

EMBRACE the EARTH



☺ A GREEN VIEW OF
PEACE. GREEN CAD

'A Green View of Peace' has been produced in the co-operative spirit of the green movement, using the ideas, suggestions, skills and experience of a wide number of people. My part in this has been to coordinate all the material, to produce several consultative drafts, and to give shape to the collective inspiration of this pamphlet's many contributors.

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INTRODUCTION



Many believe that the greatest challenge before the end of the century is to rid the world of the threat of nuclear war. The green movement has a unique part to play in this struggle; our perspective on politics is very different from that of today's conventional establishment, and our emphasis on non-violence is of fundamental importance if we are to establish *lasting* peace.

The green movement is at last beginning to make some impact on European politics. Our principles can now be stated in a much clearer fashion as a direct result of our involvement in the peace movement. Yet both the green movement and the peace movement have often been accused of operating in a political vacuum. This pamphlet attempts to show the links between the two movements, and in so doing, to emphasise the significance of the *new politics* which is gradually emerging amidst all the sound and fury of the old.

We feel strongly that unilateral nuclear disarmament is

just one step on the long and difficult road to lasting peace. We are, in fact, *already at war*, both with each other and with the Earth. Nuclear weapons are the most deadly by-product of a world system sustained on the principles of violence, exploitation and domination.

The roots of war plunge deep into the workings of society and into our individual minds. Few would deny that our world is in a sorry state, racked by contradiction, gripped by a deep-rooted sickness which threatens our very survival. We must find ways to heal this sickness, and so restore a sense of *wholeness*, in our values, in our life-style, and in our politics.

It is at this point that the green movement and the peace movement become inseparable.



THE GREEN MOVEMENT



The idea of a green movement is still something of a novelty in this country. The range and diversity of interests that may loosely be defined as green is enormous. For a start, there are more environmental organisations per head of population in the UK than in any other country, including groups as different as Friends of the Earth, Animal Rights campaigners, Greenpeace, and the Council for the Protection of Rural England.

There are thousands whose *approach* to their work and life-style may be defined as green — small-holders, organic farmers, cyclists, vegetarians, those interested in alternative medicine or alternative technology, decentralists, those who oppose the power of multi-nationals or are involved in the co-operative movement — the list goes on.

And there are more and more people in other campaigns who are becoming greener: the Women for Life on Earth network and others in the Women's movement, in Third World groups or in opposition to the arms trade, nuclear energy and nuclear weapons. There are green pressure groups working to influence each of the major parties: the Socialist Environment and Resources Association, the Liberal Ecology Group, and the Conservative Ecology group. And, of course, there's the Ecology Party.

A broad church indeed! But green people are united by their love of nature, their respect for the Earth's resources, and their commitment to the ideal of harmony between people of every race, colour and creed. These fundamental beliefs imply other values: respect for the gentler side of human nature; a dislike of materialism; a willingness to share the world's wealth amongst all its people; a desire for decisions to be open to all concerned; and the search for personal truth.

The green movement is still very much in the making. The last ten years have seen a tremendous growth in awareness about ecology and the whole area of green politics. But we have also seen horrifying increases in nuclear weapons and arms sales, in world hunger and the depletion of scarce resources, in the loss of forests and fertile farmland, in pollution, environmental destruction and the extermination of species. For every step forward, there have been two steps back.

It has become increasingly clear that green interests cannot be pursued in political isolation. We have learnt that whatever our own particular concern, it must be related to today's major issues: peace, the North/South divide, human rights, and survival itself.

No single issue is more important today than that of nuclear disarmament. So what position does the green movement take on this issue? Is it possible to agree on a position? The debate has raged fiercely throughout the Green Movement — for this is an issue that is impossible to fudge.

UNILATERALISM



THE FIRST STEP TOWARDS PEACE

Throughout the seventies, nuclear weapons were talked about as if they were just like all other weapons, except just a bit nastier. People refused to face up to the likely consequences of a nuclear "defence" strategy.

Since 1979, things have changed. The decisions to spend £10,000 million on Trident and to allow Cruise missiles, under American control, to be based here in the UK, have re-awakened people's concern about the threat of nuclear war.

THE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE

During the sixties, the Pentagon reckoned that 400 megatons would be more than enough to destroy Russia's industry and most of her population. (Remember, one ten-megaton weapon is nearly a thousand times more destructive than the bomb used on

Hiroshima). But today, despite all the talking, things are very different: in terms of *strategic* weapons alone, the combined destructive capacity of both superpowers amounts to nearly 15,000 megatons! That figure takes no account of the shorter range "tactical" weapons; and yet, there are already enough of these to ensure the mutual destruction of both Russia and Western Europe without involving any "strategic" weapons at all!

And it's not just a question of Russian and American weapons. The UK, France, and China are all powerful contributors to the nuclear arms race, and there are clear signs of a speed-up in the proliferation of nuclear weapons to other countries, including South Africa, Israel, India, Pakistan, Brazil, Argentina, Libya, and Iraq. Any of these will have the potential to start a world war.



CHANGES IN NUCLEAR STRATEGY

The basic theory of deterrence was easy enough to understand: it relied on the guarantee that the damage one country could do, in retaliation for a nuclear attack by another, would be as great as the damage done to it. This became known as Mutually Assured Destruction — MAD for short.(!)

But the theory of deterrence has now been undermined, both by a change in strategy and by technological advances in weapons systems. NATO's current nuclear strategy is described as "flexible response" — that may sound friendly enough, but its proposed first use of tactical nuclear weapons, if 'necessary', clearly commits us to a strategy for actually *fighting* a nuclear war, rather than deterring one. The nuclear threshold has been deliberately lowered.

Moreover, technological advances (which seem to have a momentum of their own) have so improved the range and accuracy of nuclear weapons, that the option of making a "first strike" to eliminate the enemy's weapon-systems is now possible. Knowing this, either side may feel compelled to strike first in order to avoid a possible "first strike" by the enemy.

Even supposing that our leaders never deliberately risk the use of nuclear weapons, the chance of an accident is increasing all the time. False alerts and computer faults have already led to the scrambling of bomber crews. As we improve the speed, range, and accuracy of our missiles, the situation becomes even more dangerous: once the Pershing II is deployed by NATO, Moscow commanders will have just six minutes to respond to the apparent 'detection' of an incoming missile.

Given the justification of Cruise and Trident as "weapons capable of striking home to key targets," it is clear that we are involved in this strategy up to our necks. Our nuclear weapons, far from protecting us, are the very things which put us in danger, since they will make us an inevitable target in any nuclear war.



THE DIVERSION OF RESOURCES

The arms race (both nuclear and conventional) means that great economic and social stresses are set up in both capitalist and communist countries. Social objectives are sacrificed to the demands of the defence budget — a "diversion" which itself makes war more likely, regardless of the stockpile of terror weapons which results from it.

Firstly, military spending is essentially non-productive. A tractor ploughs a field, permitting people to do useful work. A bomb either destroys life or property or else it does nothing. A war economy is an inflation machine; it puts money, but not goods, into the economy, and strains key labour and materials markets.

And in the meantime, all sectors of society suffer as public spending on education, health and other *real* needs is cut. The message has been made abundantly clear by Mrs. Thatcher's government — weapons will indeed be paid for at the expense of essential public services.

