

Green Appeal to be launched in Rome

The seven green parties of Europe have agreed in principle to launch a joint Europe-wide 'Green Appeal' to raise funds for the ecology movement. The decision was taken at a meeting following a 'solidarity press conference' in Stuttgart in support of Die Grunen's Baden-Württemberg state election campaign.

David Fleming, who represented Eco at Stuttgart, reports: At the suggestion of Marco Panella, a leading figure in the Italian Radical Party, the Green Appeal will be launched in Rome on April 5th. The press conference, at which all seven green parties will be represented, will be the culmination of a major demonstration by the Radical Party in which 1,000 people are expected to end a week-long hunger strike by handing a petition to the Pope calling for an end to the build up of nuclear weapons.

"My instinct tells me that the Green Appeal is going to work", said Mr Panella. "It deserves to be announced to the international press on a suitably symbolic occasion, and there could be no better moment to launch it than the end of the demonstration against nuclear arms in Rome. The Green parties are therefore warmly invited to meet in Rome on April 5th. No, there won't be anything

to eat - 1,000 of our people will have been fasting for a week, and you will naturally wish to join their protest. Our demonstration and fast will be just a small symbol of the extent of the commitment which members of the green movement must be prepared to make".

Details of the Ecology Party's own appeal, including an appeal kit, will be circulated to all members shortly. The appeal kit will include a Fundraiser's Manual, Appeal Form, and a poster featuring the appeal logo. The appeal is to be both for the national party and branches, and donors themselves will be able to decide what proportion of the funds they give are to go to their branch.

Target

The national appeal target is £25,000 which, together with members' subscriptions, will finance a small permanent party office, publicity, speakers' expenses, campaigns, research, and other activities for which the party has so far received no effective funding. A complete budget breakdown is included in the Fundraiser's Manual.

Eco now has 5,000 members, and the fund-raising Committee hopes that every member will not only contribute towards the appeal, but also act as fund-raisers.



Marco Panella

Pledges, jumble sales, sponsored swims, coffee-mornings, swear-boxes - any way in which money can be given to or raised for the party will help. The cost of administering membership, including distribution of Econews, is barely covered by membership fees, so this appeal is an opportunity for every member to make his or her practical contribution to the growth of the party.

The publicity for the appeal will be co-ordinated at national (and international) level, and branches are urged to get as much publicity for the appeal in their own areas as they can. It's a news story that the local press should like: your branch is taking part in a fund raising campaign with a total constituency of 240 million people!



David Fleming, Michiel van de Kasteelen (representing the Dutch PPR party) and Solange Fernex (head of the Europe Ecologie list in the 1979 election) at the Stuttgart press conference.

Stay with it!

Subscriptions from members who joined before 31 August 1979 are now due. If you have already paid, thanks . . . if not, please renew your membership using the enclosed registration form, which may be used for renewals through your branch or through the Norwich office. Your membership is vital to the Party. Please stay with us - renew your subscription now!

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Copy for the next issue should be sent to Gundula Dorey, 14 Goldney Road, Bristol, BS8 4RB, by April 25th.

Radical ecology - the new politics

1979 was an eventful year for Values, our sister party in New Zealand. They themselves view it as a 'watershed', and believe that they have successfully weathered something of a crisis, which arose in part from loss of morale after a disappointing General Election result, and in part from a bitterly contested Conference decision to declare themselves a 'socialist' party. The furore now seems to be dying down, as they disassociate themselves from the negative, unecological connotations implicit in socialism; and by emphasising a Ruskin/Morris vision of a decentralized, egalitarian society, they hope to give the word 'socialism' a new and ecological meaning.

There's a touch of the alchemist's arrogance about this. Any ideology is only as pure as its current practitioners: we may think that the USSR or the Labour Party under Jim Callaghan are not 'truly socialist', but it profits us nought to spend our time playing such games of 'Call My Political Bluff'. We have enough on our hands explaining the meaning of 'ecology'! Such, at least, was the opinion of most members of the National Council after a long discussion about where Eco is to be found on the political scale of Left and Right. Quite simply, we agreed, it isn't! It seems inappropriate to be carving out some comfortable little niche for ourselves in a 'left of centre' or 'radical centre' position, for we are no more 'socialist' than we are 'centrist' than we are 'anarchist'. Any such simplistic categorization distorts the real purpose of ecological politics.

I feel all the more strongly about this when reflecting on the possibility that some new 'Social Democratic Party' may soon be born, apparently as a realignment of all right thinking individuals and parties in a 'radical' coalition of the Centre. What a monumental hoax! A last despairing attempt to breathe life into ideas and politics that should have been buried long ago, with Roy Jenkins and David Steel as Chief Morticians, shifting the malodorous corpse from one coffin to another.

Yet this nightmarish dance of death may well present a threat to ecological politics. 'Environmentalism' would no doubt feature prominently in their plat-

form, putting the world to rights by conserving energy, saving the whale and controlling pollution. Those are all admirable political goals, but it is pure illusion to imagine that they could make any real difference - for nothing will actually get better until we address ourselves to the root causes rather than the symptoms.

And it is that which makes the Ecology Party 'radical', using the word for once as it should be used! It is exactly the knowledge (the 'logos') of the physical world (our 'oikos' or house) which forces us back to the literal roots of all politics. It is from that source that we derive our philosophy, our policies, and our values. With the major exception of Malthus, most political theorists have taken for granted man's biological survival, which for us is the rock on which our politics is built. Some of the feeling recently expressed, that Eco has lost a sense of where it is going, can only have arisen because we have forgotten or *have not yet fully understood* the full implications of radical ecology.

By way of example, consider for a moment that gentle, warmly evocative word, 'harmony'. For obvious ecological reasons we proclaim the need "to live in harmony with each other and the rest of creation". It certainly sounds good, but what does it actually mean? If we *really* mean by it an end to man's exploitation of the earth and his fellow man, then the consequences are revolutionary: the so-called 'Age of Abundance' would give way to a new politics of relative scarcity, in which economic growth, industrial expansion, the market economy, multinational companies, the profit motive and capitalism itself would play no part; it would mean the demise of the Trade Unions, of socialist reformism and our current system of welfare and social services; and it would involve us fully in the politics of redistribution, in that a truly harmonious society could not possibly countenance the grotesque disparities of wealth which we see in our own country and between different nations.

Peel away the different layers of meaning that cluster around the concept of 'harmony', and at the heart of that one simple word you find the seed of a green revolution poised to burst up through the iron soil of our collapsing industrial

culture. We need no recourse to the moribund ideologies of the Right or the Left to demonstrate the radical nature of ecological politics.

There is no historical precedent for what we are trying to do, and that may indeed cause us to be apprehensive - but hardly to lose heart before the battle has even begun! Let us leave that variety of politics defined as 'the art of the possible' to the others; for us, politics should be 'the art of creating new possibilities'. That is why the Ecology Party came into being, and it would still serve us well as an inspiration for the eighties.

Jonathon Porritt

Aggrochemicals

Tony Charles, who has been in the forefront of the campaign against the use of toxic agrochemicals, writes: Despite increasing recognition from the media of the Ecology Party's role in exposing the hazards of 2,4,5-T, the government continues to ignore us. Indeed their attitude to the whole business is condescending to say the least: how dare mere laymen question the wisdom of Science? The plot thickened recently however, with the discovery that Denis Thatcher is the 'active' chairman of Chipman's, a company which uses 2,4,5-T in site clearance operations. Although I have written to Maggie asking her to comment and calling upon her to make a personal intervention in the campaign on the grounds of family responsibility, she has not yet deigned to reply. The problem seems to be that the agrochemicals industry are not too bothered about losing total sales of 2,4,5-T (only about £100,000 p.a.) and have plenty of substitutes on offer, but are worried that a victory for commonsense and concern for public health in this area would lead to campaigns against other varieties of filth currently being pumped onto us and our countryside without our knowledge or consent. And of course, they are quite right. We shall not give up fighting now; we have only just started...!

The Ecology Party has achieved some notable victories in its campaign against the use of the herbicide 2,4,5-T. Both Somerset and Avon County Councils have now banned their employees from using or handling this particular poison, and other County Councils are under pressure to follow their example. The TUC has also taken up the issue, calling for a total and immediate ban. Their decision was welcomed by Mr Jack Boddy, General Secretary of the National Union of Agricultural and Allied Workers, which has advised its members not to handle the herbicide. The move would, he said, be "of special help to groups like farmworkers who are not in a strong bargaining position".

The campaign has also succeeded in putting the agrochemicals industry on the defensive. Mr C.S. Major, the Director of the British Agrochemicals Association recently offered to meet Eco members in the South West to explain the industry's viewpoint. Whilst accepting that many pesticides and herbicides were extremely dangerous, he claimed that the United Kingdom's safety record in pesticide use "has not been bettered by any country in the world", and that existing precautions were adequate. He went on to attack the decision by Somerset and Avon County Councils to stop their employees from using 2,4,5-T: "They



Dirty business down on the farm. See editorial on facing page for the Thatcher connection.

CAMPAIGNS

The Ecology Party has now launched its campaigns on energy and health. Two others, on employment and centralization, will be set in motion as soon as possible. John Foster, the Campaigns Organizer, outlines progress to date.

Branches are now at the stage of considering their detailed plans for an Action Day, currently set for April 19th. On this day, it is intended to have as many as possible of our Branches engaged in local activities to launch and publicise their campaigns, while information about these activities relayed to the Campaigns Organizer will be used to support a national Press release attempting to catch the public eye and to emphasise the scope and political drive of our campaigning.

We are concentrating on only two broad issues at present — the 'health hazards of industrial society' and the 'anti-nuclear' (or what, to be positive, we are calling the 'Energy') campaigns. Only in these two has there been sufficient Branch interest so far to make presenting them as national Ecology Party campaigns seem plausible. And certainly they are the most straightforward topics on which to campaign. There is the familiar gamut of anti-nuclear activities, from petition-signings to street theatre; from a different angle there are displays to mount such as the ambitious Alternative Technology exhibition (ALTECH 80) being organised in Southport for March 14th — 16th; there are also, of course, activities to publicise the national Harrisburg Day (March 29th) demonstration in London.

