

Manifesto of the Ecology Party & Common Programme for Action of the European Green Parties 1984

30p



CONTENTS

One World or None	•	•	•		•	-	Page 3
European Manifesto – Towards a Green Europe	•		•			•	Page 5
Who are the Greens?	,				•		Page 7
The Common Programme of the European Green Parties				•			Page 8
Ten-Point Programme for Europe	•		•	•		• .	Page 13
The European Greens							Page 14
Addresses			-				Page 17

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One World or None

TOWARDS A NEW INTERNATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY

The ecological crisis that confronts us all transcends international frontiers. Despite the constant repetition of this fact, international institutions such as the European Economic Community (EEC) still cling to the short-sighted, chauvinistic policies that put national interest before international survival. If we are serious in our desire to tackle the problems of planetary abuse which characterise industrial societies then we have to reject the idea that there is any hope to be had fron a "unity" based upon the defence of national sovereignty. Instead, we must promote and develop a sense of international responsibility based on the common understanding that it is only by determined joint action that we will begin to solve the problems of ecological destruction and lay the foundations of a sustainable future.

"NO" TO THE EEC

As presently constituted, the EEC is a profoundly unecological body. It promotes an agricultural system that relies on the heavy use of fossil fuels and artificial fertilisers; a system which is damaging the long-term fertility of the soil and steadily destroying the countryside. The EEC also encourages our continuing dependence on potentially lethal nuclear power stations. It has a highly undemocratic, centralised decision-making structure and has failed to address the problems of massive transnational pollution. These are just some of the fundamental criticisms we have of the EEC.

In addition, EEC countries (with the exception of Eire) are members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO). As a result, nuclear targets abound in member states and the deployment of Cruise and Pershing missiles represents a dangerous escalation in the gruesome farce of "limited" and "winnable" nuclear war. There can be no meaningful security or ecological stability in the EEC whilst member states continue to be a part of this nuclear confrontation. It is for these reasons (set out in more detail later) that the Ecology Party advocates withdrawal from the EEC.

"YES" TO A GREEN EUROPE

Saying "no" to the EEC does not mean a retreat into some sort of nationalistic isolationism because we are saying "yes" to Europe – to a very different concept of transnational co-operation based upon a Europe of the Regions. The creation of such a Green Europe demands a rejection of the attempt to promote the EEC as yet another centralised economic and military power bloc. Instead, it offers a vision of

a Europe based upon self-reliant regions and communities, where a fundamental shift in decision-making and political power from centralised institutions will create largely autonomous regions, giving power back to people in their communities. The Green vision of Europe will mean the rejection of the economics of "more and more" and the adoption of the economics of "enough" in the creation of a sustainable society which will live in harmony with the planet. It will mean putting the morality back into our politics. It is to rise to this challenge that the Green Parties of Europe present their common manifesto, "Towards a Green Europe".

ACTION FOR TODAY

Our attitude to the future development of the EEC must be based on our long-term goal of the new Europe of the Regions. In the short-term, however, much can be done to expose the grossly unecological and damaging nature of the EEC and to publicise the need for a different sort of Europe. That is why, although in favour of withdrawal from the EEC, Ecology Party members are standing for election to the European Parliament. We believe that, in that Parliament, we have an institution which provides a forum for debate about the future shape of the EEC and a potential power base from which to expose and challenge some of the worst excesses of the EEC. It is for these reasons that this Manifesto contains an Action Plan for Change, and why the European Greens standing in this election have pledged to work together in the Parliament on the basis of the Common Manifesto — "Towards a Green Europe".



The Community considering its Common Agricultural Policy

European Manifesto Towards a Green Europe

WHY THE EEC ISN'T GREEN

1. Economic Growth

The primary objective of the EEC is economic growth -a reindustrialization based upon unsustainable, exploitative objectives which is unrealistic and damaging, since it raises false hopes and delays the adoption of appropriate measures for the sustainable economy of the future. The EEC as presently constituted is therefore pursuing the very opposite of ecological necessities as are all its member states.

