

GREENLINE

No 6 MAGAZINE OF THE GREEN MOVEMENT. OCTOBER '82 30p

REVOLUTION: RED OR GREEN?

**MARXIST BAHRO JOINED
DIE GRÜNEN. WHY?**

GREEN LINE

No. 6 OCTOBER 1982

WE ARE launching a series of leaflets introducing green perspectives to a whole range of different areas. Already in print are "Looking at the Bomb through Green-coloured Spectacles", by David Taylor; and "Nonviolent Social Defence", a translation of part of the Die Grünen Peace Manifesto. In preparation are leaflets on trade and development, jobs, eco-feminism, land, and patriarchy. We welcome your ideas for future leaflets.

The 'Green Perspective' series should be a useful addition to bookstalls and literature lists. (For a sample of each of the first two, send us 2 x 12¹/₂p stamps.) Any quantity over 10 are 5p each post paid - over 200 only 4p each. If you wish to duplicate large quantities, we can supply electronic stencils of the leaflets - £2 per leaflet post paid. The leaflets themselves can be used by any group: they do not carry the imprint of any one party or party group.

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OUR ADDRESS: our editorial address, and the address for bulk orders and leaflet sales, is: 14 Alexandra Road, Oxford OX2 0DB. (Phone 0865 45301 (day) or 46079 (evenings) - prefix these numbers by 2 after October 9.)

NEXT MONTH

NEXT MONTH we anticipate the report - due at the end of November - of the Alternative Defence Commission. We shall print that part of the German Green Party's Peace Manifesto which deals with 'social defence'; and we hope to have a report from Liz Sigmund on the progress being made by the

Subscriptions

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DEADLINE is OCTOBER 15 for letters, articles, news for November issue.



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THE INSIDE pages of this issue of Green Line are printed on Culm Valley recycled paper. This is going to cost us an extra £10 to £15 an issue. Readers have also approved of the photographs we have been using recently: these too cost more money. To cover these extra costs we are putting up the cover price of Green Line to 30p from this issue.

Our prices and subscription rates are now as follows:

Single copy: 45p post free.

Subscription (8 issues): £3.20
(overseas £3.50).

Bulk rate: 20p per copy pre-paid, minimum 10 copies. (Or 4 copies for £1).

Shops: sale-or-return any quantity, normal terms.



Advertisement rates are unchanged: small ads cost 5p a word pre-paid, and display ads cost £20 for half a column (smaller sizes pro rata). Series discounts are available. Write for details.

British Working Party on Chemical and Biological Weapons - weapons which the peace movement has up to now largely ignored, but which NATO chiefs regard as part of their stock in trade. Also coming soon: news of permaculture, a farming method which could revolutionise world food production if the usual vested interests were overcome; more from Roland Clarke on how the organic growers are really getting it together in Europe; word from Oregon on how some practical ecology has made it to the statute book; Peter Nutton's green perspective which makes feminism irrelevant and pacifism dangerous; news on the green parties in Eire and New Zealand... and much more besides.

Be sure of your Green Line: subscribe now!

Rudolf Bahro

RUDOLF BAHRO, already an influential figure in green politics in Germany, is making something of a debut in Britain this month, at least as far as greens here are concerned. October sees the publication by Heretic Books of "Socialism and Survival", a collection of his writings and speeches over the last three years from which the second of our two extracts from his work in this issue of GL is taken. (One regrets that in translation the original German title has been changed: the book appeared over there as "Elements of a New Politics".)

Earlier this year an essay by Bahro appeared in "Exterminism and Cold War", an international forum of responses to E P Thompson's theory of 'exterminism'. He prefaced the article with a green analysis of the background to the world situation - the other piece by Bahro which we reprint this month.

Finally, Bahro has accepted an invitation to address the Ecology Party annual conference in Bridlington on October 23. Bahro calls himself a socialist and a green. He is dismissive of 'actually existing socialism' - he can find no example of socialism in practice anywhere in the world. His utopian socialism, re-worked and re-defined, is he argues totally consistent with green politics - indeed the two are interdependent.

Next month we shall report on his speech at Bridlington, and on its reception.

** Socialism and Survival is available in paperback from good booksellers at £3.50, or from Heretic Books, P O Box 247, London N15 6RW. Exterminism and Cold War is published in paperback by New Left Books at £5.50. (Our thanks to NLB for the photograph of Bahro in this issue.)

Socialism and Survival includes the full text of the speech, 'Why I am joining the Green Party', from which our second piece by Bahro (on page 10) is taken.

We are grateful to David Fernbach of Heretic Books for his help with the Bahro feature in this issue.

GREEN NEWS

MARCH ON UPPER HEYFO'D

ABOUT 1,000 demonstrators marched through USAF Upper Heyford on September 25 to a rally held on land to be used for an extension to the base. The land in question is a 30-acre field recently (and very quietly) compulsorily purchased by Oxfordshire County Council. The USAF plan to build hangers to house the new EF1-11s - planes which escalate the arms race by enabling nuclear bombers to fly undetected into enemy airspace.

The march was seen by very few members of the public or USAF personnel. While one or two of the latter waved cautiously from a distance, local villagers'

response was more visibly unfriendly - though most local people kept well out of sight.

A harvest gift was presented to (and accepted by) the base commander.

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STOP PRESS news is that both peace camps at Greenham Common have been dismantled by bailiffs acting on a High Court order. Women at the Main Gate have been warned that if they erect tents or light fires there they will be arrested for contempt of court. They will be allowed to maintain a physical presence on the common land there, provided they forego such comforts.

Twenty miles to the north of Greenham, a CEBG spokesman has predicted a nuclear power station at Didcot within 25 years. But local anti-nuclear campaigners are confident that nuclear energy will be a thing of the past by then.

-o-o-o-

ELECTION RESULTS in the German province of Hesse have gladdened many green hearts here. But the peculiar success of the Green Party in Germany is due in part to their electoral system.

Of special interest are the problems the Green Party faces in power: whether to seek a coalition, or whether to stick out for principle on every issue. And the international aspect:

will NATO (which means President Reagan) allow a general election which gives the greens the balance of power, or will some decisive intervention take place in the next few months?

-o-o-o-

THE PURE ENERGY Fair was the last of the summer's long run of fairs and as such could be excused for being a bit low on energy. But despite the celebratory nature of the fairs - which seem to have proved this year that the 'alternative society' is in fact still alive and doing very nicely thank you, this one had an underlying seriousness due to the physical proximity of the Sizewell nuke and the knowledge that the time to build opposition is getting shorter all the time.

The East Anglian Alliance Against Nuclear Power met at the fair and finally decided that in the absence of government funding they would not present evidence at the Inquiry. They will instead concentrate on doing the enormous amount of back-up work that needs doing around the Inquiry.

How far the fair went to raising money to help that work remains to be seen: it was not the largest of fairs. Next year's fair on this beautiful site will hopefully go a lot further towards enticing the rest of Britain to one of the most attractive areas of our countryside.

DoT INQUIRY ON M40 EXTENSION

THE DEPARTMENT of Transport (DoT) wants to extend the M40 (which at present runs from London to Oxford) through to Birmingham to relieve congestion on the M1 and M6. It would carve a path through seven National Nature Reserves, damage at least one SSSI, destroy parts of Bernwood Forest and Holton Wood - Britain's best butterfly woods - and put 2,000 acres of quality agricultural land under concrete.

And it isn't even needed. Since the M40's inception in the late 60s, predictions of future transport needs have drastically altered. The very methods of assessing traffic growth have been under attack. The government's own Leitch Report in 1978 found the DoT forecasts 'inherently unsatisfactory'.

The Council for the Protection of Rural England claims that there is no need for the motorway, and that any present congestion could be

solved by by-passes costing £70m instead of the £240m for the motorway.

Its own computer programme showed that these by-passes could quite easily deal with the traffic. And that programme was using DoT statistics!

But the M40 extension raises the more fundamental issues of government departments bulldozing their way through public opinion, common sense, and even the facts. The bureaucrats have decided, and nothing's going to stop them, whether it's politicians or the public.

To put a gloss on their bureaucratic tyranny they are holding a public inquiry, at which of course it is forbidden to question government policy. The department chooses and pays the inspector who reports through the Permanent Secretary to the Transport Minister, who can ignore his

findings anyhow. The whole process is a cynically fraudulent charade.

