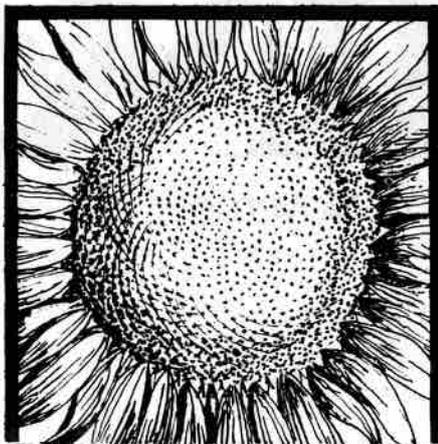


# GREEN LINE

Magazine of the green movement. No.7. November '82. 30p.



## DEFENCE SPECIAL



## GREEN LINE No.7 November 1982

TO BE SURE of getting Green Line regularly on publication, why not subscribe? Use the form at the foot of this page.

But why make do with just one copy when your friends - and people at work and at meetings - would like to buy their own? Buy copies from us in bulk (that's 10 or more) at only 20p each, and keep the profit when you sell them all. (Reading Eco street-sold the last issue over four successive Saturdays and got through nearly 50 copies, so there's a lesson there somewhere!)

Green Line really is something new in the political media, and readers are quick to recognise it! You can often get your local bookshops and wholefood shops to take copies too.

While you're at it, make sure you enclose leaflets about local green activities in each copy you sell (maybe you could use the profit to duplicate a local green newsletter to enclose in Green Line each month?).

Write to us (c.w.o. please) with your first order!

Reprints of the extract of the Die Grünen 'Peace Manifesto' published in this issue of GL, and of David Taylor's article from Catalyst, 'Looking at the Bomb through Green-Coloured Spectacles', are available in leaflet form. They are the first of a series of leaflets outlining green perspectives on a wide range of issues. 10 or more are 5p each post free (200 or more 4p each).

The leaflets can be used by any group: they carry only the Green Line imprint.

# THE ECOLOGIST

*Journal of the Post Industrial Age*

THE ECOLOGIST is published six times a year. It contains articles on the major environmental problems facing the world today, together with in-depth appraisals of the fundamental, social, economic and philosophical changes required for a stable future.

THE ECOLOGIST has over the years published many notable issues, including 'A Blueprint for Survival' (1972), which has since been re-published in sixteen languages; 'India, the Relevance of Gandhi' (1975); 'The Future of America' (1977) and 'Nuclear Energy, the real cost' (1981, CSENE Report).

We at THE ECOLOGIST hope that you might like to see a sample issue (sent on request).

The Ecologist, Worthyvale Manor Farm,  
Camelford, Cornwall, PL32 9TT, U.K.

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WE SOLD OUT of GL 5 (we printed 930), so we ordered 1,000 of GL 6 and sold out of that too. We would very much welcome returns of unsold copies of either of these issues from bulk sellers: we will credit the cost of them, and your return postage, against your next order, so you will not lose!

DEADLINES: the next Green Line (8) is scheduled for December 1st, and will be dated December/January. Deadline is November 12. Issue 9 will appear on February 1st (deadline January 14), and we'll be monthly again thereafter. Keep your articles, letters, ideas and orders rolling in. Green Line is what you make it...

THE GREEN DECLARATION is at last available for circulation and signing. The full text was printed on the back cover of GL5.

The Declaration grew from the desire of a number of people at the Green Gathering this year to set down what they saw as the essence of the green perspective. It has no 'authority' beyond the endorsement of those who sign it. Nor is it a petition. It is an act of solidarity and an act of intent. "The green movement," the Declaration begins, "consists of people coming together to create a world in which the quality of life is more important than the standard of living. The strength of nature is in her diversity and flexibility in the face of changing conditions. People who recognise and strive for nature's balance are green people." It concludes: "The interlinked principles of ecology, co-operation, nonviolence, feminism, direct democracy, social justice and personal development form the bedrock of the green movement. We call on those who know and acknowledge these principles to forge new bonds and to develop a new means of working together that will allow us to build a more balanced society - a society that does not threaten the world."

The Declaration is available from Green Line with space for people to sign (there is space for 30 names on each sheet). Please enclose a stamped addressed label with your request, plus one 12½p stamp for every 8 sheets ordered. Extra donations to help us publicise and distribute the Declaration more widely are of course very welcome.

The Declaration's progress will be reported regularly in Green Line.

GREEN LINE needs someone to handle advertising. We are offering the right person a small budget for postage and phone calls, and a commission on the resultant ads. Please write to us straightaway describing your experience and enthusiasm, as we'd like to get this going as quickly as possible!

# RED AND GREEN IN EUROPE

"EVERY GOOD movement passes through five stages; indifference, ridicule, abuse, repression and respect. ... Every movement that survives repression, mild or severe, invariably commands respect which is another name for success." - Mahatma Gandhi.

On September 26 Die Grünen won 8% of the vote in the Hesse state elections, replacing the Free Democrats as the third party and moving into a pivotal role in deciding the government. But success has also brought them abuse and misrepresentation. Prior to the elections the Hesse state premier Holger Börner (SPD), dismissed possibilities of a coalition with Die Grünen saying, "A political group which has declared war on parliamentary principles has learnt nothing from history, but is close to fascism."

At the same time a documentary discrediting Die Grünen was screened nationwide, and as the October 10 elections in Bavaria approached the Roman Catholic Church joined in the defamation. In Hesse the effect was minor, but in conservative Bavaria Die Grünen only won 4.4%, failing to top the 5% hurdle needed to get into parliament.

Die Grünen must demonstrate that the accusations have no basis, and make it clear before the March 6 National Elections why they feel parliament is irrelevant to the real needs of the people, and why 'grassroots' democracy is the only way forward. No doubt the ideas are there in Die Grünen, and with experience gained in 6 of the 10 state parliaments and numerous local councils a realistic strategy is possible.

The two Belgian green parties, Agalev (Flemish) and Ecolo (French), contested the local council elections on October 10 mainly on democracy issues. They won 120

seats in 69 of the 162 councils they stood for. Their main demands included a popular referendum on fundamental issues, more power to parish and 'quartier' councils, council control of inter-community electricity, gas and water supply companies, and no political favouritism in local government employment.

In at least six councils Belgian greens now hold the balance of power and are refusing to join any coalition unless their main demands are met. The greens feel they have to be seen to be able to change a council's policy on major issues. In Liege, where Ecolo won 6 seats, a coalition is possible with the socialists, communists and Walloon nationalists. Already the socialists, who have governed since 1976, have indicated that they will postpone plans to 'buy' electricity generated by nuclear power until the 1988 elections. The referendum and parish council demands are also likely to be accepted.

In Hamburg, SPD attempts to form a coalition with the Green Alternative List have failed on housing problems. In a city where the usual 'housing for profit not need' dictates the law, the greens have supported the squatters, as in Berlin, to the point of being arrested themselves. Unable to form a majority on its own, the SPD group has called fresh elections at the end of this year, hoping that the greens will lose their seats.

Hamburg will become a test for all greens as to whether unyielding demands for basic human rights and survival are more important to people than the short-term facade of political and economic stability at the centre. The question of what is compromise and what is constructive cooperation is now crucial to them. Colleagues outside Germany are concerned that

avoiding the issue could damage Die Grünen. Ria Beckers, leader of the Dutch Radical Party's parliamentary group, believes that if they don't make it clear why they don't cooperate, "they may lose much of the sympathy to their cause."

Since 1970 the Dutch Radical Party (PPR) has been involved in a number of 'progressive agreements' with the main socialist party (PvdA) and the Pacifist Socialist Party (PSP) including a position once in a left coalition national government. But the relationships have been fraught with difficulties over policies and personalities. As the PvdA moved further right and PPR towards green and 'left socialist' ideas, the possibilities for cooperation became harder. In the recent election PvdA tried to win enough seats to have a majority and used the media to tell voters that voting for small left parties like PPR and PSP was a waste.

Campaigning with diluted 'small left' policies, PvdA increased its seats but didn't have a majority - so looked right for partners. But the centre and right parties had enough seats on their own to try and form the next government. While PSP with 2.27% retained their 3 seats in parliament, the PPR with 1.65% lost their third parliamentary seat. Despite a PPR public meeting in Nijmegen at which Jonathon Porritt (Ecology Party), Ludo Dierickx (Agalev), and Petra Kelly spoke, the PPR was unable to build on the green successes elsewhere.

PvdA adopted in part various PPR policies such as a reduced working week and a basic income scheme, on which PPR had already produced realistic financial calculations. However, with a reduced parliamentary group, the PPR can no longer afford to develop new ideas and then lose them to PvdA in a diluted form.

The PPR has a programme to divert



government economic aid away from the large factories towards small companies producing durable and repairable goods. The emphasis is also on 'person and environment friendly' companies, that when stimulated would give equal opportunities for meaningful work to more people. Ria Beckers believes that in 1983 local PPR support for such companies will be vitally important for the future. In provincial elections earlier this year PPR increased its representation from 8 to 15. Green and radical parliamentarians agree with their 'grassroots' that more changes are possible, and more effective at local level as the 'vision' is clearer to people. Ludo Dierickx, leader of the four Agalev/Ecolo parliamentarians, sees parliament as one of the few places where greens can put forward well thought-out proposals or support concrete alternatives without misrepresentation, and can command attention or even respect. But he feels "it would be a catastrophe if the party members waited to see what happens there" and "abandoned the more important extra-parliamentary actions."

Both the SPD and the PvdA have accused Die Grünen and PPR respectively of economic naivete, especially regarding growth and employment. Yet not only does PPR have an economic strategy that goes further than any traditional socialist party in addressing social, economic as well as ideological problems, but they also know through their exchange of ideas that Die Grünen is already developing a similar strategy. In March 1983 Die Grünen may be in a position to point to the flaws in the SPD's programme!

Already Rudolf Bahro has challenged the limited goal of traditional socialism which he feels has not stopped "to criticise the origins and consequences of industrialism". For many of the electorate socialism hasn't developed, and it is the greens who have begun to address themselves to the more fundamental concerns by opposing all forms of exploitation and control.

In his contribution to the symposium 'Exterminism and Cold War', Bahro writes: "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."

It remains to be seen how far the SPD moves towards Die Grünen and with how much conviction. Left-wing leader Willy Brandt's campaign to form an alliance with them will find support among the 58 anti-nuclear SPD deputies, but the voters may already distrust the SPD enough to want green deputies in the Bundestag to put the issues of Life into the forefront.