2. Nation States

The structure of the EEC is based on nation states, in essentially the same economic relationship with each other as they were a century ago. This has led to an inevitable centralisation of both economic and political power in which regional aspirations, both cultural and economic, have no place. In fact, the EEC is fundamentally undemocratic, a bureaucracy in which the European Parliament, the European Council, Commission and Council of Ministers are incapable of democratically representing any interest outside those of the EEC's national governments.

3. The Common Agricultural Policy

The CAP encourages high prices, wasteful agriculture and the maintenance of energyintensive techniques. Industrial agribusiness thrives – especially in the UK – at the expense of rural communities, the quality of the food we eat and the fertility of the soil itself. Nitrate fertiliser over-use produces the problem of nitrate 'run-off' in our water supplies; chemical additives and the unnecessary processing of food are two expenses we could all do without.

4. Industry

The policies of the EEC are specifically geared to the needs of industry and often against the interests of workers and citizens of its member countries. Large-scale industrial concerns and multinational companies have been able to exploit this situation, encouraging unnecessary trade in many goods which can easily be produced in each member state.

5. Third World

The Lome Convention has done very little to assist Third World countries. The pattern of trade between the EEC and African-Caribbean-Pacific states has not altered significantly since the first Lome Convention in 1975. Policies to encourage industrial diversification and self-reliance in the Third World have yet to be introduced.

6. Nuclear Power

The Euratom Treaty (creating the European Atomic Energy Community) commits the EEC to expanding the nuclear power programmes in member states — for the generation of electricity and the making of nuclear weapons. Research and capital expenditure on this dangerous technology have absorbed funds that could have been better spent on the research and development of safer alternative energy sources.

7. Funding the Community

The EEC's funding, quite apart from the arguments it has provoked in European institutions, mainly comes from a proportion of Value Added Tax. This tax forms a higher proportion of the taxation of poorer groups in society.

8. Peace and Common Foreign Policy

Attempts to develop an EEC foreign policy have yet to reduce international tension or promote a better world order. Such attempts ignore the way in which European arms industries contribute to international tension or how the export of nuclear technology has assisted nuclear proliferation. Proposals to establish a joint European Arms Agency demonstrate the exploitative and militaristic line the EEC is being encouraged to follow by a chorus of arms manufacturers and irresponsible politicians.

It seems unlikely to us that the sort of changes necessary to make the EEC an acceptable ecological body could be brought about by long-term reform of the EEC from within. Such reforms would entail:

- a) substantial amendments to the Treaty of Rome.
- b) abolishing the European Atomic Energy and Coal and Steel Communities, the Lome Convention and the Common Agricultural Policy.
- c) abolishing the Council of Ministers and reforming the Commission and Parliament.
- d) funding the EEC from direct taxation.
- e) substantially reforming the system of regional aid.

What is in fact needed is a fresh start, a new view of European co-operation which takes as its starting point the urgent need to live within the limits set by a finite world. It is our belief that the European Greens — Europe's newest and potentially most potent force for change — are best able to articulate the need for such changes.

Who are the Greens?

The last ten years have seen the development of Green Parties in many European countries, representing the political expression of a much larger and very diverse Green Movement.

This Green Movement grew up in response to the planet's many signals that neither its peoples nor itself could tolerate abuse and exploitation for much longer.

Although Green political initiative has developed independently in each country, we have each identified that the root cause of these signals is the consumer-based, industrial societies of the "developed" world and the old-fashioned, exploitative economics that propel them.

We have also recognised that if there is to be any hope for the future then new ideas must evolve. We must move on from competitive straining towards economic growth which disregards the cost in terms of world resources and human misery. We must move to co-operation in economic and social planning that, at all levels, holds paramount the conserving of the delicate balance between the planet, its resources, its peoples and its animals in all their enormous diversity.

Our guiding commitment will always be the peaceful survival of humanity in a safe and sustainable global environment, not just for the next five or ten years, but for the generations to come.

