institute of Animal Physiology, Babraham, Near Cambridge, Sunday 29 June 1980

by The Northern Animal Liberation League and the Eastern Animal Liberation League

(Reprinted from Co-ordinating Animal Welfare, Bulletin No. 9, August, 1980)

Just over 120 activists, including members of H.S.A., Animal Activists, Animal Aid etc. . . converged on Cambridge on Sunday 29th June 1980 for an anti-vivisection demonstration which had been organised and co-ordinated by the Northern and Eastern Animal Liberation Leagues.

The objective of this demonstration, code-named CB/I, was and always had been to obtain photographic evidence of the animal atrocities taking place at the agricultural research centre at Babraham - but in order to do so it was of vital importance that this remained a well guarded secret until nearer the day in question. During the previous month or so, prior to the demonstration, key members of the N.A.L.L. and E.A.L.L. had obtained full surveillance details of the animal torture centre at Babraham, from which detailed information maps of the lay-out within the centre and the buildings which were likely to house animals, were prepared. Arrangements were made with certain members of the Press - whom it was known we could trust - for any photographs, etc. . . to be passed on to them, and the whole event was extremely well planned as far as was possible.

The one dilemma of course was who to inform regarding the planned break-in at Babraham itself, and after much discussion it was decided that this information would be withheld from everyone other than the 70 activists in Group 'A' who were already pledged to enter the Institute. In view of this, and in order to obtain greater numbers on the day, details regarding a proposed demonstration at the Cambridge University vivisection labs were sent out to various key activists and local contacts for two or three Animal Liberation groups throughout the country, 3 weeks before the proposed date. This circular gave the time, date and place to meet in Cambridge on the day in question; which was 12.45pm at Cambridge British Rail Station, Sunday 29th June.

Our strategy was that the demonstration would be organised into two groups - 'A' and 'B'; the former being comprised of the 70 activists who would enter the animal torture centre, and the latter made up of those other supporters who would arrive in Cambridge on the day. It is important to point out that as well as issuing the above mentioned circular giving details of the proposed demonstration at the Cambridge University labs, members of the NALL and EALL also announced details of the demo at the RSPCA and BUAV meetings on Saturday 21st June and the H.S.A. AGM on Saturday 28th June respectively.

All members of Group 'A' were to be supplied with gloves and face masks to avoid the risk of infection to both the animals and themselves, as well as concealing their faces, along with maps of the lay-out at the animal torture centre and instructions as to exactly what would happen once inside. Our prime objective was to obtain photographic evidence of the atrocities being performed at the animal torture centre. No animals were to be released or interfered with in any way and damage was to be kept to the minimum necessary to obtain the evidence required. Once photographic evidence had been

obtained, members of Group 'A' were to retreat back to the entrance of the Institute to merge in with those supporters in Group 'B' who had followed on from Cambridge. We should also point out that no documents were to be taken from the centre, and all those involved with Group 'A' were left in no doubt as to our exact actions once inside.

Full details of what was planned, along with maps of the animal torture centre itself, road maps of the route to Babraham, and instructions for the support demonstration, were produced in advance for those supporters who arrived in Cambridge on the day and who would comprise Group 'B'. This information explained that the demonstration was actually at Babraham itself, what was about to take place there by members of Group 'A', and why it has been necessary to originally advise supporters that the demonstration would be at the Cambridge University labs. They were then asked to drive the 6 miles to Babraham in order to form the support demonstration outside the Institute. A number of key activists would be stationed at the meeting place to distribute the above details to supporters as they arrived, and to encourage them to now continue onto Babraham itself.

Timing was vital in this operation and members of Group 'A' met together a mile or so outside Babraham at 12.30pm on the day. Gloves and face masks were distributed to those assembled, final arrangements made regarding disposal of any films, and before entering the animal torture centre members of Group 'A' contacted Group 'B' to confirm the numbers who would be following down in the support demonstration. Unfortunately, there was not enough support from some animal welfare groups, but sufficient numbers had gathered at Cambridge anyway. The time from Cambridge to Babraham had previously been timed at exactly 8 minutes. Our plans were then put into action.

