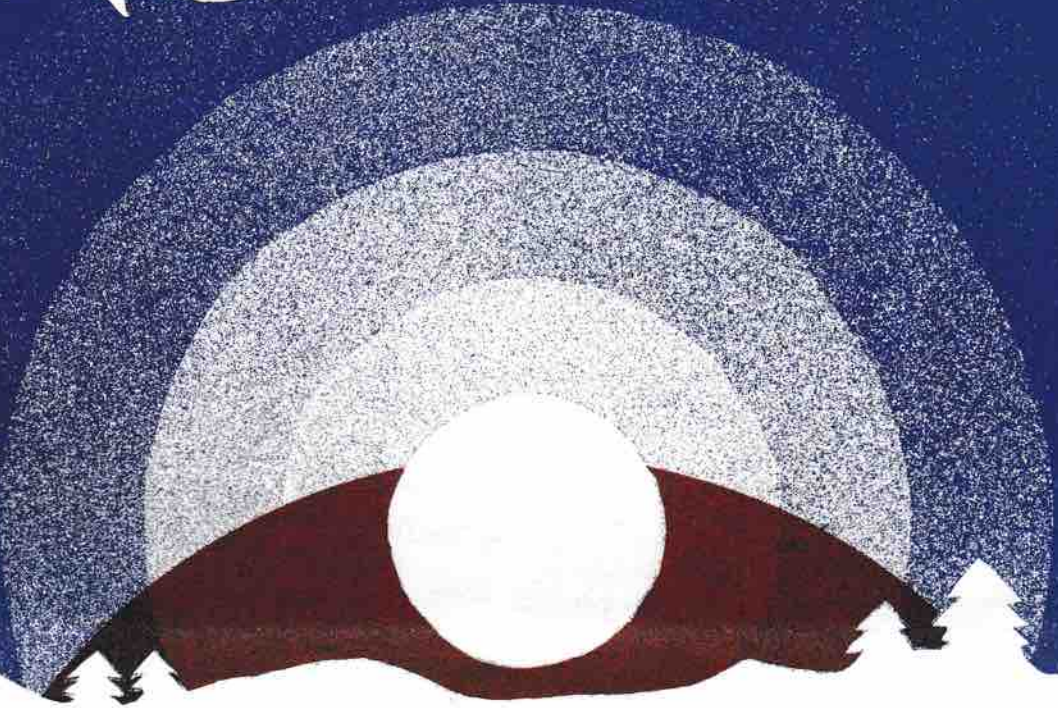


GREEN LINE

No. 38 New Year 1985/6 40p

WHITHER CND?
GOODWILL TO TURKEYS
SOLAR POWER
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NEXT ISSUE published February 1st

GREEN LINE NEWS

+ Our appeal for funds for our publishing project has so far raised promises of over £1600. If you'd like to help financially with our scheme to launch a series of green pamphlets in 1986, and missed the announcement in GL 37, write to us for details.

+ Coming shortly: an extract from Rudolf Bahro's new book, 'Building the Green Movement' (see ad. on p.8). And an interview with Murray Bookchin.

+ We'll soon be able to analyse the replies to our questionnaires (p.13): a first answer to the question, "Who are the greens?"

+ Lots of readers complain about the in-fighting and acid tone of many of the letters we print: we're being more selective from now on...

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FOOD FOR ALL OR money for the few?

AS AFRICAN governments come to the verge of bankruptcy and economies collapse, conditions are beginning to improve for the peasants.

JON CARPENTER looks at the reports and considers some explanations.

HOW STICKY is our involvement in Third World economies? Is the right thing to try to pull out - and as individuals to boycott everything we can identify as Third World 'cash crops' grown and exported to bring foreign exchange into the country? This would lead to a boycott of most if not all tea, coffee, (imported) sugar, cotton, and much soya, etc. Or should we buy more selectively, feeding our cash into Third World economies in ways which offer more help to the producer-peasants? Here we would be looking for producers and growers set up as coops or village groups, and 'seals of approval' from organisations such as Traidcraft, Oxfam and the WDM.

One of the major arguments used against the first option is that we would be encouraging and inducing the collapse of Third World economies. This, it is said, would cause even greater hardship and starvation among the rural poor than exists at present.

Two articles published this year, however, have provided evidence that exactly the opposite may be true. The collapse of the formal, cash-based economy can actually lead to increased wealth and health in the villages.

Take first the experience of Steve and Sue Williams. They are QPS (Quaker Peace and Service) workers in Uganda; and in the Autumn edition of QPS reporter they write:

Kampala is a beautiful city, green and hilly, with banana trees and flowering shrubs, red-tile roofs and onion-domed mosques. The climate is pleasant. The economy, however, is surreal; it has almost entirely collapsed. Even doctors' and bureaucrats' monthly salaries are not enough to buy the family a few days' food. Exports of once-lucrative cash crops such as tea and coffee are now minimal. Still, there is enough food in most areas. People have retreated to family farms, eat only what they grow, and share food with city-bound relatives. Uganda is just about the only country in this region not needing large amounts of food aid.

At first we were amazed. Now we begin to see that it is because the cash economy does not work that Uganda can feed itself. When energy and land are diverted from cash crops to staples, people are better fed, even though they are poorer and their national economy depressed. Such are the ironies of development.

The process is not confined to Uganda, however. John Madeley, writing in *The Ecologist* (Vol 15, No 1/2, 1985), analyses what is going on in Tanzania which, says the FAO, is facing an 'emergency situation' over food supplies. This is because Tanzania is desperately short of foreign exchange after being hit by the global

economic recession and consequent lower prices for commodity exports. John Madeley writes:

To get an accurate picture of what is happening in Tanzania, we must distinguish, says Mr Urban Jonsson, the United Nations' Childrens Fund (UNICEF) representative in Dar es Salaam, between the state economy and the village economies. As nine out of ten Tanzanians live in the villages, it is the village economies that might, he says, be called the natural economy.

"When the world economy and Tanzania's state economy are doing well," says Urban Jonsson, "the villagers sell much of their maize and other staple foods. But when the state economy is in a bad way, the distribution system tends to break down - there are fewer vehicles to transport goods to market; prices for food drop and give the farmer less incentive to sell."

As a result, villagers eat the food they grow, and are increasingly turning land used for coffee and other cash crops back into food production. Says Madeley: "Overall, the crisis in the state economy has meant that many villagers in Tanzania today have more to eat. The natural economy, the one in which most Tanzanians operate, is faring better ironically because the state economy is depressed." Urban Jonsson is critical of those who describe Tanzania as a country in crisis. "Walk through the villages," he says, "and you certainly do not sense crisis." And with the recession, the sharp increase in the number of malnourished children seems to have halted.

Women are better off too:

Men have less opportunity to exploit women. For when food leaves the village it is men who normally collect the cash and are prone to spend it on beer and other luxuries. A survey of Tanzania's Kilimanjaro district found that the exploitation of women by men was a bigger factor in mother and children malnutrition than is sometimes recognised, and that almost a third of men in the villages had a drink problem. When food stays in the village, mothers eat better and their husbands are more likely to stay sober.

And as men spend more time in the villages and less money on drink, housing standards are rising as they put their efforts into improvements in the villages.

Clearly the conventional economic wisdom is - as usual - at fault. But that is precisely because economics as we know it is a western - or northern - invention. 'Good' economics is what is good for us developed, industrialised countries: a 'flourishing' economy in Tanzania, or elsewhere in the Third World, is measured by that country's ability to buy our lorries, tractors, oil, cars, aeroplanes and arms. International trade is all about exporting wealth from the poor sectors of the world to the rich.

As a result, one of the most effective measures we can take to relieve that oppression which falls on the vast majority of Third World inhabitants (the 80% who live in the countryside - and it would be

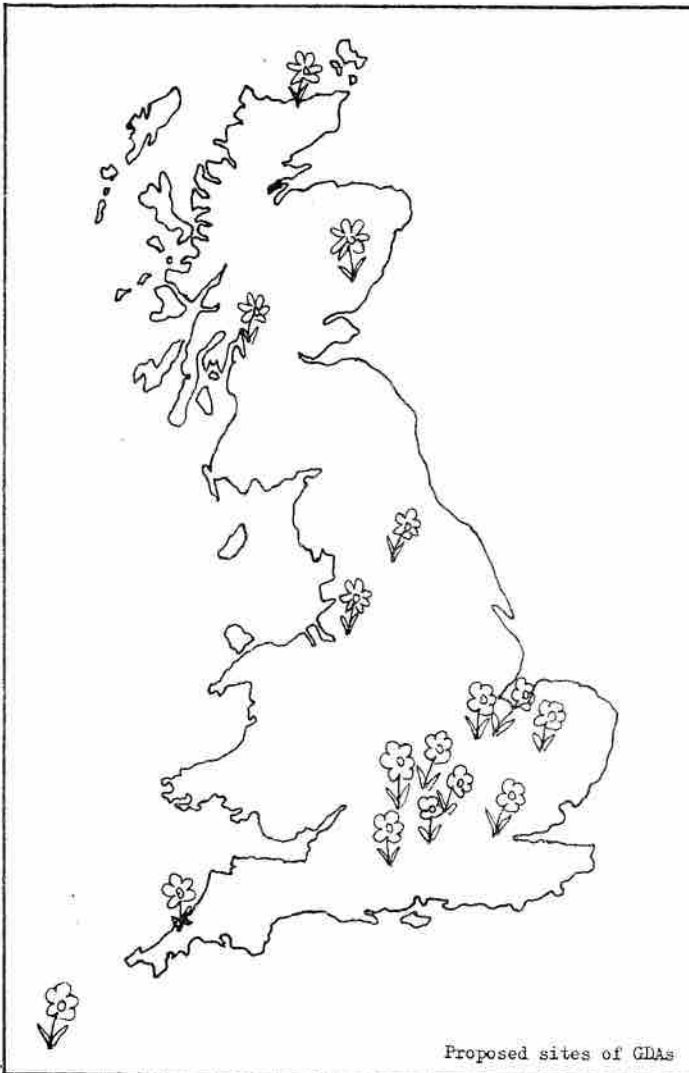
(Continued on page 14)

NATIONAL STATE OF PEACE AND RELAXATION SHOCK!

REPORTING SLEUTH Tony Mellows has obtained top secret government documents concerning a possible outbreak of peace. He reports exclusively for GL from his remote hideout in Much Wenlock, Shropshire.

THE MILITARY and right-wing establishment was in a state of shock today after the leaking of a series of government papers prepared to face the possibility of peace breaking out. The State of Relaxation bills cover three separate stages of peace being declared, over a very long timescale, and with full public discussion.