By coming to these conclusions the Greens of Europe have also come together and are working closely to offer the first fresh and completely new political initiative for over 100 years.



"They're saving us from Russian occupation – now that's what I call a protection racket!"

The Common Programme of the European Green Parties

PEACE – Towards Peace in Europe, Based on the Cornerstone of Friendship Between All Peoples

Peace is a prerequisite for environmental survival. For this reason we call on the European Parliament to implement the 1977 Geneva Convention which requires that environmental weapons be prohibited under international law and politically outlawed. These weapons include not merely chemical and bacteriological weapons, but nuclear weapons too.

The European Parliament could work in close co-operation with the extra-parliamentary peace movement to give the idea of alternative defence a fresh impetus. The starting point for peace in Europe must lie in the impassioned commitment to prevent a third and nuclear world war.

Therefore we jointly propose:

- immediate disarmament measures, both in the East and the West;
- new concepts of disarmament, which include well-thought-out unilateral preliminary concessions;
- a Europe free from ABC weapons (Atomic, Biological and Chemical weapons);
- the immediate convening of a pan-European disarmament conference which fully represents the view of the people of Europe;
- a European agency for disarmament rather than for armaments;
- the elimination of military blocs;
- the eventual replacement of military concepts of defence by civilian and social ones.

In summary, in the nuclear age our dependence upon nuclear defence strategies leads to self-destruction, genocide and ultimately to the destruction of all life.

ENVIRONMENT – Towards a Policy of Ecological Balance which will not stop at National or European Borders, and which will Ensure the Basic Conditions of Life.

As one of the wealthiest and most technologically advanced regions of our planet, Europe ought to be in a position to take precautionary measures in favour of the environment. To date the policy of the European institutions in the environmental field has limited itself to technological solutions, which attempt merely to correct the superficial symptoms, rather than to remove the socio-political causes of environmental damage. Causes of such problems as acid rain, contamination of the soil, pollution of river and seas, atmospheric pollution and radiation which know no national or European boundaries, are not even exposed by these institutions.

Therefore we propose:

- democratic and socially responsible research and economic development, which is especially committed to restoring and preserving the ecological balance;
- effective measures to control "transnational" pollution, especially immediate action on acid rain and pollution of the rivers and the seas;
- a sparing approach in our dealing with continually dwindling resources, in order that our children and all future generations may enjoy a future worthy of human-kind;
- environmental protection measures that cross national frontiers;
- a health policy that shifts resources to the promotion of good health and disease prevention.

The existing European energy policy with its orientation towards a centralised production of energy and the promotion of nuclear energy does not serve the needs of the regions. It causes environmental damage, constitutes a security risk for wide areas and saddles future generations with unresolved waste disposal problems.

Therefore we propose:

- strict provisions for the protection of the environment regarding the use of central power stations, in particular those which already exist;
- an immediate halt to the construction of all nuclear power stations, and the decommissioning of existing ones;
- renunciation of the Euratom Treaty and the reallocation of its funds;
- the development of energy-saving technology and the promotion of environmentally compatible and decentralised (locally produced) energy generation from wind, sun, tides, biomass and other sources, instead of suicidal nuclear technology;
- an immediate re-examination of the problems of nuclear waste dumping, and tighter restrictions on the use of dumping sites.

SOCIETY AND ECONOMICS – Towards an Ecologically Responsible and Humane Social and Economic Policy

We want a Europe which rejects unsustainable economic growth as a goal for its own sake.

Therefore we jointly stand for:

- the creation of personally fulfilling, socially desirable, ecologically sustainable work, by means of investment in the fields of energy, recycling, health, housing and transport;

- a change in the allocation of subsidies to guarantee the creation of ecologically meaningful and non-alienating jobs;
- support and expansion of decentralised, economically viable regional units;
- equality of opportunity and choice for men and women;
- production on an ecologically appropriate scale;
- a just sharing of work and income on a more co-operative basis within a democratic economy;
- reasonable actions aimed at breaking the power of the multinational companies which exploit the Third World;
- a rationalisation of tax systems taking special account of resource use and prevention of waste.