Elsewhere there is growing support for a number of small 'left socialist' parties who have already achieved a 'radical change'. PSP in Holland was formed in 1957 with a strong emphasis on pacifism. Their own brand of socialism is anti-authoritarian, in favour of local democratic power, human rights, self-determination for developing countries, and fairly ecological. In at least four other countries PSP has sister parties which it feels similar to, and they are trying to bring together a loose 'alliance' of parties with a 'left-socialist-radical' perspective for the European elections of 1984, and get enough representation in the Parliament to press for a strong opposition to the Right. At the moment the Left fraction is divided three ways and very ineffective, especially when the largest socialist group is more centrist than left.

The alliance envisaged would bring together 'left socialists', non-Leninist communists, progressive nationalists, and the greens. Potentially there are many areas of almost unanimous agreement - such as militarism, decentralisation, third world development, nuclear power, and economic growth. But differences in strategy, priorities and basic ideology make for objections to cooperation on both sides.

PSP and PPR both have groups within them who favour a joint list in the European elections; but there is opposition to such an idea despite the need to get over 4% for one MEP. Ria Beckers feels that PPR must be realistic and realise that PvdA is the basis of any united opposition to a Christian Democrat-Liberal coalition in Holland. But it will need the

combined demands of the PPR and PSP to keep it going in a radical direction.

A few other 'left socialist' and green parties favour cooperation. Already there are two distinctly red-green parties in Europe: the Socialist People's Parties in Norway (SV - 5% and 4 MPs) and in Denmark (SF - 11.8%, 21 MPs and 1 MEP). Their programmes are a development of radical socialism towards ecological ideas, but they are among the parties who strongly question red/green alliances. The problem is that while most left socialist parties are open to ecological ideas and feel that ecology can stand on an equal footing with socialism, they realise that most green parties don't feel the same about socialism. The greens are blinded by too many problems with socialist and other parties using 'green packaging' to win votes, and fail to make a clear distinction between Social Democrats and 'left socialists'.

At a party political level the greens have to recognise that the major part of their aims and ideology is incompatible with anything on the right, and face up to the fact that the best allies are confined to left of centre. In Britain that means greater co-operation with SERA and LEG, and in Europe a loose but planned alliance with the left socialists.

However, the greens have their roots in a much broader political base that encompasses libertarian and anarchist thinking as well as socialism. Ecology arises out of them and goes beyond them. Bahro sees the left socialists as "the forerunners of the greens." They "should sacrifice their existence not tomorrow, but in their own perspective." At the moment "ecology is imprisoned in these parties by outdated socialist theory and priorities. The greens need to work with socialists, libertarians and anarchists, but retain the integrity of their green perspective. It is only at the level of concrete issues, at the level of local community decision making, that greens can meet them as people and not as labels in order to cooperate and build together. Alliances must therefore be not party but people and issue based.

Roland Clarke

# FOE compares Eco & Labour jobs policy

FRIENDS OF THE EARTH (BIRMINGHAM) have just published a discussion paper entitled 'Unemployment'.

Here we reprint their summary and assessment of the Alternative Economic Strategy of Labour, and of the Ecology Party's employment policy, together with their own view of the future.

THE ALTERNATIVE Economic Strategy is the policy of the 'Left' (but not the ultra left) in British politics. It is posed as the immediate alternative to the policies of right-wing Labour and the Conservatives, both of which bow to the idea of market forces shaping our economic (and social) destiny.

The A.E.S in summary proposes:

- reflation of the economy to raise output and create more employment
- import controls to protect industries on the verge of collapse and to keep imports in line with what Britain can afford
- price controls to prevent firms from exploiting the sellers' market resulting from import controls and economic expansion

- compulsory planning agreements to force big firms, especially multinationals, to pursue different production, employment and investment policies

- nationalisation of key industrial firms to provide the public sector with the skill and knowledge required to control the private sector - following the example of the British National Oil Corporation (BNOC) set up by Tony Benn

- public ownership of the major financial institutions to give the state control over the investment policies of pension funds and other sources of industrial finance

- new powers for workers and their trade unions to bargain with big companies and monitor their activities

- withdrawal from the Common Market and abrogation of the Treaty of Rome which outlaws many of the above measures

- expansion of the social services to restore the Tory cuts and deal with new problems created by the present crisis

- a reduction in military expenditure to help finance expenditure for other purposes

- redistribution of income and wealth to eliminate some of the gross inequalities in Britain today

This is not 'the Revolution'. It leaves most production in the hands of private firms. However, there is a real shift in control of overall planning and finance. It's the mixed economy still, but with more democratic control. It is linked with a much wider movement for social reform and the breaking up of power and privilege, but this stops short of sectors traditionally outside the unionised working class, such as women working inside and/or outside the home and the under-employed workers in the Third World countries who may be hit by an over-zealous embrace of import controls.

Yet there have been imaginative plans to stimulate both industrialised and developing countries' job pools; as for instance one detailing how an urgent demand for railway

engine parts in Tanzania could have been supplied by a firm in the UK and thereby stopped it going bust. That plan failed through lack of a priming loan from the government. Should a demand for such initiatives with Third World trade be part of a new economic strategy?

Some people see its main use as a focus for opposition to present free-market policies; it spells out clearly a quite different course and gives the opposition self-confidence and credibility.

The Ecology Party's Manifesto runs as follows:

"WORK - THE PROBLEM. Unemployment is the most disturbing symptom of our economic crisis. Growth causes rather than cures unemployment. For growth today means investment in capital-intensive, highly automated industries. The micro-electronic revolution will accelerate this trend in both the manufacturing and service industries. International trade is bound to decline and the industrial state, geared as it is to an import-export economy, just will not be able to provide the jobs.

Many jobs today are irrelevant, repetitive and fragmented - making the wrong sort of goods in the wrong sort of way. Work is seen as a monotonous, soul-destroying means of purchasing leisure. Industrial unrest is inevitable.

ECO POLICIES:

- create the jobs that need the people, adapting technology to a more human scale. Provide jobs with low capital investment developing the skills which will make sense when energy isn't cheap and materials are scarce
- encourage craft industries
- move towards greater self-sufficiency by creating the jobs in areas where we are most dependent on imports - agriculture and forestry, many manufacturing industries, clothing and building materials
- create jobs with an eye to future energy demands, in full-scale insulation and conservation programmes, developing solar panels and other renewable sources



# POLITICS

# FOE TESTS THE WATERS

- encourage employment in all maintenance and repair businesses. Expand the 'recycling' industry. Start cleaning up the mess created by our industrial society

- all of which amounts to creating the kind of labour-intensive work which won't be made redundant by automation and recession

- but that by itself is not enough: the way in which that work is done is also vital:

- arrange financial incentives so that industries become smaller, serving the needs of the local community

- encourage co-ownership schemes and co-operatives making workers responsible to themselves and to the community, involving them fully through consultation and participation in decision-making.

- provide every incentive for small businesses to flourish and become the mainstay of the economy

- make it easier for people to be self-employed rather than subjecting them to bureaucratic persecution. Provide the skilled workers our economy needs, through flexible retraining and apprenticeship schemes

- promote the reduced working week and job-sharing schemes, removing the damagingly sharp distinction between work and leisure. Such a programme, if carried out on a regional basis, yet with a sense of national urgency, would satisfy the four basic criteria of work:

- (1) that it guarantees everyone a reasonable standard of living
- (2) that it be socially useful, goods being made with care and made to last
- (3) that it be environmentally sound, reducing energy and resource depletion and curtailing pollution
- (4) that it be personally satisfying, a natural and rewarding part of our lives. In the long term it would create a diversified, smaller scale, self-sufficient and stable economy - which will save jobs, save energy, and save on the enormous running costs of our industrial society. That, and not growth, is the only way to maintain acceptable living standards in the coming recession."

#### OUR VIEW

The sort of working life envisaged by the Ecology Party is desirable, changes in the directions they propose would mean employment and a pattern of work which supplies basic needs, income and useful activity yet will not destroy the foundations upon which survival depends, namely a healthy social and natural environment.

However, this ideal world has to be developed out of today's situation, which is far from ideal. Being realistic, such measures can only be achieved on the basis of radical economic, social and political change of the magnitude proposed by the AES. In order to make the transition to an economy which is socially and environmentally sound, legislation controlling investment, forcing planning agreements, redistributing the wealth which controls Britain, and such like, will have to be implemented.

Yet whilst the proposals of the AES succeed in identifying the factors which control present economic activity, as a blueprint for the future they are inadequate. Firstly, unlike the Eco Party, this strategy fails to acknowledge the importance of the natural environment to our economic survival. The 'market forces' which the 'right' puts so much reliance on have pushed industrial and agricultural production into environmentally harmful practices which the AES makes no plans for reducing.

Secondly, the AES ignores the danger of the increasing gap in income between 'north' and 'south', rich and poor countries. Import controls can be a factor in worsening this gap for Third World countries affected by them.

Thirdly, both the AES and the Eco Party fall into the fundamental error of assuming the man's eye view. Men have traditionally found their reality, their personal fulfilment, their survival in their job, which is why unemployment becomes so devastating. With this arrangement, all the responsibilities of the home fall to women, who are not meant to need paid work. For women, there has never been full employment this century, and for the AES to presume they can create such is to assume by omission that full paid female employment is not a goal.

The omission hides hundreds of contradictions in how women fit into the job system. Many women are actually over-employed in the sense of doing two jobs; one paid outside the home, and one paid within. The TUC still believes it fights for the family wage. Meanwhile the benefits system suffers under the massive demands made on it; 20% of people in the West Midlands are dependent on benefits according to the latest report from the charity, the Birmingham Settlement, and benefits that are claimed are a fraction of what we are said to be entitled to. On the other hand, the care of old, young or disabled non-earners does not

necessarily fit into the working day. The assumption that women should be financially dependent on men has of course many ramifications.

We need to approach the problem of unemployment from the larger angle of how to care for and sustain all members of society. The question is not simply how much work for what price, but what kind of work is viable in the long term and who for?

Energy is getting expensive yet the move towards energy-intensive modes of production continues; major industrial raw materials like oil, silver, tin and lead are almost depleted, yet still whole industries are set up to use these as if there is an indefinite supply; the area of farm land in the world will be halved by the end of the century yet it is built on, polluted and its productive capacity destroyed all in the name of economic growth.

To quote a leading economist from the left:

"The question of energy, for example, will become increasingly important over the next twenty years, not just for Britain but for the entire world. The life-style to which Western countries are accustomed, and which is now being copied by socialist and developing countries, is extremely wasteful in energy and cannot be sustained much longer. Nuclear power offers no real solution, for it is too costly, too dangerous to be adopted on the massive scale required to provide the world as a whole with the style of life now enjoyed in the West. If the entire world is to achieve some degree of prosperity, and if a severe energy shortage is to be avoided, basic changes in lifestyle and technology are needed. Yet these questions are hardly ever mentioned in the Alternative Strategy, and its plans for economic recovery and growth would lead to a large rise in the use of energy." (Bob Rowthorn).