Secondly, excessive military spending leads to an

appalling misuse of human resources. A very large number of our best scientists are engaged in military research, and over half the UK's spending on research and development goes on military projects. We are made to feel that medical research is hugely expensive and that only through voluntary aid can it be afforded. Yet at the same time, the Government is taking £18 a week from every family to spend on the business of killing people.

Lastly, and perhaps the most dangerous diversion of all, is the fact that much of the money currently being spent on arms could be spent instead on doing something about world poverty. The arms race costs the world \$500,000,000,000 every year. What is spent in just two weeks could house, clothe and feed everyone in need for a year.



CARING FOR THE EARTH

So horrendous are the implications for humanity of a nuclear war, that we tend to forget how totally devastating it would be for the rest of creation. Jonathan Schell's "The Fate of the Earth" spells this out more vividly than any other author has done before: the impact of nuclear war on other animals and insects, on plants and flowers, on the climate, on the atmosphere, on the ozone layer — the cumulative details leave little room for doubt. Not only would we wipe out millions of our fellow human beings, we would literally "render the biosphere unfit for human survival." We would have destroyed the future.

The Earth is protected from the Sun's ultraviolet rays by an atmospheric ozone layer. A nuclear war would irreversibly damage this protective shield, and the resultant long-term exposure could cause widespread skin cancers and retinal damage to the eye. The destruction of the ozone shield would threaten the long-term survival of many life forms.

The loss of sunlight (due to the large amounts of particulate matter from the many fires that will be

started), the fallout, and the lack of fertilizers and fuel would wreck existing food production. Contaminated rivers, oceans, rain and groundwater would increase the radioactivity being passed through the food chain, for an indefinite period of time.

Radioactive dust would be carried high up into the stratosphere where it can float for many months, or even years, before coming down. Delayed fallout may therefore drop to the ground thousands of miles from, and many years after, an explosion. The slow release from fallout particles damages previously healthy cells so that they become cancerous and eventually develop into malignant tumours. The most serious long-term biological hazard of radiation is the damage done to DNA molecules, which carry the genetic code in reproductive cells. Such damage, on a widespread scale, would result in appalling mutations.

If we are sincere about our environmental responsibilities, and are prepared to accept our role as stewards of the planet, of all other species, and of the future itself, then it must be stated once and for all that there is no single conceivable situation which could justify the use of nuclear weapons. *Nothing*, but *nothing*, would excuse the irretrievable damage done to the Earth itself.

This applies as much to the projected or threatened use of nuclear weapons in retaliation as it does to the horrific idea of "first-strike" use. The bluff of deterrence becomes utterly meaningless; deterrence depends upon convincing our "enemy" that we are indeed prepared to use nuclear weapons if they are used on us. Combined with the unanswerable arguments against such an act of revenge, that sort of response is *simply not an option* for any ecologist.



THE LIMITATIONS OF MULTILATERALISM

Given these major concerns, it is hardly surprising that more people have come to support unilateral nuclear disarmament for the UK than ever before. The *total*

failure of the 1982 Second United Nations Special Session on Disarmament brought this home to people. The millions of signatures collected all across the world were answered with an astonishing series of war-mongering speeches from today's world leaders. "Deterrence" was still the name of the game; the other side were still the ones to blame; people should not anticipate rapid progress in disarmament talks — despite the fact that between them, the superpowers now have the destructive power to obliterate each other 25 times over!

To a certain extent, the argument between unilateral and multilateral disarmament has become meaningless. As Martin Ryle says in his "Politics of Nuclear Disarmament":-

"It goes without saying that genuine multilateral disarmament would be preferable in every way. Indeed, multilateral disarmament would be the goal of such unilateral initiatives. Meanwhile, the choice — the initial practical choice — is not between unilateral and multilateral disarmament; it is between unilateral disarmament and no disarmament at all. Every nuclear state since Nagasaki (insofar as they have even acknowledged the need for disarmament at all) has claimed to favour a "multilateral" approach, and has "pursued" nuclear disarmament within that framework. Those who argue that this kind of diplomacy is suddenly going to produce real progress ignore the blatant evidence of history, and must be convicted either of naivety or insincerity."

Unilateral action by the UK alone could never make the world safe. But there is no doubt that such a decision, by one of the world's major nuclear powers, would provide the strongest possible encouragement for others to join the process of disarmament.

Why then are so many millions of people still unconvinced, still unprepared to lend their support to those campaigns working to persuade our government to disarm before it's too late?

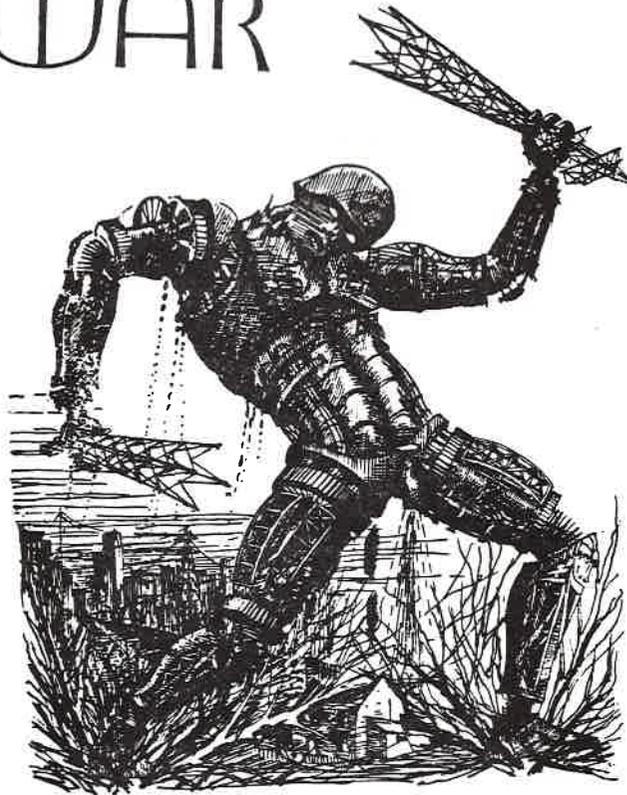
Is it, perhaps, because of the occasional lack of realism that seems to characterise the peace movement? Isn't it indeed something of a delusion to suppose that we can just put a bill through Parliament to rid ourselves of nuclear weapons, whereupon the Americans will simply pack up and meekly cart their missiles back across the Atlantic? And isn't it even more of a delusion to suppose that lasting peace is possible in a world that remains as competitive and aggressive as it is now?

There is so much more to achieving peace than simply reacting to the fear of annihilation. One *cannot* exclude from the debate those broader and much more complex questions of how society might be transformed in such a way that the giving up of nuclear weapons would be perceived as a totally *realistic* objective.

This is very much where the green view of peace comes in.



WORLD AT WAR



The hard earned knowledge and experience of the ecology movement has at last begun to make an impact on the world's decision-makers. Report after influential report has confirmed the ecological analysis of the dangers which threaten the security of us all.

"Global 2000", the special report commissioned by President Carter, concluded that we face a world "more polluted, less stable ecologically and more vulnerable to disruption than ever before." The Brandt Report made these links between the environment and security even more explicit:—

"Few threats to [the] peace and survival of the human community are greater than those posed by

the degradation of the biosphere on which human life depends... In the global context, true security cannot be achieved by [a] mounting build-up of weapons (defence in a narrow sense), but only by providing [the] basic conditions for solving [the] non-military problems which threaten them. Our survival depends not only on military balance, but on global co-operation to ensure a sustainable biological environment."