At 1.00 pm the 70 activists in Group 'A' drove into the small dirt-track car park at the back of Babraham animal torture centre. Crossing over the bridge and through the grounds of Babraham church, activists climbed over the 7 foot wall and other minor obstacles and into the animal torture centre itself. As previously mentioned, members were equipped with gloves and masks, cameras, and the necessary implements required to gain access to the labs and animal holding rooms at the centre. Once inside, members made their way to our first objective and gaining entry, within a few minutes had opened up three of the animal holding rooms - in which were housed pigs and sheep. All buildings were locked and bolted, windows blacked-out, and there were hardly any staff on duty. In all, 15 buildings were entered, the stench from these rooms was appalling, and the animals inside were confined to narrow iron pens - all of them having suffered the atrocities of vivisection. These creatures had instruments embedded into their bodies; in their skulls, in their sides, and many were wired up to various pieces of equipment - no doubt so that their torturers could monitor their suffering and agony. They were not freed, touched or interfered with in any way, but they were in an appalling condition and the smell from these rooms was literally sickening. So much for the vivisectionists' claim that such animals are kept in 'good healthy condition' - they are not, and we have seen as much ourselves. What horrors await those creatures destined to live out their lives within the confines of this filthy torture centre!

After obtaining a large number of photographs and two full length cine films of our action - one of which was the professional film crew film later shown on T.V., supporters made their way into other buildings. However, those few with responsibility for the photographic evidence climbed back out

to dispose of this. We had estimated that we had about 10 minutes inside the place before the police arrived in large numbers, but in effect it was at least 25 minutes before they turned up. Reports received since indicate that the police were busy wandering around Cambridge University whilst the entry at Babraham was taking place. No resistance was met with throughout the major part of the operation and the very few technicians and farm workers who were on duty inside kept out of our way.

We must also inform you that one of our members made his way into a separate animal holding room at the centre, wherein it was found to house a genetic cross-bred creature which was half goat/half horse. This person obtained a series of photographs of this animal, but unfortunately was arrested by the police, since when both the camera and film have been mysteriously 'lost'. This is not a wild claim or exaggeration - this animal actually exists within the Babraham torture centre, and it is interesting to note that when the police finally arrived, almost all of them surrounded this one building. The person who took these photographs may also be charged under the Official Secrets Act.

Earlier, look-outs were posted on the main road and two people climbed up the 50 foot watch tower to keep an eye open for the arrival of the police - which gave us roughly 2 minutes to dispose of equipment etc. A series of smoke bombs were also let off. At this point the supporters who had met in Cambridge itself had made their way to the animal torture centre's main entrance. It was planned here that they should form a support demonstration at the entrance in order to allow members of Group 'A' to mingle back into their ranks so that the police would be unable to distinguish those who had been inside. However, as not all members of Group 'A' were outside, members of Group 'B' also entered the centre, through the main entrance and linked up with the rest. A picket was lined up at the point of escape, but unfortunately 18 people were arrested, partly at this point and also some from the roof of the administration building and watch tower. However, at least 3 or 4 were de-arrested and eventually the rest made good their escape and re-formed back at the main entrance to the centre.

Farm workers and technicians on leave for the day were also called back to the animal torture centre, in order to transfer

some of the animals into other buildings. The police, who had arrived shortly after Group 'B', continued their watch on the holding room containing the cross-bred genetic animal until supporters were all outside the main entrance. Members of the SPG also turned up later, although there were only a handful of them, and apparently most were concentrating on the anti-nuclear demonstration in Peterborough which was on the same day. For quite a while supporters demonstrated their opposition to the atrocities being performed at Babraham at the main entrance, and Dr. Cross - the Institute Director - drove up later, only to be confronted by a howl of abuse. We understand that one woman supporter punched him as he entered.

It is important that supporters fully understand the reasons behind the events at Babraham on 29th June, and it is hoped that this Report will give a clear picture of exactly what happened. We understand that certain people were rather upset about the fact that they were not originally advised that the demonstration was to be at Babraham itself, but we would hope that they can understand why this was impossible.

The publicity and exposure to the public of the atrocities being performed at Babraham animal torture centre we believe fully justifies the actions that were taken on the 29th June. The victorious demonstration at Babraham is the beginning of a major campaign for the Northern Animal Liberation League and other such groups throughout the country. We will provide the public with the information that has been forbidden from them, and if this means having to break into buildings to get this information, we shall do it - and we shall expose these animal torturers who get away with literally murder in their day-to-day work.

The events of June 29th have reaffirmed the historic lessons of Porton Down on May 3rd, and have shown that a series of consolidated, well-planned direct assaults on the enemy in their secret animal torture centres can achieve a great deal. This is our way forward, and only then will we see the 5 million animals tortured in Britain every year begin to be liberated.