So whilst we agree there is a desperate need for social equity, the need for ecological awareness is just as great. We want "socialism with a human face and an ecological heart" (Jack Munday, Green Ban Union, Australia).

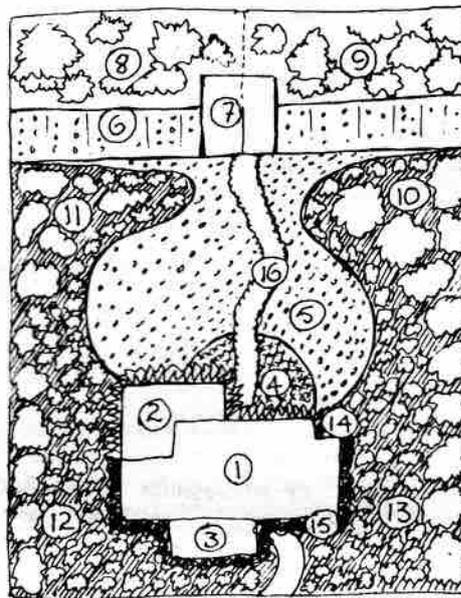
This means we require legislation and controls on economic activity which explicitly protect the whole environment. Requirements for Environmental Impact Analysis of industry, effective pollution legislation, stronger town and country planning regulations, bans on imports from endangered species, from oppressed workers, of

# PERMACULTURE

PERMACULTURE IS the word coined by Australian Bill Mollison to describe a radical approach to agricultural design. It is the conscious use of ecological principles in designing self-sustaining food, fibre and energy producing eco-systems. The overall aim is to produce an efficient, low-maintenance, productive integration of plants, animals, people and structures with the ultimate result of on-site stability and food self-reliance in the smallest practical area.

Present-day agriculture is as great a contributor to the ecological crisis as industry. Modern farms require great amounts of fuel, fertilisers and pesticides derived from fossil fuel. They are specialised and require extensive transportation and processing of food. They cause pollution. Even traditional farming sometimes results in desertification, erosion, and depleted soil. The loss of forest is itself a great threat to ecological balance, affecting rainfall, soil quality, temperature and air.

It is claimed that such farming is necessary to feed the world's population, yet working on permaculture principles we can design a high-yielding system with the



DESIGN FOR 1/4 ACRE BLOCK (PLAN)

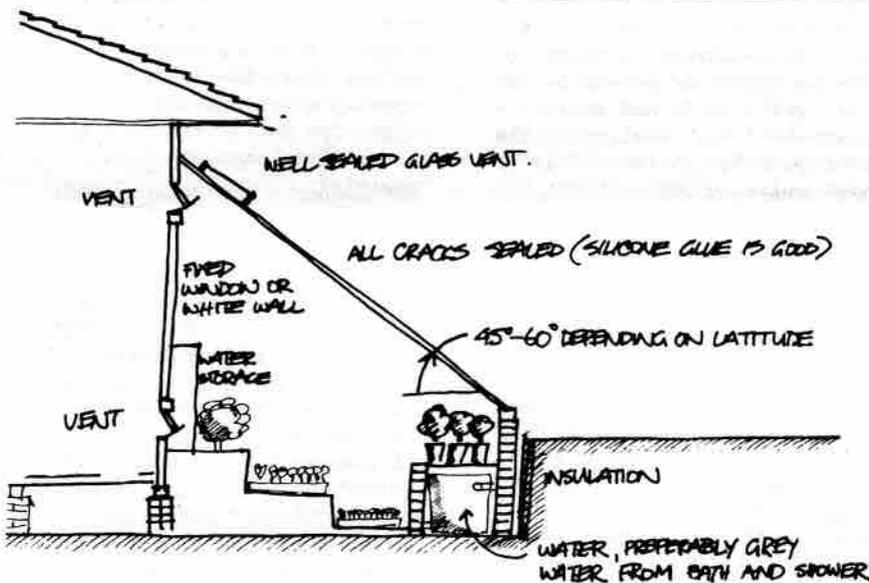
THIS DESIGN shows a careful combination of plant and animal species. Plants needing most attention are nearest the house. Perennials and trees are used extensively. The annual kitchen garden is under mulch.

opposite characteristics. It requires no inputs of fuel or fertiliser from outside; it is based on diversity of species and functions; instead of specialisation it stresses the use of complementary species of plants and animals to increase overall yield. It can be practised

anywhere and on any scale, so food should be grown close to where it is eaten - cutting down on transport and processing. It actually builds soils and can be used for rehabilitating land degraded by pollutants, strip mining or chemical agriculture.

Many of the techniques used by permaculture are not new - e.g. mulching, coppicing, Fukuoka grain growing (requires no ploughing). It uses many ideas from organic farming, biodynamic agriculture, forest farming, etc. What is distinctive is the use of wisdom from peasant systems together with these ideas and with scientific knowledge to integrate many elements into a consciously designed self-sustaining system that closely resembles a natural eco-system (e.g. forest, swamp, permanent pasture).

Once established the system should run without large amounts of human labour or heavy use of machinery. The idea is maximum understanding, minimum interference. The philosophy, says Bill Mollison, is "of work with, rather than against, nature; of protracted and thoughtful observation rather than protracted and thoughtless labour; and of looking at plants and animals in all their functions rather than treating any area as a single product system."



## ESSENTIALS OF THE ATTACHED GLASSHOUSE

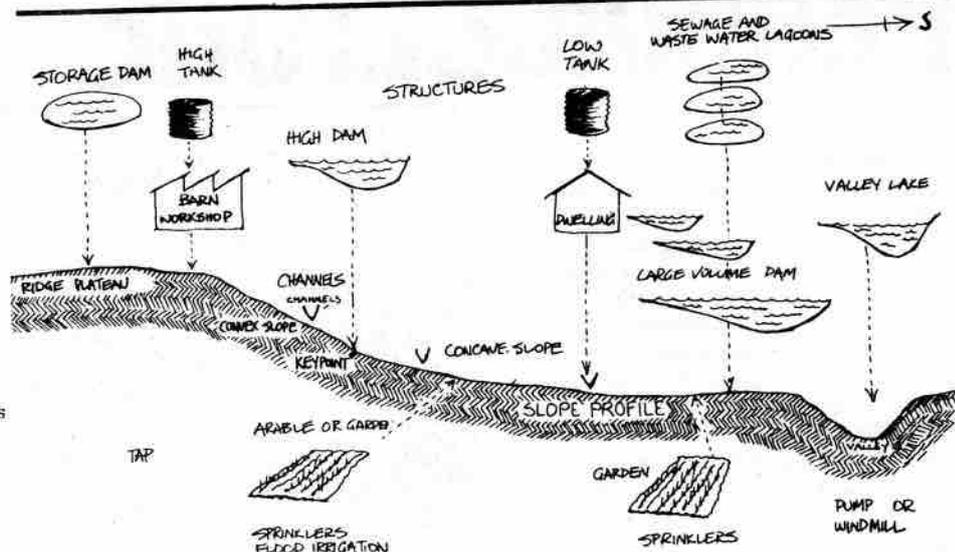
The attached glasshouse in one example of design for multifunctional use. It is used to heat the house and provide food, especially valuable greens in winter. Plants moderate temperature as well as being a food source. The water storage provides extra heat storage additional to the wall and insulated floor. Heat from grey water is used in the glasshouse.

The important points are:

- emphasis on perennial rather than annual plants
- high species diversity often with close planting
- combination of diverse activities (gardening, farming, poultry, trees and shrubs, aquaculture,
- layout minimising walking and transportation
- use of mulch and similar techniques to reduce or eliminate digging or ploughing
- close relationship between land use and climate and natural features and between placing and design of buildings and their functions
- recycling of all materials for fertilisers.

This is all in the political context of building a network of permaculturalists and organic growers with the aim of supplying each other with needs such as tools, seeds, and energy systems. This would eliminate dependence on multinational companies (who now control the seed supply) and on the retail system and the government. For example, a Seed Exchange catalogue has been set up.

There are several permaculture associations in Australia and the US and many thousands of people are using the ideas - in cities, on



IDEAL RELATIONSHIPS OF STRUCTURES AND WATER STORAGES ON SLOPES (FUNCTIONS AND USES)

small plots, and on large estates. Permaculture is only just beginning in Europe. There is an introductory course in Britain in October.



Useful books are: Permaculture 1 (Bill Mollison & David Holmgren, Corgi 1978); and Permaculture 2 (Bill Mollison, being reprinted

here, available from Sylvia Miller, 86(1) Addison Road, London W14 8ED.)

These books are available from Eco-Logic Books, 86 Addison Road, London W 14.

Contacts for more information: Bernard Honey, 5 Market Street, Hay-on-Wye. Or: Penny Strange, 6 Colville Street, Nottingham.

Penny Strange

## GREEN FORTUNES

THE PROGRESS of Green parties is exceedingly volatile. Reasons for this are easy to find: their small membership, that membership is composed of people who are new to politics and hence easily disillusioned, and a high (ironically) degree of geographical mobility among green people.

In New Zealand the Values Party has been greatly damaged by lack of rapid electoral success. It grew extremely rapidly from a discussion in a pub to a party fighting all 93 White (first-past-the-post) constituencies (there are 4 seats for the Maoris who make up 20% of the population). The new party achieved a great deal of national media coverage but following New Zealand political traditions did little leafletting or canvassing. Values achieved a 2% national average; but as the media lost interest it lacked the grassroots infrastructure and membership dropped from 2,000 to 400 (New Zealand has a population of 3m.) Many were burnt out by the election campaign and left to devote their energies to pressure groups or to influence through their jobs - some were quite high in the civil

service. Splits over the left/centre orientation of the party and whether it should become a pressure group took up a lot of energy. At the 1981 election Values only fought a handful of seats. An additional problem for Values has been the growth of the Social Credit party and media coverage of this, paralleling the obscuring of Eco by the SDP in the British media.

### Ireland's New Shade of Green

Generally politics in Ireland is even more outdated than the left/right/centre spectrum, but there is a growing awareness of ecological issues. The Donegal anti-uranium mining campaign and protests against a proposed reactor site at Carnsore Point, Wexford, generated intense national debate, and a high proportion of the population is still connected with the land or fishing. The recently formed Irish Ecology Party is small but growing and is not rushing into fighting elections yet. About 60 people attended its first conference at Glencree, near Dublin, in March, and it was holding its first AGM at the end of October.

The prospects for the young party seem good. Ireland uses propor-

tional representation - the single transferable vote, eliminating the 'wasted vote' worry - but the constituencies are not overly large, generally returning 3 to 8 members. This contrasts, for example, with the French 'list' system, where the local element of representation and the idea of voting for an individual rather than a party are both lost completely.