Economic problems inherent in the system cannot be mastered at the national or European level alone. This is why the Greens are suggesting a form of European economic and social policy which will permit equitable relations with the peoples of the Third World.

AGRICULTURE - Towards an agriculture in Balance with Nature

The Common Agricultural Policy results in monocultures and economic concentration. To date, food processing companies, industrial agri-factories, carriers of goods, etc., have benefited.

The ruin of small and medium-sized family farms, the exploitation of soil and animals, surplus production and the ensuing destruction of foodstuffs are the consequences of the Treaty of Rome. Low cost imports of feedstuffs for our meat production and the demand for cash crops result in large-scale plantations dependent on the world markets, as well as impoverishment and hunger in the exporting Third World countries.

Therefore we propose:

- support for a socially and environmentally sound agriculture through research, advice, education and finance for a gradual transition to an agriculture free from use of artificial fertilisers and chemical pesticides, respecting the ecological cycles and aimed at regional self-reliance in food;
- that the production and distribution be based on the premise that all people should have access to high quality food, with high nutritional value, good taste and no residual poisons;
- that the breeding of large numbers of animals in a small area, without even room to move, should be abolished. A humane environment is more important than the production of artificially cheap food;
- that present pricing systems and subsidies be replaced by measures that allow small and medium-scale, low-energy, mixed and ecological food production to thrive, and avoid needless surpluses;
- that steps are taken to regenerate the social and economic structure by encourag-

ing more localised and sustainable employment in agriculture, allied services and other rural occupations;

- that the livelihood and welfare of the rural workforce must be protected;
- that direct links between producers and consumers be encouraged;
- that we in the industrialised world take responsibility for our own production of food and refrain from trade which undermines the Third World's capability to feed itself.

ONE WORLD OR NONE – Towards an Honest Sharing of the Earth's Prosperity with the People of the Third World

The colonial exploitation of past centuries and the suppression of numerous peoples fighting for self-determination has laid a heavy burden of guilt on Europe. Our wealth today is still largely founded on the poverty of the Third World. The EEC still acts as a self-seeking — at times charitable — exploiter of the countries of Latin America, Africa and Southern Asia, although all the financial, technical and political means exist to develop jointly an equitable partnership in the common interest.

Together we stand for:

- a world peace which will guarantee for all the peoples in the world the right to self-determining ecological development;
- increased aid to self-help in the Third World;
- an ecological world economic order which will allow the structurally weak regions of the Earth to enjoy our common wealth;
- direct aid to the populations of developing countries by non-governmental organisations;
- an increase of the European Development Fund to at least 1% of the GNP of the EEC within three years. Aid from the European Development Fund shall primarily be directed towards food production, irrigation, intensive re-afforestation, and appropriate infra-structures for health care and education;
- progressive release by the industrialised countries of the Third World from its debts.

We are convinced that solidarity between peoples and regions should not come to a halt at the borders of Europe.

TOMORROW'S EUROPE – Towards a Democratic Europe of Self-Determined Regions

Regional awareness becomes more and more a fact of life throughout our continent; the European Community, however, recognises only states. This runs counter to the concept of "integral federalism" which, starting from neighbourhoods and villages.

builds on the willing consent of the different regions to arrive at the Europe of Regions. This is why the European Greens want a Europe which is close to its citizens and whose institutions are subject to the effective control of the regions and their representatives.

We would adopt a European treaty, the terms of which would be specified by a conference of the Regions of Europe, and the setting-up of a Parliamentary Assembly of the Regions of Europe, directly elected by proportional representation and having clearly determined powers and areas of responsibility.

One of the ways of moving towards such a Europe of Regions is to seek to change and influence existing European institutions such as the European Parliament.