The most controversy centres on what the bill calls GDAs - Ground De-fencing Areas - which are the

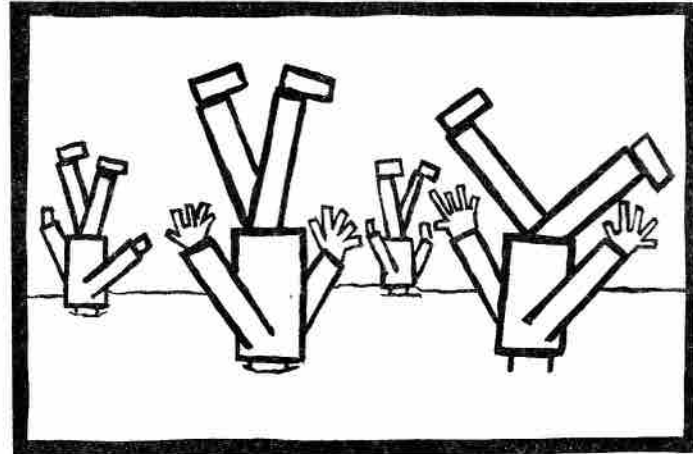


Proposed sites of GDAs

locations in which standard laws and regulations would be relaxed at the onset of a long period of peace and harmony between the countries of the world, with particular emphasis being laid on local outbreaks of freedom, harmony and love in the UK.

The plans, hatched in secret over a number of years in plant- and music-filled rooms by the Parliamentary

Committee for De-fencing - have already created a wave of virulent protest from military strategists, arms manufacturers, Tory backbenchers, the owners of most of our national newspapers, and large numbers of top bankers, industrialists and property speculators.



Redeployed General Staff

An alliance has been formed, called the Establishment, to have the plans exposed and dropped. In essence the leaked plans contain details of a series of bills of National Peace and Relaxation, and the phased introduction of GDAs.

PHASE 1

When peace looks imminent, for example after 40 years without armed conflict in Europe, this phase involves the release of land held by the re-named Ministry of De-fence. All fences and barriers in and around a designated list of establishments will be dismantled, and any preparations for hostilities going on within the perimeter will be abandoned. Any subversives still planning hostilities may be summarily arrested and held for up to three months to undergo a course of breathing and relaxation exercises, Tai-chi, creative music-making, flower arranging and their favourite pleasures.

Fifteen centres, currently US and RAF bases, will be de-fenced and deregulated immediately (released from all laws, including planning and tax laws) for six-month periods, renewable at the discretion of the Home Secretary (see below). The GDAs will effectively be hostility-free reservations in which settlers would be encouraged to form their own arrangements and laws. Most peace-game scenarios reveal Greenham Common as the world's first women's city, with Molesworth, Alconbury, Mildenhall, Faslane and other bases being the first sites for 'conscious alternative settlements'. The plans also reveal that Phase 1 involves an allocation of 10% of the De-fence budget (£1.8 billion) being given in capital grants to homeless or poorly housed people to move into GDAs and build their own structures if they wish. Arms manufacturing would cease and most military personnel and equipment would be phased over to Third World development aid at a rate of 5% per annum.

PHASE II

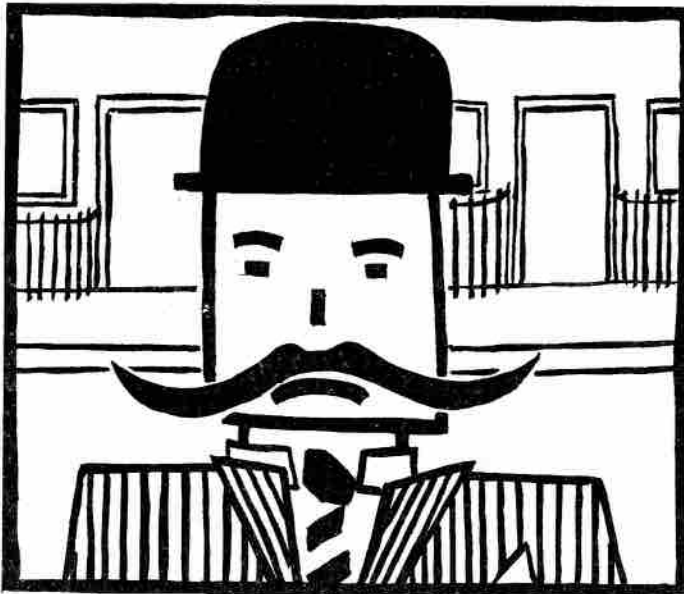
After a further 20 years of peace the next shock revelation involves the extension of GDAs to areas surrounding current GDAs and to all military estab-

ishments, in the interests of national security. This would result in vast areas of land being freed for peace reservations, and would erase all military targets from the map. All military barriers would be down, all ex-military installations would be run in a variety of ways, from total anarchy to highly disciplined self-sufficient spiritual communities, depending upon the will of the inhabitants.

PHASE III

The third phase would not be brought into effect until permanent world peace was a virtual certainty. At this point the Relaxation Bill, when enacted, would allow for anyone at any time to refuse to take instructions from anyone, and for members of the peace movement to move at will around any part of the country, hugging anyone they liked. The Ministry of De-fence will be a small Government agency whose function is primarily the recycling of old military hardware, and the maintenance of International War Zone Play Centres in Greenland, Siberia and the Falklands where ex-generals, squaddies and football hooligans would be encouraged to go to play war games without hurting anyone else.

As part of the plans, it was also revealed this week that the Government has for over a year been conducting a covert 'feasibility and appraisal' exercise known as Operation Surrender. In this



Sir George Copplesstone: "We will fight..."

exercise undercover agents have been infiltrating organisations and groups of all kinds in a variety of bewildering disguises. These agents, trained in gardening, self-therapy and harmony singing, have been secretly recruited and trained over the last 20 years and are capable of bringing peace and harmony into most situations of potential conflict (usually by telling jokes at moments of high tension). They are particularly effective in the media and music worlds. Their recent most spectacular coup involved taking over 95% of the world's television networks and showering half the world's population with music about love and peace for 14 hours. At the same time they attracted £50m for famine relief.

The extension of Operation Surrender under the Relaxation Acts calls for decentralised raids into Old Age towns and cities, using tactical new clear devices such as street theatre, music workshops and city greening strategy, as well as festivals of all kinds and sizes. Such approaches will require the sanction of the Home Secretary - who it is rumoured will be the man who has already masterminded such activities in London, Ken Livingstone.



Proposed uniforms of the Royal Corps of Tree Planters

After the first leaking of these highly sensitive plans, the newly appointed Minister for Peccadilloes Mr Cecil Parkinson commented: "Of course we do acknowledge that there may come a time when, reluctantly, we have to face a situation where there has been peace in Europe for a long period, and ministers and their advisers may from time to time consider scenarios in which the occupation of much of Europe by military forces no longer serves the long-term national interest; but I can give you my word that this Government has no intention of rushing into any state of peace or relaxation."

The spokesman for SPAR (Society for the Preservation of the Arms Race), Sir George Copplesstone, reacted angrily to the leaked news. "We will fight this infringement of our natural and instinctive rights," he said yesterday. To the question as to whether he could see a State of Peace and Relaxation being declared in this country, he stated, "Over my dead body!" □

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SERVANTS OF THE GLOBAL RICH

Nearly 40 agencies and organisations go to make up the United Nations' development effort. But many channel resources into projects which serve the interests only of the wealthy members of the global community. JUSTIN WALKER suggests how the UN could take a greener view of development.

ALMOST EVERYONE in the green movement believes the existing United Nations development system to be a ramshackle group of large, inefficient and irrelevant international agencies which produce plenty of glossy literature on how effective they are, but which in reality do very little to alleviate the appalling conditions of the destitute in the Third World. And apart from a few notable exceptions, this is regrettably the case.

Can We Green the U.N.?

Say the word 'green' today to most UN bureaucrats and the chances are they would think immediately of the 'green revolution' that took place in developing countries during the sixties and early seventies where an upsurge of grain production occurred through new crop varieties and the greater use of chemical fertilisers. Needless to say this revolution was neither 'green' nor successful.

The number of senior people at the UN who see the word 'green' as we do are few and far between. For us, green development is largely about radical land reform, the opposition to exploitative cash crops, the encouragement of self-reliance at community level, and the promotion of intermediate technology and organic agriculture.

Unfortunately all this differs considerably from what the UN sees as successful development. The United Nations, like the Brandt Commission, believes the key to solving poverty lies in industrial economic growth and improving trading conditions. The 'trickle down' theory still prevails even though all the evidence shows the elites in the Third World are just getting richer and the poor poorer. And whilst this goes on, the living resources that the poor depend on are either being destroyed or exploited to points of exhaustion.

So what's to be done? How can the UN be made to change significantly its attitude and priorities towards development? And what structural changes should be made to the UN?

The latter question is perhaps the easier to answer. The existing UN development system has around 36 participating international agencies and organisations. One of the most extensive, but not very well known, is the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). This (in its own words) is "the world's largest channel for multilateral technical and pre-investment cooperation". It is active in some 150 countries and territories and

in virtually every economic and social sector. Presently there are some 5,000 UNDP-supported projects being carried out by the whole of the UN development system.

But because UNDP is committed to economic development, a substantial number of the projects tend to be large-scale and capital-intensive. Whilst this sort of centralised technical development appeals to politicians, industrialists and bankers, it certainly does little for the rural poor and in many cases does actual positive harm to their living resources.

What is needed is a coordinating umbrella organisation similar to UNDP but which supports wholeheartedly the principles of green, sustainable development. The best way to achieve this would be to merge UNDP with the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), as the latter - which helped to produce the World Conservation Strategy - has at its fingertips an enormous wealth of information on living resource conservation.

The aim of this new international organisation (let's call it the United Nations Development and Environment Programme - UNDEP) would be simple: to ensure that all people in the world have adequate food, shelter, health, education and jobs in an ecologically stable environment. Or put another way: to initiate development projects that benefit villages and communities rather than banks and transnational corporations.

To achieve this aim, one of UNDEP's most important tasks would be to coordinate and facilitate the huge amount of research work and projects currently being undertaken by non-governmental organisations such as the International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources, Oxfam, Cafod, and the Save the Children Fund. Those concerned with appropriate technology, such as the Intermediate Technology Development Group, would be especially encouraged, as would smaller, less well-known organisations like Green Deserts which attempt to link up communities in the North with communities in the South with 'bottom-up' development projects.

Within the UN development system itself UNDEP's role would be to green the different agencies and organisations by funding them to undertake sustainable development projects. A few members of the UN family are already significantly green in their thinking.

For example, the International Fund for Agricultural Development, in its own words, "finances projects which meet the needs of small farmers and the rural landless, while taking into account the specificities of the resource base of the area concerned as well as the need to promote the production of traditional crops and to preserve the ecological balance". The only real problem with IFAD is that their help is in the form of loans, though admittedly with highly concessional terms involving repayment over a period of 50 years. It would be far better if these loans were straightforward grants as developing countries are already crippled enough with exorbitant debts.

However the main UN organ for food, the Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO), whilst advocating the need for grassroots development projects to help smallholders, still participates in unecological grandiose schemes such as the attempt to annihilate the tsetse fly in a partly forested area of seven million square kilometres in Central Africa (using DDT and other extremely dangerous chemicals) so as to turn it into rangelands for producing beef for export to

the USA.

Of course the effectiveness of UNDEP would depend very much on its organisational set-up. The secretariat must be designed to accept the two essential ingredients needed for green development: firstly, that funds and resources allocated to a particular project are not delayed through inefficiency and needless bureaucracy; and secondly that projects where possible should be 'self-help' in character thereby avoiding the large number of foreign 'experts' that tend to overwhelm a developing nation.

UNDEP, unlike FAO which has around 3,500 regular staff at its Rome headquarters (IFAD has only 170), would concentrate on having a very small secretariat in favour of a comprehensive network of locally run Field Offices.