EcoUK and the Ecology Party of Ireland (EPI) are trying to move together on the Northern Irish policy and some form of joint branch structure will hopefully develop in Northern Ireland. If, due to the single transferable vote system, Eco can achieve electoral success in Ulster (of all places) the media in Britain would be forced to pay PR and green politics more attention. At the moment Eco's membership in Ulster is only 17 - though rising. There will probably be only one Eco candidate in the Northern Ireland Assembly election, but a Belfast press conference on eco-politics in the province is to be held in conjunction with the election campaign.

MALCOLM SAMUEL



# DEFENCE

## Die Grünen.

# SOCIAL DEFENCE

DIE GRÜNEN HAVE RECENTLY PUBLISHED A 'PEACE MANIFESTO'. AT THE ROOT OF THEIR PEACE POLICY ARE NONVIOLENCE AND A RADICAL NEW CONCEPT - 'SOCIAL DEFENCE'.

THE EXTRACT BELOW EXPLAINS WHAT THEY ARE THINKING.

OUR OBJECTIVE is to create among ourselves the pre-conditions for our new road towards a peace which is more than just the absence of war. Our concept of 'Social Defence' provides an alternative to the arms race which is leading to the dead end of self-destruction. Social defence is defence with non-military means against a military attack from within or without. It is built on the basic notion that a people cannot continue to be ruled if it is not prepared to collaborate with the oppressor.

Preparation for such a state of affairs is our most important task. Social defence relies on actions which prevent the opponent from achieving his aim, undermines his ability to fight, and strengthens our own capacity for resistance. It also uses methods such as strikes, boycotts, blockades, the sabotage of installations important for the opponent, influencing the occupying troops, and establishing our own effective communications system.

Social defence against an aggressor can only work if it turns nonviolent forms of resistance into an effective, widely known method practised and accepted by large numbers of people. If it remains the case that such nonviolent techniques are regarded as outlandish and impractical by many people, among them the committed, then in the end it will always come to violent confrontations. Nonviolent methods will be employed only to the extent that they are successfully practised. As Greens we have a decisive responsibility to see this happen.

But we do not condemn those who still decide differently and wish to rely on the protection afforded by the existing military; nor the many workers in the arms industry who are beset with doubts. Most citizens do not yet realise that the renunciation of the production, installation and use of weapons of mass destruction would not leave us defenceless. They believe instead that by handing our security interests over to the military we have given ourselves a defence capability. However, we will not fall into the contradiction of using hatred and force to induce the population to renounce the use of force. Since a nonviolent politics can only be put into practice if it is accepted by a large proportion of the population, we must take care of the people's need for security.

The Greens' basic demand, the abolition of the whole apparatus of force, implies the task of identifying concrete steps for dismantling the existing apparatus of force. Calculated disarmament measures in the field of conventional weapons would also be an important step in this direction. The urgent steps on our road to achieving a nonviolent social defence are:

- (1) a nuclear-, biological- and chemical weapons-free zone in eastern and western Europe.
- (2) the removal of weapons systems which are plainly designed for attack. This demand is also envisaged as a measure for building trust. We must show every actual or potential aggressor that West Germany will not initiate an offensive war, and indeed cannot.

Thereafter we must take further steps towards total disarmament, with the complete dissolution of the federal armed forces and the whole military apparatus.

The Green formula is: reduce military arms and increase the capacity for social defence. This capacity has already been tested in actual conflicts in which the technique of nonviolent resistance has been learnt (struggle against nuclear plants and other large industrial plants, environmental destruction, military practice ranges, NATO 're-'armament, etc.)

The Greens start from the position that West Germany cannot be defended, given the conditions of the nuclear age. Peace researchers

and military experts warn that in the event of a war everything we try to defend will be destroyed.

The transitional period during the reduction of military potential and the construction of social defence is not without risks, especially if a military attack on West Germany took place during this period and the population was not extensively prepared for social defence. In such a case the federal army cannot and must not be used, as this would be an escalation on the path to destruction.

Therefore we seek to discuss with the military the concept of social defence, and we demand a public discussion of the concept, of the interim steps towards complete disarmament, and of the problems of the transition. In this connection there is already public discussion taking place over social defence in relation to the various military concepts which have been put forward within the peace movement as alternatives to the present arms politics (the 'defence army', 'territorial defence', 'the struggle against hierarchical army structures').

This discussion should be organised as part of an ongoing learning process.

The first, unilateral steps of disarmament, and liberation from the logic of 'blocs', open the way to our real objective: people living together nonviolently. The means and the end cannot however be seen in isolation but in relation to one another, and they must accord together. It is a misunderstanding to equate 'nonviolent' with 'passive' or 'legal' (and therefore ineffectual). We are not bothered by those representatives of state power who like to describe illegal nonviolent actions as "violence in disguise".

Nonviolent action is a means of struggle against existing and threatening forms of direct or institutional violence. It is not only an answer to the question "What do we do if the Russians come?" - but also to the increasingly topical question "What do we do if the Americans stay?" (and install new weapons of mass destruction here against our will.)

\*\* This translation of part of the Die Grünen Peace Manifesto is available as a Green Line leaflet (price 5p each post free, minimum 10 leaflets).

# PACIFISM OR PRAGMATISM

THE GREEN MOVEMENT IS A BROADER CHURCH THAN MANY REALISE. PEOPLE DIFFER IN THEIR UNDERSTANDING OF WHAT THE UNDERLYING PRINCIPLES OF THE GREEN APPROACH ARE, AND OF HOW THEY ARE TO BE APPLIED.

PETER MUTTON ARGUES THAT PACIFISM POSES A REAL THREAT TO THE GREEN MOVEMENT - AND TO WORLD PEACE.

To some people, pacifism is a very admirable attitude. The idea that, whatever the provocation, the pacifist will not react violently may be seen to reflect a strength of will-power, tolerance, and understanding. That I believe is a very naive impression and a deeper insight into the subject reveals this to be so.

If everybody in the world were pacifists, then that would be fine; but not everybody is. Instead there are tyrants, thugs, and people crazy for power who are quite prepared to kill to get it. If we look at pacifism in relation to foreign policy it is easy to see how dangerous it is to adopt pacifist responses to the acts of these evil people.

Let us suppose a repressive foreign power has invaded another country. The pacifist response would not be to fight to defend their country but to negotiate, to try to tell the aggressor that the invasion was wrong and to try to persuade them to withdraw. In practice the aggressor knows the invasion was wrong but felt he could get away with it, a fact which the pacifist response confirms. The subjugation of the people is not in spite of the pacifist attitude, it is because of it. Pacifism therefore becomes repression by default. The pacifist is OK though: he feels he can justify his position on moral grounds. It's those selfish sociological attitudes again!

The parallels with the Falkland Islands dispute are inescapable. The result of the use of force is three-fold. Firstly, the Falklanders have had their freedom restored; secondly, the Argentinian regime has been weakened and the flame of democracy in that country has consequently been re-kindled; and thirdly, any other potential aggressor will now think twice before taking on Britain and her

allies.

Compare that with what would have happened if Britain had taken the pacifist line and followed the advice given in Eco's dreadful press release. Let us be quite clear, it was the lack of any credible defence of the Falklands (a pacifist posturing) by the British Government which suggested to the Argentinian Government that they would be able to get away with their act of aggression. Britain's pacifist posturing was therefore a major causative factor of the war.

If we value our freedom, if we value our country and our political philosophy, we must be prepared to fight for it. Fighting to defend what is yours does not start wars; fighting to obtain what is not yours does. Peace in this world will only ever be possible if the potential aggressor learns that it simply isn't worth it. It will be achieved by deterrent, not by giving aggressors carte blanche to invade. If we really want peace in this world, pacifism isn't the answer. Pacifism causes war.

The Green movement is all about the future, its prime aim being to help create a sustainable future for this planet where man can live in peace with man and in harmony with his environment. The task ahead is not an easy one. It will however be quite impossible if, just as we have begun to show that such a future is indeed possible, we allow reactionary aggressors to destroy all that we have achieved and believe in. No, we must show other nations that we mean to defend what we believe in. We must show them that we do not covet what is not ours and that therefore we pose no threat to them. We must show them that our way of life and our beliefs have a lot to offer, and by way of rational argument, example and positive assistance encourage them to follow us out of a past of selfishness and war and into a future of cooperation and peace.



# SOCIAL DEFENCE FOR CHANGE

THE MENTALITY of defence must change. Violence in its broadest sense and war are so central to our personal and political relationships that it is difficult to imagine an effective and nonviolent means of resolving human conflict. Nuclear weapons have exposed a deep-rooted social sickness, and as the logical expression of that sickness they have caused many of us to radically challenge the assumptions that lie at the heart of our so-called 'civilisation'.

The bomb has however made conventional war less likely in the industrialised North, not least because we are terrified at the probability of escalation. Even if this were not so, our economies are so entwined as to make the collapse of one disastrous for the others. 'Stability' has become a key word in the industrialised world: the dominant institutions of the North will go to great lengths to protect their fragile economies from the forces of instability.

Despite the unlikelihood of a conventional war in the North, military budgets continue to increase. It's the oldest trick in the book: divert people's attention away from troubles at home by talk of a threat from abroad, before we can turn our attention to defending that which really is threatened.

Economic and environmental defence, the protection of minority rights and counter-cultural values - in short, Social Defence - should be the focus of our thinking, not territorial control or the reinforcement of nation states. Social Defence is consistent with the values implied by those things we seek to defend. As a collective and community-based means of organising, it enables us to pose a real challenge to the centralised hierarchies who might otherwise seek to impose their social

customs, economic oppressions and environmental degradation on us. Unlike the high technology approach of most modern forms of military defence, it does not require large sums of money to succeed, nor does it damage and pollute the environment. Just as economic growth and militarism are international, so must Social Defence be. Violence in society begins with the individual and with her/his attitude towards other people. It is here, therefore, that Social Defence begins - by confronting dominant power relationships and enabling people (especially women) to have a more equal say in collective decision taking. It is this empowerment that is crucial in giving us the moral authority to cope with aggressive behaviour.

Social Defence leans heavily on the knowledge and skills that have been learnt in the nonviolent direct action movement. We've learnt that both personal responsibility and collective structures are needed to make hierarchies unnecessary. To communicate our message we use marches, fasts, theatre, blockades, strikes, and occupations.

Some trade unionists are among those most experienced in certain Social Defence techniques, and the approach could find much support in the labour movement. In Social Defence those who are economically exploited are allied with minorities who are discriminated against, and with those who defend the environment. Together they could muster a depth of understanding and a broad range of experience sufficient, as Rudolf Bahro says, "to disconnect the motor of monopoly competition" and economic growth. Social Defence is a key that can help unlock the door presently dividing the interests of radicals in the labour movement and those of us in the green movement.