Together we can witness the beginning of the end of animal exploitation!

THAT'S SPECIESISM!

from the *Boston Globe*, 22 August 1980:

"Chicken lib: What the pig doesn't know won't hurt him
by David B. Wilson

You may not be quite ready for this, but the English — who else? — have come up with the latest trendy issue movement — Chickens' Lib.

It is unconscionably cruel, activists assert, to confine chickens in tiny cages for most of their lives, oblige them to produce eggs without adequate compensation and then convert them into bouillon cubes or whatever.

This, of course, is the way most eggs and most bouillon cubes are produced. Eggs left around by so-called "free-range" chickens sell in London health-food stores for \$3 a dozen. This gives you some idea what it would cost to liberate the fowl of the industrialized world.

Should Chickens' Lib triumph over the repressive forces of corporate chicken culture, Frank Perdue would be trying to sell drumsticks and boned breasts for about what crabmeat fetches in today's market. Chicken soup would cost as much as Chateau Margaux.

No matter, Advocates insists, according to the Wall Street Journal, that "free-range" chicken eggs are tastier and more nutritious than the caged variety, and, besides, the liberated chickens are supposed to be happier.

A terrorist fringe of the movement has taken to night-riding and jail-delivery opening of cages. Tories are, of course, agnostic.

This brings to mind my friend Donald, who is in the pig business in a small way in County Antrim in Northern Ireland. His name is not Donald, but he is an Orangeman, and, given the political and social conditions in his neighborhood, it would be inconsiderate to identify him.

In a three-room Irish cottage near his modern house, Donald has created a veritable pig utopia. One room is used for storing feed and gear. The other two are occupied, shoulder-to-shoulder, ham-to-ham, with pigs.

Each pig room contains a brood sow who is artificially inseminated at appropriate intervals. But most of the space is occupied by her offspring. These animals, when they reach the appropriate weight, are converted into bacon and other goodies.

This makes it possible for Donald and his wife to keep a small car and take occasional vacations in Scotland.

The pigs do not object. They live their lives almost entirely in the dark. They do not know about Chickens' Lib. They love Donald and fear him. He is, in a way, their god, omniscient, omnipotent, beneficent.

Open the door to one of these fastidiously cleansed, well-drained piggeries, switch on the light and you find a happy society.

The pigs all turn your way and look at you, regarding you as a sort of angel to the Donald-god. They know that from such silhouettes against the light of day come nurture, sustenance and a benign authority concerned for their welfare.

This is true. Donald, who also drives a bread truck, is keenly concerned for his pigs, perhaps more so than people who might tend to find these arrangements insufficiently respectful toward porcine political and spiritual welfare.

Pigs, for persons unfamiliar with them, are somewhat unsettling creatures. These particular pigs, for example, have blue

eyes, eyebrows and eyelashes, lips and cheeks and, yes, facial expressions. Their voices are anthroposonic.

I suppose they are being exploited. But they do not know that and they do not seem to care. What they know is that at regular intervals a great, powerful, benign presence brings them light and food and, then leaves. They believe he will return. He does. What else, for heaven's sake, do they need to know?

The liberationists would change all that. There are also movements to free pigs and cattle from cultivation in confinement, and, for all I know, they may succeed.

I somehow doubt that the animals will be any happier if they are turned loose to fend for themselves. Donald's pigs know themselves to be pigs and do not object. They do not yearn for eternal life, equal rights or Calvin Klein jeans. It is just as well that they do not.

David B. Wilson is a Globe columnist.

READING FOR REVOLUTION

Fighting Back Principles of Effective Action

by Henry Spira

(Editors' note: If you wonder why we push the English magazine, The Beast, from time to time, let us try again to settle your doubts. This article by the New York animal activist Henry Spira, is one of many items in recent issues of the magazine concerned with the American side of the international animal rights movement. The Beast is, truly an international magazine. We reprint Spira's article here because it gives you more of his ideas on building effective tactics for the animal rights/liberation movement, and it shows you some of what you're missing if you don't subscribe to The Beast.)

Animal liberation is also human liberation. We care about the quality of all life. We recognise our kinship with all feeling beings. We identify with the powerless and the vulnerable, - the victims who are dominated, oppressed and exploited. And it is the nonhuman animals whose suffering is the most intense, widespread, expanding, systematic and socially sanctioned of all. What can be done? What are the patterns for effective social struggles?