A cause of much public disillusionment about the UN are the enormous salaries of senior officials. For example, Mr Aamadou-Mahtar M'Bow, Director-General of UNESCO, has an annual tax-free salary of \$157,000, not including entertainment expenses, travel expenses, and a luxury penthouse on top of UNESCO's building in Paris. UNDEP's salary scales should be radically different - they would be much, much lower and paid according to the needs of the individual. There would certainly be no difference between a person working in the secretariat at the centre and a person working in the field, as both have an equally important role to play.

UNDEP's Governing Council should also be radically different. In a recent efficiency study paper produced by the UN Institute for Training and Research, entitled "Diplomats' Views on the United Nations System - an Attitude Survey", only 18% (185) of those UN diplomats to whom the questionnaire was sent bothered to reply. It is this appalling apathy shown

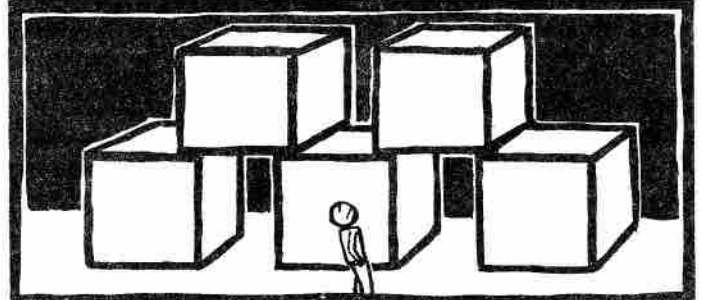
We also believe that the United Nations should be considerably strengthened, its agencies restructured to cope with the challenges that now confront us, and its powers to influence and effect international cooperation greatly enhanced - particularly in the areas of food distribution, pollution control, resource management and population.

Politics for Life

by many of the member nations' representatives that severely undermines the UN's effectiveness. Either they are lackeys of governments with outdated and dangerously irrelevant political views (East v. West) or they belong personally to the corrupt elites of developing countries. Whichever is the case, to counter this apathy UNDEP would have to allow on its governing council - with full voting rights - representatives from non-governmental organisations and Third World local pressure groups (such as the Chipko movement which through community nonviolent action stops deforestation in the Himalayas).

The funding of UNDEP could well be a problem. Over the past few years a number of donor member nations have been switching from multilateral to bilateral aid in an attempt to revive their recession-hit economies. The effect has been that nearly all UN organisations have had to make cut-backs and ask

recipient countries to reduce their requests for help. To get round this problem, the more liberal and non-aligned developed countries would be encouraged to steer their UN contributions towards UNDEP and green development projects. Eventually, as public confidence grows, difficult nationalistic governments could be bypassed by encouraging local councils and communities in the North to sponsor grassroots projects in the South with UNDEP doing the coordinating and facilitating. After all, the opening words of the UN Charter are: "We the peoples" (not governments) "of the United Nations..."



Realistically, though, the chances of any such radical structural changes are slim. The UN development system did not come into being as part of some grand design; it exists as a result of ad hoc decisions taken over a period of 40 years. Inevitably this has led to a considerable amount of empire building within the system as UN executives jealously guard their organisations' responsibilities. The resulting duplication of effort and significant non-cooperation, coupled with the public lack of confidence in the UN, the growing ecological crises in the Third World and the lack of awareness about green development, makes it imperative that the green movement seriously considers ways of changing UN attitudes and priorities towards development.

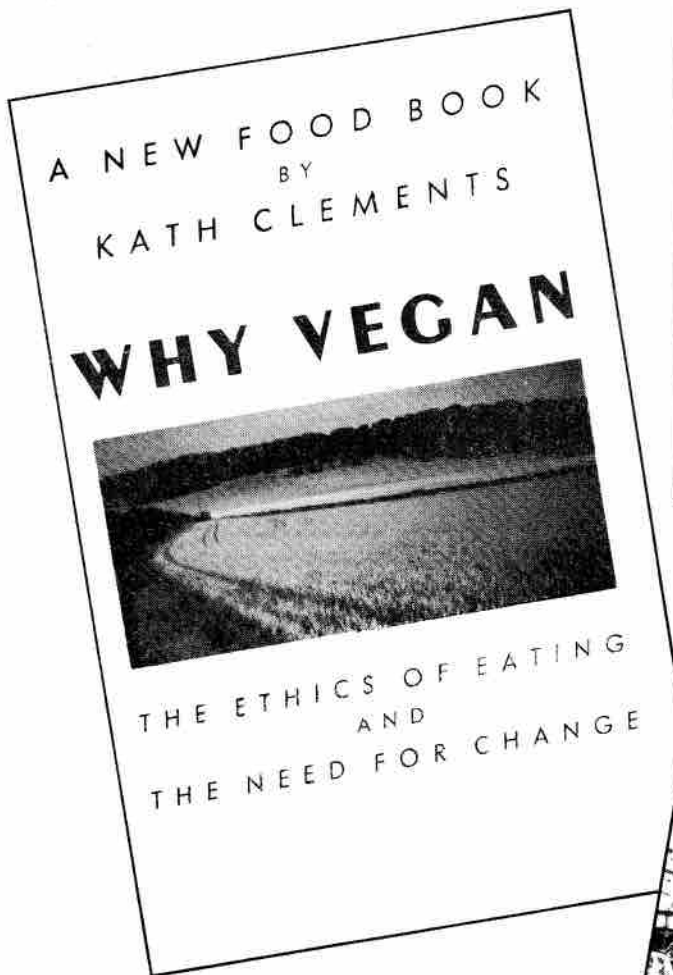
As luck would have it, a body recently set up by the UN Secretary-General - the World Commission on Environment and Development - is presently taking evidence from governments and NGOs about critical environment and development problems. This Commission, which is to have its findings and recommendations ready for the UN General Assembly of 1987, provides a perfect opportunity over the coming months for greens to make their opinions felt on development matters at an international level. (For further details write to Mr Peter Stone, Director of Information, World Commission on Environment and Development, Palais Wilson, 52 rue des Paquis, 1201 Geneva, Switzerland.)

Following the success of The Other Economic Summit (TOES), there might be a case for establishing The Other United Nations - or more realistically for setting up something akin to the imaginary UNDEP. Of course such an organisation would have to be much smaller and, initially, without the ability to fund projects. However, its main responsibilities would be to coordinate and facilitate green development projects using NGOs; to set up new and encourage existing Third World local pressure groups; to link communities in the North with communities in the South; to find effective ways for the UN to bypass nationalistic governments; and, finally, to educate the public about green development. Hopefully, by being seen to be relevant, efficient and cost-effective, such an organisation could exert both considerable political and moral pressure on the UN to adopt a more radical and green approach to development. □

** Feedback on this article and its suggestions to
Justin Walker, Hylands, 8 Weld Road, Birkdale,
Southport, Lancs PR8 2AZ (phone 0704 65087).



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Kath Clements

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BUILDING THE GREEN MOVEMENT

Rudolf Bahro

The former East German dissident has emerged in recent years as a leading figure in the West German Green Party, and a political thinker of international influence. This collection of Bahro's articles and talks from 1982 to 1985 covers his views on North-South relations and the peace movement, his increasing disaffection with parliamentary politics, his insistence on the need for a spiritual resurgence, and his ideas on the formation of communes.

paperback £5.95

BOOKS OF GAY AND GENERAL INTEREST

Goodwill to all - stuff the turkey

GRAHAM HOOPER provides the turkey's view of Christmas.

ONCE AGAIN the so-called season of goodwill (?) to all (?) approaches with the usual giving of presents, to the delight of shopkeepers and chain-stores' accountants, and with displays of charity that should be shown all year round.

Among the Yuletide traditions is the eating of turkey - or some other fowl - on Christmas Day. At the unshamed risk of spoiling your appetite, this article tells how the vast majority of turkeys get to the butcher's shop or the supermarket freezer.

Between 1970 and 1980 the number of turkeys killed each year grew from 3m to 23m - an estimated 13m of them for Christmas. The majority of these are factory farmed in similar ways to broiler chickens.

From day-old chicks to slaughter they are confined in controlled conditions indoors, with up to 20,000 to a shed. Space per bird can be as little as 1½ square feet for chicks, or 3½ square feet for birds over 16 weeks old: this for a creature with a wingspan of about a yard.

They are fed a high protein diet based on grains and soya for quick fattening. Despite conditions said to be hygienic and plenty of food and water, some birds become bedraggled and deformed and about 5% die before reaching slaughter weight, often from heart attacks caused by an unnaturally fast rate of fattening.

At between 13 and 24 weeks of age turkeys are taken for slaughter, where their worst suffering occurs. Normally taken at night, they are caught by their legs and passed between members of the catching team before being crammed into crates on a lorry bound for the slaughterhouse. The rough handling, the jolting and the noise of the journey and the sudden change from a controlled climate to the temperature of the outside world must be quite distressing and frightening.

At the slaughterhouse, and after a wait of up to 3 hours, they are unloaded and hung by their feet on a moving shackles line that carries them to slaughter. They can be left hanging upside down for up to six minutes before arriving at the stunner, something at least one vet has described as constituting gross cruelty. Stunning is by immersion of their heads in an electrified water bath.

Up to 30 seconds after stunning the turkeys' throats are cut by an automatic knife, with a back-up man to do those that are inaccurately cut or not cut at all. Next they pass over a bleeding tank, on into a scalding tank (to loosen the feathers), and finally to a feather-plucking machine, before processing into the usual carcass or sausages or other products.

Stunning is not 100% successful as some birds lift their heads, missing the stunner. A few even miss the knife, going into the scalding tank still alive.

As well as the cruelty to sentient creatures in intensive turkey production, there is the waste of edible vegetable protein in their fattening. It is

estimated that at least 8 lbs of protein in the form of grains are needed to provide 1 lb of turkey meat. I wonder how much of that is imported from the Third World?

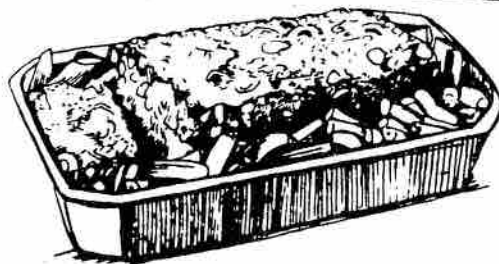
A very similar story could be told about broiler chickens. Other factory farmed animals also suffer much in rearing and slaughter, with similar wastage of vegetable foods.

Is it really 'goodwill' to eat the product of cruel exploitation at Christmas - or at any other time, for that matter - and thus support and finance that exploitation. Why not make this Christmas the time to start bringing compassion into the kitchen? Start giving turkey and other animal products (or at least those from factory farming) the bird.

*** Our survey of GL subscribers shows that just over half are vegetarian. About 8% (included in that figure) are vegan. About two-third of people attending Green Party conferences say they are vegetarian. □



THERE ARE many vegetarian, vegan, wholefood, and/or sugar or salt-free recipes which offer delicious Christmas eating. Many are contained in a recipe booklet, "Wholefood Christmas Cookery", published by the Wholefood Cookery School in Leicester. Below we give their recipe for Chestnut Roast: other recipes in the booklet include Christmas Cake, mince pies, Christmas Cake, carob and hazelnut cake, brandy rice cream, miso and seaweed gravy, salads, dressing etc. For a copy, send 50p (includes p&p) to EOA Books, 34 Cowley Road, Oxford OX4 1HZ.