However, Social Defence could not ever directly stop the tanks from rolling. Initially it should be viewed as part of a national defence policy only in conjunction with some conventional military forms of violent defence. Uniquely, though, Social Defence is internationalist, nonviolent, and non-exploitative both of people and of the planet. It is therefore ideally suited as a Green contribution to the defence and disarmament debate.

David Taylor

# C.N.D. DEAF TO THE GREENS

"FRIENDS OF the Earth is not part of the peace movement" - member of CND National Executive Committee.

"It's about time people in CND stopped being politically naive... The Labour Party is the only hope for disarmament in this country" - a different member of the National Executive Committee.

Me: "Would you like a Greens Are Gathering badge?" "Oh no, I'm a member of the Labour Party." "But you're in SERA (Socialist Environment and Resources Assoc.), aren't you?" "Oh yes, so I am, all right then." - National Council member.

CND National Council discussion on speakers for Conference rally: Green CND representative diffidently, "Green CND could suggest a speaker, if you like." (We've yet to be represented at a major event.) Very well-known National Council member: "Before this gets any more ridiculous, I move next business." He said later that he didn't quite mean it like that, but as I had to point out it was a bit unfortunate.

"The Ecology Party? Political? You must be joking!" - well-known local CND member sarcastically to me at my first local group meeting.

When I stood for CND National Council last year, I said that I thought togetherness within the campaign was absolutely necessary if we were to have real strength. I was elected and, to everyone's surprise, came high up in the poll. Many candidates said how important they thought a broadly based, non-sectarian campaign was, but often the rest of their statement belied this. I've heard the sentiment trotted out many times since, much as certain government ministers keep assuring us that they believe

in peace and freedom.

Well, after a year of trying to work together, as patiently as I am able, I do see signs that maybe the Greens on National Council might be getting somewhere with some people. But it's a strain and not pleasant to be so often on the defensive and to have to keep reminding people that you exist. I'm sure some of you are saying, "Why should it matter? Why don't you just get on with the campaign?" It matters a great deal.

We Greens were and are honestly appalled and dispirited at the blinkered narrow-mindedness of some in CND and, most important, their ignorance of a whole movement despite its parallels with Die Grünen. What disturbs us is that they do not appear to appreciate its relevance to their cause and can therefore honestly say that to them "FoE is not part of the peace movement." For a Green the view of peace which that assertion suggests is quite frighteningly short-sighted, and I could only gape at the person who said it - the whole debate was too big for the few minutes available.

The Anti-Nuclear Campaign gets a similar reception; the resolution on Sizewell did not come high enough in the National Council ballot to get an assured slot at Conference, but Green CND has managed to get CND to want representation at the Inquiry.

So we tread warily, very conscious that our function is not to go into CND with any idea of pushing political propaganda or telling them that 'there is no alternative to ours'. But paradoxically we are forced into a position of stating our case in order to preserve our identity, to show to the outside world that CND is open to many persuasions; and to point out to CND that it is one part of a movement for peace. It would be healthier if CND were to acknowledge that there are many who are doing and thinking things in their own way and are at least equally important in the struggle for disarmament.

To quote Paul Nicholls reviewing Bahro's "Socialism and Survival" for Sanity: "Bahro also has much to tell CND about the compromises which have to be made in the building of a broad-based movement." I have no wish to be destructively critical of CND, but I do feel that some of their problems could be overcome or made a lot easier by a more tolerant, less introverted attitude.

Jenny Carpenter

# GREEN-PEACE ALLIANCE



A 'GREEN-PEACE' ELECTORAL ALLIANCE COULD CAUSE SPLITS IN PEACE GROUPS AND GREEN ORGANISATIONS. BUT IF WE SHARE LAURENCE THOMPSON'S SCEPTICISM ABOUT WHAT THESE GROUPS ARE ACTUALLY ACHIEVING IN THE LONGER TERM, WE MIGHT AGREE WITH HIM THAT A RADICAL SHAKE-UP IS ALREADY LONG OVERDUE...

PEACE CAMPAIGNERS now are opposing the very weapons developed under the cloak of 'detente' and 'strategic arms limitation' which followed the first wave of support for CND. Will the revived peace movement do any better? Or are we careering merrily to the same end, about to be overtaken by events yet again?

True, the lesson of not relying on the Labour Party has been learnt from CND I, but is the peace movement now begging betrayal by any and all political parties? Campaigners are succeeding in canvassing support from across the left-right spectrum, but in so doing are we also moving away from original objectives? For example, how much longer will it be possible to distinguish between the positions of CND unilateralist-multilateralist Bruce Kent and SDP multilateralist David Owen?

Peace campaigning has become very 'respectable' in recent months. So much so that even if the movement fails to break the vicious circle of weapons development this time round, a sizeable portion may yet survive completion of this lap in the arms race. But will the campaign by then have taken an ossified form, tinkering with minor details while the fundamental problem keeps on getting worse? Will it, in other words, behave rather like other well-established pressure groups? Is there even any way peace groups can avoid this fate? Is it possible for them to mount a genuinely radical campaign, to consistently tackle the roots of the nuclear problem rather than

cause the symptoms to be suppressed?

Then there are Friends of the Earth, for example. In campaigning on a wide range of 'environmental' issues they either do not recognise root causes of these problems or fail to translate recognition into effective campaigning terms. Thus the public can believe that FoE successfully take care of the environment, because governments tackle the politically most 'pressing' environmental problems (e.g lead in petrol) and Friends of the Earth rush to blow their own trumpets. Meanwhile damage to our life-giving environment actually gets worse.

And now we see that the Anti-Nuclear Campaign is focussing on the virtual non-issue of PWR vs AGR: if the government and the CEBG lose the option of a PWR programme they can fall back on the AGR which probably produces more plutonium weapons material!

Is the peace movement likewise allowing its attention to be narrowed to comparative trivia? For example, would the peace movement find itself exhausted in the face of the following? -

Plans to do away with Polaris continue, but Trident plans are shelved. Thus a degree of unilateral disarmament can be said to have taken place. Meanwhile American nuclear bases remain, Britain is tied yet more firmly to the American nuclear 'umbrella' and British forces are enlarged and further integrated with those of the rest of NATO.

In other words, if, alarmed by the 'symptom' called nuclear weapons, we give way to the temptation to treat only the symptom, we run the awful risk of hiding the underlying 'dis-ease' while it develops unseen before emerging again in a yet more advanced and dangerous form. (And emphasising opposition to all weapons of mass destruction would still be treating only symptoms!)

The arms race has its own cyclical dynamic, and we must not underestimate the ability of military interests to present a temporary lull or plateau as a real downturn. E.g. a quelled peace movement may find in a few years that indeed some nuclear weapons have been withdrawn, but only to make way for chemical and biological weapons!

Single issue campaigns are rarely

successful unless they are politically trivial or the campaigners have economic muscle (which may amount to saying the same thing). CND I is but one example of how governments can 'ride out' a wave of concern about a single issue. Another is Scottish nationalism, which was placated by a referendum, despite the fact that the government ignored the resulting majority which was in favour of a Scottish assembly.

Perhaps clues to how a protest movement can advance radical principles (dealing with root causes rather than symptoms) can be found in the turbulence of West German politics, which has thrown together a variety of protest and citizens' action groups. They did not form a political party as such (they have been described as the 'anti-party') but they entered the electoral arena and decided to cooperate with each other. This they did despite lacking coherent, intellectual pre-expression of their common ground. They are now known, of course, as Die Grünen (or the Greens).

We have yet to see whether this apparently haphazard alliance will be more effective than, say, Friends of the Earth with their collection of concerns (which are more clearly related, and more limited: Die Grünen are the 'natural' political vehicle for West German peace campaigners). But to the extent that each group within the alliance retains autonomy, each will also resist attempts by government to defuse the movement by 'picking off' single, minor issues.

Indeed the lack of expressed common philosophy may be far from weakness at this stage: until such a philosophy is developed, the groups cannot become subservient to the kind of party machine with which we are all too familiar (and which the 'Green' Ecology Party in this country seems intent on becoming.)

Britain has numerous non-party (or sub-party) yet political groups of one sort or another. Many new ones have sprung up in the last ten years or so. Is there any prospect in politically cosy Britain of developments similar to those in West Germany? Perhaps we must first await the failure of CND II, and general disillusionment with what is still the Alliance: West Germany already has its SED (and proportional representation).

(continued on page 13)



BRUCE GARRARD

## High Wycombe

The National Trust will be holding an Extraordinary General Meeting at the Wembley Conference Centre on the morning of Saturday November 6. The meeting has been called by members objecting to the use of Trust land on the Bradenham Estate, near High Wycombe, for the construction of the UK Air Primary Static War Headquarters (i.e. the RAF's command bunker for nuclear war).

The Trust's Executive agreed to give the MoD a 99-year lease on the land in July 1981, although members were not officially informed until February of this year. There followed a campaign to call the EGM - which was originally scheduled for September but then put back to November so that it will now take place on the same day as the annual Ordinary General Meeting. The legality of this move is to be challenged in the courts.

The EGM will discuss a resolution deploring the Trust's conduct and

calling upon it to do all in its power to rescind its decisions. In fact work on the site began in May; but the hope is that once the Trust's deliberate delaying tactics become a matter for legal deliberation, work will have to stop.

In the literature sent out by the Trust to all its members, the proposers of the resolution were allowed 200 words to state their case. The Trust's Chairman, Lord Gibson, replied with 250, and also enclosed an expanded statement in the same mailing.

The argument appears to turn on whether the land is "of real quality". Lord Gibson claims that it is "of poor landscape value", and for this reason any appeal against compulsory purchase (the only alternative to the Trust's negotiated lease) would be "bound to fail". However, in addition to the 12 acres leased for the bunker a further 27 acres will be used for dumping spoil from the excavation and an access road is being built through nearby Park Wood. This is a Grade 1 Site of Special Scientific Interest, and there are fears that it will be affected by a lowering of the water table.

Since the site is also in the middle of the Chiltern Green Belt (development permission was only granted retrospectively), the decision as to whether the area is "of real quality" hardly seems one that should be made without reference to anyone outside the Trust's executive. In fact, in spite of Lord Gibson's declaration that it is not the Trust's business to involve itself in "arguments concerned with national defence, nuclear disarmament and so forth", the decision was a political one.

In June 1981 a Trust spokesman told the High Wycombe Observer that

"...what they are doing is in the interests of international security, so we are co-operating as closely as possible." This 'co-operation' was confirmed in letters from Government ministers to local MPs in December 1981 and January 1982. Only in June this year did the MoD describe this as a "mistake": the Trust's decision had been made solely on the grounds of obtaining the "best protection for Trust property in a difficult situation", as Lord Gibson now claims.