All experience indicates that struggles for justice are not won, nor significant reforms achieved by politely limiting oneself to rules laid down by the power structure. The reason is obvious. The powerful do not design rules which encourage outsiders to take away or share power. In addition, those who make rules, can unmake and circumvent their own rules to suit their convenience and interests. As long as one remains boxed into their game, those who run the power system know they need not take you seriously and therefore pay you little attention. Power concedes nothing without effective struggle.

It was only after the women's movement became mass action oriented, fighting their way into the political arena, prepared to paralyze the system, to make it costly to those who would keep them out, political and economic concessions that were won.

The meek don't make it. But audacity must be fused with meticulous attention to program and strategy.

Targeting

Before taking action we must consider what we are most concerned about. Priorities should be based on the number of victims, the intensity of their suffering and our ability to effect change. The main bases of animal slavery, as analysed in Peter Singer's *Animal Liberation*, are exploitation for food and as "lab tools".

We are surrounded by systems of oppression, and they are all related. But in order to influence the course of events, we must sharply focus on a single significant injustice, on one clearly limited goal at a time.

One criterion for choosing a target is that the mere statement of the issue tends to place the adversary on the defensive: Is another shampoo worth blinding rabbits to you? Do you want your tax monies to deliberately mutilate cats to then observe the sexual performance of crippled felines?

And the goal must be winnable with expanding ripple effects. Success is then used as a stepping stone for bigger struggles and more significant victories.

Thus, at the American Museum of Natural History, our goal was: To stop 20 years of deliberately mutilating cats to then observe their sexual performance. The public came to perceive the Museum experiments as a gross, grotesque, crude, useless perversion of science. We created a broad base of support. In the process, we helped change the ideological climate.

We Can Have Impact

Basically the strategy for all freedom fights is similar. The other side has all the power. We have justice on our side and the capacity to mobilise people. To do that, we expertise and credibility. We have to carefully work out partial, short-term goals to reach people and effect change.

Through meticulous preparation, a small group can activate an enormous amount of energy. The power structure has its problems and weaknesses susceptible to successful attack which offer openings. The task is to pick the right place to drive new wedges.

To create bridges which connect us with the public's current awareness, we check the issue out with a wide variety of people,

and we listen. How do they react? Can they feel themselves in the place of the victim? Are they outraged? What in particular do they focus on? Will this action propel their consciousness forward?

The Campaign

First, we must educate ourselves. Then we must educate and mobilise others. We need to personally research and analyse all available verifiable materials, to find patterns and connections and see the vulnerable points which offer us maximum leverage.

We provide a framework for people to organise themselves through articles and activity sheets which must be clear, logical and defensible in public debates.

Our current campaign concerns the Draize Test: the routine use of the eyes of unanesthetised rabbits to test hazardous substances. This test is vividly painful. We all know what it feels like to get a little soap in our eye. In addition, it is also unreliable, with extreme variation in the results. It could be replaced. And finally, the goal is trivial and frivolous: blinding rabbits for the sake of yet another mascara, yet another oven cleaner.

We went as far as we could within the system. For 18 months prior to our public campaign, we sought a meaningful dialogue leading to a collaborative approach. We presented Revlon with scientific suggestions on alternatives by two doctors. It was only after Revlon refused to be responsive to our concerns that we launched demonstrations and a boycott of Revlon products.

Coalition Politics

We organised a single issue coalition which now includes 405 different organisations, with constituencies in the millions, banded together around a single issue, the tide can be turned.

A coalition can assemble different elements to maximise pressure and destabilise a target by approaching it from every direction on every front. It's an orchestrated, purposeful action.

Participation should be possible at whatever level organisations and individuals feel comfortable. Some will boycott, demonstrate and march, others won't. Organisations can get media publicity. Pegeen Fitzgerald, president of the Millenium Guild, placed ads in major papers and thereby created a turning point in the campaign. Major organisations like the Humane Society of the United States produce widely circulated reports and contact legislators. Individuals with science backgrounds are sensitising the research toxicology community. Others write letters to the editor where one can reach millions without spending a penny.

Accentuating the Positive

We have to go with people's perceptions. Whether they are true or not, we can't ignore them. They are part of the political reality. One perception is that those who challenge live animal research are anti-intellectual, anti-science sentimentalists. Therefore, we accentuated the positive. We offered realistic options which, from the scientists' own perspective, are more productive.