Chestnut Roast

150g chopped cashew nuts.	Salt and pepper.
150g chestnuts: cooked and peeled or puree.	1 green pepper.
1 tspn. miso or yeast extract dissolved in water	100g breadcrumbs.
1 tblspn. oil - cold pressed sesame.	1 large onion.
½ tspn. oregano.	1 clove garlic.
	1 tblspn. flour.
	½ tspn. sage.

1. Finely chop onion and pepper and crush garlic and saute in oil.
2. Stir in flour, water and miso, stirring well for a few minutes.
3. Add all of the other ingredients and a little extra water if a bit dry.
4. Put in 2lb tin, line with greaseproof and bake for 45 minutes at Reg. 5 or 375°F

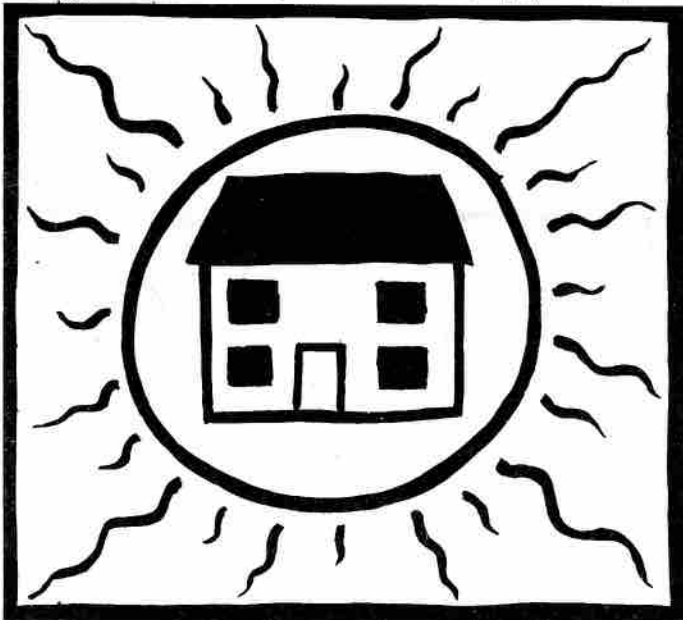


Handel's solar collector

SOLAR HEATING isn't just a new technical fix. It's a way of putting people's feet firmly back on the planet. IAN FLINDALL now earns a living by installing solar water systems...

SOME WHILE back while driving to work, I put a Handel tape in the cassette player. It was a bright early morning, and Handel's Water Music resounded round the car in the commuter traffic.

By chance we were heading for Kingston. As the music swelled we crossed the Thames at Hampton Court. Suddenly the strains of the Water Music took on a new entity, the music fitted the surroundings, it was



where it was meant to be - the soft mist-swathed sun-dappled river was one thing, the rising harmonies another, but together they were more than two parts, they had fused into a new 'whole' synesthetic experience of grand magnitude - a real experience that as we entered the traffic-dogged one way system of Kingston declined in quantum measure.

I introduce this piece on renewable energy in this way because I think it's important to realise that we are talking about something unqualifiable yet attainable. We have the easily available cheap technology. We have the desperate need to offer credible alternatives to outrageous nuclear contamination, to disgraceful acid rain, to profligate waste of fuel resources. We can put the appropriate technology to work, we can heat our water, we can warm our homes, we can run our stereos, our kitchen gadgets and industrial processes, and we can put this technology to work in our finite environment - and what would we have achieved? We would suddenly have something that fitted, we would have a human community living in cohesion with the

Earth's processes, a community that diverted the natural resources awhile to sustain itself before returning them to the environment in the same way that all other sustainable life processes do.

Suddenly we would have not just the technology in a human environment: we would have a combination of parts which added up to a much greater whole, a sustainable organic system where appropriate technology is just one of the parts, the others being complex human society and the global ecology. A whole new experience: this quantum leap is attainable!

My house is only partly converted to energy sustainability. It has taken several years of painful learning and practical experience in largely uncharted and conflicting territory to get as far as we have. But returning home is a joy because I know that this attainable goal is approaching. We will have a dwelling that fits in place on the planet.

House renovations have mainly concentrated on passive systems - heat retention, insulation, passive solar gain, etc. These are perhaps the hardest things to retrofit (how do you insulate a solid floor when your head is touching the ceiling?).

Already the fragments are coming together to more than the whole - floors and walls that do not lose heat contribute in a positive way to my gradual release from the stifling 'work' ethic and allow me space to develop my personal creativity. But the immediate experience is unquantifiable. It is the not feeling heat loss from the body, something hard to explain because we have become so used to our skin feeling cold, to feeling the heat differential between ourselves and the walls, to feeling cold concrete drawing our feet. The new sensation is simply comfort and is priceless - and once created, free!

Why are people still dying of hypothermia?

The evacuated heat pipe

We are now able to contemplate using some of the active technology of renewable energy (solar panels) which only make economic/ecological sense once the basic awareness that energy must be used efficiently and not wasted is realised. Hence the priority of passive systems mentioned earlier.

The basic lesson also applies to industry; by cutting energy demanded by waste and inefficiency, renewable systems have a chance to cope, and far from being a punitive measure it is a 'liberating' one and will be of surprising benefit in many spheres.

Returning to the use of active technology in the home, I would like to draw your attention to Evacuated Heat Pipe solar collectors. Working off a similar principle to your fridge, they have overcome many disadvantages of flat-plate collectors. A freon liquid/gas mixture in the pipe behind the collector fin vaporises in response to the sun's radiation. It immediately transfers this energy to the top of the pipe which is inserted into an insulated water manifold. The water cools the mixture at the pipe end causing it to condense and give up its latent heat. Heat transfer is rapid unlike water-filled flat-plate collectors, there is no chance of freezing as there is no water in the collector itself, and the heated water can be used directly. The long thin fins are enclosed in an evacuated glass tube so there is no reflected heat back to the air. A remarkable



achievement! Efficiency overall is better than $1\frac{1}{2}$ times that of flat plate collectors, and consequently optimum collector areas for the average family are proportionately reduced.

Though the units themselves are dearer than the traditional models (FPCs) they have several installation advantages that outweigh the extra cost. For the plumbers among you, the direct use of the heated water results in considerable material savings. A real advantage of the solar pipes is that they react so quickly in times of only marginally good collecting days. Since the marginal weather occurs more in spring and autumn, these units effectively extend the solar water-heating season. This may give us an option for space heating which is needed just when

solar radiation is lowest, in the winter months.

A minor consideration is that these units look good!

Some say that this system is not ecologically sound, involving as it does high-tech gases and evacuated glass technology - things that are not easily available locally. True, but unfortunately nor are copper or aluminium, and I am not personally opposed to appropriate use of high or new technology. □



** Ian Flindall can install solar water systems for those readers whose powers of DIY fail them at crucial moments. Write to him (SAE please) at The White Cottage, Canalside, Park Lane, Harefield, Middlesex

Rays of solar hope

AFTER A wet and windy summer, perhaps the last thing one might expect is a call for a greater use of solar power to heat buildings. Nevertheless a recent Department of Energy booklet, 'Passive Solar Design', suggests that far more use could be made of solar energy to heat homes and reduce our dependence on traditional fossil fuels.

Currently more than 25% of primary fuel consumption in Britain goes towards heating and cooling buildings. The DoEn study concludes that direct use of the sun's heat could reduce domestic and industrial heating costs by as much as one-third, saving £10 billion each year... solely through more appropriate building designs and the use of construction materials with a high heat capacity.

All houses derive a significant proportion of their heating and lighting needs from solar energy received through windows. The object of passive solar design is to maximise this direct energy gain through architectural form, by for example siting rooms requiring most heat in a south-facing direction with large windows, and having only small windows on the north - and if possible, east and west - sides. Other obvious features of 'direct gain' houses are thermal storage systems in masonry walls to soak up solar heat during the day and release it at night; suitable ventilation to avoid over-heating in summer; and thermally controlled back-up heating systems to supplement domestic heating needs which cannot be met through solar energy alone.

As part of the study, over 100 well-insulated direct gain houses in Milton Keynes were monitored and compared with similar houses without passive solar features; it was found that in four-bedroom detached houses passive solar measures costing £70, and increased insulation and draughtstripping costing £310, typically reduced heating bills by 40% compared with equivalent houses built to current UK building regulations. With a consequent saving of around £140 on heating costs, the whole package added under 1% to construction costs, with a pay-back period of only two years.

In addition to outlining the current state-of-the-art of passive solar design in the UK, the booklet contains information on similar R & D being carried

out in the US, pointing to the potential for future collaboration between the two countries.

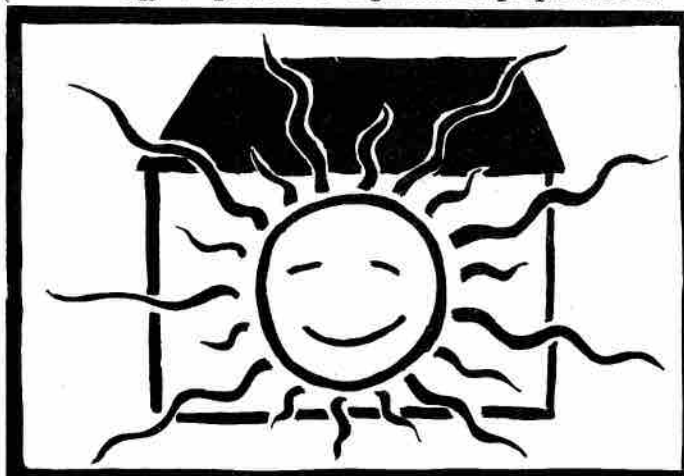
** "Passive Solar Design" is available free of charge from the Distribution Unit, Room 1312, Dept of Energy, Thames House South, Millbank, London SW1P 4QJ.

—00000—

EUROPE'S MOST ambitious solar housing project was opened at the end of September... not in the Mediterranean, but in the English Midlands.

Bourneville Solar Village near Birmingham cost around £10m to construct, largely with funding from the EEC. It comprises 300 houses and housing units, architecturally designed to maximise insolation and minimise natural heat losses, incorporating passive design features corresponding to those discussed in the booklet mentioned above.

The major aim of the designers was not to build space-age houses employing the latest solar energy gadgetry, but rather to illustrate that a reliance on solar energy to provide a significant proportion of



domestic heating requirements need not intrude on traditional building and living styles.

Hopefully if this EEC-backed scheme proves to be a financial as well as a technological success, the Government will become more actively involved in encouraging solar housing design and development in Britain. □

(These two reports first appeared in the Bulletin of the UK Centre for Economic and Environmental Development, No 5 Sept/Oct 1985.)

Friends or enemies?

ADVERSARIAL POLITICS can be a hindrance to communication and an obstacle to furthering the cause, as GRAHAM BELL discovered when he went to talk to his local Communist Party.

IT'S PART OF the way that we're taught and expected to think in our society that ideas, groups and material realities are seen as separate, distinct and 'different'. An orange isn't an apple, would be a very simple example.