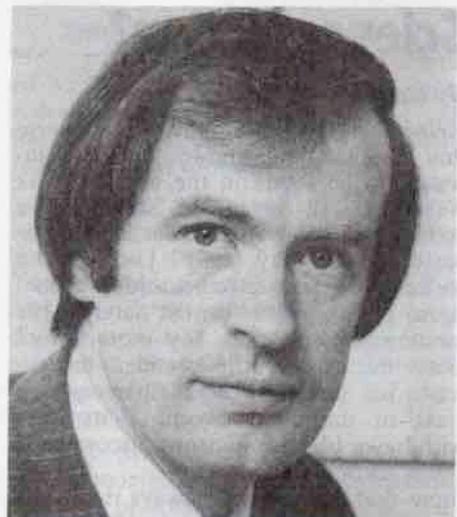
The health hazards of industrial society also present a clearly defined campaigning target. Branches have the choice of joining in an established campaign such as those against herbicides or lead in petrol, or discovering and publicising some scandal in their own

locality which might develop into a national issue if vigorously pursued.

But it must be stressed that national campaigns on Employment and Centralism are only shelved, not abandoned. As soon as there are enough Branches keen to become involved we shall try to press on. It seems particularly important that we make something of the former of these two; the general question of employment and its role in our lives must become increasingly critical as Mrs Thatcher continues to pursue her headlong course, and the Ecology Party should surely be publicising its views on so fundamental a social issue.

In the existing campaigns, we are striving to make our voice heard with a simple and distinctive message. Leaflets now being produced are designed around the theme of *partnership* as against *exploitation*; a simplified presentation of the basic idea that nuclear power and the various other forms of pollution we are attacking depend on exploitative attitudes towards both people and the Earth, while Ecology alternative policies are based on social co-operation and a mode of life in harmony with the environment. There is plenty of scope for Branches to incorporate their own local campaigning slant into the final design of these leaflets. In addition, badges, stickers and posters are to be produced.

Branches wishing to join in at this stage should contact the Campaigns Organizer as soon as possible for full details.



Chris Major: the man who pushes the poisons

do not have the right to advise the public at large on the safety of any product which has been cleared under the Government's safety scheme", he said.

Representatives from the Ecology Party replied by presenting the results of recent research in Sweden, which, they said, demonstrated a six fold increase in soft tissue cancers in workers handling 2,4,5-T. They also outlined the case histories of several British farmworkers who have been affected by the herbicide, and expressed their concern over the "ever-increasing incidence of pesticides in all parts of the environment, especially in food chains".

Stop press: 2,4,5,T now banned by Nottingham City Council.

No more Harrisburgs!

One of the largest anti nuclear demonstrations this country has yet seen will take place in London later this month. The march is being held on 'Harrisburg Day', Saturday March 29th – the first anniversary of the worst accident in the history of nuclear power. Over 25,000 people are expected to converge on Trafalgar Square to demonstrate their opposition to nuclear power, and in particular to protest at the Government's decision to build Harrisburg-type reactors in Britain.

The demonstration is being jointly organized by the Anti Nuclear Campaign and Friends of the Earth, and has the backing of every anti nuclear and environmental organization in the country. The rally will assemble in Hyde Park by 12 noon, and march to Trafalgar Square accompanied by fire eaters, musicians and street theatre performers. After music

from Steve Hillage, the Short Wave Band, and others, the rally will be addressed by an impressive list of speakers, including John Carroll, Vice President of the Irish Transport and General Workers Union, Mike Cooley, Shop Steward at Lucas Aerospace, Robert Jungk, author of 'The Nuclear State', Petra Kelly, and Brice Lalonde. David Steel and David Ennals will also be speaking from the platform, although their anti nuclear credentials are rather less impressive.

The National Council is hoping for a strong Eco presence at the demonstration, with branch banners visible in large numbers. As the media – and the government – will gauge the strength of the anti nuclear movement from the turnout at the rally, it is vital that members make every effort to attend, bringing friends and relatives with them. See you there!

Propaganda

Ecoropa, the European Group for Ecological Action, has launched a major anti nuclear propaganda initiative, which they hope will be supported by every ecological group in Europe. The operation has the backing of many prominent scientists, including Professor Sir Martin Ryle, the Astronomer Royal, and Sir Kelvin Spencer, a former Government Chief Scientist.

Gerard Morgan Grenville, the campaign organiser for Britain, has sent a letter describing the plan and appealing for financial support to several thousand activists throughout the country. In the appeal he says: "We know that when people understand the true facts about nuclear power, they reject it. So we are preparing several million posters and leaflets answering the questions that most people ask." From May 5th, the leaflets and posters will appear in the appropriate language in every town and village throughout Europe.

Any reader who would like to help distribute the posters and leaflets should contact Ecoropa, c/o PO Box 11, Godalming, Surrey. Cheques or postal orders should be made out to 'Ecoropa Anti Nuke Fund'.

Science fiction?

By our Science Correspondent

Remember Hexachlorophene? Of course you do: that "well known dental mouthwash" to be found in the dentist's pink water as well as in the stripes of a certain widely advertised brand of toothpaste. Bought any lately? Look at the packet: no reference to hexachlorophene. Been to see your dentist lately? His mouthwash isn't pink any more. Why? Hexachlorophene, the wonder mouthwash, has suddenly become persona non grata in the dental world – its been withdrawn because someone discovered it could cause brain damage . . . Just to show that Science isn't always right, and that for every Thalidomide hitting the headlines there are other foul ups which you, the long suffering public, never hear about.

Socialist network

A small group of members have set up a 'socialist network' within the Party to "investigate the relationship between political ecology and libertarian socialism". The network was established at the beginning of February, and has held three meetings to date. Arising out of these, the group hope to produce a paper on eco-socialism in time for the Spring Policy Conference.

Contact: Sean Thompson, 1 Lupton Street, London, NW5.

Quatrains for a Nuclear Age

In its cryogenic womb,
Deep beneath the Polar Cap,
Sleeps the spirit of this Age;
Frozen cortex, frozen sap.

Odours of technology
Wreathe about its sleeping form;
Guard it from the hostile air;
Bring no fur to keep it warm.

Wait for me at Ninny's tomb,
I will be your Pyramus;
Roars of neurasthenic rage
Titilate my thalamus.

Students of Biology
Analyse leonine genes;
Chromosomes that rend and tear
Entertain me with your screams.

Tear the throats of antelopes
Noted for their oratory;
Voices sweet as flesh and wine
Bred in the laboratory.

Now I come at last to wive
With a bitter roundelay;
Open the survival chests,
For the rain it raineth every day.

Radioactive isotopes
Dance upon the glowing moon
With the grace of Columbine;
I will be your Pantaloon.

Put the ship in hyperdrive;
Fold me in a foetal crouch;
Clasp me to your frozen breasts
On your cryogenic couch.

Tony Charles

National Notebook

The National Council has appointed a Financial Management Committee to keep a watchful eye over the Party's finances, and to advise the Council on budgeting, fundraising and other financial matters. The committee comprises two NC members, a 'financial adviser' (member Linda Lawrence, a chartered accountant), and two others from the Party at large. Peter Sizer, our National Treasurer, has given notice of his intention to resign on April 1st, and will be replaced by Leonard Perry of Bexhill, Sussex. A new Membership Secretary has also been appointed: James Tidy of Maidstone, Kent, who will be taking over from Biff Vernon in the near future. The Party owes a considerable debt of gratitude to both Biff and Peter, and we are sure members will join with us in thanking them for

their unstinting work over the last two years. Applications for two of the other positions advertised in recent issues of Econews, General Secretary and Fundraiser, are still being considered.

On a lighter note, the National Council has been offered the use of a converted double decker bus as a mobile Eco information centre. The vehicle is at present 'somewhere' in Shepherds Bush, and reported to be in need of a coat of (green) paint. There's no doubt the bus would have considerable media appeal, as well as serving a useful propaganda function, and the NC is fairly enthusiastic about the project. So . . . don't be too surprised if you discover an Ecobus lumbering around your town in the near future!

Eco goes on the offensive

1980 is going to be a busy year! We've got to knuckle down to the business of building up the membership, gaining more credibility at both national and local level, and putting the whole Party onto a sounder footing.

And none of that will happen without a clear vision of where we're going, and a clear strategy for getting there. The National Council recently spent a day working through ideas and projects, and we would like to propose a coordinated plan of action for the next 6 months, leading up to a special 'Summer Offensive' in June and July.

1. The first stage must be to raise a large amount of money. Our present financial position is just about satisfactory, but by no means healthy enough to allow us to do half the things that we should be doing. The details of our fundraising campaign have now been finalised, and the publicity material and leaflets are at the printers. We are planning to launch this officially at the end of March at the same time as all the other eco-parties in Europe.

2. In the last issue of ECONews you will have read John Foster's article giving the full details of our Anti-Nuclear and Health Hazard campaigns. More branches are now becoming involved in these, publicity material has been drafted and approved, and we are aiming at April 19th, as the official launch date for both these campaigns.

3. A lot of branches are getting themselves ready to put up candidates in the

Local Elections of May 1st. This is a vitally important date for the Party — it is at this level that we must begin to win a sizeable proportion of the votes. So we will need as many good candidates and well-fought campaigns as we can get. The Elections Standing Committee is in the process of preparing a full range of advisory materials so that new candidates and branches can make use of the considerable experience that we now have within the Party.

4. The National Council are thinking in terms of an ambitious plan to put the Party onto an "election footing" through the months of June and July. The plan is designed to gain members and raise funds through a mass-leafletting campaign emphasising our broad political aims and the radical nature of our policies.

We are still in the process of working out the details of this offensive. Branch Secretaries have been asked for their reactions, and the membership will be circulated with the full breakdown of what will be happening as soon as possible.