Thus we call for:

- immediate and radical democratisation of the present European Parliament so that any decision that came into force at community level required an endorsement by the majority of the elected members;
- the opening of ways for regular participation by all citizens in the political life of Europe, e.g. referendum by public initiative.

Furthermore, the European Greens believe that this new Europe of the Regions should be open to all European peoples.

However, the Ecology Party recognises that significant immediate steps can be taken to reform the EEC to help prepare the way for a Europe of Regions. When elected, Ecology Party members of the European Parliament would, in co-operation with other Green members of the Parliament; campaign vigourously for the following ten point programme for Europe.



"But we've already paid you for it!"

Ten Point Programme for Europe

- 1. DEFENDING THE ENVIRONMENT Establish a European Environmental Agency to oversee tests on innovations and take action to remove common pollution problems like acid rain.
- 2. FOOD FOR THE FUTURE Stop CAP payments to farmers on foods in surplus and provide money for research and development of organic farming.
- 3. WORKING FOR A FUTURE Move from growth-oriented to sustainable economies, sharing available wealth and resources, regulating the activities of multinationals, and encouraging the conversion of military industries to socially useful production.
- 4. JOBS FOR KEEPS -- Reform the Social Fund to make it a device for encouraging local employment agencies and savings banks to help small businesses, co-ops and the self-employed. Restrict job-training to jobs that will last -- especially in energy conservation, recycling and repair.
- 5. SHARING THE WEALTH Ensure that the Regional Fund acts to aid conversion of declining industrial areas to sustainable alternatives. Establish direct relations between authorities in regions with self-government and the EEC institutions so that they can co-operate on practical issues of Community aid and economic and social restructuring.
- 6. A NUCLEAR-FREE EUROPE Work with those inside the Community, and those from East and West, to promote a nuclear-free, non-aligned Europe. Call an immediate halt to the nuclear power programmes throughout the EEC and work for the immediate removal of nuclear weapons from Europe.
- 7. TRANSPORT FOR TOMORROW Use the Transport Fund to encourage and promote energy-efficient transport. Introduce restrictions on energy-intensive private transport to help the development of more efficient public transport.
- 8. EUROPEAN DEMOCRACY Make the Council of Ministers more accountable. Ensure that all countries use proportional representation in direct elections to the European Parliament.
- 9. RICH AND POOR Recognise our responsibility to the poorer nations of the world by putting an end to our exploitative economic superiority and providing direct help (through grants, not loans) to help create self-sufficient sustainable economies.
- 10. TOWARDS INTERNATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY Increase co-operation between the EEC, the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) and Eastern European countries such as those in COMECON. Explore the potential of the Economic Commission for Europe and the Council of Europe as mechanisms for improving relationships within Europe and developing regional bodies for a future European Federation of Regions.

The European Greens

"The European Greens" developed from the Co-ordination of European Green and Radical Parties, which was set up following the 1979 European Elections by Die Grunen (West Germany), Agalev (Belgium), Mouvement d'Ecologie Politique (France), The Ecology Party (U.K.), Politieke Partij Radikalen (Holland) and Partito Radicale (Italy).

The original Co-ordination Group had five main aims: (i) exchange of information including policy ideas between parties; (ii) support for one another's campaigns, e.g., Campaign Against World Hunger, begun by Partito Radicale and paralleled by actions by the Belgian Greens; (iii) joint actions and press statements on European issues, e.g. nuclear weapons, Falklands/Malvinas conflict; (iv) seminars to develop policies on European and international issues; (v) the formation of a common statement or manifesto.

The final aim was a major point of disagreement especially between the Greens and the two Radical Parties. By the end of 1982 the Co-ordination had been joined by Ecolo (*Belgium – French-speaking*), Miljoparteit (*Sweden*), the Ecology Party of Ireland, and Alternative Liste Osterreich (*Austria*). In March 1983 the eight Green parties were joined by a second French grouping, Les Verts, formed a new co-ordination group and in October 1983 adopted the name "The European Greens".