But the challenge of green philosophy is nowhere more direct and demanding than when applied to this aspect of our thinking. Green philosophy says that all points in time, all people, all resources, all facets of the ecosphere are subtly but inextricably linked. Apples and oranges are one in the overall order of things - they're just different parts of the same beautiful and infinitely precious living reality.

I was asked to take part in a debate recently with the Lewisham Communist Party. On one side they'd have me (criticising the Communist perspective) and on the other John Peck (the CP national agent) who, I was told, was 'very hot on the environment'. The subject we were discussing was 'The World's Resources' (in an hour and a half!).

At first I felt very unhappy about being forced into a confrontational kind of debate; I wanted to talk with people, not against them. I wanted to know more about what we had in common than what was different. Well, if you want people on your side, it's better to talk in the sort of terms they use themselves. So, unwillingly, I based my contribution on a critique of The British Road to Socialism - which is the CP's long-term plan and the nearest thing to the Green Party's 'Politics for Life'.

I want to use this article to tell you what I found out, what happened in the discussion, and where I ended up - which was a significant shift from where I started.

-o-o-0-o-o-

The 'British Road to Socialism' has precious little to say about the 'World's Resources'. The Road is very British, and although Britain's political present is seen 'against the background of the world crisis in capitalism', there's little real connection made between the industrial policies of the rich North and the exploitation of the poor South.

We are told of 'the immense change in the balance of world forces' - i.e. the rise of socialism. There's an optimistic picture that capitalist imperialism is crumbling before the advance of 'socialism's great potential for human development'. We are assured that socialism has made greater economic advances than capitalism. We are told that NATO is being forced to seek policies of detente.

In my adversarial role picked for me by my hosts I questioned whether these ideas, first published in

1977, hadn't been overtaken by events since then. NATO seeking detente???

There's recognition that 'the scandalous excesses of extreme wealth for a few and hardship for millions' can be ended. We're told that 'the environment' is 'a problem'. I said I thought the environment was fine, it just had some problems that people caused, and some that came from nature.

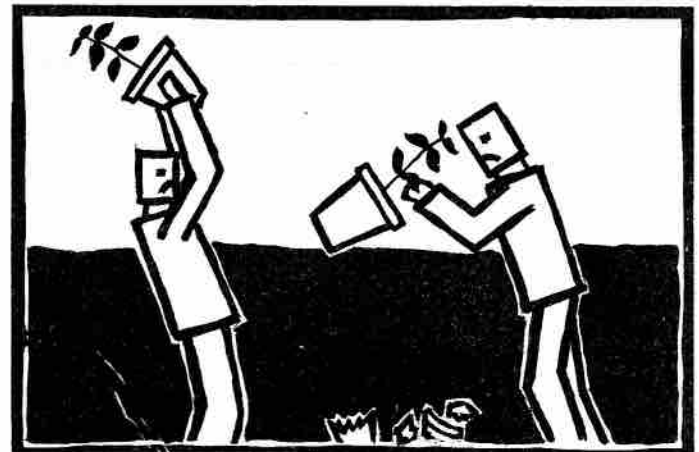
One quote stands out as an example of the lack of green thinking in CP policy:

"All energy resources should be publicly controlled and managed as part of an overall plan. Further large-scale nuclear development should only take place if and when the vital issue of safety and the responsibility for the future of mankind (sic) are satisfactorily resolved."

The CP still believes in 'Atoms for Peace'. I point out that lots of small-scale nuclear developments produce as much plutonium (and leukaemias, and suffering in the Rossing mine in Namibia) as a few big ones. I questioned the viability of the public ownership of the sun, wind and sea as energy resources. Was Canute a paid-up member?

In the section 'Why Britain Needs Socialism' we read:

"The quality of life is threatened. City centres become gold mines for property speculators. Long overdue urban renewal is further postponed. The countryside is despoiled, pollution is spreading, and fortunes are made out of 'land development'. The railways and public transport are sacrificed to the interests of the big monopolists. Culture is commercialised and people are denied the opportunity to develop their abilities and talents to the full.



Human relations are distorted and sex exploited for profit by newspapers, advertisers and big business."

This could almost be the manifesto of a Green-Red alliance, and the passages on racialism and feminism would certainly find favour in my version of the Green future.

The stumbling blocks for a Red-Green future are, however, numerous. The CP is committed to 'the winning of a labour government' as the road to a radical future, 'led by the labour movement'. There is no recognition of the hierarchical nature of Trade Union and Labour Party leadership and the flattening effect that has on truly radical ideas. After the coal dispute how do the CP feel about Labour Party support for working class struggle?

There's talk of 'the advanced capitalist countries of Western Europe' as if technocracy, rather than peaceful and harmonious social co-existence were the primary sign of 'advancement'.

There's much support for local democracy, but this is

seen as needing to be directed by a centralist leadership.

The bit that really makes me say 'Ouch!' reads:

"Communists want ... a society in which there are more material goods and social services."

I want less social services because I want less need for them (i.e. less social deprivation) and I want such services to be provided in a caring, loving cooperative way by the local community. I'm not sure what is the purpose of more material goods: I want the greatest level of happiness for the greatest number of people, and I'm not sure materialism will help.

The problem is that CP policy - i.e. Marxism - is based on 'the process of production' and its owner-

"Communists want a society in which there are more material goods..."

ship. Greens want minimal production sufficient to the needs (not the commercially manufactured desires) of the community.

John Peck based his talk on a critique of Jonathon Porritt's 'Seeing Green', and his major disagreement with JP was that socialism was not state capitalism. I tried to reply that this section of the 'British Road to Socialism' proved JP right.

There's a commitment in the pamphlet to unity 'in a broad democratic alliance' to 'put Britain on a new course', and discussion centred on how/why reds and greens could ally.

Broadly speaking the reds (provoked by my SERA badge: 'I'm Red and Green - it's only natural') found that for dialectical reasons you can't be red and green. 'There are still huge differences of ideology.' The whole discussion was delightful and every speaker built on the ideas that had gone before without criticism. I felt welcome in the company of gentle, caring people.

Afterwards it occurred to me what is the crux of the matter. I'd gone along to discuss beliefs and dogma; what it says on the bits of paper. The reality was I'd fallen for seeing us as distinct and different parts of reality that we might try and unite with some political superglue. I'd missed the green point.

We are all one. We are all part of the inseparable beautiful and infinitely precious living reality. That reality doesn't exist on paper or in words - it's expressed through actions. Ask any of these CP members or greens to take part in an action to promote peace, racial harmony, conservation of resources - and they'll all be happy to work together and would find in action an expression of their deep commitment to a sustainable, safe, peaceful future which transcended doctrinal differences.

That's the message for me now. Red-to-green Rudolf Bahro's critique of 'actually existing socialism' is a stunning trip through the swamp of reaction that arises when the state is run on dogmatic principles. A future based on action (i.e. work) within a local community and with cooperative objectives is one where the realities of need for comfort and creative stimulation and reward surpass ideological trivialities and bring people together.

Let's stop arguing about the differences. Let's make a green world by working with reds (and blues and yellows and greys) on actions that take us nearer the world we want.

Questionnaire

Questionnaire

Please complete!

Please complete!

As subscriptions become due for renewal, we ask subscribers to complete a questionnaire: we now have enough replies to begin to get a profile of some of our readers, and to understand what they would like to see GL doing in the future.

But only a quarter of our readers are subscribers: most of you buy your copies from friends or at meetings and conferences, or from bookshops. It's that majority of readers with whom we have no other form of contact that we would now like to ask to complete the questionnaire below. (If you are a subscriber, please ignore it: you'll get your chance when you next renew!)

Age: _____ Sex: m / f . Employed/self-employed/unemployed/houseworker /retired.

Town and county where you live: _____
Do you live in city/town/village/isolated ?

Are you a member of a political party? Yes / No
If yes, which? _____

List green/alternative groups you belong to:

List political/alternative mags you read fairly regularly:

Would you describe yourself as: middle class / working class / socialist / green / anarchist / feminist / liberal / vegetarian / vegan / gay / black (Delete any that do not apply).

About how long have you been reading GL? _____

Do you read every / some / occasional issues?

Do you buy your copy from a friend / a meeting / a bookshop / a wholefood shop / _____ ?

Things you've enjoyed in GL _____

Things you haven't _____

Things you'd like more of _____

Things you'd like less of _____

S p e c i a l O f f e r

Readers who complete this questionnaire and would like to become new subscribers can do so at a 'special offer' price of £4 (unwaged/low waged £3.50) for the next 10 issues. To qualify, the questionnaire above and the form below must be completed and returned to Green Line, 34 Cowley Road, Oxford OX4 1HZ BEFORE JANUARY 31 1986.

Name

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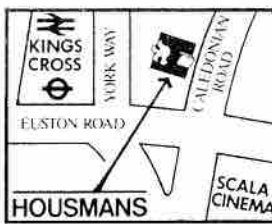
Food for All (or Money for the Few?)

more if millions did not migrate from rural poverty towards the urban mirage of wealth and the reality of the shanty town) is to contribute to the demise of this economic system. That this would contribute to a lowering of the aggregate 'standard of living' in the north is beyond doubt - just as our industrialisation and development took place in the first place literally at the expense of the Third World peoples.

The industrial revolution brought exaggerated extremes of wealth in this country too. Its legacy of poverty, deprivation, sickness and illiteracy is still with us. The reality of the 'Third World' is not a cosy 'them-and-us' situation: rather, the Third World relationship is to be found throughout the world - here and in the US as well as in the Sudan and El Salvador.

Solutions proposed by organisations such as Traidcraft are largely illusory. They can offer only temporary alleviation: they do not change the system. Indeed, they may offer ways of perpetuating the worst aspects of the system, while making it superficially more attractive. Traidcraft are proud to claim that their Tanzanian tea comes from smallholdings and government controlled estates; but surely tea is a fundamental part of Tanzania's problem, particularly if we follow the arguments and illustrations above! And as no one in this country needs tea, why bother to supply it at all? In Sri Lanka Traidcraft are on weaker ground still. Their tea publicity leaflets claim: "Most of our Sri Lankan tea comes from the Waulugala estate in the south. The estate is owned by a Trust which uses half the profits to fund a range of local welfare projects, including homes for handicapped people. The other half is shared amongst estate workers." But the 1985/6 Traidcraft catalogue tells us: "Variations in climate affect the flavour of tea, and in some seasons very little Waulugala tea is suitable for British tastes. Despite this we wish to continue our support for the estate, and our Ceylon teas contain as much Waulugala tea as possible, with a guaranteed minimum this year of 10%." Thus as much as 90% of Traidcraft 'Ceylon' tea appears to be the same old 'ideologically unsound' stuff you'll get from Brooke Bond or whoever.

"Have your cake and eat it" politics must go. We are up to our necks in the economics of the system of exploitation. We have to accept a different (do we call it 'lower'?) standard of living, adjust our expectations, and discard the system which has brought us wealth and privilege. The writing is already on the wall: only when we have smashed the economic relationship which ties poor to rich in the Third World, between North and South, and within our own country too, only then will there be hope. □



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Women and Meditation

WOMEN OF WISDOM, by Tsultrim Allione. Routledge and Kegan Paul, £7.95

MOST OF the Tibetan Buddhist meditation masters best-known in the West are men. Although this reflects to some extent the sexism of traditional Tibetan society, the Tibetan Buddhist tradition has produced enlightened female practitioners, some of whom are beloved of the Tibetans.