We believe that it is vital to get the whole Party together in some coordinated political campaign. We need some clear sense of purpose, some way of gaining full credibility. 20,000 members is the target, and that's the minimum we need to make any kind of significant impact through the 80's.

There's a great deal of work to be done over the next few months — it should be an exciting time!

Jonathon Porritt

Diary Dates

March 29th: National demonstration against nuclear power, jointly organized by Friends of the Earth and the Anti Nuclear Campaign; Assemble in Hyde Park at 12.00, march to Trafalgar Square accompanied by fire eaters, street theatre, music. Speakers include Petra Kelly, Brice Lalonde, Mike Cooley and David Steel (?). Every Eco member should be there!

April 11/12/13th: Ecology Party Policy Conference in Manchester. Full details in this issue.

April 12/13th: Conservation Society conference on Energy and the Fuel and Power Crisis. Speakers include Colin Sweet, David Elliott, Dr Leslie Grainger and Leonard Taitz. Booking forms from Dr Harold Bott, 9 Gerald Buildings, Pulteney Mews, Bath.

April 19/20th: World Forest Campaign Conference at Leeds Polytechnic. Details from Future Studies Centre, 15 Kelso Road, Leeds 2.

May 31st: Glasgow anti nuclear rally. Details from SCRAM, 2a Ainslie Place, Edinburgh.

September 19/20/21st: Ecology Party Annual Conference, to be held in Cardiff. More information in future issues of Econews, but note the dates in your diary now.

Truro Ecostore

The Truro branch of the Ecology Party has broken new ground by opening an Ecostore, operated along cooperative lines, that will not only provide a range of ecologically sound products but also support a number of small local businesses. A pilot scheme has been operating for the last six months, providing valuable experience for branch members, and we wish them every success.

After Easter, the branch hope to be instrumental in staging the First Cornish Exhibition of Mind, Body and Spirit, to be spread over three days in City Hall, Truro. Information from Dave Fowkes, Lemon Chapel, Chapel Place, Truro.

Election fever

Are there any local elections in your District this May? Find out NOW and, if so, commit your branch to fielding at least a few candidates — anyone can stand, and no deposit is required, so campaigns can be run on even the most limited budget. Branches failing to make optimum use of this opportunity will not be forgiven!



Difficult birth for Die Grünen

The founding conference of the Green party of the Federal Republic (*Die Grünen*) took place in Karlsruhe, Germany, on January 12/13th. The party was formally established in the closing minutes of the conference after a prolonged struggle over the details of the constitution. The internal divisions which led to the struggle remain simmering beneath the surface, but as Carl Amery reports, there are hopes that these differences will be quickly resolved.

For Germany, the new party is rather unique. For one thing, no strong 'leader' is visible. Herbert Gruhl, a respectable conservative who left the Christian Democrats for ecological reasons, does certainly not fit the role. The real strength of the party are rather young and newly emerging groups, appealing to the young vote between 18 and 30 years of age. Some of the talent growing into positions of leadership on state level (such as Beemen and Baden-Württemberg) is hardly older than that.

The difficulties arise from the different outlooks and motivations of the main currents constituting the party's militants. Three main currents can be distinguished:

1. The committed ecologists, concerned with the plundering of the planet, with technocratic misrule and destruction of the environment. For years, they have been active in citizens' committees fighting nuclear plants, new *Autobahnen* and similar undertakings of 'progressive' folly. In their ranks, a surprising number of scientists and trained technicians are to be found.

2. 'Disgusted young renegades' (and some older ones) from the existing parties, particularly the so-called left parties: Social Democrats and Free Democrats. Their disgust stems from the fact that the anti-growth wings of their former parties remain powerless against the technocrats and economists (their chiefs being Helmut Schmidt, the chancellor, and his minister of economics, Count Lambsdorff).

3. Radicals of the fringe variety, concentrated mostly in the big cities. They are organised (if the word can be used) in the so-called *Alternativen* or *Bunten Listen* (Multi coloured Lists). They detest the existing producer- and consumer society, groping for alternative styles of life in tight little experimental and not always successful groups: *Spontis* (from: "spontaneous"), *Stadt-Indianer* ("City Indians") and extreme-left marxists, particularly the *K-Gruppen* (independent

communists of several different brands).

The latter minority was one of the main reasons for the difficulties at Karlsruhe. The extremely strong sense of togetherness characteristic of the Alternative scene gave them a chance to fight for the preservation of their formal ties as a condition for joining the new party. The 'bourgeois' elements met them more than halfway, but there are strong misgivings that this will damage electoral support. It seems, however, that after a period of transition, the problem will resolve itself. The very existence of the Greens causes the diehards to retreat more and more from the alternative organizations, leaving the more spontaneous element free to contribute to the Green cause.

Integration

It would be superficial, however, to blame all difficulties of integration on pecking-order disputes or backroom juggling. The Alternatives of the big, destructive cities, rather successful in some recent local or statehouse elections (3.9% in Hamburg last year, 3.6% in Berlin) do fight for trees and against power plants, as do the peasants and wine growers on the Upper Rhine; but their existential experience, their 'place in life' is entirely different from that of, let us say, a Bavarian Catholic farmer or a concerned small-town biology teacher. To the big-city radicals, the Brave New World has arrived - a living octopus of gloomy urban conglomeration and exploitation. Their philosophical approach to the problem is humanist rather than ecologist, and some of their traditions preserve the extreme left atmosphere of the sixties. They suspect the 'bourgeois' wing of the Greens of being nothing but a bunch of environmentalists who can be fed off with some nature-preservation laws, stooges of the 'System'. The ecologists, on the other hand, suspect that the big-city radicals have no real concern for a livable future, using 'ecology' as a screen to hide old-fashioned revolutionary goals.

Two factors will determine, I think, whether integration will be successful: one, the coming state elections, and two, the success of one man. Elections will take place in Baden-Württemberg in March, in North-Rhine-Westphalia in May. Prospects in Baden-Württemberg look very good, it is more than probable that six or seven percent will be reached, which means a representation in state parliament. The outcome on Rhine and Ruhr will be more doubtful. As, however, nothing is more successful than success, the Baden-Württemberg returns could have a stimulating effect on the populous Northwest.



Bahro after his release from East Germany.

The second factor has the name of Rudolf Bahro. A citizen of the GDR, he wrote a book called *Die Alternative*, advocating a libertarian approach to Marxism for the coming decades. He published in the West, inviting the Inquisition in his homeland. Sentenced to prison (as a spy, ironically), the strong resonance of his ideas and his fate in the West caused the East Berlin powerholders to shove him across the Elbe. He has joined the Greens, and it appears inevitable that his theoretical brilliance, head and shoulders above anything the marxists in the *Alternativen* can offer, will overcome the old leftist squabbles. In Karlsruhe and later, he has come out with determination against the short-sighted tactics of his (more or less sincere) comrades, pleading for full and unreserved integration. It remains to be seen whether (and how) he will overcome the distrust of the 'conservatives' on the one hand, and, on the other, the in-group nostalgia of the left alternatives.

Above all, however, it is absolutely necessary that the militant non-party committees, loosely organised in the BBU (*Bund der Bürgerinitiativen für Umweltschutz*), keep up their fight and their vitality on the local level. For the Green movement as a whole, they are just as important as an institutionalized party.

Stop press: Baden-Württemberg. Greens elected with 5.3%.

Chipko: the struggle for India's forests

The British Government were the first people to introduce forestry management to India in the latter half of the nineteenth century — a policy devised to create wealth, rather than environmental, or indeed political, stability. For example, although many villagers in the Himalayas were dependent upon the natural forests for food, oak trees and other broad-leaved species were destroyed and replaced by conifers. Not unsurprisingly, this created food shortages and forced people to attempt to cultivate steeper and steeper slopes.

The villagers revolted, and have been doing so periodically ever since. The Chipko movement, formed in 1969, is the latest organised resistance to indiscriminate forestry policy and is characterised by its adherents' practice of clinging to the trunks of trees due to



Sunderlal Bahuguna

be felled, thereby preventing deforestation. Sunderlal Bahuguna, one of the leading supporters of the movement, explains as follows:

"The movement is inspired by a small group of Chipko activists, who, on getting information from the villagers willing to protect their forests, organise them and educate them through folk-songs in Bhagwad kathas. Forest officers, contractors' men, forest corporation employees, along with police and influential men of the locality, come to dissuade them by repression or allurements. But the people, especially the women, cling to the trees and invite their axes on their bodies rather than on the tree.

"As the movement is spreading, the forces of the status quo are strengthening themselves. They have advanced a false notion of development. They say the trees are felled according to the scientific working plans. People will get employment and so on. Fortunately, the local labourers do not cooperate with them and so they carry on their evil designs with the help of imported labour from Nepal and other states."

The writer stresses the involvement of women, and with good reason. With the destruction of the forests came erosion of top-soil in the Himalayan terraced lands. In order to earn some sort of living, large numbers of men were forced to migrate into the cities, leaving the women and children to manage as best they could. Apart from farming the land, they have to collect firewood and carry water. Sometimes it is necessary for them to travel up to twenty-five miles away in order to obtain enough grass or fuel to cook three or four meals, or up to three miles for a bucket of water. Moreover, the terrain is extremely difficult and many people have been killed through slipping on the more precipitous slopes.