Oxfordshire's Friends of the Earth is trying to stop the inquiry by appealing to the European Court of Human Rights to challenge the ruling that government policy does not lie within the scope of the inquiry. Some chance! But all power to them.

To raise funds for their appeal FOE held a Fair on Otmoor, 4,000 acres of primitive sedgy pasture which the people of Oxfordshire defended from enclosure in the 1830s and which is now threatened. But the Fair was attended by little more than the stallholders and their friends.

If the European Court of Human Rights can't force government policy to be questioned, then the inquiry should be stopped. It looks like a case for direct action.



Mexico

IN TORONTO the world's bankers and finance ministers are running round in small circles trying to raise money for Mexico - to save their own skins, not Mexico's. They've decided to print money so that you and I bail out the bankers.

But what is driving them into even smaller circles is not Mexico's overdraft (70bn dollars) or Mexico's nationalisation of her banks - but the crime of all crimes, stopping free convertibility of exchange.

The rich in Mexico have been buying dollars with their devaluing pesos and exporting the dollars, and the government has the nerve to try and stop it.

But beyond that, if America has to pay pesos instead of dollars for Mexican crops, these pesos cannot be used by Mexican farmers to buy American goods: the Mexicans then create employment in Mexico and not in America.

If other governments tried the same thing, the whole international system of exploitation might be in danger. So Mexico is going to have to be forced back into line. At this very moment the Washington offices are alive with meetings, brainstorming sessions, conferences, committees, to bring pressure to bear. Reagan is up in the nursery being taught the facts of life of economic imperialism. The CIA is working out destabilising plans. The diplomatic service are seeking out more amenable Mexican politicians and computing the necessary bribes.

Mexico will be brought into line by fair measures or foul, mostly foul.



E. Germany

EAST GERMANY is having problems paying its external debt. So, what's new? So is everyone else. But East Germany is on the edge of the Russian Empire, not in the middle, and like Yugoslavia it's the ones on the edge that drop off.

If East Germany, to get permission to re-schedule its debts, agrees to make its currency convertible with the dollar, Russia will have lost its hold and East Germany will have swapped masters.

Watch East Germany.

Lebanon

THE KEY fact in the Middle Eastern equation is America's need for Saudi oil. So America has to keep sweet with the Saudi royal family - and keep it in power by supplying it with arms.

America's need for Saudi oil has up till now been counter-balanced by US public support for Israel. But Israel's destruction of Beirut did much harm to Israel's cause. This massacre has destroyed it.

Until recently the chance of a Palestinian state has been nil because the Arabs wouldn't recognise Israel. But at the Fez summit they finally agreed after 50 years that all states had a right to exist. Their previous failure to recognise Israel had aborted any attempt to set up a Palestinian state. This new statement is fairly opaque but is accepted as recognition. A momentous decision.

So Reagan is now able to pursue the basic American interests, ensuring its oil supplies by supporting Saudi Arabia against Israel over Palestine. Those Palestinian refugees may not have died in vain.



The Falklands

THE 1978 Shackleton Report on the Falklands has been taken down, dusted and updated to show that the government is Doing Something.

Lord Shackleton now recommends spending £110m, instead of the original £14m, which includes giving Coalite's Falkland Islands Company £18m for its land.

Over the years the Falkland Islands have handed over £33m to London in taxes, to say nothing of the cash and crops that the Falkland Islands Company has taken out of the islands.

No wonder their economy is dodgy. Shackleton predicts collapse in five years. The answer is not to pour money in, but to stop taking money and crops out, to cut taxes and exports. Give them independence, turf out the Falkland Islands Company which owns half the land and the other absentee landlords which own the other half. And give the land back to the islanders.

Richard Hunt



SURVIVAL OF EUROPE

ALTERNATIVE PERSPECTIVES is the title of a seminar for members of political parties and pressure groups working for radical change in Europe. It is being organised by the Dutch 'Europehouse' in cooperation with the Co-ordination of European Green and Radical Parties.

The Europehouse is an independent institute for international political education. It aims at stimulating a critical reflexion on current political affairs in Europe as a whole and in the European community. The seminar will run from November 17 - 21. It is set up, not so much as a series of lectures, but in the first instance as an international platform for intensive discussion and exchange of information and ideas.

In the last decade the ecological movement has been steadily growing. From different points of departure and with different emphasis the movement has in common a radical criticism of uncontrolled industrial and agricultural development and a concern with the environment and the security of natural resources. During the recent economic crisis issues like economic growth and energy policies have been brought to the forefront more than ever (on all political levels), but the economic crisis of western societies seems to put the ecology movement in a difficult position.

What are the perspectives of the green and radical movement in the different European countries on this situation? What can be learnt from the experience in the different countries? In what way should European integration develop, and which demands should be put forward regarding the EEC policies?

The seminar will cover the following issues in detail:

- 1) Crisis in agricultural policies.
- 2) Economic/industrial crisis.
- 3) Alternative European structures.

More information is available from Europehouse in the Netherlands, St.-Antoniusbank 42, Bemelen NL-6267 NB Cadier en Keer. (The working language will be English or German, depending on the countries represented and the preference of the participants.)

MRS. CASTLE, THE E.E.C & THE GREENS

WHILE THE green parties of Europe are finding much common ground in their attempt to draw up a common programme, there are of course stumbling blocks. And none more likely to wrong-foot the British Ecos than the question of EEC membership. While greens here want out, those in Europe are in some cases successfully getting MEPs elected - and see their task to change the Community to the furtherance of green ends.

Barbara Castle suggested in last month's New Statesman that Labour will never persuade the British to leave the EEC - it's asking people to take a plunge into the unknown. Instead, Labour's policy should spell out exactly what is needed to bring about 'economic recovery' here: if such a programme ultimately proves unacceptable to our European partners, then the onus will be on them to throw us out - and the choice people here would have to face would be a real one in which EEC membership would be contrasted with positive (and, Ms Castle hopes, provenly effective!) policies at home.

Tempting psychology to adopt. But then the Castle approach to Europe is totally insular. She wants to "revive British industry, expand the economy, and get our people back to work" - and damn the rest of the world, let alone Europe. The object is to "restore and expand Britain's industrial base" as if nothing has been learnt since 1945.

The green tactic must be to show this position up for what it is, above all for its implications for raw materials, energy, the Third World and the negative impact on attempts to build world peace. If a green strategy for Britain is unacceptable to the membership of a non-green EEC, then Britain will be out and going it alone - not in order to pursue the mirage of a second industrial revolution and a steel mill in every industrial estate, but because Britain working towards a sustainable economy is the first step in working for a sustainable world and a key element in our foreign policy.

Perhaps we should leave aside for now the question of whether the EEC is ever likely to accept a green UK - after all, it compounds too many hypotheses. Instead, Europe's green parties need to spell out their positive require-

ments of the Community and work from there. At least we may agree with Barbara Castle on this point, that it is easier to communicate with the public on the basis of positive proposals than from a series of negatives.

Jon Carpenter

YOUR ORGANIZATION MAN

throughout the party a far larger number of people who have first-hand experience of the problems of national organisation than would otherwise be the case, but we have also had some downright appalling administration which reflects the fact that at any one time only about half the people responsible have been doing the job long enough to know what it entails - even if they have the aptitude for it.

Viewed in this light, it is hardly surprising that the National Council does sometimes not seem to have had a clear sense of direction. One individual who joined as the time of the General Election and then lost contact completely assumed that Eco had folded up, expressed himself thus: "I was sorry to think that you had gone, though not surprised, as I had found your organisation very fragmented and almost bewildering, with numerous persons in charge of various subjects apparently from private addresses." Someone who clearly could not cope with the rigours of decentralisation.

The question of continuity might not matter so much if the ranks of party activists included a large number of those experienced in political or organisational matters. But they don't. Most of us, it seems, come to the Ecology Party without any such previous involvement, green politicians in both senses; and one of the questions that has troubled me most is - why?