When Tsultrim Allione, an American Buddhist, began the Path, she became aware of the lack of female models for spiritual practice. In a moving Preface she writes of her own experiences and the particular problems she had to face as a woman - such as the difficulty of meditating in her situation as a wife and mother after she had disrobed and returned from India to the US. Eventually her own search for expression of women's spiritual experiences brought forth an 'auspicious connection' with Machig Lapdrön, one of the great Tibetan female gurus, and she was led to Machig's biography and then to the life stories of other female teachers.

The book is a translation of six of these biographies, or rnam-thar in Tibetan. rnam-thar in fact means 'complete liberation', and rather than being stories of facts to be read and forgotten, rnam-thar are inspiring accounts demonstrating a living example of the teachings and are designed to be re-read and meditated upon.

The six stories are very different. That of Nangsa Obum revolves around the obstacles preventing Nangsa from receiving teachings and practising, until her final success, and its themes of institutionalised sexism will strike a familiar chord with western readers. On the other hand, Machig Lapdrön is an advanced practitioner who has everything under control from the start! My favourite was the story of A-yu Khadro, perhaps she was a modern-day teacher (died 1953), and most of the tale was related by her and recorded by her student, Namkhai Norbu Rinpoche. The teachings are brought to life in her accounts of her wanderings in which she meets with various lamas, and at times joins up with other travelling yogins - including a woman friend who, it seems, also had many students and attained the 'body of light'.

A persistent theme running through all the biographies is that husbands and children are a hindrance for women who wish to realise the true nature of the mind. Even in the case of Machig Lapdrön where, at a certain stage, taking a consort was necessary for her (and her consort's) progress, and her children were to inherit some of her teaching lineages, the period she spends rearing children does not seem to be marked by any particular realisation. To deepen her understanding, she has to leave her family when the youngest is aged 4. That combining child-care and advanced meditation is possible, we know from the story of the Indian mahāsiddha, Manibhadra, who attained Enlightenment while looking after a husband and three children. (See James Robinson, 'The Buddha's Lions', 1979.) In the Tibetan cultural context, however, perhaps this was ruled out as a possibility. In a world where the work of a mother usually involved growing

food or looking after animals, as well as all the domestic chores, doubtless a woman who was capable of combining this with meditation would have been exceptional indeed! In her 'Introduction' Allione bemoans the lack of teachings which help in dealing with child rearing; she talks of her own personal experiments, and suggests that it's now the duty of spiritually awoken women to demonstrate how the spiritual potential of motherhood can be used as a path.

Finally, Allione makes some interesting comments on the 'dākinī' forces of feminine inspiration which have a central place in Tibetan Buddhist meditation. She argues that the dākinī principle is involved in the protection of the earth and is the force struggling against the patriarchy's destruction of the earth. This 'wrathful' aspect of the feminine energy accounts for the links between the women's movement and the green and peace movement.

There is much more! This book is an enjoyable introduction for the newcomer to Tibetan Buddhism, and also an inspiration for the seasoned scholar or meditator. □

Cathy Cantwell



Understanding Nukes

UNDERSTANDING NUCLEAR WEAPONS, by Kosta Tsipis.
Wildwood House, £6.95.

IN 'UNDERSTANDING Nuclear Weapons' Dr Kosta Tsipis, a physicist, sets out to give a clear understanding of nuclear weapons and associated technologies. The book opens with a concise history of the scientific advances that ushered in the nuclear age. Tsipis goes on to explain how a nuclear explosion works, the various effects that it has, the different sorts of missiles that can be employed to deliver the bomb to its target. This is done in some detail, including how the guidance systems work, what can go wrong with them, how accurate different methods are.

Other chapters give accounts of anti-submarine warfare, the environmental effects of an all-out nuclear war, and anti-ballistic missile systems (Star Wars). A series of very technical and mathematically complex appendices follow which might be useful to the specialist but would be of no use to the general reader.

The main text of the book is lucid and easy to follow, though it does assume a minimal knowledge - such as having a vague idea of what an atom is. The book was first published in the US in 1983 before the dangers of a nuclear winter were fully appreciated and before Reagan's Strategic Defence Initiative (Star Wars), which means it is already dated in several respects. The only reference to the nuclear winter effect is a statement that "the first winter after the nuclear war will be a particularly cold one and the cereal crops in Canada, the United States and the Soviet Union will probably fail that year." Although there is an extensive chapter on anti-ballistic missile systems, I felt that in the light of recent events there was not enough information on certain aspects, in particular the possibility of a laser weapon powered by a nuclear explosion.

The other omissions are harder to understand. There is no mention of nuclear power and the link with nuclear weapons. Nor is the possibility of accidents or their scale investigated. So-called tactical or

battlefield nuclear weapons do not merit a mention either.

Despite this the ground the book does cover is covered very well indeed. It is probably as good a place as any to start understanding the technical aspects of nuclear weapons. The gaps can easily be filled from other publications. The big question is whether it is a useful subject to understand. But having read the book I realised how many important things I was unclear on, or simply didn't know about. I found it very useful and would recommend it. □

Leigh Shaw-Taylor



Taking Back the Home

HOUSING IS THEFT, HOUSING IS FREEDOM, by Colin Ward.
Old Hammond Press / Mushroom Bookshop, £1.

THIS LITTLE pamphlet reads like a gentle ramble through recent housing history, and in fact it was given as a talk to Nottingham Anarchist Group in 1983. Colin Ward is a well-known proponent of the anarchist viewpoint and has several books published to this end, particularly in relation to environmental and housing matters.

He starts with a short introduction to anarchism in general, which is useful enough, and then meanders on to the subject of housing through various erudite and interesting quotations. This slightly undisciplined approach is unfortunate, as he has pertinent things to say and he says them in an engaging way; but what else should we expect from an anarchist!

Seriously though, there are a few major points in this booklet which anyone interested in the state of housing policy in this country needs to take on board if they are to understand what has happened of recent years and which way housing is likely to go in the future. In particular there is the fact that since the 1980 Housing Act and the right it gives for tenants to buy their homes (and at a very favourable discount), the whole emphasis of the housing debate has swung towards the advantages of owner-occupation and the traditional 'socialist' approach has been on the defensive. Almost as significant has been the realisation that the Labour Party's attitude to public housing under its control has helped to produce appalling places to live.

Colin Ward's response (consistent for many years) to these unpalatable facts is the promotion of a take-over by tenants, and he goes on to outline "the first principle of housing": "When dwellers control the major decisions and are free to make their own contribution to the design, construction or management of their housing, both the process and the environment produced stimulate individual and social well-being."

I would not quibble with this cooperative approach, but I see a danger that coops of one kind or another will be made to seem a universal answer to all housing problems; the Labour Party at present is beginning to give this impression. Coops of course have a role to play but there are plenty of other things we could be doing to improve our public housing which don't rely on such an ideal form of organisation.

This pamphlet provides a very readable introduction to current housing issues: I hope it will stimulate the extensive thinking on them that the ecological movement has so far been unable to do. □

Steve Lambert

letters



Community programme: another view

Dear GL,

Steve Dawe claims (GL 37) that the Community Programme employment scheme offers a basis for green forms of employment. He says that it achieves habitat surveys, conservation, community development and all that sort of green stuff. Very good, very worthy.

The problem with the CP is a simple one. People. It may get a few good things done (although rather inefficiently, because as soon as anyone gets competent at their job, their year is nearly up). However, the result is a large number of people on low wages with no job security, and managed by agencies who rely on goodwill as a cover for appalling management. Maybe this is not the case countrywide, but it certainly appears to be here in Devon.

How does this affect people? Those who are manual and unskilled in their placings have suffered a long term of unemployment. Many are just getting to terms with unemployment. They are often in desperate need - as they see it - for work. They then get a poorly paid, part-time job which regularly leaves them still claiming some sort of benefit, especially if they are part of families. They are paid for a year in a situation where they have no power, no employment security. They see little point in union membership and are as a result liable to be treated worse.

Then the crisis comes. Unemployment is once again the spectre, and people have to come to terms once again with the indignity of signing on, adjusting to having a great deal of time on their hands. The dagger taken out for a year is stabbed in just as securely for the majority who are not led on to permanent jobs.

Some people, of course, do get decent pay, and have the ever proffered but seldom offered carrot of a year's extension before them. That is providing they bow to every whim of their management; make sure they stir no trouble; and most of all make sure the workforce they

supervise (it is only supervisors who do get reasonable wages) do not cause trouble and do work hard. They also suffer the frustration of constantly obeying the whims and variable fancies of the local MSC board.

I do admit that working on MSC Community Programme schemes is better than working in a weapons industry, or being in the slave labour of the Youth Training Scheme. At least those exploiting are agencies who are in the main seeking the benefit of the community, though the worth of some schemes seems a little tenuous. However as a result they can get away with practices that an employer for profit would find it difficult to proceed with. Who could conceive of a City Council or a body like the National Trust being incompetent and dishonest?

If all this is the start of a blueprint for a green economy, then I think we ought to join the Tories! Thankfully, I know it is no such blueprint; and as a Green Party member I am quite happy to tear off the green wrapping and discover the filth underneath - all to keep people out of the unemployment statistics.

Tim Brennan (former worker on a National Trust CP scheme)
47 Bartholomew Street West
Exeter, Devon

Saunders Lewis in English

Dear GL,

I was pleased to read the tribute to Saunders Lewis in GL 37. It is not true, however, to say that "none of Saunders Lewis's writings have been translated into English." "Presenting Saunders Lewis", edited by Alan R Jones and Gwyn Thomas, published by the University of Wales Press in 1973 and available in paperback at £5.95, contains a large selection of plays, poems and criticism, as well as Saunders Lewis's speech in his own defence after burning down the aircraft sheds of the RAF bombing school at Penlyberth in Caernarfonshire in 1936, and his radio lecture "The Fate of the Language" (1962) which led indirectly to the formation of the Welsh Language Society, and the campaigns of civil disobedience in Wales in the 60s and 70s.

Poems can be found in various anthologies, for example "The Oxford Book of Welsh Verse in English", and his play "Siwan" can still be found on library shelves in Best Plays of 1960.

Charles Crute
27 Burghill Road, London SE26 4HJ

European Green Gathering 1986

A EUROPEAN Green Gathering will be held in Suffolk from August 19 to 24 1986. Henham Park at Wangford (just 4 miles from the sea at Southwold and a few miles north of Sizewell) has been booked by a new limited company, Green Gatherings Ltd., being formed by David Taylor, Stephanie Leland and Richard Oldfield.

The intention is to make this gathering a 'more political' event than recent gatherings. The new venture has been set up after strong feelings broke out in the Green Collective, following a proposal that the local rugby club should be employed as heavies to keep the convoy out. The Collective as such now has little future, and is expected to be re-constituted as a 'Green Network' of independent groups at a meeting on February 1/2.

Anyone interested in taking part in the European Gathering should write to David Taylor, 8 King Street, Glastonbury, Somerset (phone 31970).