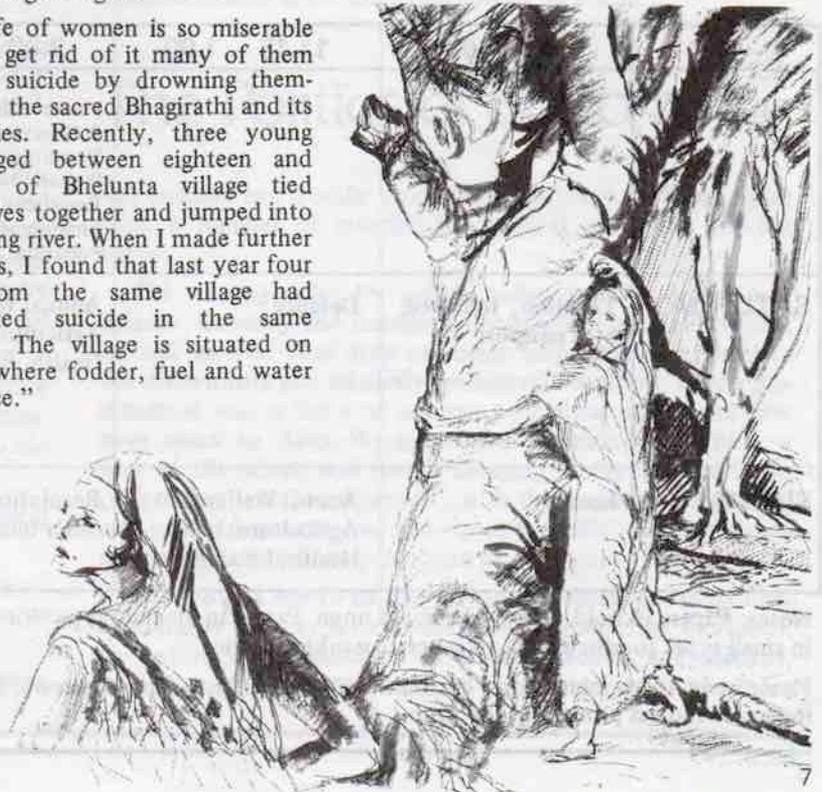
The shortage of drinking-water is particularly serious, as the sources in the hills rapidly dry up — some estimates suggesting a decrease of up to fifty percent in the last fifty years. Under such conditions, people become desperate. Sunderlal Bahuguna again:

"The life of women is so miserable that to get rid of it many of them commit suicide by drowning themselves in the sacred Bhagirathi and its tributaries. Recently, three young girls, aged between eighteen and twenty, of Bhelunta village tied themselves together and jumped into a flooding river. When I made further enquiries, I found that last year four girls from the same village had committed suicide in the same manner. The village is situated on a cliff, where fodder, fuel and water are scarce."

In August 1978, a landslide caused the Bhagirathi to run dry through the formation of a vast lake on a tributary, Kanodia, leading to floods. After this national disaster, it was hoped that there might be a rethink of government policy, but before the publicity had died down there was a mass auction of pine forests or would have been but for the intervention of the Chipko movement. Eventually, the government was forced to cancel its order, but only after mass demonstrations on behalf of the trees.

There have been other victories for the Chipko movement, including the establishment of a government department to replant some of the most depleted forests, but the fundamental change in official policy required has not yet materialised. Probably the movement's most significant achievement has been to educate people about the importance of the protection of trees and the need to conserve forests. Sunderlal Bahuguna deserves the last word:

"The other thing which I deeply feel is that the era of religion, dogma and politics is over and the era of science and spirituality beginning. Science in the form of ecology — the science of relationships between man and earth — has the answer to the vital problems facing mankind. You can help in restoring the true relationship between man and nature. Our materialistic civilisation has made us the robber of the earth, not to say her butcher. I remind you of the words of Bapuji: 'The earth has enough to sustain the needs of all, but not the greed of a few.' With the exception of man, all other living beings — animals, birds and plants — are following the laws of nature, and it is only due to their existence — particularly the trees — that we survive in spite of our barbarism."



Manchester policy conference

The success of the Conference depends on you. It's your chance to vote on the policies which will form the basis of the next Election Manifesto. It's your chance to take up the opportunity to exchange views with other members and thrash out the beginnings of further policy. We may all be working towards the same end but how we do so can only be decided by your presence and your voice. The Conference certainly won't be dull — don't miss it!

Time and Place Friday April 11th to Sunday April 13th, at Manchester University, Owen's Park, 297 Wilmslow Road, Fallowfield, Manchester 14.

Registration Booking will be heavy so make sure of your place by sending off the separately enclosed booking form to Ron Andrews, 18 Cofton Lake Road, Rednal, Birmingham 45, now. There is an upper limit of 350 and the University need to know total numbers by 1st April.

Reduced railfares are available if you post the appropriate form *more than 21 days in advance*. The form will be sent to you (together with information sheet, map, etc.) in receipt of your booking. The form needs to be returned before the 21st March so make sure that you book before then.

Domestic arrangements. Accommodation is in single rooms. Meeting Halls and dining facilities are conveniently situated in the same complex. Fully vegetarian

meals will be available. So far there have been no enquiries for creche facilities — if you intend to bring small children could you let John Foster know? A small amount of space is available for stalls. Let John Foster know your requirements *soon*.

The Programme has now been finalised. It has been designed to encourage maximum participation and falls into three main areas:

1. **Full Session Discussion** of the papers which you will already have discussed in your Branches. These have now been rewritten by the original working parties in the light of your comments and are either printed with this issue of Econews or will be following shortly. They are now ready for voting for inclusion in the Party's new Policy Manual.

2. **Group Discussion** of papers which are still in preparation and will be circulated to Branches after this Conference and redrafted ready for the Autumn Conference. The groups will be led by the working party convenors and although they run concurrently with each other they are available in two sessions to allow you to choose a different subject the second time round.

3. **Group discussion** of subjects which are in the present Manifesto but have not yet begun the process of revision. The groups will again run concurrently in two sessions. Each will be led by some-

one well-versed in that particular field with the purpose of generating a working party to draft a paper for circulation and voting at a later Conference.

Other Attractions include two bands on Saturday evening and a debate on the Party's ideology on Friday evening. Where do we stand? Right? Left? Libertarian? Your views are essential.

Since the main emphasis of this Conference is on policy very little time is available for Resolutions, and they will be accepted on a strict first-come first-served basis. Send them, proposed and seconded, to Digby Dodd, Policy Coordinator.

Voting Voting cards will be issued to you on presentation of your *membership card* and those entrusted to you by fellow members for proxy voting. Don't forget to bring them or you may lose the opportunity of recording your vote. And remember also that a way of cutting costs is for Branches to sponsor those carrying a number of proxy votes.

Papers Please bring this copy of Econews with you. Remaining policy papers for voting will be sent direct to those attending. Discussion papers will also be sent direct or will be available on arrival.

Enquiries Policy papers: Digby Dodd. Domestic: John Foster. General: Gundula Dorey and Sally Willington. (All addresses on the back page).

	9.00 – 10.45	11.15 – 1.00	2.00 – 3.45	4.15 – 6.00	8.00 – 10.00
FRIDAY			Public Administration & Government, Decentralization, Social Welfare, Natural Resources, Built Environment, Pollution, Economy.	Population , followed by Trade	Eco Political Philosophy — a discussion.
SATURDAY	Taxation , followed by Transport	Defence	Animal Welfare, Agriculture, Land, Health, Education.	Employment , followed by Women and Employment .	Public Administration & Government, Decentralisation, Social Welfare, Natural Resources, Built Environment, Pollution, Economy.
SUNDAY	Energy	Animal Welfare, Agriculture, Land, Health, Education.	Resolutions, Any other business		

Notes: Papers in bold type: to be voted upon. Papers in medium type: for discussion, prior to voting at September Conference. Papers in small type: for discussion, to generate working parties.

Please send the booking form enclosed with this issue to Ron Andrews, 18 Cofton Lake Road, Rednal, Birmingham 45, not to the incorrect address printed on the form.

THE POLITICS OF ECOLOGY

AN ALTERNATIVE VISION FOR THE EIGHTIES

An important part of the Policy Conference will be the Friday evening session on Eco's political philosophy. The following document is intended to serve as the focal point for that discussion. *It represents the consensus opinion of the whole National Council.* We believe that it is vitally important for the Party to reassess exactly what we mean by the politics of ecology, to get agreement on basic principles and a coherent long term strategy, and to provide a framework within which the business of policy formation may proceed more smoothly.

In order to extend the range of the Party's publications, we are hoping to publish this after the Conference as a separate pamphlet. This would involve some further revision and the addition of an introduction and a conclusion directed at a much wider audience.

The Politics of Planet Earth

What is missing from politics today is any understanding of the crucial importance of ecological balance. Man has consistently and unthinkingly exploited the earth to fuel his dreams of growth and industrial expansion. In so doing, it has been demonstrated just how ignorant we are of the Earth on which we live and so totally depend.

It is the aim of this document not only to establish that continuing economic growth and material consumption are entirely incompatible with the maintenance of any sort of equilibrium, but also to demonstrate that there is indeed an alternative.

This alternative will require a radical transformation in political practice, in society's expectations and values, and in our own individual lifestyles. This is the major political challenge for the Eighties.

There are no tablets of stone to provide philosophical guidance for ecologists throughout the coming decade! The kind of society in which we believe will be built up by individuals and communities expressing a common philosophy through their common actions; it will not be imposed from above by following the precepts of yet another catch-all, once and for all philosophy.

Nonetheless, there are a few 'guide lines', a loose structure of ideas and principles from which we derive our inspiration. And to make these clear, it is necessary to go right back to the start of it all.

1. Man is just one species amongst many, and as much bound by natural laws as any other species.
2. In order to survive, man must live in balance with the rest of creation on our finite planet, causing minimum disruption to the complex web of relationships on which all life depends.
3. Since man became the 'dominant' species, this balance has been

subject to human knowledge, judgement and will. It is therefore the cornerstone of all politics, in that all political decisions have a direct or indirect effect on it.

4. It is our moral responsibility to act as stewards to all creation, and to live in harmony with each other and the natural world; since world population (and, hence, total demand on a finite system), has already reached an insupportable level, we must recognise the further obligation to limit our own numbers.

5. Those whose immediate material and psychological needs are no longer pressing, bear a proportionately heavier responsibility in this respect.

These philosophical guidelines are based on an understanding of evolution, of the imperative of survival, and on the responsibilities of man as the dominant species on Earth.