Why, when ecological problems are becoming increasingly obvious to anyone who takes the trouble to look, do so few professionals - economists, academics, business people, lawyers - apply their minds and their skills to working out the political solutions? Doubtless many are blinkered by tradition, conventional theory and self-interest; but there are many professionals, experienced, far-sighted people who either ought to be in the Ecology Party and are not, or who are but don't work for it. Why?

At least part of the answer lies I believe in the amateurism to

which our belief that 'anyone can do anything' inevitably leads - finding expression in such practices as a rotating chairperson, or allowing anyone to sit on any policy working-party they choose, or the notion that we can all be leaders. It may be all admirably democratic and participatory, but if it produces badly-chaired meetings, poor policy papers and no leadership, then professionals, especially those with leadership qualities, who can chair meetings and want to be associated with coherent policy papers, will take their skills elsewhere.

That is one of the root causes of the Ecology Party's failure to build organisationally on the boom of interest that followed the last elections. Most of us who got involved at that time were dead keen to have a hand in running the show, didn't really know how, but were determined not to let these few who did know actually get on with it - in case they took it out of our hands altogether. We sacrificed effectiveness on the altar of participation and, as a result, remained in the wilderness which politics always seems to reserve for those of unspotted ideological purity.

I don't say necessarily that we were wrong to do it, but I do think that we should be aware that that is what we did, especially now that we are going into the run-up to another General Election that will probably yield another surge of interest in ecological politics. It might be as well to give some hard thought before the event to where we would like to strike the balance next time if we are successful in 1983/4. Do we go for the tried and tested organisation structures and delegate responsibility to those with proven competence and experience; or do we risk our achievement a second time in the quest for new forms of organisation that may simply fail to materialise? If the world situation is as desperate as some ecological analyses indicate, getting the right answer could be the difference between life and death.

A NEW ecological party has been given the go-ahead by the Supreme Court in Lisbon. The Portuguese Green Party is formed largely by local groups of activists (according to the Financial Times). It says it will fight for peace, the good of man (!), and complete destruction of nuclear arms.

GROWING TOGETHER TOWARDS ASSOCIATIVE AGRICULTURE



IN THE last few years the ecological movement has received a lot of criticism from farmers of all sizes for its unquestioning commitment to an organic agricultural policy, which ignores the reasons why farmers use high inputs of chemicals and large scale machinery. Some of the criticism has come from smaller farmers who are aware of the social and environmental implications of modern agricultural techniques, but are forced to adopt them.

These farmers find themselves pressurised by high land prices, inflationary rises in the cost of living and low farm prices, to try and produce higher and higher yields. Such yields are only possible with modern techniques, but the costs of these often rise faster than prices so only the most intensive and the larger farms survive. Many of these farmers feel unable to join the small organic minority, who in many cases only remain viable through exceptional energy, ability, or through premium prices.

However, in some countries the organic agricultural movement has developed to a point where solutions to many of the key problems are being applied successfully. Research and practical experience has helped to make the production risks fewer, and many established organic producers find that their yields are above the conventional average. In dealing with the other major problems of marketing and prices, organic groups in Switzerland and Germany have developed a variety of distribution systems, some of which explore beyond purely economic considerations.

Organic costs

Generally, Swiss and German organic producers try to price their produce so that it covers all the costs, especially the basic needs of everyone involved. In most cases this is not a fixed quality premium as with British organic cereals, but a price related directly to costs. However, once the produce has passed through normal wholesalers and retail shops it can be up to 100% more expensive than normal food, putting it out of the reach of many customers.

The alternative movement has responded by setting up its own co-operative shops and distribution businesses. In most cases they work together across a whole

country and buy jointly from abroad. Sometimes the warehouses only stock produce on behalf of a group of shops or consumer groups who purchase together in bulk. In other instances the warehouses are financed by a credit family of chops and consumer groups. Prices in the various alternative shops are about 20% - 50% over the market price, which is enough to cover the costs of producers who sell fresh produce to them.

However, once a wholesaler is involved the costs are much higher, so everyone has to take a reduction in income to a level well below many of the consumers. Therefore the majority of organic and bio-dynamic farmers and growers market their crops as directly as possible.

Normally this means their own farm shop, or deliveries direct to the consumer groups or alternative shops. When there are a number of producers in one area they try to co-ordinate production and distribution, so that they can offer a range of products without each one having to grow everything. Producers get the prices needed, consumers only pay a small percentage more than normal, and both get a chance to meet and discuss each other's viewpoint on prices.

Although it is difficult to see signs of a common consumer consciousness evolving, one realises that the understanding of each other's problems by producers and consumers is growing. As consumers themselves, the farmers are very aware of the need to keep living costs down, while the consumers are coming to realise the consequences of low farm prices. Organic food at cheap prices is suspect, so the willingness to pay a little more to ensure the quality - and therefore the organic farmers' survival - is growing.

The number of consumers is rising faster in some areas than the numbers of producers, which poses supply problems that only a wholesaler can deal with. The new generation of wholesalers - mostly bio-dynamic - are usually set up by producers, consumers and retailers in co-operation with each other. For them to work efficiently and keep the end price reasonable, there must be enough produce required and therefore available - somewhere. In order to avoid crippling bank loans, the wholesale concerns' capital is given through a loan community of consumers and

producers. As most of them don't have liquidity themselves, they have managed to obtain personal low interest loans, guaranteed by each other, from a community bank in Bochum.

This community bank, like bio-dynamics, has as its roots Anthroposophy, the spiritual-philosophy of Rudolf Steiner, and supports initiatives which benefit the community. One of their main priorities is encouraging people to work associatively in business.

They recognise that to do so "it is not sufficient for producers, consumers and middlemen to sit round the table and try to balance out their different interests. It is necessary to create relationships than bring about the same interests and the same risks among all the participants, from production to consumption. In that way they will all become seriously and equally motivated, and will solve all the relevant problems cheaply and effectively."

In the community

This has led a number of bio-dynamic farms to look at themselves not just as economic activities but also as social and cultural entities. They have started to see how they can bring their farms totally into the community through experiments in new types of land ownership, agricultural financing, even health care and finance for education. Since all these areas are linked to prices and costs, a totally new means of reducing both arises. By dealing directly and co-operatively with the intricate processes that are behind economics, the barriers of conflicting interests are by-passed and common concerns can be seen and shared.

Such ideas are not confined to either bio-dynamic farmers or to Anthroposophy. Some of them have put Rudolf Steiner's and Henry George's ideas together in a working model, while a number of organic producers have initiated alternative energy and skill-sharing schemes among themselves and their customers to reduce costs. The outcome is the growth of an agricultural movement which can not only offer quality food at realistic prices, but a grassroots community that can meet the social needs that the welfare state has failed to provide.

Roland Clarke

Are you a green internationalist?



BRITISH INTERNATIONALISTS are fairly rare birds and green internationalists even rarer. All the more reason why the few of us should flock together! Our inbred insularity, largely unconscious, has lethal implications. War and peace are by definition international questions and, come the day, we shall only solve their problems by international action - and that requires a good deal of preparatory international thinking and hard work.

At the Oxford meeting of Green CND in August I undertook to convene an international working group. Whether it will actually meet or not remains to be seen. In Green CND we are mainly an association of activists, of individuals doing their thing in working contact with a few others. It is informal, it involves few organised

meetings, and it seems to work. So ...

Do you have any special interest in any other country? Or a special knowledge of any culture or language other than your own? Do you have friends in other countries? Do you travel overseas? Does your work have an international dimension? If the answer to any of these questions is 'yes', then - given a matching commitment to peace and ecology - you are an actual or potential green internationalist.

One of the reasons why the peace movement fell flat on its face in the mid-60s was that we really had no idea what made the rest of the world tick. A peace movement that contents itself with an insular go-it-alone form of unilateralism is heading for the last round-up. But a form of sophisticated unilateralism that also faces the issues raised by the confrontation of the super-powers, that is something else - and it is that that we now need.

There is another good reason, principled and pragmatic, for green internationalism - simply that Green has no frontiers and we negate ourselves if we ignore such an elementary truth. Further there are green movements in most if not all other countries, so we have lots of natural allies did we but know where to locate them. In many of these countries the Greens have moved into 'peace' and in Germany have actually displaced the Reds (and none too soon!) in the leadership of the movement.