Since the RAF's bunker was bound to be grassed over anyway, the Trust was achieved virtually nothing positive from an environmental point of view. But if they had refused permission the matter would ultimately have gone before a parliamentary select committee. The Trust's lame acquiescence has therefore saved the MoD considerable time and the likely embarrassment of more widespread publicity. Their 'co-operation' with the MoD would seem to have more to do with this than anything else.

Wycombe Peace Council are now maintaining a vigil outside the construction site. Contact: Pat O'Rourke, 37 Alford Road, Brooker, High Wycombe, Bucks (0494-32354).

## Waterlooville

In September 1981 GEC-Marconi secured a contract from the MoD to build their 7525 'Spearfish' heavyweight torpedo. The contract was to have gone to the US Gould Corporation, who had agreed to waive £500m-worth of development costs, but Marconi successfully embarrassed the government by threatening to close down their factory at Neston, Cheshire (which had been opened personally by Mrs Thatcher only a few months before),



POLICE MOVE IN TO EVICT THE BRAMBLES FARM PEACE CAMP PROTESTERS SITTING ON THE ROOF OF A SHED THEY HAD BUILT ON THE WATERLOOVILLE SITE

and by claiming - in the wake of the Toxteth riots - that a total of 5000 jobs would be lost in sensitive areas of the northwest.

The contract was awarded "provided the extra cost of the British weapon can be reduced by negotiation". Marconi have substantial facilities in many parts of the country other than the northwest, including a large factory in Portsmouth. It was in nearby Waterlooville that Tarmac (Properties) Ltd already had an option on purchasing some land for factory development, and Marconi were able to join them in negotiations with Havant Borough Council. After reducing the price by £700,000 the deal went through in May 1982, and Marconi had a cheap site on which to do development work on this and future projects.

The council were also able to help by giving the go-ahead for the new factory scheme within only 3 weeks reversing an earlier decision to allow only single-storey units on the site. (By comparison, a small light for a mini-roundabout in Waterlooville had taken 18 months to be agreed upon). All this was achieved in secrecy, with the press and public excluded from the relevant meeting of the Policy and Resources Committee.

The site to be used is on a piece of land where local children used to play. There's a field and oak trees and a stream where they used to swim. Waterlooville has no swimming pool and no adventure playground. When the news was released in June, local demonstrators protested on the site and then on July 9 set up a peace camp. It was then that they discovered that the 7525 torpedo was actually an underwater missile and would be dual capable - i.e. capable of being fitted with either conventional or nuclear warheads.

At this stage the land still belonged to the Borough Council and could not be handed over to Tarmac and Marconi without vacant possession. On September 6 the camp was broken up by the police and the contract hurriedly signed outside the farm gates. The camp returned that afternoon and for 10 days successfully obstructed construction work. On September 16 police cleared the site again and 16 people were convicted of "conduct likely to cause a breach of the peace" - although the police themselves agreed that the protestors had been entirely peaceful.

Since then, the Waterlooville Area Campaign Against the Arms Race has been formed and is holding demonstrations at the site every Saturday morning. Full details from WACAAR, 75 Roundway, Waterlooville, Portsmouth, Hants.

## Greenham Common

The Women's Peace Camp at Greenham Common was evicted by the Department of Transport on Wednesday September 29; cranes were used to remove their caravans, and all the tents and camp superstructure were taken down. Heaps of rubble were dumped on the grass so that they could not be replaced.

At the same time the Rainbow Peace Settlement was evicted from outside the works entrance by Newbury District Council. The settlement re-formed for a while on Crookham Common on the opposite side of the base, but has now left.

The Women's Peace Camp has continued, however. The women have been camping in the open, protected from the particularly wet weather only by polythene. The police have threatened them with arrest for contempt of court if they pitch tents or light fires. They even cut down a washing line on which the women were attempting to dry out sleeping bags.

Policing has been particularly

heavy at weekends, with a renewed flood of visitors coming to support the camp. Cars have been towed away and the police have shown a very belligerent attitude. They would not allow a tent to be erected even for children to shelter under.

There have been numerous arrests, particularly on October 4 when the women sat down to prevent workmen laying drainage pipes - this is the same drainage, intended for the 400 extra US personnel who are due to come to the base, which was successfully stopped last December.

The women have also had an attack of food poisoning, but are still determined to continue. They are hoping to arrange a rota of women to remain outside the gates night by night, and would like advice from anyone with experience of surviving in the open in winter conditions. They are also going ahead with the European Women's Action on December 12.

Most of all they need people to come, offering their help and support. The authorities are now making a concerted effort to get rid of them; building up a mass campaign at Greenham next year will be far more difficult if the Peace Movement's presence disappears entirely now. It is only continued visits from supporters which will keep them going.

Contact: Angela Phillips, Newbury (0635) 34284.

## Falklands Parade

17 members of the Peace Pledge Union and other peace groups were arrested in London on Tuesday October 12. They were attempting to block the passage of the Falklands Victory Parade by chaining themselves together across the route. The BBC did not allow pictures of the incident to appear on their broadcasts - as they also omitted to show a large cross on a nearby church with the legend "Jesus was killed by the military".

The protestors have been charged with "threatening behaviour likely to cause a breach of the peace"; the emotions raised by the occasion meant that the police actually had to protect them from the crowd. They will appear in court on December 16 at the City of London Guildhall - the same building in which the Victory Banquet took place

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dangerous chemicals. Our analysis is not original; it's frightening to think that reformers 100 years ago were saying just the same:

"After seeing a stream turned into a garbage tip and some useless ugliness railings outside a pub he said: 'Now the iron bars, which uselessly enclosed this bit of ground and made it (a refuse for) pestilence, represented a quantity of work which would have cleansed the Carshalton pools three times over: of work, partly cramped and perilous in the mine, partly grievous and horrible at the furnace, partly foolish and sedentary, of ill-taught students making bad designs: work from the beginning to the last fruits of it... venomous, deathful and miserable.

Now, how did it come to pass that this work was done instead of the other: that the strength and life of the English operative were spent in defiling ground, instead of redeeming it and producing an entirely (in that place) valueless piece of metal, instead of medicinal fresh air and purewater?"

His answer: - 'The capitalist can charge percentage on the work in the one case, and cannot in the other...!' (Ruskin).

Just how bad do things have to get before adequate, responsible, long-term reforms are made? All over the world, in capitalist and socialist economies alike, the emphasis is on work to create higher material standards of living. But is it an improved 'standard' if in its achievement the quality of air, water and land deteriorate to such a level that famine and disease is inevitable, and if in its achievement we become a nation of unemployed demotivated puppets. Standard of living is not measured in terms of material wealth but in terms of the quality of life which is enjoyed, and until the majority of people begin to realise and act upon this realisation no amount of reform will lead to a viable future for humankind.

\*\* 'Unemployment' is published by Friends of the Earth (Birmingham) Ltd, 54-57 Allison Street, Birmingham 5. Price 50p post free.



LETCWORTH'S SIXTH annual 'Ideas Fair' is being held in the North Herts. College, Broadway, Letchworth on November 27th. Over 150 organisations are taking part including national and local societies and pressure groups such as Greenpeace and FoE. Information from Maureen Wilson, 19 Redhoods Way East, Letchworth, Herts.

### Green Peace Alliance

• cont'd from p 12

Which group in Britain would be the first to take the plunge? Could peace groups enter the electoral arena knowing that other pressure groups may not follow, and risking therefore the fate suffered by the Scottish National Party? And what would be the role of the Ecology Party, with its electioneering experience and (unfortunately?) advanced 'Green' philosophy?

And the new, 'anti-party' alliance would need a name, of course, one appropriate to this country: "the Green-Peace Alliance"?

Laurence Thompson

**I SHALL VOTE WHEN**

I Shall Vote When . . .  
Poets words are taken seriously  
Clowns are made love to by fourteen year old schoolgirls  
Whales become sacred creatures to mankind  
S A S assassins become Hereford cidergrowers  
Torture is no longer used in our interrogation centres  
Assaults by the police are no longer tolerated . . .

C S Gas and plastic bullets are prohibited by Rubber Soldiers and Laughing Gas . . .  
Psychiatrists become insane pacifists and poets!  
Powerseekers become Anarchists like Kropotkin  
Slum Goddesses become Priests of Love and Orgy . . .  
Nuclear Power is a distant memory  
Trees become sacred  
Postcard Poems become Passports

**dennis gould,**

### DEMO POLL

THE BRADFORD School of Peace Studies interviewed a random sample of 768 people on the three routes of the CND demo on June 6th. A full analysis is being prepared, but some of the initial statistics are interesting.

12% were not members of a local peace or anti-nuclear organisation. 66% were not members of a political party, leaving 25% Labour, 3% Communist, 2% SWP, 2% Liberal or SDP, and 1% each Ecology Party and Don't Knows. 38% belonged to a trade union; 18% were practising Christians; 58% were in full-time employment; 12% were unemployed; 20% were at school or college; and 10% thought the UK should stay in NATO.

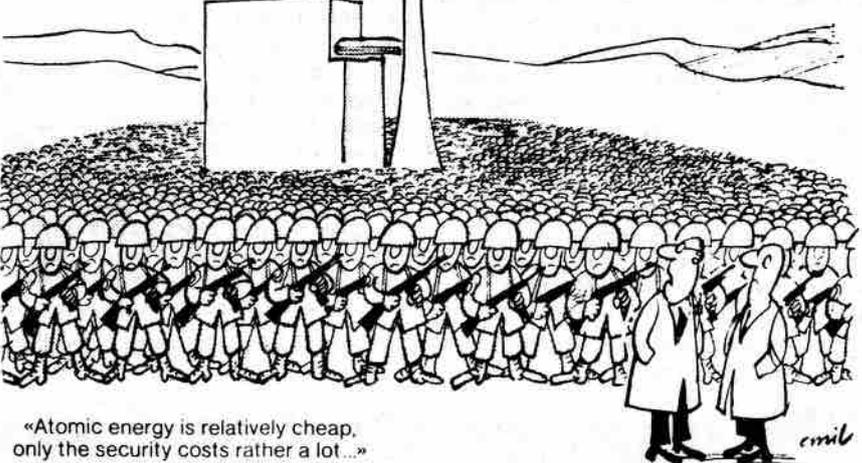
Had there been a General Election the next day, the marchers would have voted: Labour 71%; Alliance 6.5%; Conservative 0.5%; Scottish and Welsh Nationalist 1%; and others (mainly Ecology and Communist) 6%. 5% didn't know, and 10% wouldn't vote. (Those not eligible to vote - mainly because under age - represented 6% of the total interviewed).