THE ECONOMICS OF WAR

We must first acknowledge that the economic policies of the developed world greatly increase the likelihood of war.

The logic of industrial economics is simple: that wealth and welfare will derive from producing more and consuming more. Success is measured exclusively in terms of increases in Gross Domestic Product and the rate of economic growth.

The logic of ecology stands in direct opposition to the logic of industrialism. It must be clear that, in the very process of "succeeding," industry cannot help but destroy the fragile material base on which we all depend. Ever-increasing consumption is simply not possible on a planet with strictly finite resources.

Oddly enough, there aren't many around who deny this sort of analysis any longer! But politicians have so successfully stoked up their electorate's expectations that they cannot help but promise economic growth at all costs. In the process the false pretences of industrialism are sustained with an almost suicidal determination, and that which cannot be *measured* is dismissed — human needs are either "quantifiable" or are presumed not to exist!

No-one has expressed this more effectively than E.F. Schumacher in his essay "Peace and Permanence":—

"I suggest that the foundations of peace cannot be laid by universal prosperity, in the modern sense,

because such prosperity, if attainable at all, is attainable only by cultivating such drives of human nature as greed and envy, which destroy intelligence, happiness, serenity, and thereby the peacefulness of man."

"There can be 'growth' towards a limited objective, but there cannot be unlimited, generalised growth. It is more than likely, as Gandhi said, that "Earth provides enough to satisfy every man's need, but not for every man's greed."

"The cultivation and expansion of needs is the antithesis of wisdom. It is also the antithesis of freedom and peace... Only by a reduction of needs can one promote a genuine reduction in those tensions which are the ultimate causes of strife and war."

Here again, we are confronted with the distinction between false security and *real* security. Just as in the area of defence it is now obvious that an increase in armaments provides the very opposite of an increase in security, so in the field of economics the "security" laid claim to by those in their desperate pursuit of economic growth must be exposed for the illusion it is. *Real* security depends upon permanence, balance, and sustainability and there's not a lot to be found in today's political programmes.



RESOURCES

A shift in economic policy is therefore essential to the pursuit of peace. A country which does not base its economic policy on the drive for growth — all costs will, by virtue of that change alone, have considerably eased the pressure on world resources. And it is these limited resources, such as Gulf oil, which are going to provide the flashpoints for any global conflict.

Ironically, the more sophisticated a society is today, the more specialised it becomes and the more dependent it therefore is on others for goods it no longer makes itself. The industrial societies have become increasingly

dependent for their raw materials, and largely so for their food, on non-industrialised, Third World countries. An affluent white minority in an overwhelmingly non-white world, much of it poor beyond our imagination, can hardly expect to have the continuing benefit of other countries' cheap raw materials.

The dangerous threat of America's "Rapid Deployment Force" highlights this dilemma; there is no way on earth they could safeguard the flow of oil from the Persian Gulf by fighting a war — under *any* circumstances, the oil would stop flowing, as the recent Iran/Iraq war made quite clear.

Nor is the UK immune from pressure on resources just because of North Sea oil. The "Cod War" with Iceland and the fisheries dispute with Denmark are classic examples of what could become much more frequent: a particular resource (in this instance fish) runs short, causing a dispute between the different parties involved, eventually ending in the use of force. "As more and more people seek to sustain themselves from fewer and fewer resources, we can anticipate a period of inevitable shortages, disputes, and armed conflicts." (Dr. N. Myers, Guardian 3.6.82.)



ENERGY — THE PLUTONIUM CONNECTION

The opposition of the green movement to the development of nuclear power is well-known. But only recently has it become clear just how close are the links between nuclear power and nuclear weapons.

The CND Sizewell Group has published a pamphlet ('The Plutonium Connection') which shows how plutonium from British 'civil' reactors has indeed been diverted to the nuclear weapons programmes. The Electricity Board recently tried to sack one employee, Dr. Ross Hesketh, who raised this issue publicly. The issue forms the basis of CND's case at the Sizewell Public Inquiry.

Each commercial nuclear reactor produces several

hundred pounds of plutonium every year. For years, the authorities used to assert that "reactor grade" plutonium could not be used to make nuclear weapons — until 1977, when the US exploded a weapon made entirely from reactor grade plutonium!

This means that the export of nuclear reactors of any type poses the gravest risk of proliferation. American, French and German sales of reactor technology abroad guarantee that by the end of the century dozens of countries will possess enough nuclear material to manufacture bombs of their own.

It is hardly surprising, therefore, that the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, signed in 1968, has been so ineffective. The basic point needs to be stressed: every country with a nuclear programme is capable, if the political determination is there, to use its "atoms for peace" in the development of "atoms for war".

"Atoms for Peace" simply never existed. And if we are sincere in our wish to get rid of nuclear weapons, then we must work for the scrapping of *all* nuclear technology — not just the 160 Cruise missiles, or the four Trident submarines. The plutonium connection between nuclear energy and nuclear weapons is so inextricable that lasting nuclear disarmament remains an improbable dream until such time as the last nuclear reactor is finally decommissioned.



THE ARMS TRADE

Britain's balance of payments depends on our trade in weapons. At the moment, we supply arms to foreign governments, regardless of their use against oppressed minorities within those countries, let alone their escalating effects in disputes between neighbouring countries. An endless spiral of expenditure on arms ensures that the Third World stays poor, that its people remain oppressed by military governments, and that the list of regional wars — 135 since 1945 — is extended indefinitely into the future.

Moreover, there is now ample research exposing the lie

Table A: Spending on arms compared with social services

Annual expenditure	£ million		£million
Defence budget 1980-81	10,785	Hospital and community health services	8,389
of which		Child benefits	2,970
Pay & pensions for armed forces	3,017	Medical research	40
Defence research & development	1,479	Services for disabled	76
Upkeep of Polaris submarines	165	Welfare foods	33
Fighting vehicles	101		
Cost of individual items			
	£m		£m
One nuclear hunter-killer submarine	140	56 advanced passenger trains	140
One guided missile destroyer	85	3 hospitals each with 1000 beds	76
One Tornado aircraft	10	833 houses	10
	£		
One Milan anti-tank missile	7,000	One kidney machine	6,000
One 152 mm-illuminating ammunition shell	450	Schoolbooks for 100 children for one year	423

source: Labour Research Department

that investment in the arms trade is "good for jobs". Back in 1977, the Richardson Institute for Conflict and Peace Research published a collection of essays entitled "Alternative Work for Military Industries." In his introduction, Dan Smith gave some advice we have been slow to accept: —

"Supporters of military spending reductions have often been too defensive, arguing that the problem of redeploying arms workers could be solved. To see redeployment of these workers as a problem concedes the first round of the argument. A more productive approach starts from the opposite angle and asks — What can be produced if we produced fewer armaments? How far could unmet social needs be fulfilled by diverting at least some of the resources now devoted to making and using military equipment?"