The Politics of Ecology

The policies and specific proposals of the Ecology Party derive from a number of interlocking political principles, set out below.

The starting point for politics today must be the kind of balance, harmony and stability without which it is unlikely that we will survive. That does not mean stagnation or a return to the discomforts and relatively 'primitive' conditions of the pre-industrial era, as some of our less scrupulous opponents have been quick to claim. We see it as a 'dynamic equilibrium', a way of life which will restore meaning to the debased ideals of 'progress' and 'development', with the emphasis on spiritual and personal growth, on real 'quality of life' rather than on material values and the promotion of competitive consumerism.

But the real key to radical ecological politics lies in its non-exploitative nature. An end to the exploitation of the Earth, an end to the exploitation of all men, women and children, an end to the exploitation of all other creatures — these are

the primary political aims of the Ecology Party. C.S. Lewis observed that "what we call Man's power over Nature, turns out to be a power exercised by some men over other men, with Nature as its instrument." It is only by virtue of this kind of exploitation that we have achieved so high a material standard of living over the last 200 years; and it is only by continued exploitation, so we are told, that we will be able to maintain the 'benefits' of our industrial civilization. Yet it is now disturbingly clear that it is this very level of exploitation which threatens our survival. The *only* alternative to the politics of exploitation is the politics of ecology.

This alternative would involve mankind in the recognition of a new 'ecological contract'. Since no genuine or sustaining ethic can ever be built on the excesses of Western Individualism, a new contract must be established, giving equal recognition to the rights of the individual, the rights of the community, and the rights of the Earth and all species living on it. A truly libertarian approach emphasises maximum freedom of individual expression and development within a framework of social responsibilities and constraints designed to protect the Common Wealth. There will inevitably be changes in the kind of freedom society allows, with the emphasis on self restraint and self discipline in a just and open society.

There are few precedents for this kind of politics. It is in the nature of today's style of politics to represent some vested interest or one part of society against another part. Controversy centres on the contrasting means of sharing out the spoils of a decaying materialism. Success can only be achieved at the expense of the 'losers' – and invariably of the Earth itself. Eco-politics is fighting for the rights of that Earth, for all people on Earth equally, and for the rights of unborn generations.

We do not believe that this sort of politics can be meaningfully located on any left/right axis. We share some policies in common with all existing parties, but we are no more a Party of the Centre than of the Right or the Left.

Ecological politics is literally 'radical', not only because we are intent on finding lasting solutions rather than alleviating the symptoms with pain-killing technological fixes, but more importantly because we *are* concerned with the biological roots of politics. With the major exception of Malthus, political theorists have taken for granted man's biological survival; for us, the knowledge (the 'logos') of the physical world (our 'oikos' or home) is the rock on which our politics is built.

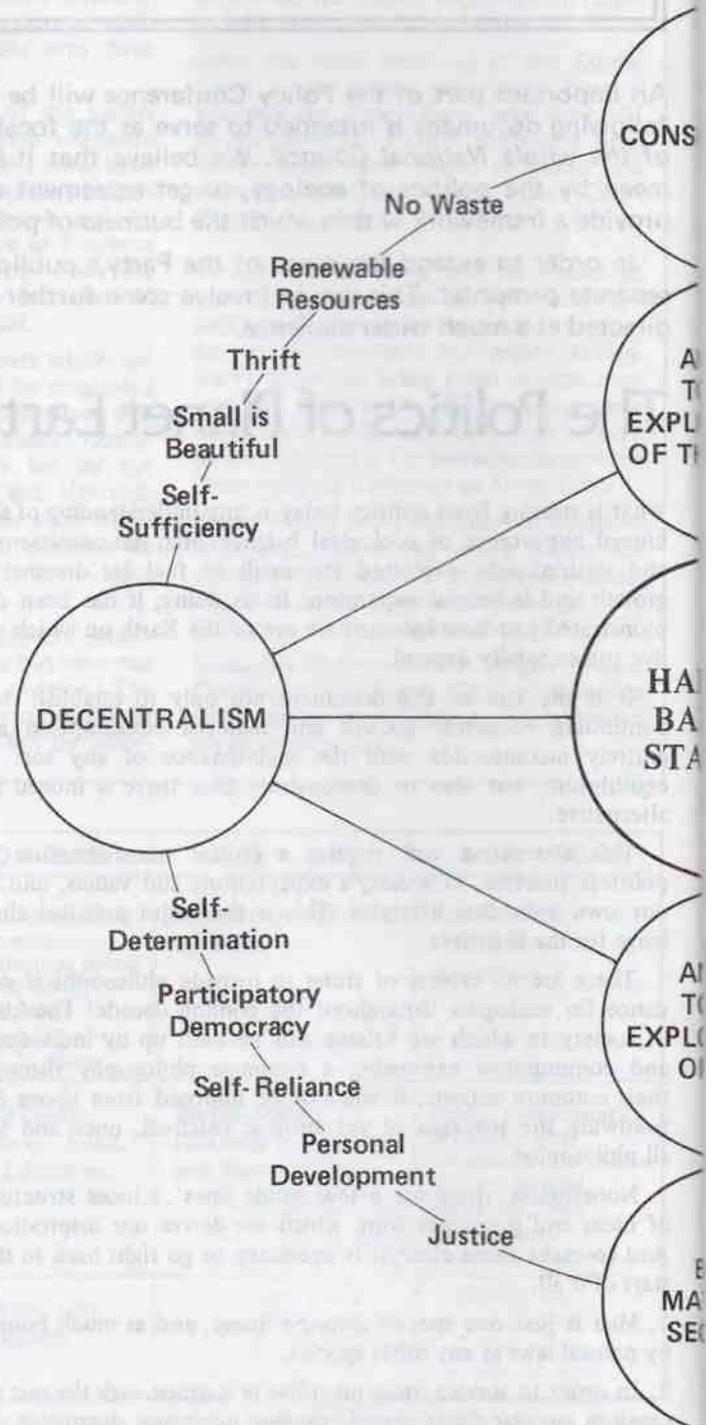
There are no illusions here in seeking to transcend the limitations of left/right politics. On the contrary, our policies are based on the expectation that things are going to get very much worse during the early Eighties. After a period of sustained abundance, people are having to re-adapt to the politics of relative scarcity. Until now economic growth has made it possible to satisfy the demands of some without taking away from others. It has almost become a substitute for politics, an all-purpose 'political solvent' to channel and control social conflict. Growth and economic opportunity have been used as substitutes for equality of income and real power: without them, we shall have to make hard choices about how best to use scarce resources to meet an enormous range of demands.

Moreover, an end to growth and development would only be acceptable to the countries of the Third World in combination with a radical redistribution of the world's wealth and a complete restructuring of the 'world economic order', so as to guarantee a greater degree of justice for the disadvantaged.

An ecological society can be relatively prosperous, but it cannot have continually rising affluence. Having accepted that there is a limit to the total wealth of a community, there must be a limit to the wealth each individual can receive, and a limit to the number of people who can be sustained at an acceptable

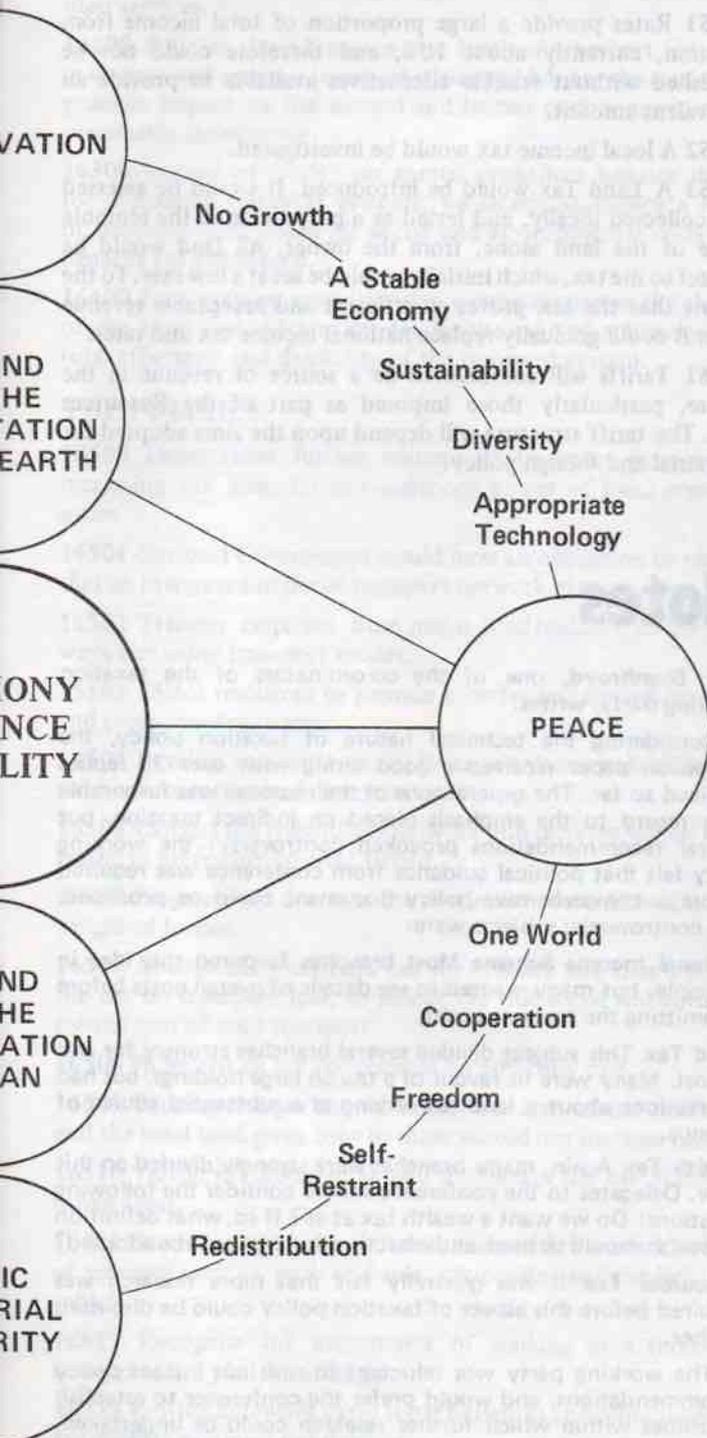
standard of living. Drastic cuts in the living standards of people can be avoided, but not without a considerable redistribution of the wealth and the resources of this country and countries like ourselves. Such redistribution is not to be interpreted exclusively in terms of ownership, but just as much in terms of the control and use of available resources.