### Bahro • CONTINUED FROM PAGE 17

people. There is a necessary division of labour between the Social Democrats and the Greens. If the two parties were to combine forces in a coalition we should lose our own identity and our input would become totally ineffective. Our role is to defend the long-term future of humanity. If we compromise on this we should lose our historical mandate. This crisis is not only industrial and economic; it is ecological in the broadest sense, and it must be solved by a change in the system and above all in personal consciousness.

This is the function of the Greens.



# BAHRO AT BRIDLINGTON

THIS IS THE TEXT OF RUDOLF BAHRO'S SPEECH TO THE ECOLOGY PARTY'S ANNUAL CONFERENCE ON OCTOBER 23. (Our thanks to Freda Chapman for the transcription.)

IF WE look at the political situation all over Europe - both East and West - we can see the beginning of a new era in European history. I am convinced that the most important recent developments are not such events as the decline of the Socialist/Liberal coalition in my own country, or the coming to power of the Christian Democrats, or even the emergence of the Green Party. The most important event now is the ecological and peace movement which is rising all over Europe, East as well as West.

The independent peace movement in Eastern Germany - my home until three years ago - has been very strongly influenced by the ideology of the anti-fascist branch of the protestant church there. It also has a very strong ecological element. A book published now in West Germany bears the title "Concrete is Concrete", to stress the point that concrete is the same material either side of the Berlin Wall, and that the essential problems facing humanity are the same. Atomic weapons threaten us all and will destroy us all.

It is no accident then that for the first time since the Second World War we find in both Germanies the same kind of fundamental opposition to the system. The movement in West Germany is not an opposition in favour of East Germany, nor is the movement in East Germany an opposition in favour of the West.

By comparison, if we look at Solidarity in Poland we can see that there is some sympathy with Reagan's policies, and the reasons for this are quite understandable. The peace movement in East Germany however is without any such sympathy for the Western military bloc. The main opposition there is to both military blocs, and this feature of the German campaign makes it a driving force of the whole movement. Perhaps this is our opportunity to make for the first time a positive contribution to European history.

The industrial, military and ecological crises are the same throughout the developed world, and the only difference between the extent of the influence of German Green politics and those of (say) Britain is one of tempo.

The East German authoress, Christa Wolff, a friend of mine, was addressing a conference in East Berlin that was attended by both East and West Germans. She said, "The bomb is not an accident." The bomb is a symptom of the system; it could become the main product of our civilisation, but it is not an isolated development. We have to look at the causes. We cannot overcome the bomb and the threat of atomic weapons if we are not able to challenge the industrial system as a whole. It is not only an environmental issue; it is a threat to the entire world system - to life itself. I believe the primary task of all of us in Europe is to combine the ecological and peace movements into one - and only one - movement. The extent of the movement in Germany is more important than the power of the political party. The party can only be the expression of this new movement, and not its total.

One of the problems facing Green parties is that we must be the authentic expression of this movement which will sweep through our society, and if the Greens were to adopt the same ways as the old parties we should become essentially the same as them; the only difference between us would be in abstract theory, and we should lose our identity without ever having been able to define it.

This is our dilemma in West Germany. We are tempted by the possibility of gaining a little of the power. Many of us have waited a long time for this moment - for the chance of being an influence on German power politics - and now that we have the chance there is a great temptation to become an alternative Liberal party. The FDP will perhaps never return to power: it may totally decline. I hope so not because of any hatred of radical liberalism, but because of the 'concrete' character of this party.

The tradition of radical liberalism will be inherited by parties of the

new movement, but we must guard against taking over the role of the FDP, of holding the balance of power between the two bigger parties.

More than 80% of our electorate are pressing us to make some kind of political combination with the Social Democrats. General opinion in the Greens tends towards a kind of tolerance, rather than a strict coalition with the Social Democrat Government. But even if we tolerate, we will have the problem of voting not only for the Chancellor and the ministry, but also for the budget. Without a vote for the budget, a government cannot govern. We may be able to vote for the budgets of Bavaria and Hesse, but if we vote for that of Bonn we would be supporting an arms budget. It will be interesting to see if there is any cosmetic surgery on the arms issue as a result of the need for our support. We could not expect more than cosmetic surgery from the Social Democrats: as steadfast partners of America they are committed to NATO and the western bloc.

Our fight is against militarism and the risks of the arms race, and we cannot combine our forces with a government of one bloc or the other. We should wait until we can combine our forces with both.

My opinion, which is also shared by Petra Kelly, is that we must remain independent. This is not however a view held unanimously within the Greens; there is a great temptation to make what we call "real politics" and to seek some immediate results. It may be possible to achieve quick results; to successfully oppose the building of the first and even the second power station; but if we did we might well sell our souls for nothing more than a cosmetic operation on the system.

The General Election in Germany may be in March 1983, or 1984. We must fix our strategy for this, and determine the main issues of our policy. I believe we should take an absolutely independent position, without any promises of forming a coalition with the Social Democrats, and we should risk losing some of our votes in saying that we are not ready to form this coalition. We would do better to

**'We must control and stop industrialization'**

say that we will tolerate them. That way we will retain our separate identity, and we will have more influence on the Social Democrats.

The first point of the ecological crisis is the general output of our industrial system. It must be stopped. We would not destroy it, but we would dismantle it step by step - big industry, big organisations, economic growth. The general expansion of the system must be reduced. The ordinary person nowadays needs ten times what Schiller needed 200 years ago for his life and work, not because the worker needs it, but because the system is constructed so that he cannot manage without it. Our problem is to change the fundamentally material basis of our whole civilisation. Members of the ecology movement have shown how this can be done.

For five years the Greens have been able to halt the development of atomic power stations in West Germany. We are blamed for the loss of £60m worth of investment; an over-estimate, but I should be glad if it were true! But rather than singling out the nuclear issue, I think we should be opposing any indiscriminate investment in the direction of big industry and big science.

We must be very conscious of the differences between the positive and the negative effects of the industrial system. A computer is not in itself good or bad, but if we are not able to change the fundamental basis of society, the computer will become primarily the instrument of Big Brother, and the main use of technology in the total context of history will be for evil. We have to generalise the battle against nuclear power.

It is appropriate perhaps that the Green movement should emerge to influence West Germany first, because that country is the industrial model for the rest of the world. The main aim of East Germany is to overtake the West.

When I was in Italy and Spain they said, "We will reach the standard of Germany," and Venezuela aspires to the status of Spain. If we are not able to take away the model in West Germany, humanity will not stop industrialising, and if industrialisation is taken to its limits, civilisation will end.

Because our campaign is directed against the general effects of industrialisation, we cannot make a single issue of unemployment in the way that the Labour and Trade Union movement do. If we promise to create employment and work, we should only be perpetuating the

problem. We have to look for another solution to the social problems caused by unemployment. We must find a way to control and stop industrialisation, and we must also ensure basic social, human and political rights.

This change cannot be brought about by revolution, but only by a change in the consciousness of the people. This is our purpose.

If we were to use revolutionary methods we should fail utterly. Violence breeds violence - and were we to adopt these methods we would be using the system's own weapons; we would be feeding society's inner aggression and this would only continue the vicious circle.

The only extremism that threatens democracy is that of the big machine - the extremism of Big Brother. Rather than distancing ourselves from the violent margin of our movement because of public opinion, we should be showing society that we are the people who can communicate with these 'extremists', and who can persuade them that nonviolence is the only way to change the system through a change in popular consciousness. It is the only way: you cannot overcome the international military system by direct confrontation. In Britain, for instance, it would be impossible to achieve disarmament while the prevailing outlook - revealed by the Falklands War - is one of nationalism. This attitude is not purely military; there are strong historical roots and cultural traditions which have had a profound effect on the people, but if we cannot change the consciousness then we can never change the system.

We should, then, fight against the criminalisation of our more militant friends. We should criticise their tactics and their strategy, but we should continue to communicate with them, and to explain to society where the aggression has originated.

When the Social Democrats came to power in Germany thirteen years ago, one of their first measures was to make no prosecution against those who took part in the movement of '68. We have a good precedent there, and we will press for no trial or punishment of the comrades who are now fighting the system in their own way.

On industrialisation, again: the Social Democrats and Trade Unions will do their best in the old way, and a lot of things they are doing are immediately necessary for the unemployed. We take the wider view: we say there are too many

subsidies for failed industries; too much ill-judged investment in out-dated systems; unemployment itself is costing too much. We should use our power to appeal to the unemployed, and the employed who are receptive to green ideas and who are ready, able and willing to begin a new way of life as well as a new way of production. We should found more and more communities of self-sustaining production; we should not take land for production for the EEC, but for ourselves. We should satisfy our basic needs locally, and sell only surplus production on the world market. If the whole of society can change in this direction, then we can begin to solve the problem of unemployment.

The Greens can make contributions to the analysis and solution of individual issues, but our main duty is to analyse and explain the fundamental bases of the ecological crisis. Once these are understood, society will be able to develop and implement the solutions. In the short term we may be able to treat some of the symptoms. We can protect this tree and that woodland and we may be able to save the Black Forest before the needles fall for good, but this will be no real success for us. In a very short time the whole area of the Federal Republic will be demolished by greed, and this will be far more dangerous for us than the loss of the Black Forest.

This purely environmental aspect of our work, this repair of the system, is something that we can do from parliament. But you will find all these points in the programme of the left-wing Social Democrats. They will perpetuate the basic causes of the crisis whilst trying to treat the symptoms. But because there are these superficial similarities in our programmes, the Greens have an ideological problem in establishing our separate identity.

I do not see the Social Democrats as being in any sense our main political enemy, but they do pose a real threat in that they seem to be able to supply the needs of ordinary people, and so the workers will be encouraged to support the industrial system for the sake of an increased standard of living. The Old Left will always help them to get more for themselves, with the result that there will be much more danger for the next generation.

Society must weigh the long-term interests, the fundamental human interests against the short-term immediate interests of the same



'LAND FOR PEOPLE: Land Tenure and the Very Poor'. Claire Whittemore. Oxfam, £1.30.

## GROWTH ELIMINATES poverty

'GROWTH ELIMINATES poverty'; 'Aid will help the poor'; 'Increased food production will stop hunger'; 'Land reform works'. How often do you come across statements like these (in the Brandt Report, for example) and wonder uneasily if there might be some truth in them?

At last an aid agency has produced a critical examination of these myths, which is both readable and easily available. This report is about land, or in other words POWER. It draws upon Oxfam's grass-roots experience of 'development' projects to recount the diverse ways in which the poor tend to end up poorer.

What is the root cause of poverty? The conclusion it comes to is this: "the control of most land by a few, leaving little for the many."