Perhaps the best example of this approach started with the 1976 initiative of the Lucas Aerospace Shop Stewards' Combine. Their 'Alternative Corporate Plan' proposed a major shift from the production of

aerospace and military technology to socially useful products such as heat pumps and kidney machines. It was turned down flat by the Lucas management, and despite considerable grass-roots support, met with strong resistance from academic and trade union officialdom. But, in 1978, the Centre for Alternative Industrial and Technical Systems (CAITS) was set up at the North-East London Polytechnic, followed in 1981 by the Unit for the Development of Alternative Products (UDAP) at Coventry's Lanchester Polytechnic. Students are now at work on products from the original Alternative Plan.

THE THIRD WORLD

Whilst the affluence of a minority of humankind steadily increases, the appalling impoverishment of the majority is taken for granted. There is something totally irrational about a system which, in order to satisfy the wants of a minority, has to deny to increasing millions the fundamental right just to stay alive.

Throughout the world one in eight people is starving to death and one in four is suffering from malnutrition. World shortage of food is *not* the cause of that starvation, nor is population growth. We must face the fact that trade and agricultural policies in this country contribute *directly* to the suffering of the Third World. Instead of encouraging them to grow more food and non-edible cash crops for *us* to consume, while they themselves starve, we should be aiming for a far greater degree of self-sufficiency in food production, so as to allow them to grow the food they need for themselves.

We need to ensure that *increased* levels of aid are linked to radical programmes of land reform, and go *directly* to the poor communities of these countries rather than to their ruling elites. Stringent measures must be introduced to control the power of the multinationals.

Above all, we need to concentrate on building up ecologically sound, self-reliant economies in all Third World countries. Instead of exporting weapons, we should be exporting the technical and managerial skills needed for human-scale technology. Combined with intelligent aid, this approach stands far more chance of leading to a secure world of peaceful, independent nations than does the existing highly explosive system of

international trade based on greed, mistrust and economic domination.

It is not just a question of giving more — it is a question of *taking less*. The green movement has consistently emphasised the need for a simpler, less materialistic way of life. Most of us can eat more simply, travel more cheaply, live less wastefully, and cut out the more obvious horrors of our "conspicuous consumption."

These are just some of the areas in which the green movement has a responsibility to broaden the arguments of peace campaigners. The perspective offered here is based on an understanding of the relationships between people and the planet on which we all depend. People are at last beginning to realise what we must learn to live in balance with the rest of creation. As the dominant species, it is our moral responsibility to act as *stewards* to the planet and to *all* species on it.

The possibility of a nuclear holocaust is a threat without parallel. Yet it is only one of the countless threats that our kind of progress now poses to the natural world. In a quite absurd way, we still see ourselves as a species apart from or above the rest of creation, when we are, of course, still embedded in it. Every threat to the earth is, in fact, a threat to us; every wound inflicted on the earth is a wound against ourselves.

That understanding is totally at odds with the way we choose to live today. We cannot go on ripping up the planet as if there were no tomorrow, desperately pursuing an illusion of economic security, regardless of the cost to the physical environment or the human spirit. Our responsibility to the planet, and to those future generations who will inherit from us, compels us to charge *now* before it is too late.

The green view of peace thus poses a clear challenge to the rest of the movement. What chance is there of peace when we are all perpetually at war? At war with each other, since 'success' in today's materialistic world is possible only at someone else's cost. And at war with the planet, since today's affluence is achieved only at the expense of our natural wealth. It is in this context that the nuclear arms race is simply the most costly, most deadly, extension of a world *already at war*.

ROOTS OF CONFLICT



Nuclear weapons are not a nasty mistake in an otherwise healthy world. They are the logical outcome of the kind of society we have created for ourselves. The peace movement will only be successful in preventing war if it becomes the cutting edge of a far-reaching shift in values and political institutions.

Our dependence upon nuclear weapons has exposed a deep-rooted social sickness. The many disharmonies and imbalances of our society are all part of this same sickness. As the most potent symptom of that sickness, nuclear weapons have caused many of us to challenge the assumptions that lie at the heart of our "civilisation."



THE EROSION OF DEMOCRACY

One of the worst aspects of our contemporary industrial culture is the way in which it has impaired our ability to bring about changes which we *know* are right and necessary. Nowhere is this more obvious than in the area of defence, where people seem paralysed by a sense of hopelessness. It has become easier to dig our grave than to cope with the implications of not digging it.

Yet it is not only the fear of death which leads so many to deny the preparations for extermination going on all around us. Not surprisingly, we don't much like the idea that we are *all* potential mass-killers; the moral cost of upholding the theory of deterrence is that we have all of us underwritten the possibility of massive slaughter. To be a target is bad enough, but to be involved in the targeting of others is much worse. As Jonathan Schell points out — "In accepting the dual role of victim *and* potential mass-murderer, we convey the steady message that life is not only *not* sacred, but utterly worthless."

Nonetheless, it has become easier for many to live with that sort of inconsistency than to suffer the frustrations of discovering, time after time, that we have so little power. We live in a society where more and more people have found themselves unable to take control of their own lives by their own efforts. Too many people have found themselves unable to resolve relatively minor problems, to have much faith in their power to act against the Bomb.



THE COLD WAR

Today's leaders are able to rely upon this paralysis in their efforts to endorse the idea of the "cold war". In his pamphlet — "Beyond the Cold War" E.P. Thompson has pointed out how the ruling interests on both sides have become addicted to the maintenance of the Cold War. The threat of an "enemy" has always provided a very convenient way of ensuring discipline. It's the oldest trick in the book: divert people's attention away from

troubles at home with talk of a threat from abroad. Part of the business of defining who we are as a nation, is defining who *they* are. The governments of both East and West need that stimulus today more than ever. Cold War ideology — the threat of the "other" — is the strongest card they have in promoting the status quo.

This is dangerous at the best of times, but it is staggeringly dangerous with today's nuclear weaponry.

"The Cold War contains a built-in logic which must always tend to the worse. The military establishments will grow, the adversary postures become more implacable and more irrational. That logic, if uncorrected, must prove terminal." (E.P. Thompson)

Hence the need for the peace movement to redefine just who the "enemy," the "other", really is; namely, those forces which are leading us all, East and West to destruction. In the words of the appeal for END: —

"We must commence to act as if a united, neutral and pacific Europe already exists. We must learn to be loyal, not to "east" or "west", but to each other."

If that is ever to happen, and we are able to join together to oppose the military and political establishments which threaten us, we shall need a very different form of politics. To reject these military-industrial elites would be to reject the very way of life which has given birth to them, to reject the destructive, exploitative way of life of industrialism and materialism.



MILITARISM

Violence in society begins with the individual, with his or her attitude towards other people. In its broadest sense, violence is so much a part of our personal and political relationships, that it is sometimes difficult to imagine effective non-violent means of resolving human conflict.

For a start, we take so many aspects of our society for granted. We switch on the television and watch foreign heads of governments inspecting military guards of honour. Suppose, instead, that they inspected a guard of honour from the local hospital? That this seems ridiculous just goes to show how deep-rooted our militaristic attitudes are.

Boys are taught that attitudes of aggression and callousness are essential parts of being a "real man". They're given toy guns, rocket launchers, tanks and 'Action Man' to play with. And yet, why shouldn't war toys become socially unacceptable?

It will not be easy to resist militarism, but if we are to get to the root of the problem, an anti-militarist stance is vital. This does not mean that we necessarily renounce armed resistance as a defensive option, we simply renounce the glorification of war. War never was, and never will be, glorious.