Critical areas where work needs to be done include: with the Italians in order to build a joint Greenham Common / Comiso campaign; with the Americans to promote resistance to Cruise missiles before they are dispatched; over the Gulf, round which huge Americo-Soviet forces are currently being massed in the worst single threat of WW3; with all those who struggle for human rights in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe since such rights are the very pro-condition of any autonomous peace movement (as we have recently seen over Sergei Batovrin and his friends in Moscow); with Central Americans who are threatened by an American Rapid Deployment Force for which Mrs Thatcher has promised British military support; and in those three places where people refuse to lie down to Soviet military tyranny and its acolytes, i.e. in Eritrea, Afghanistan, and Poland.

At the END convention in Brussels in July, we got the message that

every country and therefore every national peace movement has its own special problems and others have to make a special effort to understand and work accordingly. For this we need a modest legion of internationalists. If you are interested, will you write to me and tell me what your interests and experience are, what you are doing and would like to see done? Or telephone. But don't wait for anyone!

Peter Cadogan
Studio House
1 Hampstead Hill Gardens
London NW3 01-794 5590.

NOTES FROM THE GREEN UNDERGR'ND



PLEASE DO NOT FEED THE PIGEONS ON THIS PLATFORM. THEY ARE A NUISANCE AND THEY MAKE A MESS.

(Notice seen on various London Underground stations.)

PIGEONS WERE HERE BEFORE MAN: WHO IS MAKING THE MESS? THE MESS CAUSED BY THE BIRDS IS CAMOUFLAGED BY THE RUBBISH ON THIS PLATFORM.

(Written responses by the general public, seen beneath notices.)

So why this latest clampdown on pigeons' rights? As concerned Greens we investigated the matter and could find no pigeon mess, but plenty of cigarette butts and sweet wrappers. So there must have been a more deeply rooted reason for this embargo on pigeon food. On further investigation it has been learnt that, as usual, the reason is economic. Pigeons have been seen entering underground carriages at one station and hopping off the train two stops later. Apparently this is happening all the time, for it is easier for the pigeons to travel by underground from one place to another than to fly! So London Transport is losing money because of these fare dodgers. But without public co-operation, attempts to starve them into submission don't work.

Perhaps green Fares Fair campaigners should all disguise themselves as pigeons.

REVOLUTION: R

'Almost invariably we have attacked only the industrial system of capitalism'. Bahro



New Left Books

Rudolf Bahro

was born in 1935 and grew up in East Germany as an enthusiastic young communist. After the devastation of war, communism seemed to promise human emancipation and a full life for all. Yet forced now to follow the Soviet model, a new system of oppression betrayed the promise of freedom held out to the people of East Germany after the defeat of Nazism. Though Bahro's early enthusiasm for the new regime brought him rewarding work and material well-being, he became increasingly aware of the gulf between rhetoric and reality. Still inspired by the Marxist tradition, he worked in his spare time on a book eventually published in the West as "The Alternative in Eastern Europe". For this he was imprisoned, in August 1977, and exiled two years later to West Germany only after an international campaign.

Bahro's "Alternative" was immediately influential among Western Marxists. But when its author arrived in West Germany in October 1979, he soon surprised his admirers by announcing his adherence, not to any of the competing socialist sects, but to the Green party that was just being formed.

THE FIRST pre-condition for the arms race is of course modern industry as such. Exterminism is rooted in the very foundations of this system and its innermost driving forces. Exterminism does not just find expression in nuclear weapons and power stations; it is the quintessence of the whole complex of tools and machines operative on humanity and the planet. Those particular elements within it which bear a different stamp - elements which Illich calls 'convivial' - have so far been subordinate to the exterminist principle. Our collective practices break up and destroy natural conditions, degrade energy potentials, suffocate the Earth's surface and isolate human beings from spontaneous energy cycles. The result is inevitably a distortion of both body and mind, whose consequences range from cancer to crime.

It is plain that this impulse to self-destruction is rooted in European industrial capitalism, at least as far as its current acute form is concerned. From 1750 onwards, all the familiar curves of 'growth' and pressure on resources start to show the ever more precipitous ascent that heralds a collapse. But the phenomenon has its origins further back than capitalism, and it persists on the other side of capitalism as well. European society has long been pre-adapted for its capitalist constitution; all its antecedent historical trends, from antiquity onwards, contributed to this outcome. There is a good deal of evidence that the 'Fall' took place already with the transition from female-centred societies of gatherers and hunters to patriarchal societies of agriculture and cities (paralleled by nomadism). The transition occurred at so many more or less independent points in time and space that it must necessarily be seen as a historical law - that is, as unavoidably inscribed in the endowment of our species.

In this sense, therefore, our starting-point should not be a superficial critique of

(contemporary) political economy, but a more fundamental critique of human nature itself. This does not mean we should cease to concern ourselves with economics, simply seeking the source of evil in ourselves, in defiance of the whole legacy of the Enlightenment. The impending catastrophe is evidently linked to that social dynamic which has made all written history a history of class struggle and caused the process of human development so far to hurtle forward in limitless material expansion and acceleration.

If this is so, then so long as we continue to see class struggle as the key to the contemporary crisis we will only remain trapped in the very circle out of which it is imperative to break. Even the goal of socialism shares the same limitation in a decisive respect: it sets our sights on a classless industrial society, without stopping to criticise the origins and consequences of industrialism. Traditional socialist analysis has fixed its focal point 'too high', in a 'base' which is not yet the base - in other words, in 'relations of production' instead of 'forces of production'.

Marxism was precisely conceived from the standpoint of the proletariat as the second industrial class. In the common field of struggle of both contemporary classes, therefore, it seeks only to abolish the deforming processes of exploitation and domination. Almost invariably, we have attacked only the capitalist form of our societies, scarcely ever the industrial system of capitalism. Since we were unable to do away with capitalism, this neglect has now caught up with us. The 'gatherer determinism of the exterminist process' is evident enough. With or without a complete explanation of it, we must now orient ourselves to a practical critique of the industrial system and its military spearhead.

Unexpectedly, as it were, red flags are now a minority in demonstrations against nuclear power stations that challenge the very basis on which the tradition

RED OR GREEN?

the capitalist form of society, scarcely ever explains why he joined Die Grünen.

nal labour movement emerged. Wage-labour stands accused not just because it is 'abstract' and 'alienated', but because its results are in large numbers simply dead. The abolition of at least half the work now performed in the industrialised countries must take unquestioned precedence over the demand for full employment within the industrial system. The same applies to education as to work: education for the industrial system is quite rightly rejected by more and more young people.

No contemporary movement that seeks anything less than a transformation of the entire system, right down to its material and cultural foundations, that attacks only the military programmes, and weapons technologies which exterminism relentlessly and inexorably produces, can achieve anything more than minor modifications or variations of this perverted production. The whole question of human emancipation has taken a new form. The insight that the impulse to obliteration, to the self-extinction of humanity, lies in the very foundations of our industrial civilisation and pervades every structure of its economy, science and technology, its political apparatus and its sociology and psychology, is today of such immediate importance that the socialist perspective takes second place, and in any case must be redefined.

Our whole social organism is riddled by the disease of militarism; and just as it seems that cancer can only be cured at the level of the organism as a whole, so we cannot hope to root out militarism, which now consumes resources in the region of £200,000 million a year and transforms these into murderous waste products, without a similarly holistic therapy. 'The ultimate dysfunction of humanity: self-destruct' can only be prevented by a movement that goes beyond reactive defence - a movement that actively seeks to live a different life, and to release hitherto obstructed and untapped potentialities of the human species. The

concept of exterminism tells us why the peace movement has found an unprecedented new sounding-board in the ecology movement. The connection between the two was not immediately apparent from the start to all of those involved. Those political ecologists who early advocated an integration of the two currents can themselves testify how difficult it often is to link specific campaigns to more far-reaching horizons. Now however their labours are bearing fruit, above all because the facts themselves are being forced on people's awareness. Whenever I have spoken on the ecological crisis in recent months, it has been a matter of course that the discussion has moved on to the problems of foreign policy and peace.