The method of argument is to quote research results relating to particular countries and programmes, but well spiced with down-to-earth examples taken from projects on the ground that Oxfam is itself supporting, so that the end result is highly readable. Oxfam claims to know what are the real effects of 'so-called' 'development' schemes, because "while the major aid agencies aim to increase growth, Oxfam works with the victims of growth, the people who are at the bottom of the power structure."

The report starts with overviews of land and power in Latin America, Asia and Africa. In Latin America the inequalities are the most marked, and the numbers of landless

labourers are increasing in most countries. In Asia the common feature is a "hierarchy of landlords ... ensuring that the poor stay poor." In rural Africa land is not such a severe problem, but the trend is towards individualisation of tenure and erosion of traditional group holdings.

The report then weighs into two widely accepted recipes for eliminating poverty - 'land reform' and the 'modernisation of agriculture'.

Land reform has been promoted as almost a technical solution to poverty. The report points out that "land is power, and no one gives up power easily." Buying out landlords doesn't deprive them of power. Implementation of reform has to be followed with continuing political support if it is to be effective. Examples are given of failures in all three continents.

'Agricultural modernisation' and the so-called 'Green revolution' receive even more severe treatment, along with the whole question of whether official aid and investment benefit the rural poor. The conclusion, obvious once stated, is that "growth itself exacerbates poverty within a society which already has an unequal distribution of wealth... Investment... inevitably benefits the landowners, and the more land they hold the more it benefits them. They are able to use their increased wealth to buy more land and to mechanise. The result is more landless people and fewer jobs."

Examples are again given, for example of dams in Brazil forcing tenants off their land, and all the new tubewells in Bangladesh ending up on the land of the big farmers. Altogether the conclusion is that "modernisation is likely to cut farmers off from the two basic resources for production: land and water."

An instructive, entertaining and extremely convincing book.

DAVID KEMBALL-COOK

## POWER TO ELECT

POWER TO ELECT: Enid Lakeman (Heinemann, £6.95).

Should the Green movement support the campaign for electoral reform? You may find the answer in this book, written by Enid Lakeman, veteran campaigner for an effective vote.

This book is in part a study of the electoral systems of the Common Market and English-

speaking countries. There are sections on local, national and international elections as well as examples of elections to non-party and single-party bodies. As the title implies, Enid Lakeman looks at the various systems from the viewpoint of the voter's power to elect someone of their choice. From her evidence most systems do not give the voter an effective choice. Throughout the book she builds up a case for the proportional representation system, as the Single Transferable Vote (STV).

We Greens may find the many references to cross-party and single issues of interest, and we may learn how to put more pressure on the elected on such issues, because of the greater knowledge gained of our present electoral system.

I can recommend this book to pressure groups and party-political greens alike.

R Sykes.



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# Letters



Dear Green Line,

It was encouraging to see the Financial Times giving so much space to ecological issues with their article about German 'greens'. (FT, September 2).

But why do we not see equal space in the FT devoted to home-grown environmentalists? Where was a similar photograph of British protestors? Have we not tended well enough our links with our own press, or are our demonstrations too poor a show to warrant coverage?

Perhaps we should take a leaf from the European book. In the same week the Guardian reported upon a peace camp being established in Sicily at a proposed missile base, and described how the finest crop of Italian, French and German protestors were gathered to maintain the blockades. Whilst Europeans are ploughing through national boundaries in support of each others projects, we seem unable to co-ordinate campaigns with sufficient impact to awaken our own press.

Jan Grimes,  
London SW 6.

PS Is 'Die Grünen' really as unfortunately ambiguous in German as 'The Greens' is in English?

(No! But Chancellor Kohl means Chancellor Cabbage - so there's a joke or two to be made there. -Ed.)

Dear Green Line,

This year's Green Gathering seems to have highlighted just how green we greens are.

But I hope that next year we are not green enough to try to attract people who expect all-night distorted music, enhancing their ability to cope with it by consuming large quantities of alcohol and amphetamines.

If I didn't know (or believe)

that the Gathering had lost money, then I would be asking for mine to be returned to me, but in that case the rip-off - for such it was - was unintentional. May I suggest that in future ticket-sellers - and the tickets themselves - leave no doubt as to the purpose of the Gathering and that people who arrive at the gate without tickets are not allowed in unless the organisers are satisfied that they know what the Gathering is about. A simple screening process that would have eliminated all the aggro would have been to ask the people in question the meaning of 'ecology'. The answer to that question reveals much.

Harry Alderslade  
47 Lake Street, Oxford

Dear Readers,

To describe Planet Waves' music as 'bonfire music' is to describe Jackson Browne and Neil Young as 'Meadow' Music! Both have written songs about ecological matters (Jackson Browne helped start the 'No Nukes Music' in the USA).

Planet Waves got together on May 1st this year - and their violinist joined them at the Green Gathering - and they play music which I would describe as rural anarchic music. But all these definitions leave out the heart and soul of music and songs: poets and poems.

We (RiffRaffPoets) met up with Planet Waves at the Gathering, but having had some 18 years 'on the road' reading poems in every conceivable sort of hall and institution, I am inclined to think that to attempt to shackle songs and poems by some political line is a mistake. Of course it is great to hear lines of inspirational songs like Bob Dylan's 'It's Alright Ma... I'm Only Bleedin'' and 'Subterranean Homesick Blues', never mind Joni Mitchell's album 'Blue'; but we need to reach inside ourselves and wrest out songs and poems.

However... Planet Waves have recently played in Warwick and Reading Universities, in village halls, and at various benefits for Green CND and magazines of libertarian persuasion. They need more bookings because they deserve them! Their own songs describe what is and what might be, and if this is too vague for John Dougill maybe it is because he has answers to questions - most of us find it enough to ask the right questions?

Meanwhile all I can ask is that you book Planet Waves Band and Continuum Theatre and Lunatic

:19:

Fringe (comedians). They are challenging and entertaining. (RiffRaffPoets contains Pat Van Twest, the finest feminist performer, and Jeff Cloves, the only poet to publish and sell a mag for 10p (2/-) over the last 20 years.

By the way, where did Richard Thompson's song come from - which album?

dennis gould  
c/o Freedom Press  
84b Whitechapel High Street  
London E 1

\*\* Write to RiffRaffPoets c/o  
Dennis Gould; and to Planet  
Waves c/o Blue Frog Cafe, Kington,  
Herefordshire.

Dear Green Line,

In reply to Dor and Dave Carr in GL6, do they fully understand what the quote from Russell Means is about? I am sure he doesn't want to be associated with a culture, albeit the green side of it, that virtually destroyed his nation and is continuing to suppress their attempts to revive an honest and spiritual way of life.

Russell Means and American Indians are closer to an ecological, green outlook than most animal rightists in Britain, and the way of life they are striving to retain is an example to us all. I do not eat meat, but I can see that the killing of animals for food and clothing is a necessity in parts of the world. It's not what you do, it's the way that you do it. Russell Means has respect for his little brothers, more than we as a culture have for the native peoples in America and the rest of the world.

Dor and Dave are white, as am I. It is a terrible condemnation. You cannot compare the culture and values of American Indians with your values derived from a sick, materialistic and dying European culture. American Indians are bearing the brunt of racial discrimination in the US; they are dying now as the result of uranium mining; the land they have left is being desecrated in search of minerals; their leaders such as Russell Means are being hounded, framed and imprisoned.

We are the hypocrites. We give mealy-mouthed reasons why we are not out on the streets fighting the systems which treat people as well as animals as purely inputs into the capitalist profit-making machine.

Richard Westwood  
215 Grange Road  
Kings Heath, Birmingham B14 7RT





CONTINUUM IS A COMMUNITY CO-OPERATIVE specialising in theatre and music, around social, ecological and environmental issues. We have currently taken our show 'Fallout Follies' around the summer festivals. We have now expanded to nine adults and three children and we are looking for a stronghold before the winter sets in - ideally an old farmhouse or school (with land to grow our own corn and vegies, and to hold a couple of caravans. The right place will also have a large barn or hall that we can use for rehearsals and workshops for theatre/music and yoga... DO YOU know of any place? YOU DO! Contact Lorye or Adrian, 4 Church Street, Kington, Herefordshire. Telephone Kington (0544) 230355.

**EARTHWISE:** recycled paper products, badges, t-shirts, and lots more. Send for free mail-order catalogue. Callers welcome. 15 Goosegate, Nottingham.

**ECOLOGICAL ROCK.** "Butcher's Tale", new single by The Witan, protesting against foxhunting and the seal cull, taken from the ecological concept album, "Tales from the Land of the Afterglow". Backed by the Ecology Party. Copies £1.20 (including postage and packing) from WITAN RECORDS, 65 Audley Road, Alsager, Stoke-on-Trent, Staffs.

"ECOLOGY PARTY" Sunflower Badge (1½"). 100 for £9.50; 50 for £5; 10 for £1. West Suffolk Ecology Party, Greenacre, Beyton, Bury St Edmunds, Suffolk.

THE NATIONAL Centre for Alternative Technology has just issued its programme of short residential courses between now and June. For a copy of the programme, write to Jill Whitehead, NCAT, Llwyngwern Quarry, Machynlleth, Powys.

## Die Grünen slammed

IF YOU think that 'greens' and 'ecologists' are synonymous, and that the Ecology Party is Britain's 'green party' à la Die Grünen, then North Cotswold Ecology Party's newsletter editor Harry Kemp is out to disillusion you. And there's no doubt that if his ideas became Eco's party orthodoxy, many greens in the UK would be looking for a new political home.

Die Grünen, Harry Kemp tells his readers in an article which takes up half the branch's October Newsletter, is "not even a party: they are a very loosely assembled alliance of groups having widely disseparate (sic) motives and ideologies... Die Grünen is simply a rudely and hastily erected shelter for the ideologically homeless." Several prominent members are, he says, communists. Petra Kelly "is no Marxist and her sincerity" certainly seems genuine enough: the trouble is that it is not always obvious what she is being so sincere about."

"Thirdly, Die Grünen are clearly not ready and not willing to assume the responsibilities of government... In Hamburg... they are content to be 'wreckers' and are rapidly reducing the administration of that city to chaos (reminding us perhaps that the Vandals were historically the name of a wild tribe originating in north Germany)."

'Ecologist' and 'green', says Kemp, stand for divergent aspects of an originally common concern. Greens are "most fond of using the word radical - radical change, radical policy, radical this and that. This is anathema to classical ecology and is a startling ambiguity, for if there exists one word which means the opposite of ecology it is radicalism... Central to ecology is the concept of harmonious renewal. Ecology is what a man participates in when he has just altered a landscape by planting a tree, whereas radicalism is the creed of bulldozer and the demolition contractor."

"Finally, we should state the obvious: Die Grünen are not British..."

## GREEN LINE for a XMAS GIFT!

Now this is the time of year when we're all trying to think of suitable and seasonal gifts for our friends.

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