TECHNOMANIA

"Technomania" can be defined as the obsession with technology. It is technology out of control, with people as its servants. It has a terrible momentum and logic of its own. What can be done, technically speaking, very probably *will* be done.

The measure of civilization becomes technical progress, rather than wisdom, compassion, or co-operation. The grossly expensive "race for space" continues, while here on earth, thirty children die of starvation every minute. Giant, inappropriate and destructive technology wins the lion's share of new investment. Concorde rules, O.K.! Millions are invested in nuclear power year after year, whilst the alternatives are fobbed off with a pittance. Similarly, though it is true that many scientists are working on alternative forms of energy, they are only one-sixth as many as are working on new ways for the world to blow itself up. And we're now intent upon duplicating the sun here on Earth, via nuclear fusion! Is this really the best way of ensuring long-term security?

Most scientists continue to see the natural world as something to conquer, to control and to replace with a *man-made* world. The pollution and rape of the planet are seen as unfortunate side-effects. It becomes "necessary" to test new chemical and biological weapons on animals, so that at places like Porton Down one cruelty after another is needlessly inflicted upon many different species.

This is not to say technology in itself is responsible for the mess. Technology is a tool, which, if used with care and concern for the *quality* of life, could serve rather than enslave humanity. What we need is a technology for people, a technology for life.



THE FEMININE/MASCULINE IMBALANCE

One might suppose that a rational and healthy society would honour and empower women as much as men. But in today's dominant "civilizations" we find women degraded, trivialized, and exploited.

Moreover, there is a serious imbalance between the "feminine" and the "masculine" — these being the energies which co-exist in both women and men, however repressed or distorted either may be. Today's dominant patriarchal culture is seriously imbalanced towards a set of *distorted* masculine values.

The rejection of the feminine within the social structure has brought about an aggressive, competitive society, in which human being is pitted against human being, and the whole human race is pitted against the earth. The growth economics of both East and West involve physical and spiritual violence to people, other species and the planet. Such blindness is impossible to imagine except in a culture dangerously short of compassion, of caring and nurturing values.

A healthy society will be one that redresses the balance between the feminine and the masculine and thereby achieves a sense of *wholeness*. The artificial split that exists today is merely a reflection of a culture divided

against itself and separated from the natural world by delusions of its own superiority.

"Now that women are losing their fear of standing up and demanding what is theirs, the time is right for them to search within themselves to discover just what *is* theirs; not in masculine defined terms, but in our own terms, as human beings within whom dwells the source of life and creative energy, and a natural bond with the unconscious and with the Earth." (Stephanie Leland)



THE ILLUSION OF SECURITY

It all comes down to what makes people feel safe. Reassured by the tub-thumping rhetoric of macho politicians, most people still believe that the best way of ensuring security both for themselves and for the country as a whole, is to spend more on arms, and to "stay true to the old values." In his 1981 Bronowski Memorial Lecture, Nicholas Humphrey told the story of his pet tortoise.

"When I was a child we had an old pet tortoise called Ajax. One Autumn, Ajax, looking for a winter home, crawled unnoticed into the pile of wood and bracken my father was making for Guy Fawkes Day. As days passed and more and more pieces of tinder were added to the pile, Ajax must have felt more and more secure; every day he was getting greater and greater protection from the frost and rain. On 5th November, bonfire and tortoise were reduced to ashes. Are there some of us who still believe that the piling up of weapon upon weapon adds to our security — that the dangers are nothing compared to the assurance they provide?"

This is the crux of the issue: for some people, even an illusion of security is sometimes better than no security at all. The peace movement must establish exactly how it hopes to achieve lasting security, and there's a great

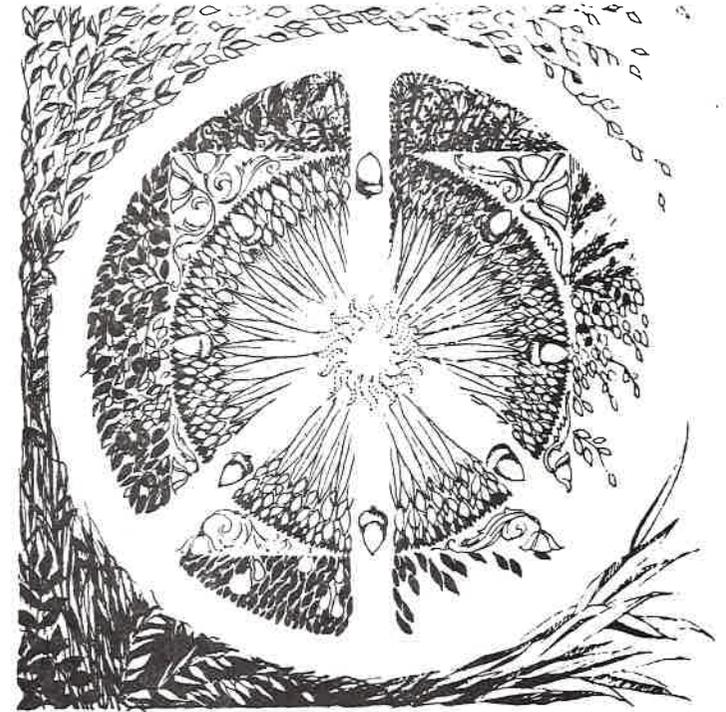
deal more to that than unilateral nuclear disarmament. Unaccompanied by some of the changes in attitude and policy proposed in this pamphlet, unilateral nuclear disarmament may be seen by many as more of a risk than hanging on to the old illusions.

A policy of unilateral disarmament must be set within a social, political and spiritual framework which allows for the possibility of lasting peace becoming a reality.

A new politics is emerging to provide that framework, a type of politics which challenges the domination of leaders, of men, of materialism and giantism, of violence and uncontrolled technology. It does not seek the power of traditional politics (to gain domination over others and over the Earth), but the creative power of feeling, based on a fresh understanding of the value of each individual and of our physical environment. Such a power, the power of life and people, is the only energy that can bring about the change in consciousness we so urgently need.



POLITICS OF GREEN PEACE



The essential green position is uncompromising: if we continue to live the way we do now, lasting peace is simply not possible, with or without unilateral nuclear disarmament. The increasingly stubborn maintenance of today's status quo ensures a high level of continuing violence in international affairs. It is, therefore, the underlying causes of conflict that we should also be campaigning to eliminate.

FOREIGN POLICY

All that has been said so far clearly implies a new foreign policy for this country: we must make ourselves independent of NATO, and start building political and economic alliances with other nations in the spirit of "positive neutralism."

Because NATO's defence policy endorses the use, or

threatened use, of nuclear weapons, there is no logical nor honest way in which a Britain which had embarked on the road of unilateral nuclear disarmament could remain within it. Our broad challenge must be to tackle the political as well as the military role of NATO: by allowing the US to pile in more weapons closer to Russia and further from their own shores, we help to maintain the artificial divisions between East and West. Until we have freed ourselves of the illusion that membership of NATO serves to enhance our security, it is unlikely that the transitional goal of *European Nuclear Disarmament* will make much progress.

Moreover, as we have already seen, there is not the slightest hope in the long run that we shall secure peace and disarmament unless and until we can make common cause with people like ourselves in Warsaw Pact countries. We know that they want peace and can see that they are as much the victims of the military-industrial complex as we are.