Wealth itself will come to have a different meaning: in a society where there is far less emphasis on material values, 'wealth' will refer as much to the things that one cannot buy with money as those that one can – self-reliance, independence, job satisfaction, education and knowledge, leisure and the time to do the things that one enjoys, good health, peace and quiet, community involvement, love and friendship.



There are unanswerable *ecological* imperatives for this kind of social equality: without it, it will be impossible to reduce the greed and envy endemic in our society, and exploitation will continue unabated. Moreover, a decentralised participatory democracy (with decisions taken at the lowest practicable level) depends on social equality in order to reduce the kind of apathy which characterises our present democratic charade.

This is what we mean by *radical ecology*. We reject the blind, directionless politics of the centre just as strongly as we reject the redundant ideologies of left and right. ECO – Ecology, Cooperation, One World, where we are at one with each other and with the Earth; the politics of common ground, common wealth and common sense.



Politics in the Eighties

The aims of the Ecology Party may briefly be stated as follows:

To create a self-reliant, community based way of life within the framework of a stable economy and a just, democratic society, so that people may live in harmony with each other and the rest of the natural environment by acknowledging and adapting to the limitations of the Earth's finite resources.

In the short term, our objectives are:

1. To achieve maximum political impact by putting up candidates and winning seats in local and national elections; by establishing the crucial importance of an ecological analysis of politics; by co-operating with communities and projects that are putting ecological theories into practice, and by working together with all like minded, ecologically aware people and groups.
2. To promote the influence of eco-politics by campaigning for an improvement in the workings of our democracy through the introduction of proportional representation, the decentralization of government wherever possible, and a move towards a community based way of life.
3. To support any moves to put the economy on a more sustainable basis, by investigating the means of guaranteeing basic material security through a National Income Scheme, and of redistributing wealth and resources; by working to reduce the power of 'vested interests' in the economy, and to remove the conflict of industrial relations through the establishment of worker's co-operatives and common ownership schemes; by redefining the nature of work; by developing a realistic 'no growth' alternative, and by stressing that the beginnings of economic sanity are to be found in a 'no waste' economy.
4. To demonstrate the radical nature of eco-politics by campaigning for the closure of all nuclear power stations, the adoption of an Alternative Energy Strategy, and for unilateral nuclear disarmament and the ideals of peaceful coexistence.
5. To encourage any moves to make the United Kingdom as self reliant as possible, particularly as regards agriculture and energy.
6. To promote a healthy society by campaigning against pollution of every kind and the criminally irresponsible use of chemicals in our society.
7. To emphasise the importance of taking action with regard to our own lifestyles, through personal development, self reliance, and a change of consciousness at the individual level, and the need for a massive re-education programme throughout society.

* * * *

What we offer here is the politics of hope – realistic, fair, and forward thinking. Such an alternative offers security and the prospect of co-operation rather than competition; it promises a real improvement in the quality of life, the time and the opportunity for personal and community development. And above all, it makes possible genuine social equality, as individuals and communities begin to determine their own future within a responsible and democratic society.

It is indeed a radical alternative – a 'green revolution' to bring life and vitality back to the wasteland of contemporary politics.

Taxation

POLICY PROPOSALS

20411 An integrated National Income/Tax Credit system would be phased in over a period, in such a way as not to affect net revenue. This will rationalize the present systems of income taxation and welfare benefits in order to progressively reduce the 'poverty trap'. In the process it is recognised that some people will become worse off by the withdrawal of individual benefits; others will become better off. Not all individual benefits would be abolished. The rate of taxation would increase progressively with income, but a marginal rate over about 60% would not be employed. The rate of support would be the minimum necessary for support which the community could afford.

20412 Future reductions in the level of taxation following reductions in government spending would take place in the taxation of personal incomes to a greater extent than in taxation on expenditure.

20413 An annual Wealth Tax would be reviewed as an alternative to Capital Gains Tax, Capital Transfer Tax and surcharges on unearned income. The lowest threshold would not be less than £100,000 per person, excluding pension benefits.

20421 VAT is a cumbersome tax and imposes great burdens on small retailers in its collection. It would be phased out as soon as possible in favour of a purchase tax levied at the wholesale level. By not taxing the value added by services it would necessarily bear less on labour and services and more heavily on the use of materials. Processes involving repair rather than manufacture of new goods would therefore be encouraged by this change.

20422 Minor reforms would be made in the operation of VAT in the interim. These include the zero-rating of repairs and the raising of the turnover limit for compulsory registration substantially.

20423 Excise duties would be retained and would be extended to include a Resources Tax levied on all non-renewable forms of energy and selected raw materials. This would be levied at the extraction, primary production or import stage.

20424 The reduced revenue following from replacement of VAT by a purchase tax would be more than compensated for by increases in other expenditure taxes.

20431 Capital allowances (the proportion of capital investment which can be allowed as a cost before deduction of Corporation Tax) would be reduced to a maximum of less than the current 100%.

20432 Regional Development Grants would no longer be given as of right. Consideration would be given to a discretionary scheme instead, which could be used to encourage investment in labour-intensive industries.

20433 There would be levies on polluting industrial and transport methods.

20441 Employers' National Insurance contributions are a tax on employment, and as presently structured can discourage work-sharing and part-time employment. They would be gradually reduced.

20442 Employees' NI contributions would be combined with income tax.

20443 The state pension scheme would become part of the National Income/Tax Credit system.

20451 Rates provide a large proportion of total income from taxation, currently about 10%, and therefore could not be abolished without feasible alternatives available to provide an equivalent amount.

20452 A local income tax would be investigated.

20453 A Land Tax would be introduced. It would be assessed and collected locally, and levied as a proportion of the rentable value of the land alone, from the owner. All land would be subject to the tax, which initially would be set at a low rate. To the extent that the tax proves an efficient and acceptable revenue raiser it could gradually replace national income tax and rates.

20461 Tariffs will continue to be a source of revenue in the future, particularly those imposed as part of the Resources Tax. The tariff structure will depend upon the aims adopted for industrial and foreign policy.

Notes

Paul Boothroyd, one of the co-ordinators of the taxation working party, writes:

Considering the technical nature of taxation policy, the discussion paper received a good airing with over 30 replies received so far. The general tone of the response was favourable with regard to the emphasis placed on indirect taxation, but several recommendations provoked controversy: the working party felt that political guidance from conference was required before a comprehensive policy document could be produced. The controversial subjects were:

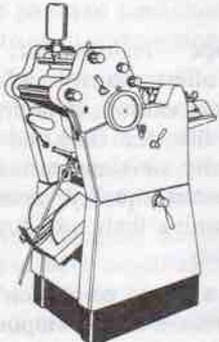
National Income Scheme Most branches favoured this idea in principle, but many wanted to see details of overall costs before committing the party outright.

Land Tax This subject divided several branches strongly for and against. Many were in favour of a tax on large holdings, but had reservations about a land tax serving as a substantial source of revenue.

Wealth Tax Again, many branches were strongly divided on this issue. Delegates to the conference should consider the following questions: Do we want a wealth tax at all? If so, what definition of wealth should be used, and what thresholds should be adopted?

Resources Tax It was generally felt that more research was required before this aspect of taxation policy could be discussed further.

The working party was reluctant to rush out instant policy recommendations, and would prefer the conference to establish guidelines within which further research could be undertaken. The working party will be producing discussion notes on the four topics mentioned above to enable the conference to hold an informed debate.



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Transport

The present transport system in Britain is dependent on the availability of abundant fossil fuels and on planning regulations which do not limit the amount of land that can be used to extend the transport networks. The effect of resource depletion on the supply of fuel and the need to stop the sterilisation of agricultural land under roads etc. could both be disastrous to the transport system unless it is changed markedly.

16100 The overriding long-term consideration is the reduction of total demand for transport by developing more self-contained communities where people work near their homes and live near their services.

16200 Policies should reduce the level of transport inequity in society and create a transport system which has the minimum possible impact on the natural and human environment and is sustainable indefinitely.

16300 Instead of relying on annual profit/loss balance sheets for evaluating transport systems, we should introduce a form of accounting in which all social and environmental costs and benefits are considered.

16400 Such policies would involve a compromise on the choice of the most fuel-efficient modes for the sake of enhancing the total efficiency and flexibility of the transport system.

THE POLICIES

16500 Decentralise further control of transport systems by increasing the financial and statutory power of local communities.

16501 National Government would have an obligation to ensure that an integrated national transport network existed.

16502 Transfer emphasis from major road-building to the railways and other transport modes.

16503 Direct resources to provide a better rail service on local and cross-country routes.

16504 Develop and improve rail links to existing industries and rail head to customer delivery services.

16505 Expand the freightliner network and increase wagon load traffic in preference to road freight.

16506 Progressively decrease the maximum permissible size and weight of lorries.

16507 Abolish the road fund tax for vehicles and raise sharply the tax on transport fuel, to reflect the true social and environmental cost of road transport.

16508 Phase out all tax concessions on company cars.

16509 Parking charges should reflect the cost of the facilities, and the total land given over to these should not increase further.

16510 Traffic management should discourage the use of cars in urban areas.

16511 Encourage greater experimentation with the introduction of schemes such as, park and ride, car pooling and the light rail vehicle.