The new peace movement is based right from the start on the premiss that exterminism is simply the rank outgrowth of a parasite attacking and consuming the tree from root to crown. I too did not at first understand why the ecology movement started by attacking not nuclear weapons, but nuclear power stations and even establishments less harmful than these. I have since come to see the essential condition for its breadth and strength, and above all its potential for victory, in its growth from the bottom upwards. Peace can only thrive in a mental soil quite different from the culture of domination. The humus first needs to form. The abolition of both nuclear weapons and nuclear power is a far stronger demand than the 'ban the bomb' slogan of the late 1950s and 1960s, not just because of the addition, but because the new slogan aims deeper. It strikes right at the fundamental exterminist axiom of our misdirected civilisation, which is aggressive in its innermost being, based on the principles of expansion and explosion. The response will be all the more effective, the more clearly nuclear power itself is seen as only the most prominent outgrowth of the tumour, which could go on poisoning our social life even if the button is never pressed to

unleash the missiles, as in our (I hope) most pessimistic fears.

Even where the ecological movement has not yet found a comprehensive expression, it provides the explanation for the increased strength of the peace movement. In Denmark and Holland the fusion of the two is unmistakable. It is surreptitiously present even in Britain, although there the close linkage of nuclear disarmament with the more traditional social policies of the Labour Left, a strength in the short run, still impedes its wider extension. I am personally convinced that the potential for a politics of peace on the part of the entire social-democratic, socialist and Euro-communist left in Western Europe depends on a fundamental modernisation of its general strategy.

If these socialist forces do not abandon their traditional union with capitalist industrialism and achieve a radical change in the concept of well-being inherent in it, they will be unable to put up an effective resistance either to the ecological crisis or to the arms race. Such a break with the industrial system is, moreover, a precondition for settlement with the peoples of the Third and Fourth Worlds. Without 'industrial disarmament' - that is, an absolute reduction in global demand for raw materials and energy, and a corresponding technological transformation - it will be possible neither to attain a genuine military disarmament nor to restore the ability of the South to provide itself with adequate means of subsistence. The voracity of our giant machinery cannot do without rapid deployment forces and neocolonial production branches. That is why it reproduces a majority consensus for these as a matter of course. There is no way of avoiding this fatality. We have to embark on a psychological revolution that starts with ourselves, and liberates our politics from the aggressive model of reactive class antagonism that only reinforces and accelerates exterminism.

It goes without saying that an understanding of this connection is not an 'entrance condition' for those joining the new peace movement, but rather an argument for its prospects. Those opponents of war and armaments who are not yet convinced ecologists can conclude from their own experience that a single-issue peace movement will very probably remain stuck in its tracks. But borne forward by the ecology movement, which is something quite other than a single-issue campaign - it includes, among other things, the women's movement - but represents rather the beginning of a general awakening to that new phase of our evolution which alone can promise us any future, it has a far greater chance of success, as an alliance of all life-preserving and emancipatory forces. There is of course no guarantee of success, but so far the attempt is still afloat.

The protection of life is a fundamental principle of infinite scope. Thus the struggle against war and the arms race is a natural consequence of an ecological orientation, an organic development of its basic stance. Here should be the general soil and sounding-board of the peace movement. The rescue of the planet and our species requires the systematic dismantlement of all structures that threaten life. This principle includes within it the core of the traditional goals of socialism, even if the form of these is certainly changed.

Survival, in any case, will mean a very different way of life. If everything goes on as it does today, there will indeed be a Third World War, as the most extreme consequence of the everyday war against Earth and humanity that is inseparable from the capitalist industrial system. We have to generate the mental preparation for a change in the totality of this system. That will involve agreement on means and aims, in a common project capable of subordinating the opposing special interests of all those engaged in it to their own fundamental and long-term interests.

(Part of Bahro's contribution to the symposium, "Exterminism and Cold War", published by New Left Books in paperback at £5.50.)

BAHRO on the eco-crisis

WITHOUT OVERCOMING the ecology crisis, which puts in question the very existence of human civilisation on this earth, the mere possibility of the socialist goal - the general emancipation of human beings, men and women - becomes an illusion. If there are those among the socialists planning to enter the Green party who still talk in terms of camouflage, so that they can present a clean image to comrades who raise the class question, they have still not understood the problem completely. Marx and Engels specifically recognised the possibility of a historical situation leading to the common ruin of the contending classes, i.e. at a time when a civilisation is perishing and there is no revolutionary class able to make a new start. In my view, the traditional class struggle between wage labour and capital, as it is now customarily managed by employers' associations and trade unions, shows all the signs of a stalemate. (...)

The struggle to overcome the ecology crisis takes precedence over a class struggle of this kind, which has no perspective of superseding the present system - indeed, which takes place in such a way that each new turn of the roundabout of rationalisation, inflation and wage bargaining simply fuels the boiler for an explosion that is unavoidable if it continues. The struggle for a just distribution within the rich countries need not be abandoned, but it must be given a new context. This does not mean giving ourselves a green camouflage simply because the prospects for anything else are not good - it means being green. I am radically ecological in my views. Each per cent increase in production is too much, since each per cent additional consumption of finite and irreplaceable natural resources is an injury to the rest of humanity as well as to our own children and grandchildren. And you can no longer say, 'Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do.' All those who call the Greens a single-issue movement fail to see the wood for the trees. What the Greens are proposing affects everything.

To take only the following points:

— The ecology crisis is insoluble without overcoming the confrontation between the Eastern and Western blocs, which drives on the arms race and economic growth on both sides, and is thus doubly suicidal.

— The ecology crisis is insoluble without a new world economic order on the North-South axis. (...)

— The ecology crisis is insoluble without social justice in the industrially developed countries. (...)

— In conclusion, the ecology crisis is insoluble - and this follows from everything above - without a movement of conversion that brings together the most diverse alternative attempts in thinking and living, a movement that attains a degree of cohesion and agreement such as was reached in the past only through the claims of religion. Today however more rationality must be brought into play if we are to go beyond the present economic order. The ecology crisis will force the end of capitalism. But we must contribute more towards this than abstract ideas of expropriation.

Anyone who today wants to be a Marxist in the theoretical sense must take on one task above all others: to circumscribe ecologically the traditional political economy of both capitalism and socialism, and consider afresh how social appropriation is possible - given that expropriation has somehow succeeded all right in the past, but social appropriation never. Once this done, nothing in our economic theory will look the same as it did before - with two exceptions: the goal of general emancipation and the starting point of the analysis. This continues to be capitalism, the capitalist economic order of this society. The present ecological crisis has been conjured up by a 200-year course of capitalism. All other systems, the Eastern system above all, have been drawn into this dance by capitalism and are establishing the same relationship with nature in a struggle of enforced competition. Of course the dilemma in the other bloc has long since acquired a dynamic of its own. What should be clear from all this is that we are not against the traditional workers' movement. It is just that this is no longer enough.

(From a speech at the founding congress of Die Grünen, January 1980)



FIND A GREEN SOUND

THROUGHOUT THE SIXTIES folk music and social protest were closely connected, with songs such as "We Shall Overcome" the rallying call for thousands of disaffected young. The times they have a-changed all right and social conditions and concerns are quite different from those of the sixties - but where is the music? Certainly there are the socially-tinged pop songs like Ghost Town by The Specials, but the growing green movement doesn't seem to have developed its own breed of green music yet, and this is somewhat surprising.

It is surprising because there is so much potential. There are countless themes and ideas awaiting expression in song-form and a large audience of young people involved with or sympathetic to some aspect of the green movement. Many of the issues lend themselves to the emotional enhancement that music can provide, for songs do not convert but rather give strength and a sense of solidarity to the committed.

Isolated examples

There are of course welcome isolated examples of a green consciousness among musicians. Anyone at the Green Gathering will have been heartened and inspired by the bonfire music of Planet Waves. Leon Rosselson's LP "Nuclear Power - No Thanks" is a powerful musical portrayal of the arguments against nuclear power.

The fact that The Albion Band and Martin Carthy were to be playing for free at the Otmoor Fair (in protest against the M40 development) shows that there are several well-known names in sympathy - although not necessarily playing 'committed' music.

One group who obviously see the need for such music are The Witan backed by North Staffs Ecology Party and their local CND group. Their single "Butcher's Tale" is allegedly a protest song against the slaughter of animals and is part of an "ecological music concept". (Available from Witan Records, 65 Audley Road, Alsager, Stoke-on-Trent. Tel. A1sager 6988.)