Their aims were identical to the old co-ordination, and by October 1983 they had produced a Common Statement of Principles and basic aims. A draft Common Manifesto has since been agreed upon and was formally adopted by the parties at their first Euro-Congress at Liege (March 30 - April 1).

De Groenen (Netherlands) joined in January 1984 and on January 23rd at a press Conference in Brussels the parties officially 'launched' "The European Greens" and were the first political grouping to announce a joint campaign for the 1984 European Community Elections. The parties pledged that members elected (by Proportional Representation) would represent those blocked from representation by unjust electoral systems (e.g. Great Britain).

The West German Party, Die Grunen, has been working with the other parties at all their meetings, but has, as yet, been unable to formally join the Co-ordination.

BELGIUM has two Green Parties, one for each of the two main linguistic areas. The Flemish party is Agalev; formed in 1982 from a movement of the same name which had existed since 1979. Agalev have one Senator, two MPs, 7 provincial representatives, and 43 municipal representatives (mid 1983). Active in the anti-cruise campaign, and currently involved in drawing up a social-economic programme.

The French or Walloon party is Ecolo; formed in 1981. It has four Senators, two MPs,

nine provincial representatives, and 79 municipal representatives (mid 1983). Active in the anti-cruise campaign, and currently involved in producing a pamphlet on the ecological response to unemployment.

Both parties work together fairly extensively both in Parliament and outside, organising common actions and tabling motions on issues such as nuclear disarmament, Third World aid, new jobs for steel workers in ecological enterprises. In the 1982 Municipal elections their primary concern was the protection and extension of local democracy.

They are both likely to achieve representation in the European Parliament.

UNITED KINGDOM: The Ecology Party was formed in 1973 partly as a result of the publication of *Blueprint for Survival*. Although the party began as primarlly an environmental party, it quickly broadened its policies to incorporate issues such as employment, health, the economy, etc. Despite Britain's electoral system, the Ecology Party has one County Councillor (elected originally in 1977), three District Councillors, and 14 Town and Community Councillors.

The Ecology Party had 53 candidates in the 1979 General Election and 108 in 1983. In the 1979 European Elections they had three candidates and hope to have at least ten in 1984, although there is little chance of being elected.

EIRE: Comhaontas Glas (The Green Alliance) was formed in 1981 as the Ecology Party of Ireland, partly influenced by the U.K. Ecology Party but also with a lot of local input from anti-nuclear and environmental groups. They are now structured as a network of semi-autonomous Green Groups with a national framework for policy formulation where necessary. They have no representation as yet but contested the 1982 General election and their seven candidates achieved respectable results which bode well for 1984 Local and European elections, which will be held on the same day. They have an outside chance of being elected to the European Parliament.

WEST GERMANY: Die Grunen were formed in January 1980 as a Federal Party, out of an Alliance of environmental and Citizens Action Groups which had come together for the 1979 European elections. Die Grunen have 21 representatives in three City Parliaments, 35 in three State Parliaments, and 28 in the Bundestag – one of whom from West Berlin is not voting. They also have over 370 Community Representatives.

They are currently at the forefront of the West German peace movement, and also actively campaigning on Acid Rain, Third World development and employment. Despite some internal difficulties, especially as regards the parliamentary group, they continue to promote and support radical ecological ideas in the Bundestag and other parliaments, and are more than likely to continue to be a key electoral force in West German politics.

They are almost sure to elect a number of representatives to the European Parliament.

FRANCE had two Green Parties or groups in the Co-ordination, a result of fairly complex historical reasons. France has traditionally had many environmental and ecological groups usually limited to different regions, and there have always been problems in uniting them for any period of time.

Les Verts is an alliance of mainly regional Green groups, most of whom date back to the mid/late '70s. The main initiative for the alliance came from a 'grouping' formed in early 1983 called "Les Verts – Confederation Ecologiste" which dissolved itself in September 1983 to make way for the new structure.