Widening the Web

GREENHAM WOMEN are organising an encirclement of Greenham Common base on Saturday December 14, under the slogan 'Widen the Web'. After decorating the fence, women will link hands at 2 pm. On the Sunday, for those who can stay overnight or come again, there will be various workshops at the different gates. These include food mountains, aid and development (red); nuclear free and independent Pacific (green); apartheid, imperialism, racism (orange); violence against women, torture, prison, zapping (yellow).

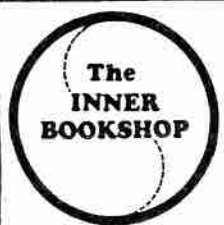
Thursday December 12 is the 6th anniversary of NATO's decision to instal Cruise.

Glanford Greens

A NEW branch of the Green Party has been formed in Glanford on South Humberside. Its second meeting is to be held at Anzac House, Sluice Road, South Ferriby at 2 pm on Sunday December 8. The party has held a fund-raising organic whole-food party, and is campaigning on nuclear waste dumping, nitrate pollution, agricultural policy, and the dangers of cling-film. Contact: Betty Whitwell, 3 Thorngarth Lane, Barrow-on-Humber (0469-30721).

Lichfield Fair

LICHFIELD GREEN Party are holding a Green Fair at Halfpenny Hall, George Lane on Sat Dec 7. Info from Nick on Lichfield 263034.



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Bhopal: death by design

BHOPAL WILL go down in history. 5000 dead, 20000 permanently too ill to work, total injured approaching a quarter of a million. But why? To keep the issues live in our minds, two representatives of the victims (a doctor and a lawyer) have just completed a whistle-stop tour of the UK and Europe.

Their message was simple. The deaths came about as a result of a drive to increase profitability at the plant. Not only were safety recommendations ignored; not only were all installed safety systems inadequate to control an accident; but after the gas leak had occurred, Union Carbide continued to withhold vital information on the gas that had escaped.

Since the early 1960s Union Carbide's own research had shown that the MIC gas was extremely dangerous, and that on contact with water it would form lethal hydrogen cyanide. For 20 years the corporation kept this fact secret from governments and workers alike. When the 'accident' occurred, Union Carbide continued to conceal the fact that the gas leaked was in fact cyanide, thus preventing local doctors from giving the correct remedies.

Seeing Bhopal as 'just another Third World issue' sadly distorts the picture. For a start, Union Carbide run a similar plant in France, and safety measures including evacuation procedures for both the factory and the neighbouring town were only instituted after the workers had commissioned their own analyses and reports: the company wouldn't tell the truth in France either.

Moreover, it's all part of the multinational system in which we rich northerners are intended to be the major beneficiaries. The Bhopal plant was producing pesticides: an evil purpose wherever the factory might be situated. This point is not lost on Bhopal lawyer Anand Grover, who says: "We must consider methods of agricultural production without pesticides." □

** A Bhopal solidarity demonstration will be held in Sheffield on Saturday December 7. March assembles 10.30 at Caborn Corner, Spital Hill; rally 12.30 at Sheffield City Hall. Accommodation: contact Bhopal Solidarity Group, c/o 87 The Wicker, Sheffield.

** For further information on Bhopal and Union Carbide, contact Bhopal Victims Support Committee, Top Floor, 50/2 King Street, Southall, Middx. UB2 4DB.

French Green Party AGM

Marie-Christine Brown writes:

BORN AND brought up in France, I've lived in Britain long enough to feel I was losing touch with French grassroots. I spent three weeks in France this summer with members of 'les Verts', first at their Summer Gathering in the South and later at the Centre for Peace Studies on the Larzac, trying to find out what had been happening to the French green movement for the past thirteen years.

An invitation to join 'les Verts' and to attend their AGM in November seemed an opportunity too good to miss, particularly since the meeting was being held in Lille, my university town and the heart of the region where I have lived most of my life. I wanted to find out how les Verts worked, what was their standing in French politics and their relationship with other parties.

The Channel is a sufficiently wide gulf to influence perceptions from the other side. All the well-informed French seemed to know of our peace movement, for instance, is Greenham and a little about CND. Was our view of French affairs as limited? Les Verts are about 700 strong in France. At the national level the party has an extremely hierarchical, male-dominated, competitive and divisive structure. Their strength varies widely from region to region, but the North seems to be one of the regions which works in a greener way. Perhaps because of this they are not only popular but likely to be the first region to see a green MP in parliament - who will refuse to take part in the government if elected (!) - and two representatives at the conseil régional of the Nord-Pas-de-Calais, out of a grand total of 130 members in the region!

The ferment which had been created in the summer by the Rainbow Warrior sinking seemed sadly to have petered out. Les Verts are very divided about their relationships with other political parties and with protest and pressure groups such as, among others, Greenpeace and Friends of the Earth. As a result they were not able to get their act together at all during the autumn, issuing few public statements and being unrepresented at anti-government demonstrations, unable to make their own stand. On the other hand, les Verts seem to be taking a much more positive position than the Green Party over some crucial social issues such as racism.

Since 1982 and the rise of Le Pen at the head of the Front National,

racism has come much more to the surface. There has been a spate of racial murders: 130 in three years. Recent immigrants as well as 1st, 2nd and sometimes 3rd generation have been hit as in Britain by the rising tide of unemployment. In France, however, if you are coloured and you lose your job, you lose your work permit. Once you've lost that, you've lost your right to stay.

We welcomed at the AGM a group of 'beurs' (second generation children) who had marched from Bordeaux to Lille to publicise and denounce racial attacks.

On the Sunday about 50 Verts went with the marchers to one of the 25 'retention' camps that the French government have built for 'processing' the immigrants while they are waiting 'to be taken back to the frontiers'. Little mention in the British press that a neighbouring socialist government is actually practising what the far right in Britain are so far fortunately only preaching.

Meanwhile the 'conference' went on, green in name but hardly in practice: plenary debates from 9 am to 1 am the following morning, no relaxation, no breaks, no fringe or working groups, sessions chaired and spoken to mostly by men with a lot of shouting, aggressiveness and confrontation. They give the impression of thriving on what divides them rather than on what they have in common. For many, involvement in politics seems far more important than involvement in green ideas. Quite a number of the 'leading' Verts are recent defectors from other parties of the French left and sadly are still dyed in their old colours. Who was it who said, "It's easier to make a politician out of a green than it is to turn a politician into a green"?

On a personal level, away from politics, more of the greenness comes out with warmth and friendship and the particular social atmosphere, which is very French. In a region renowned for its brewing as well as its beer consumption, it took only a little ingenuity for the green 'Chti'mis' to brew and bottle their own beer, labelled with hilarious cartoons designed and donated by one of France's most famous political cartoonists. It proved a lively way to break the ice.

Although proportional representation may bring les Verts more instant success in France, I feel that their style of green politics still has a long way to go. □

BP and the Uranium Connection

SIGRID SHAYER writes:

BRITISH PETROLEUM, 31% owned by the British government and 20% by the Bank of England, is to decide in December whether to go ahead with its 49% involvement in potentially the world's largest uranium mine which is on traditional aboriginal land at Roxby Downs in South Australia.

This vast project, in conjunction with Western Mining of Australia, circumvented the current Labour government's policy of phasing out uranium mining by claiming that uranium extraction was only incidental to the main purpose of mining the huge reserves of copper and gold.

It is now in economic difficulties. Its supply of markets are dwindling and the final feasibility study, presented in June, recommended a scale-down of production by a third. Gold production is proposed to start in mid-'87, with uranium and copper the following year.

The development, also known as Olympic Dam, has elicited widespread protests over the past 3 years from the peace movement, aboriginal land rights movement, womens movement, trade unions, churches, environmental groups and the movement against uranium mining.

The land is traditionally cared for by the Kokotha people, who were moved off in the 1950s to make way for the British Woomera rocket testing range and the testing of British nuclear bombs at Maralinga.

An Environmental Impact Statement presented by the joint venturers (BP and WM) to the South Australian government and passed in June 1983, made only a cursory attempt to locate sites of significance to the Kokotha people, who have actively opposed the project since 1981. Even after an independent anthropological study was done and handed to the government in early 1984, only one recommendation - to set up a liaison committee - was taken up, and that has not yet met.

The current belated national land rights legislation, still under discussion, has had the power removed for aboriginal communities to veto mining claims on their land, through pressure from the mining lobby. The director of Western Mining publicly stated that land rights are 'anti-development'.

The Kokotha people are primarily concerned with their sacred sites in the area and still have no guarantee that they will be safe. 10 of the

50 sites already identified have been destroyed. The main development shaft, Whenan Shaft, goes through a very important sacred site. The air strip is built on their ancestral burial ground.

In August 1983 the Kokotha people occupied an area called Cane Grass Swamp, a sacred site of the Sleepy Lizard Dreaming, preventing its destruction to make way for a road to the mine. They want compensation from BP and WM for sites already destroyed so they can employ their own male and female anthropologists and a lawyer to help sort out their land rights. Joan Wingfield, a Kokotha woman who gave evidence at the Sizewell Inquiry in June 1984, says that they are desperate.

The project is backed by the South Australian government (Labour) who are looking for new jobs in this area of declining manufacturing industry. However, the original estimate of 5000 new direct jobs has dwindled to 1000, and the recent visit to Japan by South Australian premier John Bannon and the director of Western Mining - to secure uranium ore markets - was unsuccessful. Alongside the \$150m spent by BP, who have put up most of the capital for exploration and development, \$50m has been provided for infrastructure by the state government with \$17m per year in maintenance costs. Royalties are only to be paid when production reaches 85% for 60 consecutive days. It has been said that this may never be reached.

The mining companies are also not required to keep medical records of their workers.

Staggering statistics are also found in the ecological arena. The original plan was to pump 33 million litres a day to the mine from the Great Artesian Basin, threatening to drain water supplies to farmers and communities around the edges of central Australia, and to destroy completely unique oases sacred to aboriginal tribes and of great concern to ecologists. Fear is expressed of radioactive contamination to the groundwater.

The companies' method of dealing with the radioactive waste or 'tailings' after extracting the uranium (estimated to cover 150 football fields up to 90m high) has not been tested. Previous methods of covering them with water in huge ponds have failed. In 1971, 100 sq km in Northern Territory were made uninhabitable by a breach in the tailings dam at Rum Jungle Mine

(owned by CRA, subsidiary of Rio Tinto Zinc). \$16m of Australian taxpayers' money were used to try and clean it up after CRA disclaimed responsibility. Currently, the Ranger Uranium Mine, 200 miles east of Darwin, is threatening to release millions of cubic metres of contaminated water from its flooded tailings ponds into creeks that flow through the Kakadu National Park, a world heritage listing.

As well as a long-term 'Boycott BP' campaign, which was revitalised this September, protests have involved nonviolent direct action coordinated by the Coalition for a Nuclear-Free Australia outside the mine's perimeter fence. 900 people from all over the country took part in a 10-day blockade in August/September 1983, with the following year seeing 1000 people participating in a 5-week 'rolling blockade'. Women had their own camp and breached the perimeter fence to leave a 6-foot tampon and a banner reading 'Womyn know about hidden blood - plug the shaft - stop the cycle'.

** What we can do:

** + write to BP, Britannic House, Moor Lane, London EC2; and the Manager, Government and Public Affairs, BP Australia Ltd, Melbourne, Victoria; urging them to withdraw from Roxby.