The Witan describe themselves as "a group of concerned musicians acutely aware that, without a radical change in thinking, little of our time on the earth remains." Obviously one would love to praise and support the single, but unfortunately expectations were not met in my case. The complex array of music sounds somewhat dated, almost like groups from the early seventies. Moreover, there is a lack of musical subtlety and the vocals are difficult to hear - important if there's a message involved! Still, this is a personal viewpoint and shouldn't deter readers from listening for themselves. After all, it could make a suitable eco-prize for raffles, draws, etc.

On from folk

Personally, I feel that green music should be a natural development from the folk music of the sixties. This is highly contentious and theoretical, I know, but let me give my reasons.

Music should reflect the message it is portraying. Punk music is a perfect medium for anarchic, urban rebels. We who seek a simpler, harmonious world should look to simple harmonious music. We wish to preserve what is good: therefore let us keep alive musical traditions and adapt or incorporate them to fit our present-day needs. One person who has done this is Richard Thompson, and it is he who has provided what could be a Green Anthem in a song called "The New St George".

The time has come for action
Leave your satisfaction
Can't you hear St George's tune
St George's tune is calling you on
Freedom was your mother
Fight for one another
Leave the factory
Leave the forge
And dance to the new St George

Don't believe pretenders
Who say they would defend us
While they flash their teeth
and wave
The other hand is being paid
They choke the air and bleed us
These noble men who lead us
Leave the factory
Leave the forge
And dance to the new St George

The fish and fowl are ailing
The farmer's life is failing
Where are all the backroom boys?
The backroom boys can't save us

now
We're poisoned by the greedy
Who plunder on the needy
Leave the factory
Leave the forge
And dance to the new St George

Let's hope that other musicians will be similarly inspired so that green music will become a substantial reality, not just a pious hope. Every movement needs its songs to sustain it. Where are ours?
John Dougill

("Butcher's Tale" is one track from an album being recorded by The Witan, "Tales from the Land of the Afterglow". Flip side is a gentler love song, "Annie with the Dancing Eyes". The single is available from the address above for £1.25 post free, profits split between local Eco and CND groups.)

LABOUR POLICIES ON GREEN ISSUES

GREEN SOCIALISTS from SERA (the Socialist Environment and Resources Association) have been making their mark at the Labour Party annual conference in Blackpool. The conference took place too late for Green Line to report what happened, but the main object was to develop the ideas contained in Labour's 1982 Programme.

Things have come a long way since 1976, when Labour's previous Programme ran to just 13 lines on 'the environment'. But in that year the party's NEC decided to set up a study group to produce a major policy statement. Two years later conference approved a final version which, with its emphasis on selective growth, socially useful products, greater self-sufficiency and decentralisation, local co-ops, and the benefits of the non-nuclear energy options, was acclaimed by SERA as a step in the right direction.

Now this work has formed the basis of the new Programme, and the group is working on a statement entitled 'Nuclear Power and the Environment' - soon to reach 'discussion document' stage. Already the study group is aware of 'overwhelming support' (from the constituency parties at least!) for the largely anti-nuclear / pro low-energy strategy line that is emerging.

Labour's NEC still "cling to the hope that if the National Nuclear Corporation is transferred to public ownership and if we opt for the British AGR design, nuclear power can be made safe." (Dave Elliott). But it is at least anti-PWR. The weapons link, however, it still not understood (or not accepted); nor is the energy problem seen in terms of the need for a sustainable energy supply system.

Health policy in the Programme leaves the NHS in broadly its present form. And it fails to

integrate policies on health with those on the environment and the community generally.

Hopes for public ownership of land are seen as long-term only; priority is given to bringing tenanted land into public ownership. If there is rather little detail, there is at least mention of the need to extend planning controls, protect SSSIs, and so on; and it is proposed to give grants to 'restore' the landscape. On animal rights the Programme would phase out 'extremé' livestock systems, and make 'causing avoidable suffering' an offence. Experiments on live animals would be 'restricted', but all forms of hunting with dogs would become illegal.

Economic policy shows early signs of a commitment to import control, and a commitment to support cooperatives and workers' alternative plans. But Victor Anderson notes a "disparity between the numerous suggestions for extending state intervention, planning, and ownership, and the much smaller number of proposals for improving the quality and accountability of the public sector." He goes on: "We don't just need arguments for socialism, but advertisements for it in the form of publicly owned industries and services which we can clearly show are more responsive to people's needs, more responsible in their use of resources, and just as innovative (though in a different direction) as the private sector."

There is some cause for concern in the transport section of the Programme. Labour, it implies, is just as in favour of road building as the Tories. Increasing car ownership is taken for granted. Proposals to attract freight to BR depend on subsidies to BR rather than on the discouragement of road freight. SERA's anonymous correspondent concludes: "Although this document does present a number of good ideas, the commitment to a coherent, radical programme is lacking - and leaves me wondering whether Labour yet has the necessary will to carry it out."



** This report is based on material in the latest edition of SERA News.



Lead risks

THE GOVERNMENT is in a state of increasing disarray as Clear's anti-lead campaign receives more and more scientific backing. Earlier this year The Times gave front-page coverage to a letter written in March 1981 by Sir Henry Yellowlees, Chief Medical Officer at the DHSS, warning the government of the inadequacies of the Lawther Report. The government sat on Sir Henry's letter - until a copy was leaked to Clear.

His letter reads in part:

"There is a strong likelihood that lead in petrol is permanently reducing the IQ of many of our children. Although the reduction amounts to only a few percentage points, some hundreds of thousands of children are affected and as Chief Medical Officer I have advised my Secretary of State that action should now be taken to reduce markedly the lead content of petrol in use in the United Kingdom. The risk to children is now shown to be too great for me to take any other course ..."

Professor Michael Rutter, a member of the Lawther Committee, has now publicly stated that the Lawther Report underestimated to body lead levels of petrol lead. "It never was justified to assume that levels below 35 µg/dl were safe." And he calls the government's proposal to reduce lead in petrol to .15 gms/litre "an unacceptable compromise." Rutter says: "Since 1980 there have been several studies that have examined the effects in the range below 35 µg/dl. All of them have demonstrated ill effects and none has produced evidence that there is a threshold below which there is safety."

Another document the government is sitting on is one commissioned from the Water Research Centre and produced in March 1981. It shows that Britain's commonest type of copper plumbing fitting can cause dangerously high levels of lead in drinking water, as a direct result of electrolytic reaction between the lead and the copper in the joints. The lead occurs in the solder used, which is an alloy of lead and tin and cheaper than the tin/silver alternative. The recommendation of the shelved report: "Leaded solders should be banned".

CHELTENHAM GREENS

CONVENTIONAL POLITICAL organisation may not offer the best prospects for the political future of the green movement. This is the view of a small number of greens in Cheltenham, who have set up their own 'Green Group' and hope to encourage more similar groups to get going in the town.

It's early days yet for the group. Even the name 'Green Group' is provisional: they want to develop their own identity first and put a name to it later. Initially they are concentrating on getting to know one another really well and forming a strong, supportive and understanding group. Of the six members of the group so far, three are from the Ecology Party, two are Liberals, and one is a former member of the Labour Party. The three Eco members appear in fact to be the majority of active members of the Cheltenham branch, which has recently had to cancel business meetings because the quorum of four was not met. (Of five people attending a recent Eco meeting in Cheltenham, four were members of the Green Group.)

The group plans to take action on local issues and to emphasise the wider implications. They hope to co-operate with other bodies such as residents' associations, and to exert pressure through local councillors. At present they do not envisage putting up candidates of their own: one of the group told Green Line that they felt too much time and money would be spent on the wrong things if they set themselves this aim now. More results were likely to be achieved by putting pressure on sitting councillors.

The Cheltenham view is that the green movement must not set up a new hierarchy of its own. Rather different groups should feed back information through Green Line, and in other ways. At all costs the movement must avoid the risk of setting up another Ecology Party.

How the group fares we shall see with time. One member is clear why other groups have failed: "What destroys other groups is putting all your energy into telling other people what to do." Their own measure of success will be partly existential - an experience of 'good vibes'! - and partly objective: the first signs of change in local politics and awareness, and the growth of more groups like theirs.