Les Verts – Partie Ecologiste was formed in 1983 by the principal electoral body Mouvement d'Ecologie Politique (1979) and various other groups, and is organised as a party.

These two have now merged to form one party: Les Verts.

French Greens have been hampered by their electoral system but despite this have gradually built up their support. In the 1981 Presidential elections, Brice Lalonde, supported by most of the groups, got 1,126,282 votes (3.7%) in the first round before being eliminated. Since then, changes in local electoral systems helped 300 ecologists to be elected in the 1983 Community elections.

Their main concerns at the moment are employment and nuclear weapons. A recent opinion poll showed the French Greens with a support of 7½%. This could mean six or seven seats for them in the European Parliament.

LUXEMBOURG: Dei Greng Alternativ was formed in June 1983 by a whole range of individuals and groups including free radio and youth groups, environmentalists, and ex-socialists. Their basic principles are similar to the West Germans': freedom from force, grassroots democracy, solidarity between people everywhere, ecology and social concern.

As yet they have not contested any elections but are preparing for the Euro-elections and national elections this year. Since Luxembourg only has six MEPs they are unlikely to get representation.

NETHERLANDS: De Groenen was formed at the beginning of 1984 by various provincial Green lists and other environmental and ecological groups. As yet they have contested no elections but an opinion poll in the Spring of 1983 indicated that a Green party could get up to 12%. This depends, perhaps, on how many votes they can take from the small left-wing parties who between them got 10.71% in the 1982 Parliamentary elections. The threshold is only 4% so it seems possible for the Dutch Greens to gain perhaps one seat.

There are two members of the European Greens from non-EEC countries:

AUSTRIA: Alternative Liste Osterreich was formed in October 1982 along similar lines to the West German party, and with similar principles of grassroots democracy, non-violence, ecology and social concern. They have four seats in the Graz Municipality, and in the 1982 National elections they got 1.4% of the vote despite a second rightoriented party Die Grunen Osterreich (which has since declined).

SWEDEN: Miljoparteit was formed in September 1981 and now has an extensive membership right across the country, its own newspaper (weekly) and is actively involved in the anti-nuclear movement, the campaign against Acid Rain, and employment issues. They have 284 seats in 96 local councils, and in the 1982 national elections got 1.7% of the vote.

ADDRESSES

ECOLO (Belgium – French-speaking) Rue Basse Marcelle 26, B-5000 Namur. Tel. 081/22.78.71

AGALEV (Belgium -- Flemish-speaking)

Onderrichstraat 69, B-1000 Brussels. Tel. 02/218.65.07 or 02/218.54.54

ECOLOGY PARTY (United Kingdom)

36/38 Clapham Road, London SW9 OJQ. Tel. 01-735 2485

COMHAONTAS GLAS (The Green Alliance) (Eire/Irish Republic) 15 Upper Stephen Street, Dublin 2. Tel. 01 784380

DIE GRUNEN (West Germany)

Colmanstrasse 36, D-5300, Bonn 1. Tel. 0228/692021

LES VERTS (France)

52 Rue Faubourg Poissonniere, F-75010, Paris. Tel. (1) 246.99.49

LES VERTS – PARTI ECOLOGISTE (France)

Cite Fleurie, 65 Boulevard Arago, F-75013, Paris. Tel. (1) 331.22.74

ALTERNATIVE LISTE OSTERREICH (Austria)

Mohrstrasse 10, A-5020, Salzburg. Tel. 06222/460407

MILJOPARTEIT (Sweden)

Box 22096/Pipserg 10, S-10422, Stockholm. Tel. 08/505590

DIE GRENG ALTERNATIV (Luxembourg)

Boite Postale 2711, Luxembourg.

DE GROENEN (Netherlands)

21 Jlweg 283, 2011 CM Haarlem. Tel. 023 314 960

If you would like to join the Ecology Party or simply to get more information about us, please contact the local branch above or the Ecology Party Office:

36/38 Clapham Road, London SW9 0JQ

Telephone 01 735 2485