We suggested that the American Museum of Natural History's death and pain-dealing methods of research were turning curious and sensitive youth away from biology. But that elegant and humane research would inspire and intrigue imaginative youth with its creative beauty and challenge.

And in our current Draize campaign, we've urged industry to unleash its scientific creativity to develop effective and reliable non-animal tests.

Effective Tactics for Catalysts

Get input from the experts, even if they don't support our position. When we moved to repeal New York's 27 year old Metcalf-Hatch Act, which forced some shelters to surrender their animals to labs, we needed to know how state politics worked. We asked media people as to who knew what was going on. We then went to those staff people and levelled with them. We suggested that many people felt strongly about the issue and we needed access to the political system. We therefore wanted to learn from them: what's what and how to get things done. We didn't want to debate the merits of the issue itself. Our basic question was: if you were us, what would you do?

- Don't start off being personally hostile to your potential adversary. Suggest reasonable options, realistic collaborative approaches. It might work, and if it doesn't, you're still ahead. You've gained extra credibility for having tried, when you then move from words to action.

- A crucial element in our winning the repeal of the Metcalf-Hatch Act was that we first attempted a friendly dialogue with Senator Lombardi. He had blocked repeal almost single-handedly for years, and been personally vilified by animal welfarists. We separated the person and the issue. We presented our position in an objective manner. We suggested that whatever his beliefs, we had the democratic right to public debate on the merits. We broke the ice by interacting with him without animosity and it worked. He maintained his own adversary position but facilitated our more than fair chance to be heard, and that was crucial to our success. We thanked him in our victory statement and the press picked up on that.

- Whenever possible, use your own resources. There are scientists, publicists, lawyers, writers, speakers, artists, researchers, typists, strategists, within our own movement.

- Don't focus on intentions, it's counter-productive and not verifiable. Do focus on the issues, on systems, on the process. There's no way we'll link with researchers if we maintain they get their jollies from torturing animals, and the public does not believe that either.

- Instead, we need to emphasise that there is a better way. That non-intrusive science is more imaginative, more elegant and likely to produce more relevant data. And that scientists need to initiate new productive departures in biology for both ethical and scientific reasons.

- By tackling one issue at a time, we can isolate our opponent rather than ourselves. We are not confronting a monolith. Some animal researchers have scruples against painful experiments which have no serious application.

- And our adversaries can be split. Thus the chief Museum cat-sex experimenter publicly bemoaned being abandoned by his peers. They didn't want to be identified with a grotesque, indefensible experiment while it was being spotlighted, though their own might be similar.

- Wherever there's the most organised pressure, that's where the action is, that's the top priority of the moment. Thus, it is crucial that we keep pushing without let-up. Every institution can shrug off one demo, one expose. It's tenacity, persistence, the releasing of spontaneous, creative, unpredictable escalating energies, relentlessly knocking the opponent off balance, that encourages responsiveness. Any let-up, unless it be a result of

substantive concessions, reduces the issue to business as usual, and then nothing happens.

•Establish the credibility that when we start something, we finish it. With such a track record, we then move to bigger struggles and more significant victories. It's the track record of struggles won, not the words that count.

•If you come across, or yourself generate story ideas, articles, photos, news clips, which can raise consciousness, send them all around the media community. There's a potential audience of four billion people. Use every possible outlet, every forum. Contact columnists, reporters, cartoonists, broadcasters, and talk show hosts; community, trade union, campus, political and social organisations. Urge them to focus on the moral issues raised by the animal rights movement.

•Never deceive the media or the public. Credibility is all we have to go on.

•Never assume anything, take nothing for granted. Check everything out yourself, at the source. This may well make the difference between victory and defeat, because things aren't always what they appear to be. One needs a constant crap detector while all antennae are rotating seeking opportunities to move ahead.

•Nothing gets done without total commitment and outrage mixed with political realism. And it's important to set goals within time frames.

•No congressional bill, no legal gimmickry, by itself, will save the animals. The courts can, at best, open up the possibility for us to intervene in defence of animals. But, the courts will not

act until effective protests disrupt the system's orderly operation. Laws function to maintain and justify the status quo. In movement-related issues, laws are changed to keep disturbances at a minimum. And the legal process often deflects struggles into parliamentary gabbery and inaction. The legal front is no substitution for action. It must be organically connected with mass struggles to produce social change.