16512 Recognise the importance of walking as a mode of transport, and plan accordingly.

16513 Provide extensive cycle route networks and other facilities for cyclists wherever appropriate.

16514 Introduce extensive bus priority measures on urban roads.

16515 The inland waterways and coastal shipping should be

developed according to local needs.

16516 No new airports will be built and there would be no further expansion of existing facilities.

16517 Improve the general safety on the roads by more comprehensive driving tests, stricter penalties for driving offences, especially drinking and driving, and other measures.

16518 Prohibit the use of lead in petrol and introduce stricter controls on vehicle emissions.

16519 Reduce speed limits on roads; to promote energy conservation and greater safety.

Defence

Nuclear war would be the ultimate ecological catastrophe. Modern 'conventional' war would also be a disaster of immense proportions. In its use of resources, human and otherwise, World War I, World War II, and even holocausts would be minor events in the history of humankind if either of the two wars mentioned (nuclear or 'conventional') came about.

Nations are arming themselves for their 'security'. In the name of 'national security' the British Government is proposing to raise the amount of 'defence' spending to astronomical heights at the expense of many other aspects of our national life. There seems to be no recognition of the fact that, all over the world, problems are interconnected.

We are blundering towards massive calamities in the next ten years: arms spending, energy shortages, increasing unemployment, huge disparities of wealth between the rich countries and the poor countries with their food and population problems. Any defence policy must go hand in hand with foreign policy, and be ecologically sound.

It is only in comparatively recent times that 'national security' required the militarization of the world economy. The development of new, 'more effective' weapons systems engages (mid 70's) fully one quarter of the world's scientific talent. World military expenditures in 1976 reached \$350 Milliard, a sum exceeding the income of the poorest half of humanity.

It is with these facts in mind that the Ecology Party working party on Defence puts forward its suggestions to the Policy Conference. As there is such a wide difference of opinion, in addition to this report, it is possible that a minority report will also be presented to Conference. After due consideration of all the submissions, we suggest that the following general principles be agreed upon by the Party before proceeding to more detailed policies.

1 The United Kingdom should abandon all nuclear weapons *unilaterally*.

2 As the United Kingdom is a part of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization which relies on the deployment of nuclear weapons, we should, after due notice, withdraw from this alliance.

3 Following withdrawal from NATO, and mindful of the fact that the United Kingdom needs friends, we should, in line with our foreign policy, open negotiations with all the non-aligned nations of the world.

4 After — *repeat after* — nuclear weapons have been removed from our country thereby removing first strike targets in counter-force strategy, we should start building nuclear shelters in order to give the civilian population the protection already enjoyed by the government and senior officials.

Energy

17201 Energy policy is inextricably bound up with economic policy and the policies outlined below include measures which will make energy relatively more expensive because only in this way will energy conservation and the exploitation of renewable resources become more economically attractive. It is recognised that this could have an adverse effect on families on small incomes and it is intended that the National Income Scheme would provide the necessary support.

CONSERVATION

Long term

17301 Each region to have a Regional Energy Authority to plan and implement a long term rational energy policy most suited to each region, (using such local energy resources as available).

Short term

17401 To set up a Central Energy Authority to absorb the existing separate boards (Gas, Electricity, Coal, BNOG) as a means of eliminating unnecessary competition for selling energy between the suppliers. Its function would be to administer the decentralization of control of energy to the Regional Energy Authorities, and once accomplished to remain as a co-ordinating body.

17402 Each Regional Energy Authority to submit an initial energy policy within two years to the Central Energy Authority, setting per capita consumption targets for the Region. These targets to be used as a basis for decreasing yearly the area's reliance on non-renewable central sources of energy as regional renewable sources are developed.

17403 Each Regional Energy Authority to set up local energy use centres, staffed by trained energy advisers, to advise as to the most efficient fuel for each purpose, and on conservation measures in all areas of domestic and industrial use.

17404 To use surplus funds from the National Energy Boards (at present Gas) to finance a nationwide domestic energy saving policy to be called the National Home Insulation Scheme. Interest free loans would be administered by the Regional Energy Authorities through the existing quarterly billing system.

17405 The Regional Energy Authorities would be expected to propose whole city heating strategies, including combined heat and power stations, to make use of the waste heat produced when electricity is generated. Incentives would also be introduced to encourage the use of combined heat and power throughout the economy.

17406 To introduce a Natural Resources Tax to replace VAT, levied at the point of the input of energy and other resources, so that goods and services are taxed according to their energy consumption levels. (*Currently being referred to the Taxation Working Party.*)

17407 The Building Regulations to be amended from simple insulation values to prescribe energy consumption performance values (G values) for buildings. These would be expressed in KWh per cubic metre per year.

17408 To achieve rapid energy savings in conjunction with the National Home Insulation Scheme, the Building Societies and other sources of funds for house purchase should only lend on properties which their surveyors certify as either (a) conforming

to a prevailing G value, or (b) not capable of economic or reasonable improvement. G values would be set and gradually decreased at a pace the insulation industry could reasonably cope with.

17409 To encourage the independent production of energy where viable, Regional Energy Authorities to allow a credit for surplus energy fed into the national grid by small communities or individuals to balance the cost of using regional energy resources when required.

17410 To introduce a law governing Energy and Water Use standards on all appliances and machines to minimise energy and water consumption levels, emphasising Performance Standards, and thereby costs in use.

17411 All local authorities and Central Government to have an energy conservation programme for all government owned and public sector buildings to conform to the energy use targets.

17412 To extend the energy conservation curriculum for schools, starting with a programme for the education of teachers in energy saving methods and alternative energy possibilities.

17413 To extend and support the conservation education programme for those involved in business and industry.

17414 To publish a National Energy Index (like the GNP), giving per capita consumption of energy excluding renewable sources, and through publicity watch for decreases in the index.

17415 Establish another category of Queen's Award to Industry for energy saving ideas.

17416 To standardise the design of containers for re-use and recycling, with the twin benefits of energy conservation and a reduction in pollution. Recycling of all materials will be encouraged by the Resources Tax.

17417 To introduce incentives to encourage local and regional authorities to separate domestic refuse at source so that reclaimable materials can be recycled and the remainder used for the generation of energy where viable.

FUTURE ENERGY SUPPLIES

Long term

17501 Each Regional Energy Authority to apply existing information and promote research to develop and use the renewable sources of energy in its own area, according to regional needs, and depending on the renewable resources available.

Short term

Coal

17601 Until renewable resources become generally available, coal will remain our principal primary energy source. Its dangers are recognised and the vigorous energy conservation programme proposed above will restrain its consumption as far as possible. Research will also be promoted into means of utilising coal more efficiently; extracting it more safely and reducing the polluting effects of its use.

Oil

17611 Extraction rates of oil (and gas) to be controlled to maximise the total amount of energy recoverable rather than

the financial yield, and to extend the period over which North Sea oil is available. Gas flared off would not be counted towards oil extracted.

17612 The range of measures in the Transport section, together with the Resources Tax will be used to encourage more efficient use of oil in transport.

17613 The revenues arising from North Sea oil would be used to finance the largest possible programme of investment in (a) improving energy efficiency, e.g. combined heat and power stations, and (b) recycling and conservation of the maximum amount of natural resources.

Gas

17621 Gas prices to be set to a level comparable with other primary fuels in order to balance demand. The funds so generated would be used to finance the Home Insulation Scheme.

Electricity

17631 The establishment of the Regional Energy Authorities would transfer the bias in electricity generation from cheapness to energy efficiency. This would save vast quantities of coal presently lost as waste heat from power stations, and largely remove the current justification for the use of nuclear power.

17632 The role of the UK Atomic Energy Authority would be adjusted so that its function is to:

(i) Close down existing nuclear power stations as fast as is practicable.

(ii) Solve the problem of managing nuclear waste and decommissioning nuclear power stations.

17633 Research into nuclear fusion and the fusion reactor to be halted, and all research funds to be channelled into the deve-

lopment of the means of harnessing the energy of our natural fusion reactor, the sun.

Notes

John Luck, the convenor or the working party on energy, adds the following notes to the paper.

re 17406 Natural Resources Tax. It is emphasised that this is not intended to be an *additional* tax, but a replacement of existing unecological taxes like VAT. While making energy more expensive, other things, e.g. children's shoes, would become cheaper, leaving the overall total tax the same. This would also benefit employment by, amongst other things (a) encouraging the labour intensive recycling industries and (b) encouraging the labour intensive rehabilitation of buildings instead of the material and machine intensive demolition and building anew.

re 17408 This has been amended to clarify the points raised about old buildings. The working party consider that the cost of any necessary improvements would fall on the seller, who would be about to receive a large capital sum, and not on the purchaser.

re 17414 The working party consider that if the country is to be effectively encouraged to save energy, it must have some simple means of demonstrating how well (or badly) we are doing. The index would be designed to show how efficiently we are using energy.

re 17633 While the overwhelming majority of respondents to the first draft are in favour of halting nuclear fission, the party appears to be split on the merits of continuing fusion research.



Stop Nuclear Power

Here's what they said about nuclear power in a secret Cabinet meeting:

"There was a danger that a broad ranging enquiry would arouse prolonged technical debate between representatives of different facets of scientific opinion."

Are their pet plans more important than our safety?

"... a nuclear programme would have the advantage of removing a substantial proportion of electricity production from the dangers of disruption by industrial action ..."

"... the government might make more rapid progress towards its objective by a low profile approach, which avoided ... confrontation with the protesters."

Most secrets are guilty secrets!

WHAT CAN YOU DO?

- Become a supporter
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Join the AntiNuclear Campaign

Anti-Nuclear Campaign: 27 Clerkenwell Close, London WC1
01-253 7303

Employment

14100 Unemployment in the UK is on the increase because of a) the world recession; b) increasing scarcity and cost of resources; c) the efficiency of international competitors; d) competition from developing countries; e) changing technology and the substitution of machinery for labour.

14101 There is little prospect for major changes in these underlying causes of unemployment in the foreseeable future. Since the conventional wisdom of faster economic growth as a way of alleviating unemployment is unsustainable, alternative policies are required.