THE NEW INTERNATIONALISM

Over-centralised systems contribute directly to the pressures that encourage war. For the most part, it is not the broad mass of people who hate or fear the people of other nations, it is the leaders and governments of those nations who so confidently decide that war is "necessary". One of the main causes of today's global tension is the emphasis put on *national sovereignty*, which allows countries to do pretty much what they please, regardless of the effects of their actions on other countries, just so long as their international trading position is not prejudiced.

This obsession with "national sovereignty" poses a real threat. In the same article, quoted earlier, Dr. Norman Myers wrote:—

"Today's 'threat situations' are not amenable to traditional responses in the form of military initiatives. In essence, they are far from situations of the "What I gain, you lose" type. Rather, they are situations of the "We all gain together, or we

all lose together" type. Hence, there is no scope for established modes of response, lying with the competitive assertiveness of individual nation-states. Rather, the responses must lie with co-operative endeavour on the part of nations acting together.

This means that we shall not only have to look for *non-military* means to resolve these predicaments. We shall have to evaluate our conventional concepts of national security and national sovereignty." (The Guardian 3.6.82)

If we wish the world to develop into a co-operating community, rather than remain divided into conflicting groups, we must make a real attempt to reduce the concept of national sovereignty and replace it with an ideal of international responsibility. We must encourage the development of the world into a confederation of sustainable communities.



GREEN POLITICS IN EUROPE

The green parties of Europe are already working towards these ends in West Germany, Belgium, France, Britain, Ireland, Sweden, Austria, Luxembourg and Switzerland. There are green groups who are planning to become parties in the immediate future in Finland, Spain, Portugal and Greece, all of them actively involved in their respective peace movements. The ideas are already finding fertile ground in Eastern Europe, mainly in Poland, East Germany and Hungary.

Most of the green parties have arisen from local action groups and therefore try to make their structural basis, the grassroots, the major level of activity. Nearly all the parties have representatives at some level of local government, and there are green parliamentarians in Belgium, Germany and Finland. In elections, all of the parties have consistently made nuclear energy and weapons a key issue, sometimes above other environmental concerns and often linked to other key questions such as democracy and freedom of information.

The Belgian greens were the first to be elected to a national parliament, in 1981, when they won four seats in the Lower House and five in the Senate. However it was the recent success of the Greens in West Germany, in March 1983, which firmly established green politics as a serious alternative to traditional ideologies, and inspired 'green growth' everywhere. With 5.6% of the overall vote, they won 27 seats in the Bundestag, enough to make themselves heard and felt, without having to give in to the temptations of political power.

Known throughout West Germany as the 'Peace Party', much of the Greens' support comes from those who see green politics as the only way of ensuring a genuine and lasting peace. Their uncompromising stance on Cruise and Pershing II missiles, on nuclear power, and on the long-term need to 'de-militarize Germany', means that they now provide the *real* opposition to the Christian Democrat government.

The Greens are continuously at the forefront of the West German peace movement, as co-organisers of major demonstrations, or with their own initiatives such as the Nuremberg Tribunal against 'First Strike and Mass Destruction weapons', in February 1983. Individual members and local groups are widely involved in non-violent direct actions against all links in the nuclear chain. The Bundestag representatives are equally committed to such extra-parliamentary activities as to parliamentary work, continuously 'pressing' the Social Democrats to take a more radical stance.

Since 1979, all the European green parties have been linked up through a coordination group that meets in Brussels. A common platform for the 1984 European Election will stress five priorities: defending the cause of peace, building sustainable economics, protecting the environment, redistributing the world's wealth, and getting power back to the people.

On Defence, the green parties have a great deal in common, even between those inside NATO and those outside, such as the Swedes and Austrians. Not only are they all opposed to nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction, but also they all want to see a genuinely defensive, non-aligned European Alliance, incorporating countries in both eastern and western Europe. Civil disobedience, as well as 'guerilla tactics', are seen as

integral parts of any genuinely defensive system.

The development of the green parties has invariably been paralleled by the growth of a much broader green movement, again widely involved in the peace movement. Often this has helped underpin the political side of the green parties with a more human approach. The recognition of the roots of war existing in the materialistic society, has led to people beginning to change in their own relationships.

A healthy cross-fertilisation with other diverse 'green' activities strengthens the moves towards peace. The green movement throughout Europe, transcends traditional politics for it is not working for change from above alone; people have already started the process of building an alternative society from the grassroots up, replacing the roots of war with the seeds of peace. And these seeds recognise no national boundaries.

Though not as much in the forefront as the West Germans, the other green parties are actively involved in the peace movement at all levels. In countries where the socialists are the leading 'disarmament' party, the greens have concentrated on ensuring that the socialists stick to their promises, that all links in the nuclear chain are opposed, and that the root causes of war are confronted.



DECENTRALISATION

Many have concluded that it's only in small, independent communities, satisfying most of their basic needs from within the immediate environment, that human beings are able to find the sort of balance which is denied to the majority of people in today's vast, mechanised mass-societies.

But even the word "decentralisation" has been subtly corrupted, so that now it usually refers to something that will be passed down from on high, rather than something that we seize for ourselves from below! And yet, the astonishing success of the Nuclear Free Zones movement, and the enforced cancellation by the

Thatcher Government of Operation Hard Rock, its massive and completely phoney 1982 civil defence exercise, are inspiring examples of just how much can be achieved by local groups bringing intense pressure to bear on their elected representatives, and thereby putting the finger on Westminster itself!

A more self-reliant society, depending much more on local production for local needs, must necessarily be considerably less centralised than our own. This would make it more difficult to cripple in any attack or invasion, and nearly impossible to run from any central command without the whole-hearted consent of the people. We would thus be a very much less tempting target for nuclear or conventional attack.



THE PERSONAL IS POLITICAL

This combination of decentralisation and self-reliance gives new meaning to the idea of "self government". As such, it depends upon people being able to develop a sense of personal responsibility and participation. Personal responsibility is not just a theory, it is a birthright and a *duty*; we do not *have* to accept the pattern or lifestyle that society has formed for us.

Yet today's "elected dictatorships" effectively ensure that we do not have sufficient power to exercise that responsibility. So long as we are always asking the government to change things, then we are still caught in the same trap as those who trust the government to preserve peace by means of deterrence. So as we continue to place ultimate responsibility outside of ourselves, to beg from or to blame "them", then we still acknowledge "their" power and their rights over us. We therefore help to maintain that power, however much we think we are opposing it.

Speaking of the decline of CND in the 1960's, historian and CND veteran A.J.P. Taylor said: "You have grand marches, you have meetings all over the country which show support and what do you do next? You have the same marches all over again, and you have the same meetings all over again, and you carry the same

resolutions, and what do you do next? And there comes a time when people say, 'We've done this' and the whole thing fades away because they couldn't think of how to do it any more."

The answer to the question "What can I do about it?" has got to become "Whatever you're good at, whatever you enjoy, there's a place for you." This should be our prime objective, to create space, to create opportunities, so that interest can turn to enthusiasm. We need to show that the idea of a simple "protest movement" is outdated.