The Roar of Many Waters

Society programs us into inconsistency, into being kind to household pets while other animals suffer from birth to death. And, society also programs us into not focusing on the true levers of power. We therefore need to consciously study the realities in a detached way as a guide to action. Who's profiting and who's calling the tune? And how does the rest of the world conceive our concerns?

The majority of people would certainly prefer that animals not suffer, were the matter brought to their attention. Yet the intense pain of billions of animal victims continues unabated.

To successfully fight for the rights of animals, we need priorities, programs, effective organisation, imagination, tenacity, expertise, and a good sense of strategy and tactics as we create bridges with the public's current awareness and move forward.

And, we need to remember the word's of the Abolitionist leader Frederick Douglass — "If there is no struggle, there is no progress. Those who profess to favour freedom, and yet deprecate agitation, are people who want rain without thunder and lightning. They want the ocean without the roar of its many waters. Power concedes nothing without a demand. It never did and it never will."

Henry Spira can be contacted through the Coalition to Abolish the Draize Test, 507 5th Avenue, New York, NY 10017.

COMMENT

Animal Rights and the Feminist Connection

by Ingrid Newkirk

Inherent in feminist ideology is the basic philosophy of freedom from oppression for all living beings. Many feminists, however, are still very much "human chauvinists" in their outlook on nature, the human species and other life. Many are guilty of the same kind of supremacy clung to by males in our society in that they either *exclude* non-human beings from ethical consideration or they extend them less than equal consideration. As anyone who has read feminist literature should know, true feminism deals with much more than relations between the human sexes. A true feminist would uphold the rights of those who cannot speak for themselves - those who trust and depend on us as children do.

The inclusion of animals in feminist ethics does not weaken or split feminist issues; indeed it solidifies, deepens and makes clearer our understanding of, and our opposition to the absolute aggression "nurtured" by macho male society. Think again... who are the trappers, furriers, hunters, fishers, cattle owners and vivisectionists? Surely feminism would go farther than to grant women equal access to these exploitative occupations; surely it would grant us all freedom *from* them.

The very sensitive Henry Beston wrote of other animals: "We patronize them for their incompleteness, for their tragic fate of having been given a form so far below ourselves. And therein we err. In a world older and more complete than ours they move finished and complete, gifted with extensions we have lost or have never attained, living by voices we may never hear... they are not underlings; they are *other nations*, caught with ourselves in the net of life and time."

One would hope that more feminists would whole-heartedly adopt this perspective and reject male-dominated society's human-supremacist world view.

We have been sold a centuries-old bill of goods oppressive to animals; still, many radical and political feminists accept it unquestioningly. Human chauvinism or "speciesism" and the oppression of all non-human life must end if we are to long survive. They can end sooner once we realize that the production of goods and commodities for human living should come about by the most frugal, essential means and not from the backs and bodies of non-human beings. In suggesting that all of us take measures to live "animal-free", I intend to jolt some of the more doctrinaire Second-Wave feminists into thinking about whether their ideology is completely against supremacy and hierarchy and really in harmony with non-oppression and non-violence.

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Women are suggesting that men give up power, yet women can't understand why it is taking them so long! How long will it take women to relinquish their power *over others*? How long will some feminists go on munching on the greasy bones of little murdered birds? Dressing in the skins of slaughtered cows and wild creatures? How long will they tolerate a male-oriented state that sanctions commercial brutality? How long will they be comfortable while ignoring humane alternatives? Many feminists sit down to steak dinners like the macho men who hurl insults at them on the street - and they all uphold the same supremacist ideas about animals. How many feminists realize (or want to realize) how much violence, oppression and suffering they support at the meat counter, the dairy case, the leather goods store, the fur shop and the cosmetics counter? Do they know about crated veal calves, caged and de-beaked chickens, "super-ovulated" dairy cows, trapped or "ranch-raised" fur animals and blinded rabbits? Do they wonder whether all of this is "necessary"?

Feminists should recognize that their attitudes to members of other species are a form of prejudice no less objectionable than prejudice about a person's race or sex. Early American feminists from Lucy Stone, Amelia Bloomer, Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton right on through Morgan (The Descent of Woman), Davies (The First Sex), Laurel Holliday (The Violent Sex), Marge Piercy (Small Changes) and others have condemned animal slavery. Let all true feminists - women and men - join their expansive feminism and we'll make a substantial move away from all exploitation and oppression.

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AGENDA

Ingrid Newkirk is an animal rights activist based in Washington, D.C. She is one of the founders and mainsprings of People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals, an activist group in the capital city area.



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