BRIDLINGTON CONFERENCE



ECOLOGY PARTY members will be asked at their party's annual conference this month to put Eco on an election footing - with all that implies by way of candidates, manifesto work, and fund-raising. The party's membership drive is now under way, and a budget which will be presented to the conference shows that at least 1,200 new members are needed immediately if the party is to remain solvent. Since the heyday of 1979/80, membership has dropped by more than half to around 2,500.

The impending general election is seen as a rallying call to members and the party's many supporters in the movement. Three party veterans invited a caucus of 30 members to a special weekend conference at the end of June with the intention of reviving a commitment throughout the party to an "essentially electoralist" position - seen by many as an attempt to restrict the growing (or at least increasingly vocal) support within the party for participation in direct action and joint campaigns with other groups, and for channelling its members' efforts through other elements of the green political scene - notably the Green Gathering and Green CND. There is some disagreement within Eco as to whether involvement in the latter activities prejudices the party's election chances or enhances them - or indeed whether the party can at present be said to have any 'chances' at all in electoral terms. This conference will thus be seen as a test of members' and branches' willingness to concentrate the party's limited resources very strongly on a year or so of fairly conventional election preparation and campaigning.

Possibly of greater importance to the future of the party will be the extent to which members with differing views are prepared to work together within a 'broad church' party, or whether this is seen as ultimately prejudicial to the aspirations of the various people concerned.

Among motions for debate at the conference is one which affirms

members' right to engage in nonviolent direct action in the name of the Ecology Party. Another asks conference to 'recognise the fact that the party is trying to achieve a system of ecological socialism throughout the world, and as such adopts the term as a suitable description of practical political ecology. Economics motions call for the reduction of international trade, tight control of multinationals, and measures to reduce the international flow of currency (possibly by a tax on currency exchange).

On the broader front, Eco members attending conference will be able to attend a workshop organised by SERA - which, contrary to widespread belief, is not a Labour Party organisation and already numbers Eco members among its membership. SERA was originally invited to be part of the Catalyst magazine project, which now involves Eco and the Liberal Ecology Group: in the event SERA's Council declined by a narrow vote to take part, for fear that close involvement with ecologists would undermine their credibility in the Trade Union movement.

Jon Carpenter



Predatory man is destroying the world and himself! A vegan Britain could easily feed itself and have plenty of land for wildlife, recreation, trees and other 'energy crops' which obviate the need for nuclear power.

A vegan diet is healthy, cheap, attractive and convenient when you know how. Send 70p for full information and recipe book.

**Vegan Society (GL),
9. Mawddwy Cottages,
Minlynn,
Dinas Mawdwy,
Machynlleth. SY20 9LW.
Wales**



FACTS OF DEATH

"Nuclear Weapons" - Report of the Secretary General of the United Nations. Frances Pinter, £9.50.

"The Arms Race and Arms Control" - Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI). Taylor and Francis, £3.95 (pbk.)

"As Lambs to the Slaughter" - Dr Paul Rogers et al. Arrow Books, £1.75 (pbk). With Ecoropa.

"Overkill" - John Cox (revised edition). Penguin Books £1.75 (pbk)

These four up-to-date books present four interesting and

TOPIC	UN	EC'PA	COX	SIPRI
Future technical developments	28	9	4	11
Policy/strategy tactics	22	9	6	22
Nuclear weapon tests	11	2	3	8
Increase in weapon numbers	14	3	11	3
Proliferation of nuclear powers	14	17	6	-
British nuclear weapons	-	17	12	6
Effects of nuclear explosions/civil defence	25	63	13	-
Verification	-	1	8	8
Description of nuclear weapons	17	27	49	30
Index	NO	NO	YES	YES

different perspectives of the facts about nuclear weapons. Of these, Cox is the simple, introductory ordinary person's guide with a wealth of explanations of such things as how nuclear energy works, alpha and beta particles, Trident submarines, SCRAMS, etc. It also has a historical perspective and devotes substantial sections to non-nuclear weapons and the arms trade.

The other books rise from deeper, well-prepared springs. The Ecoropa book, from the Bradford University School of Peace Studies, is the most readable. It sets out to achieve a clear presentation, and to face today's major policy questions head on. This is successfully achieved by the use of very good paragraph headings. Their bias is plain and compulsive, but never submerges the facts.

SIPRI's contribution is the most indigestible. But it is also the most authoritative and carefully researched, following the implications of the introduction of this or that new weapon or policy. It looks not only at nuclear weaponry but the whole

subject of the arms race, trade, costs, chemical warfare, etc. One gets the feeling of an inside view, and a sense of the familiar world of those engaged in military expenditure and proliferation.

The UN book presents well the spirit of international honesty and objectivity, and is outstandingly better reading than most UN publications. It particularly stresses the policy, strategy and politics of those points it covers. By contrast SIPRI stresses tactics and facts.

All - save the UN book - make rather exaggerated claims on their covers as to their completeness of content. All present basic material about nuclear arsenals, numbers of weapons, negotiations and treaties such as SALT, and their own view on the future for disarmament.

The table shows the more interesting variations in the number of pages covering some other topics. Those sections ringed are outstanding.

Special topics well covered by SIPRI are the costs of nuclear weapons, the military use of space, and especially the neutron bomb. The Ecoropa book uniquely explains how we live in 'Target Britain'; Cox provides much on how a nuclear war might start, and gives a long, straightforward newly written section on CND.

John Comben

AFTER ARMAGEDDON

LONDON AFTER THE BOMB: what a nuclear attack really means. By five university research scientists. Oxford University Press, 139pp, £1.95 paperback.

THIS SHORT BOOK is written in far simpler language than many pamphlets and books dealing with nuclear weapons, and the many illustrations will increase the understanding if seriously studied.

The effects that follow a nuclear explosion, flash, heat wave, blast, and fallout are detailed and it's valuable to be able to fortify feelings of horror with them.

It should always be remembered however that in the event there will be many variables besides size of warhead - time of day, season of the year, direction and velocity of the wind, rain or fine, air or ground level explosion, structure of buildings, and others. Lists of numbers are therefore guesses though backed by many test explosions and the experience of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

There's a useful discussion on the breakdown of deterrence, not well understood by many. Civil defence policy is debated and life in shelters questioned. A chapter on life in the aftermath considers the physical problems for survival, food supply, safe drinking water, shelter, power and transport, and long-term biological hazards. What is omitted is any discussion of the psychological state of those still alive.

Robert Lifton, Professor of Psychiatry at Yale University, has enlightened us a great deal about the state of mind in many of those remaining alive after living through a terrible experience that proves fatal for the many. The Jews who survived the Nazi death camps, for instance.

His laborious research among those who continued living 17 years after being in Hiroshima on August 6th 1945 is described in his book 'Death in Life' - it's very harrowing. "I was not prepared," he says, "for the things I heard and was profoundly shocked. ... They provided an unforgettable demonstration of mind closure so that no more horror can enter it."

In an article in the New York Times (15.3.82) Professor Lifton describes the likely effect on the mind of those left alive after a nuclear attack. In this he declares "the process of psychic numbing may be so extreme as to become irreversible ... a kind of mental anaesthetic that interferes with both judgement and compassion for other people... For all practical purposes the person is severed from the social forms from which it drew strength and a sense of humanity."

The apathy and indifference for others may be a more important factor in survival than finding food and water and all the physical essentials. The partial recovery of many after Hiroshima was due chiefly to the stimulus and support from those who came in to help from outside. Will such aid be available for Londoners?

Tom Garland

LETTERS

Dear Green Line,

I am writing about the article which appeared in GL 4 which suggested that a convergence of feminism, anarchy, ecology and pacifism would bring about the mass movement which has for so long been only potential in our society.

I can't believe that this will ever come about - and if it did I can't see that it would be particularly useful. Theodore Roszak expresses my feelings well in *Person/Planet*:

"Over the past ten years, the raw materials for building a big, unified political movement have been abundantly at hand - the numbers, the grievances, the cunning, the pregnant moments of crisis, even a few reasonably promising leaders. But clearly that is not the way enough people have wanted to go in expressing their disaffiliation. Rather, they have feared and shunned bigness; they have been suspicious of large-scale organisational unities; they have mistrusted power. And at last they have opted to join small bands of kindred spirits, or to work at strictly local involvements and ad hoc projects. Or they have dropped out (periodically or once and for all) to explore their own private path ... an interlude among the 'new religions', an experiment in one of the handicraft livelihoods, a sampling of the personal growth therapies."