Instead of shouting "Jobs, not Bombs" we should start trying to set up small businesses and co-operatives. Instead of worrying over sparse attendance at business meetings, we should establish social centres where people can gather of their own accord, and ideas can arise spontaneously. Instead of merely campaigning against the bomb, we should be creating a society based on principles and ideals where there is simply no room and no time for such things as atomic weapons.

When that starts to happen, then we are on the way to success. For, in the end "the concern with nuclear weapons, and with 'peace', will become swallowed up or integrated within a larger movement to transform the conditions of our lives and to build a nuclear-free society." (Bob Overly). The green view of society offers that sort of practical strategy, whereby individuals and small groups can work towards creating a peaceful society, starting from where they are, with what they have.



NON VIOLENT DIRECT ACTION

One particular strategy we need to develop if we are to achieve this sort of peaceful society is the use of non-violent direct action (NVDA). At the 1981 CND annual conference, a resolution was overwhelmingly carried which endorsed the use of "considered NVDA in pursuit of the British campaign," and this now plays an important part in CND's plans.

NVDA is a term that has come into use relatively recently. Basically, what it means is the direct intervention in a situation by people using non-violent methods. It involves a personal commitment by these people, a first-hand, direct action rather than a second-hand, indirect use of MP's, councillors or the legal system. It may be legal or illegal.

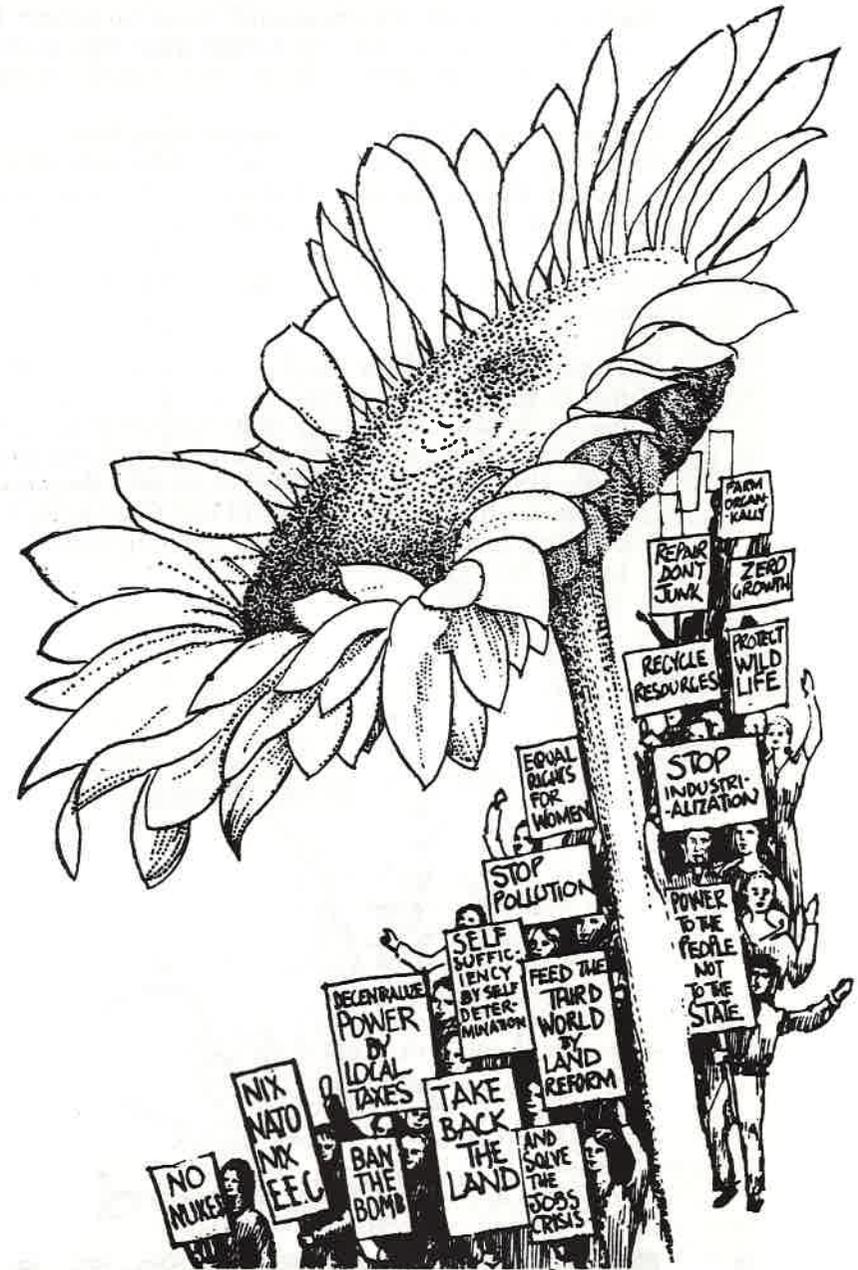
The methods of NVDA fall roughly into three categories. Firstly, there is the aim to protest and persuade. Events such as street theatre, film shows and petitions are a way of persuading people to a point of view.

Secondly, there is non co-operation. Strikes and go-slows are the most obvious examples, but economic boycotts, tax or rent refusal are other ideas that are used.

Non co-operation was used very effectively in Larzac in France, where peasant farmers didn't want to lose their land and livelihood so that the army could extend its military camp. The farmers refused to pay war taxes, but collected the money themselves and used it for non-violent productive use. They "grazed" their sheep under the Eiffel Tower, to gain sympathy and publicity. They built a collective sheep pen, which they needed. They did not need a military camp on their land. This peaceful campaign won the support of the French people, which it probably would not have done if the farmers had used violence.

Thirdly, there is non-violent direct intervention, for example, using sit-ins, occupations and blockades. The emphasis is very much on non-violence. The Peace Camps that have sprung up outside some of the nuclear bases in this country are an inspiring example of the potential within the peace movement to achieve their ends through a range of diverse, yet complementary, strategies. In particular, the Women's Camp at Greenham Common has begun to inspire and motivate people in a way that has never happened before, as witnessed by the 30,000 women who took part in the 'Embrace the Base' demonstration in December 1982.

The last point to be made about non-violent action is that it concerns the use of power. We usually think of power as something exerted by the Government,



something that ordinary men and women don't have. Non-violent direct action is based on the assumption that the balance of power can change. If people refuse to be victims of someone else's power and withdraw their support, then the "powerful" have no power. In the end, it is the people who decide what they want, or, in the case of the Cruise missile, what they do *not* want.

The way in which the Greens in Germany have succeeded in mobilising support for their very different style of politics should serve as a powerful inspiration to both the peace movement and the green movement in this country. In an interview in *Der Spiegel*, Petra Kelly, former spokesperson of the Greens, explained their attitude:—

"Non-violence doesn't just mean no violence; it means the setting up of a positive force for a non-hierarchical society. As civil disobedience and non-violent resistance develop on a local and regional basis, the more citizens will start to take their own initiatives and set up models of self-government, bringing us all nearer to a truly democratised society."



THE SPIRIT OF PEACE



A true understanding of non-violence is all-important if the peace movement is to succeed. Nuclear weapons and nuclear power stations symbolise everything that has gone wrong with our philosophy, our society and our politics — they are the culmination of the politics of industrialism. The post-industrial path must be a path that leads us away, individually and collectively, from the violence they imply, and leads instead to their polar opposite of non-violence.