+ write for more information from NFIP Support, 82 Colston Street, Bristol 1 (see please).

+ spread the information. Ask MPs to take up the case.

+ ask the GLC to disinvest from its superannuation fund its £16m shares in BP.

+ join the Boycott BP campaign. The Green Party have leaflets at their office, 36/38 Clapham Road, London SW9 - or make your own!

+ write to Campaign Against Nuclear Energy, 4th Floor, 13 Hindley St., Adelaide, S Australia 5000; and to Joan Wingfield, Kokotha People's Committee, c/o 22 Haines Street, Curtin, ACT, 2605, Australia - expressing your support.

** Sources: thanks to CIMRA

** (Colonialism and Indigenous Minorities Research/Action) 218 Liverpool Road, London N1; Partizans (same address); and reports from the Campaign against Nuclear Energy (see above). □

Snowball arrests

CONSPIRING TO bring about peace is a criminal offence. Roger Franklin and Pete Brown were arrested at the CND demo in Hyde Park on October 26 and may be charged (or not) at Bow Street police station on Weds Dec 11 at 2 p.m. with conspiracy/incitement to commit criminal damage. The act to which police took exception was the distribution of a leaflet urging people to join the next fence-cutting at Molesworth on Nov 8 and 9 as part of the 'Snowball' campaign.

Having failed effectively to deter people from taking part in the actions, the authorities are now trying to pick off those who spread the information and charge them with more serious offences.

If you can, be at Bow Street as above; or write (sae and donation) to Roger Franklin, Tickmorend House, Horsley, Stroud, Glos. We'll have more information next issue; or see Peace News for news meanwhile.

New from TOES

TWO IMPORTANT new reports have been published by The Other Economic Summit (TOES).

'New Economics 85' is a summary of the proceedings of the 1985 summit, and presents much fundamental thinking of the 'new economics' in a cheap and accessible form. It includes a condensed version of Hazel Henderson's closing speech. Price £1.20 post free from GL.

'Health, Wealth and the New Economics' is by James Robertson, and develops the arguments put forward relating to health at TOES this year. He produces a 40-point agenda for a healthier world. Price £1.20 post free from GL.

A full set of the 26 'conference papers' is available price £15 from TOES, 42 Warriner Gardens, London SW11 4DU.

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Stonehenge: Festival in sight?

BRIG OUBRIDGE writes:

THE NATIONAL Trust were not too keen to have their contribution to the midsummer mayhem discussed at their annual general meeting on Nov 9 in London. Stonehenge received only the briefest of mentions in chairman Lord Gibson's verbal update on events since April.

During questions on his report (the only time when the issue could be raised in the meeting) he was determined to allow only two Stonehenge questions. The first, from Green CND's Linda Churnside, was answered by Director-General Angus Stirling, to the effect that the Trust was determined not to allow the festival to re-establish itself on Trust land, but was also taking steps to ensure that there would be no repeat of this year's scenes. Stirling was unable to expand on this vaguely two-edged statement in response to a further question from trashing victim Lin Lorien; and Lord Gibson quickly declared his intention of hearing no more Stonehenge questions.

While I waited uncalled by one microphone, he managed to fill the remainder of his question time with questions from the other side of the hall.

These tactics proved to be constructive, because after the meeting ended we were able to have long informal conversations with a number of sympathetic Trust Council members. It felt like a productive bridge-building exercise.

A second round of talks took place two days later at the English Heritage HQ in Saville Row, between a joint NT/English Heritage delegation and various representatives of the festival, the druids and the pagans. These talks do appear to be making progress, and the English Heritage announced at the beginning that they and the Trust are now in favour of finding an alternative site for the festival - off NT land but within walking distance of the Stones. Moreover they said that they were prepared to say this publicly, that they had already said so in writing to Wiltshire County Council, and that they were prepared to lend their 'good offices' to help negotiate a deal on such a site.

Of course this does not mean that the festival has got such a site yet, but it is certainly a promising step in the right direction, and is clearly a big shift from their position at the October meeting, when they wanted to talk only about opening the Stones for midsummer day on condition that there would be no festival at all.

The local residents have also been making their views known. A newcomer at the November meeting was Doug Reid, a smart middle-aged local who delivered a petition containing 80 signatures collected in 8 days from people within 3½ miles of the Stones. The petition was surprisingly strongly worded, criticising EH for their illegal action in closing the Stones this year, saying that the locals saw no reason why the festival should not continue in future years as it had in the past, and calling on the Trust and EH to give full cooperation to the festival organisers, who had shown themselves over the years to be highly competent, considerate and responsible people. Understandably, Doug Reid got an enthusiastic round of applause from our side of the room, and he promised to return to the next meeting with a further instalment of signatures and local support.

The EH assured Doug that they are in fact doing just as he was suggesting. At our next meeting in early December, we will see how successful they have been in approaching local landowners for an alternative site.

Police Complaints: Catch 22

VICTIMS OF the police riot near Stonehenge on June 1 have come up against the 'Catch 22' of the new police complaints procedure. Surrey police, who are investigating complaints against the Wiltshire mob and their cronies, have written to complainants explaining that they are unable to proceed until after the police prosecutions have been to court.

However, since prosecutions for "summary offences" (e.g. assault) have to be brought within six months, this means that the Surrey police inquiries cannot lead to prosecutions against Wilts. officers. Complainants have been advised that they will have to bring private prosecutions, and that they had only until December 1 to start proceedings.

Since many of the Stonehenge victims have been waiting until after their own trials before making their complaints, they will not find out about the 'Catch 22' until it is too late. So far only 6 of the 522 people arrested on June 1 have actually been tried - two were acquitted, two accepted being bound over to keep the peace, and two were found guilty in their absence.

CND: All Change or No Change?

THIS YEAR'S CND Conference will inevitably be remembered as the one at which Joan Ruddock stepped down and Paul Johns stepped up. Phil's victory in a 5-cornered transferable-vote election was an upset for the CND establishment, and a personal disappointment for suave Sussex intellectual Dan Smith, widely regarded as Joan's heir apparent.

I will never know how many delegates came to Sheffield with their minds made up or their votes mandated on the chairperson election. My suspicion is that many only look seriously at their conference papers the night before, and that the hustings on Saturday prior to the ballot must have had a great effect on the result. If this is so, then Paul Johns probably owes his election to the impact of his speech and to the piece of Molesworth razor wire which he waved in his right hand throughout. The wire was a theatrical master-stroke, and this combined with all the right noises about direct action and the womens' movement, showing that Paul is capable of more political astuteness than many may have given him credit for.

Dan Smith in his speech gave a predictably polished performance, but one which suffered in comparison to Paul Johns' by appearing to come (as is Dan's way) much more from the head than the heart. In swaying the uncommitted, Paul's obvious personal warmth was clearly a great asset, whilst Dan's apparent aloofness is probably his greatest handicap.

The three also-rans - Dan Plesch, Vic Allen and Joy Hurcombe - all gave indifferent performances, although there was some light relief in the questioning. Joan Ruddock read questions apparently selected by Roger Spiller from a pile submitted in writing in advance. Vic Allen was obviously upset by the question, "What is your party-political allegiance, and how would this affect your position as chairperson?" and required a second assurance from Joan that this was indeed a question to all candidates before he could bring himself to admit that he is in fact a Communist Party member. He then tried to pass this off as being a fairly meaningless statement in view of the disarray in the CP! Joy Hurcombe slipped up on the same question, making no bones about her Labour Party allegiance, but raising shouts of disapproval with her assertion that Labour is the only party committed to unilateralism: she had

to follow with a hasty climb-down and an apology to the Greens and the nationalist parties.

In the final reckoning it was a close-run thing. Dan Smith had a lead of 756 to 701 over Paul Johns on the first count; but Paul squeezed home by 954 votes to 871 after the 94, 145 and 155 votes for Plesch, Allen and Hurcombe (respectively) had been redistributed.

Of course, it is not only the choice of chairperson which will shape the direction of CND in the coming year. Although we have now had two changes at the top (Meg Beresford having replaced Bruce Kent as General Secretary in August), the vice-chairs election left the overall line-up of 'officers' looking shuffled but predominantly unchanged. Dan Smith remains as a vice-chair, and is joined by Bruce, Joan and Dan Plesch. Mick Elliot was re-elected unopposed as Treasurer. Taking the officers and General Secretary together, the net change is only 2 out of 7, with Paul Johns and Dan Plesch coming in and Roger Spiller and Joy Hurcombe going out. What looks like 'all change' on one level could easily be read as 'no change' on another!

In the policy debates there were no great upsets. Conference duly decided that it is against Star Wars, recognises the links between disarmament and development, deplors the lack of progress in the Geneva arms talks, etc., etc.

The key debates for determining the shape of next year's budget should have been those on Cruise and the 'Basic Case', but unfortunately Conference did not realise the subtle politics behind the two resolutions. Cruise campaigners (and especially those involved in Cruisewatch) have suffered from an almost total lack of central funding in 1985, and their resolution was an attempt to lay claim to a fair share in 1986. It was passed, and handsomely, but few realised why it was so important or understood why the debate had opened on a note of bitterness from the Cruisewatcher who proposed it.

The 'Basic Case' debate was even more contentious, although again most people failed to see why. 'Basic Case' is supposed to be CND's new campaigning direction, with Extended Public Information Campaigns (EPICs) putting the basic case for British nuclear disarmament and shifting the emphasis away from specific weapons systems like Cruise

or Trident. On paper the argument was over an amendment to make Basic Case a 'major campaign' rather than 'top priority'; in fact it was about what proportion of available funds these EPICs should swallow up, and how much would be left for anything else. The debate ended most unsatisfactorily, amid shouts of dissatisfaction, because none of the speakers had pointed out the budgetary concern behind the amendment. EPICs will be 'top priority' in 1986, with whatever consequences that may imply.

Meanwhile, down in the basement interest had been running high in both Green CND's Molesworth Day of Action (Nov 23) and CND's Molesworth Blockade (Feb 6). The Green Day briefing packs and the Feb 6 posters had run out by Sunday lunchtime. At the grassroots there is clearly a continuing commitment to both Molesworth and NVDA.

Green CND and Christian CND got together to put civil liberties on the conference agenda with an emergency motion on the proposed new public order laws. This came easily top of the emergency motions ballot, and followed a packed Green CND workshop with guest speaker Marie Staunton of NCLL. In the emergency debate Rebecca Johnson of Greenham made an impassioned speech in support, which seemed to carry the audience through and beyond the motion itself and into a personal commitment to civil disobedience against the new laws. Other speakers followed the same tack, and an aroused conference passed the resolution unanimously.

Green CND's other plenary was in a debate on nuclear power and the trade unions, in which we managed to find ourselves in agreement with TUCND. Hopefully, this could be the start of a new phase of the Greens and the unions working together on this issue which had divided us at Sheffield last year.

As regards next year, the ambiguous direction signs are there for all to see. On the one hand is a renewed commitment to Greenham, Molesworth and direct action, and a new chairperson with wirecutters: on the other is the Basic Case and the slick PR approach with a blank cheque. The first task of the new regime will be to plot a course somewhere between the two, and to strike a balance to unite and inspire the movement. Some task! But no one ever pretended that saving the world would be easy... □