I distrust the Ecology Party because of its emphasis on winning a General Election, on building a mass movement, on a minority of the politically active 'doing it' for the rest. Even if 'doing it' means decentralising power. Surely the strength of people to receive decentralised power can only come from the struggle of each individual to change his or her way of life. Surely salvation via a mass movement is by now an exploded myth.

This points to the direction any green movement must take if it is to gain trust or bring about a new society. It must break itself up. In the case of the Ecology Party, for example, it must stop calling itself 'The Ecology Party' and call itself the Cardiff Ecology Party, the Leeds Ecology Party, etc. It must end the emphasis on a central, single manifesto. Winning a General Election must become secondary to winning a local election, and to founding

alternative institutions in the local community. Winning a General Election must be viewed not as a first step, a means, but as the final step of polishing off after society has been visibly transformed.

Mark Kinzley
165a Hoe Street, London E 17

Dear Green Line,

The quote by Russell Means from the *Red Philosophy* (GL 4) we found sickening in its mealy-mouthed hypocrisy. He speaks of non-human animals "... giving us their bodies, their lives, for our well-being". This implies that chickens beg us to wring their necks, that lambs and calves implore us to slit their throats, that lobsters and crabs can hardly wait to be boiled alive.

Russell Means represents an element in the green movement that's holding it back, by alienating the many thousands of animal rightists within it.

Dor and Dave Carr
9 Shannon Close
Leigh-on-Sea, Essex SS9 4MS



THE MAZE at the Green Gathering. Our apologies for having lost the photographer's name - please write!

Dear Green Line,

Over the past few years within the Ecology Party I have been trying to open up discussion on the subject of 'leisure within a green society', but so far have failed to make much impression. I would therefore like to try and open it up within the wider green movement.

Leisure is a strange beast and covers an enormous range of subjects. Because of this the first problems that arise are in merely trying to define what it is we are talking about.

According to Chambers 20th Century Dictionary (1972) the word means "Time free from employment; freedom from occupation; convenient opportunity". Three different meanings all quite valid within the context of the 'eight-hour working day', but not quite so valid in terms of the green society. Questions as to what is employment, what is occupation, and when are we free from them, arise.

To my mind, the most important part of the above definition are the words 'convenient opportunity', as they seem to sum up what political ecologists should be dealing with when looking at leisure. It should be the aim of anyone who regards themselves as green to make sure that there is always 'convenient opportunity' for the community to express itself in ways that are not concerned with pure survival (i.e. eating, sleeping, making money and sex.)

There are of course many areas of our lives that come under the umbrella of leisure. Sport, the arts, parks and so forth are the obvious aspects of leisure. It does however have a tendency to be one of those awkward subjects that just cannot be contained in a nice little niche marked 'leisure'.

For instance, if the transport system is inadequate then convenient opportunity will never arise because you cannot get to where you wish to be. Likewise if our education remains geared to producing 'Crossroads morons' for use in the factories then once again convenient opportunity will not arise.

I have tried purposely to keep things vague in this letter as its function is to try and stimulate discussion. If you do have any ideas, both practical and impractical, on the subject, I would like to hear them.

Martin Collins,
46 Hythe Road, Ashford, Kent

YOUR ORGANIZATION MAN

HAVING RETIRED AFTER TWO YEARS AS THE ECOLOGY PARTY'S GENERAL SECRETARY, PAUL EKINS REFLECTS ON THE PARTY'S FAILURE TO GET ORGANISED ...

ORGANISATION. IT'S a word that has caused me more thought over the last two years than, probably, any other. I now regard it as the essential mechanism for turning new ideas into effective agents of social change.

In this sense it must be admitted that the Ecology Party has not been a successful organisation. There is no doubting the vitality and originality of our ideas. Genuinely universal, they not only provide a convincing interpretation of many of the puzzling social and economic phenomena of our times, but, by placing them in an unequivocally political context, they invite action, they invite organisation. (To organise: give orderly structure to, frame and put into working order - O.E.D.). It is clear that the Ecology Party as an organisation has not yet fulfilled the promise of its ideas.

It is worth, I think, going back to the event that gave the Ecology Party its present form - the General Election of 1979. The tiny dedicated band of activists who had guided their 700-member organisation through that election, and the European one that followed closely on its heels, were in dire danger of being suffocated by their success. They had absolutely no way of coping with the interest they had generated - enquiries and new members - or of capitalising on the results of having achieved mild national prominence. Small wonder that the over-worked National Executive that year took proposals to Conference to establish some organisational coherence: the maintenance of an office in London with full-time staff.

When I was given the job of carrying these proposals through I knew virtually nothing about either politics or administration and, learning as I went along, there was an undeniable amateurishness about many of the National Office's operations. I mention this not as a masochistic exercise in self-criticism but because it seems to me to be a characteristic that pervades much of the Ecology Party's structure. We have a touching faith that anyone can do anything - indeed I believe that

everyone should try to do everything - and have a deeprooted mistrust of professionals, experts, leaders, all those in fact who have not tried to do everything but have concentrated their powers on doing a few things extremely well.

For the individuals concerned such an emphasis on diversity and change can be very rewarding, whether it involves people discovering hitherto unrealised skills within themselves or, just as important, brings them to the realisation that they don't have the necessary talents to do this or that. But for an organisation such as the Ecology Party, competing for the minds and hearts of a people bombarded and bewildered by an unprecedented plethora of conflicting claims and values, I have come over the last two years to believe that such structural indiscipline is disastrous.

First there is the problem of continuity - or lack of it - expressed most strikingly by the fact that there are at present only one or two people still on it who were on the party's National Council two years ago. The result is that there is

cont. on p.5

Things to do

A CELEBRATION will take place outside the Green Gate at Greenham Common over the Halloween weekend (October 30/31). There will be particular emphasis on direct action: women-initiated and women-led workshops will take place during the weekend. All are welcome, particularly anyone who can entertain or cater (on a small scale).

Newbury CND has begun a campaign focussed on the contractors working on the site. Local CND groups, particularly in nuclear-free zones, are to be asked to encourage local authorities to black firms working on the contract.

These activities are being supported by Green CND's recently formed Direct Action Working Group. More information from 07255 652.

TODAY'S HEALTH and medical services are mostly sickness services - for the cure of ill-health and to some extent its prevention, but not equipped to create a positively healthy society for healthy people.

However, things are beginning to change. There is a growing interest in the politics of well-being, and the links between good health, the environment, and economic and social justice.

'Turning Point' have called an all-day meeting in London for Saturday November 27th with the title: The future of Health - healthier living in a healthier society. It will examine what personal, social, economic and political initiatives we can take to create a healthy society in a healthy world. Speakers include Beata Bishop, Ilona Kikbusch, and Dr Alex Scott-Samuel; tickets are £4 (students and unemployed £2). More details for a S.a.e. from Spring Cottage, 9 New Road, Ironbridge, TF8 7AU.

INNER PEACE for World Peace is the theme of a weekend at Lower Shaw Farm (near Swindon) from November 12 - 14. The weekend will ask what connections there are between conflict on an international scale, between groups, between individuals, and within ourselves. Cost: £21 all in, further details from Lower Shaw Farm Shaw, Swindon, Wilts. SN5 9PJ. (Phone 0793 771080).



SMALL ADS (5p a word)

BAHRO BY POST! Socialism and Survival, £3.50; The Alternative in Eastern Europe, £1.50. All books on green subjects available post free (if order over £1.95) from E O A Books, 31 Cowley Road, Oxford.

ANTI-SEXIST MEN'S NEWSLETTER 50p per issue post paid from 28 Connaught Road, Roath, Cardiff.

GREEN CND - send for list of literature, badges and stickers: 14 Alexandra Road, Oxford.

CONSERVATIONISTS - NOW READ Eric Mc Graw's 'Proposals for a National Policy on Population.' 65p post paid from Population Concern, 27/35 Mortimer Street, London W1.