In his book "From Hiroshima to Harrisburg" Jim Garrison defines non-violence as "the reconnection each one of us feels between his or her individual life and the *source* of all life." He avoids using the word 'religion', although in a literal sense, religion means exactly that kind of 're-connection'.

The need for "spiritual enlightenment" is greater now than it has ever been. The concept of an exclusively materialistic form of progress has quite rightly taken something of a hammering over the years! It is significant just how many people, in both the peace movement and the green movement, continue to derive spiritual inspiration from the example of Jesus of Nazareth, Mahatma Gandhi, Martin Luther King and other great non-violent revolutionaries; the greatest of all models of behaviour — "to love your neighbour as you love yourself" — means never to see yourself as isolated from others, but as inseparably connected to them. This connection between one's own liberation and that of others is the bedrock of non-violence.

"Non-violent resistance proceeds upon the basis that truth, spirit — God, if you will — dwells in every person... It is an attempt to appeal to that truth, that spirit, that better nature, no matter how crusted over with mistaken ideas and habits. It assumes a sort of spiritual democracy of mankind." (Richard Gregg "The Power of Nonviolence.")

The philosophy that lies behind this is the very opposite of our own contemporary outlook. For ours is a society that apparently thrives on divisions: East and West, North and South, mind and body, them and us, black and white, winners and losers. By choosing to live the way we do, we have ensured that the wholeness of each individual is lost beneath the divisive pressure of industrialism, just as the interdependence of all living creatures is constantly disregarded, and the oneness of all humanity deliberately denied through a narrow-minded obsession with "national sovereignty".

It is the wisdom of ecology that has begun to re-instruct us about the crucial importance of "holism", or the inter-relatedness of all life on earth. Our respect for Humanity should be inseparable from our respect for the Earth. And whilst politicians may assert the supremacy of the nation state, the fact is that we are all caught up in an increasingly fine mesh of global interdependence.

Which still leaves the problem of the "reconnection" of each of us with the source of all life. We should not glibly pass over the spiritual vacuum in which we presently find ourselves, for ultimately it is in our potential for spiritual awareness that our hope must lie.

CONCLUSION



PEACE AND ECOLOGY

Many of you reading this pamphlet may indeed be used to thinking about them as two totally separate notions. But we believe that the future quite literally depends upon bringing the two of them together: peace through ecology. Green Peace.

To understand the overwhelming importance of this connection is to undermine many of the comfortable illusions of conventional politics today. That's what Green CND is all about.

As we have said, nuclear weapons are a symptom rather than a cause of the disease that grips our society. That is why, alarmed though we all may be by nuclear weapons, we must not give way to the temptation to treat them as the root cause of the problems we face. To put it bluntly: say we *do* win this campaign, what awaits us then? Chemical or biological warfare? Laser

weapons? War in space? Or a change of government and a return to nuclear weapons?

The present world crisis is the result of 5,000 years of domination by oppressive, exploitative, hierarchical and militaristic forces. Among the instruments of this domination have been weapons of ever greater 'sophistication', a vision of progress which destroys the planet, enslaves and degrades human minds and bodies; economic and political systems geared solely to the satisfaction of human greed and the hunger for power; and all the soul destroying paraphernalia of urban living.

Many people throughout the world are realising that the only answer to this crisis is not to try to persuade the ruling powers to give up their authority and change their methods, but to build a new world from the grassroots, geared to peace, freedom, justice and the satisfaction of human needs.

This new world must be based on radically different laws and standards from those which have caused so much misery and destruction; on harmony and mutual aid between human beings, and with the natural environment; on recognition of a duty to conserve, rather than exploit; on compassion towards all forms of life. New technologies must be evolved, based not on vast concentrations of wealth and destructive capability, but on respect for and understanding of the energy and potential within human beings.

The new world must evolve out of the old. But if it is to be built on the foundations of the old, rather than arise out of its ashes, then we must learn again to take power over our own lives, rather than transferring it from one set of leaders to another. To achieve this, we need a new movement, a new approach to politics which dares to lay the emphasis on a very different kind of progress.

In his book, "Person/Planet", Theodore Roszak draws out the links between the "environmental anguish of the Earth" and the need for a radical transformation of human identity: "the needs of the planet and the needs of the person have become one, and together they have begun to act upon the central institutions of our society with a force that is profoundly subversive, but which carries within it the promise of cultural renewal."

Without lasting peace, visions of a sustainable and harmonious balance between humanity and our planet are mere pipe-dreams. But peace itself is a forlorn hope if we cannot simultaneously achieve that balance. Unilateral nuclear disarmament is desperately important, but it is only the first faltering step along the difficult road to lasting green peace.



USEFUL ADDRESSES

Civil Liberties and Peace Organisations

Amnesty International, Tower House, 8-14 Southampton Street, London WC2E 7HF.
Campaign Against the Arms Trade, (CAAT) 5 Caledonian Road, London N1 9DX.
National Council for Civil Liberties, (NCCL) 186 King's Cross Road, London WC1.
War Resisters International, (WRI) 55 Dawes Street, London SE17

Other Ecological Movements

Ecology Party, 36-38 Clapham Road, London SW9 0JQ.
Friends of the Earth, (FOE) 377 City Road, London EC1.
Green Gathering Collective, 4 Bridge Street, St. Ives, Huntingdon,
Cambs.
Green Peace, 36 Graham Street, London N1 8LL.
Liberal Ecology Group, — John Bates — 28 Sims Close, Romford,
Essex.
Socialist Environmental Research Association, (SERA) 9 Poland
Street, London W1V 3DG.
Survival International, 36 Craven Street, London WC2N 5NG.
Women For Life on Earth, (WFLOE) 2 St. Edmunds Cottages, Bove
Town, Glastonbury, Somerset BA6 8JD.

Films for Peace and Social Justice

Concord Film Council, 201 Felixstowe Road, Ipswich, Suffolk, IP3
9BJ.



Green CND is a specialist section of CND which aims to build links
with the wider Green movement.

The following are some of the books and pamphlets which offer a
wider insight into the Green movement.

Background is supplied by:

Person/Planet, Theodore Roszak (Granada)

Turning Point, Fritjof Capra (Fontana)

Small is Beautiful, Fritz Schumacher (Abacus)

The socialist perspective is given in:

Ecology as Politics, Andre Gorz (Pluto Press)

Socialism and Ecology, Raymond Williams (SERA)

The anarchist approach is found in:

Ecology of Freedom, Murray Bookchin (Prism Press)

Towards an Ecological Society, (Black Rose/Housmans)

From the German Movement, and available in English, are:

Socialism and Survival, Rudolf Bahro (Heretic Books) — a collection
of speeches and articles.

Peace Manifesto, Die Grünen (Housmans)

Green economics, philosophy and theology are considered in:

The Sane Alternative, James Robertson

Eco-Philosophy, Henryk Skolimowski (Boyars)

God's Green World, Christian Ecology Group

A comprehensive and concise interpretation of the meaning of
'green' and its application on both the domestic and global scale is
found in **Politics For Life**, Ecology Party.

Among magazines exploring the green dimension are:

Green Line, **Green Drum**, **Resurgence**, **The Ecologist**, **Undercurrents**,
and **Peace News**. The eco-feminist network, Women for Life on Earth,
has its own newsletter.

EMBRACE the EARTH



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