OBJECTIVES

14200 To achieve a higher level of economic stability by working for a greater degree of economic self-sufficiency at national, regional, and local levels.

14201 To create a more decentralised economy with reduced industrial output, making the maximum use of renewable resources and conserving non-renewable resources.

14202 To abandon the current objective of economic growth and ever increasing material standard of living without regard to the costs, eg. damage to the environment, dehumanising jobs.

14203 To find ways of making work a more meaningful and satisfying personal experience.

14204 To use new technology as a means of satisfying human needs rather than obtaining maximum production.

14205 To give the individual a wider choice over the hours worked, the nature of the work undertaken, and the way of life adopted.

POLICY PROPOSALS

14300 Agriculture Land policy will make smaller units of land available for labour intensive high output organic farming. This will raise the level of self-sufficiency and increase both the number and the proportion of the population working on the land.

14301 Energy Energy conservation, decentralised power generation, and district heating schemes will make a valuable contribution to employment. This will provide more jobs than reliance upon a highly centralised nuclear power system.

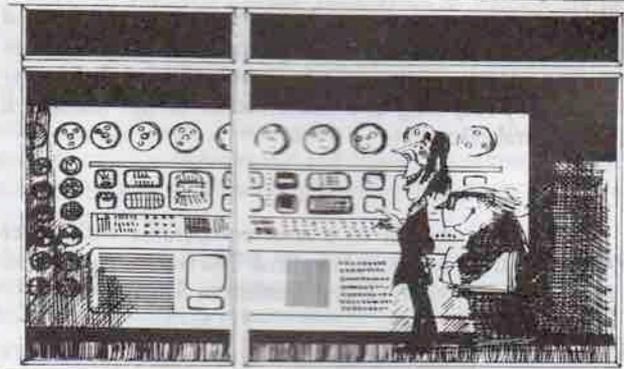
14302 Housing policy will create employment through the restoration of run down property to create higher standard accommodation, and new community housing schemes, eg. new 'villages' in rural or urban areas built by self-help groups, the local authority, or developers. Since such projects will be designed to achieve as high a level of self-sufficiency as possible in food, energy, and other necessities, they will include workshops for small enterprises providing employment, other community buildings and facilities, and smallholdings for the production of food for sale.

14303 Recycling, Repair and Maintenance provide labour intensive employment. These activities will be supported by a tax on the use of raw materials and energy, to encourage conservation and make recycling and repair more economic. Taxes levied on repair and maintenance work would be abolished.

14304 Deliberate planned obsolescence and excessive packaging will be progressively reduced by a combination of con-

sumer guarantees (eg. specification of a minimum life for products) and tax disincentives (eg. on packaging).

14305 To discourage artificial want creation, stricter controls on advertising will be introduced, and a tax levied upon the amount spent on promoting products.



DEPARTMENT OF EMPLOYMENT



"... And here we have our new £2 million electronic digital dole assessor which does the work of 100 clerks".

14306 Technological Unemployment The introduction of new technology which reduces the requirement for labour will be matched by a reduction in average hours worked throughout the economy, rather than an increase in unemployment, eg. the nine day fortnight, and then the four day week, rather than a slow reduction in the number of hours worked per day, which makes it difficult to create new jobs and thereby tends to increase the amount of overtime worked. The objective is to use the rewards of higher productivity from new technology to reduce the working week without loss of the individual's income so that jobs available can be shared, rather than higher wages for those with jobs.

14307 The adoption of a national income/tax credit scheme will guarantee each individual a basic minimum standard of living. This will allow people more flexibility in the number of hours of paid employment that they need to seek as their circumstances change. For example, people may choose to reduce their working week as they grow older, or to allow time to look after children or relatives, to pursue various forms of self-employment, to take sabbaticals, or enjoy increased leisure. Since the national income/tax credit scheme will be partly financed by a progressive scale of income tax, the incentive to seek overtime employment will be reduced. By these means, the demand for paid employment will be brought into line with its decreased availability. The abolition of National Insurance payments as

the result of the introduction of this scheme will remove an existing disincentive to part-time employment.

14308 At present, the responsibility of employers enforcing redundancies is limited to redundancy payments to the individuals concerned. The Ecology Party will widen this responsibility to include the provision of funds to the Community Employment Agencies which are to be responsible for fostering the development of small businesses. Thus, firms introducing new technology and creating unemployment will be forced to pay back to society some of the social costs they impose on it.

14309 Additional policies to foster local enterprises will have a high priority. For example, Community Employment Agencies will be created to initiate and guide new enterprises by the provision of premises, finance, and specialist advisory skills, eg. marketing and engineering. These services will normally be provided free (advice) or below cost (premises and finance) and will therefore be subsidised by the local authority from its tax revenue. The work of the Department of Employment will contract with the replacement of unemployment benefit by the national income/tax credit scheme. Its local responsibility for the provision of Job Centres, careers advice, and the Youth Opportunity Programme will be taken over by the Community Employment Agencies.

14310 To break the monopoly of the big banks and financial institutions in the provision of finance for business, the Community Employment Agencies will open savings banks so that local savings can be reinvested to provide employment locally. These savings banks will be run in conjunction with the local authority, which will underwrite the security of investors' savings and guarantee an attractive interest rate, eg. by affording them favourable tax treatment such as the building societies currently receive.

14311 Schools will encourage their pupils to be more self-reliant and foster independence of thought so as to give them the confidence to seek self employment if they choose, and make constructive use of increased leisure time resulting from a reduction in the working week. More time should be made available for the study of practical subjects like preventative medicine, child care, nutrition, home repairs and maintenance, market gardening, metal work, woodwork, etc.

14312 Adult education provision will be expanded greatly so that education becomes a continuing activity throughout life. Schools and colleges will be seen as an integral part of the community to provide education not only for children but also for adults who will be free to attend classes. Members of the local community will be drawn into schools and colleges to assist in the development and running of vocational and community orientated courses and skills, eg. cooking school meals, growing food, metalwork, etc.

14313 To prevent the further concentration of economic power by the merging of large companies, the Monopolies and Mergers legislation will be amended so that mergers will be permitted only in special cases demonstratively in the public interest.

14314 To assist economic decentralisation, responsibility for the control of nationalised industries will be transferred from central government to regional governments wherever practicable.

14315 In the private sector, legislation will require the introduction of industrial democracy and decentralisation without imposing a specific blueprint upon all business organisations.

A growth in plant level democracy will result in the demand for the decentralisation of responsibility, and greater autonomy at plant and division level. The legislation will also require provision for greater consultation and participation in large organisations by the communities in which they are located.

14316 The Community Employment Agencies will assist in the formation of new co-operative ventures and the conversion of existing businesses to a co-operative organisation. It is expected that the requirement to provide for greater participation in organisations by those working for them will increase interest in this type of organisational structure and that it will become more common.

14317 To reduce the conflict of interest between shareholders, the employees, and the community, the importance of share capital may be expected to decline relative to loan finance in companies experimenting with industrial democracy. The new legislation on industrial democracy will facilitate the conversion of shares into loan capital where it is thought to be desirable by the democratic decision making body of the organisation.

14318 The role of trade unions will change considerably with the structure of the organisation, and their sphere of interest widen to give more emphasis to job satisfaction, working conditions, and the impact of business organisations upon the local community etc. The trade unions which adopt ecological principles will become important instigators of change.

The Ecologist

Journal of the
Post Industrial Age

appears 10 times a year; it contains topical articles and reports on the major environmental problems facing the world today, together with critical analysis, ecopolitics, philosophy and practical suggestions for solutions from those engaged in the struggle to halt the spread of industrialism.

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The vicious circle of poverty and population growth

Dear Sir,

It was salutary to contrast various comments in Econews No. 6 calling for greater realism and the recognition that some people will never find ecopolitics to their liking with the naivetes of Peter Adamson's article on poverty and population. He is arguing the old-fashioned case put by China (along with such bizarre bed fellows as Argentina and Brazil) at the U.N. Population Conference at Bucharest in 1974 "Look after the people and population will look after itself". Such was the seductive force of this view, especially when it was linked to the just censure of the rich world's profligacy with resources, that it almost carried the day at Bucharest. Fortunately some realism was injected by the Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi representatives who recognised that they faced a vicious circle. Poverty (for all sorts of reasons) is linked with high fertility, which in turn vitiates attempts to reduce poverty. The Indian economy has grown consistently at a rate which the West might envy, but per-capita income has scarcely changed. No matter what the West does, poor nations are doomed to run up a down escalator unless the circle is cut at two points - vigorous efforts to help poor people increase their wealth and get some control over their own lives and simultaneously help to reduce fertility. It was never put better than by Lord Carradon when he was our U.N. Representative. "Population control without development is an insult, but development without population control is a deceit".

The poor world accepted western-style death control (smallpox vaccine, DDT against malarial mosquitos etc.) with avidity. It is more difficult to develop birth control, especially since the early western-style, medical-based campaigns were disastrous. It is no use simply to berate the rich world for its selfishness, however justified this may be in other contexts. Population growth has to be tackled within the third-world itself. Now the great majority of the poor countries have their own active birth control campaigns and they face the world with more realism than does Peter Adamson.

The Ecology Party should be about *balance*; we must never forget the significance of our name. In many parts of the world the human population is badly out of balance with the environment that has to support it and this situation will worsen as they become wealthier. Reducing population growth is a first essential

to restoring a balance. There are signs of a hopeful trend now, but it will need many decades to convince the human species that, like all those others with whom it shares the planet, zero population growth is all that can be sustained. Indeed most of the rich nations should go further than this. They must reduce their resource consumption and their numbers for their exploitative life-style has enabled their populations to grow far beyond sustainable levels. Britain, for example, is grossly overpopulated and a slow decline to half the present number is our most hopeful policy. The problems of a declining population are trivial beside those created by our present size.

Population control is not anti-human as Peter Adamson's article would suggest, it is *for* people. Most people achieve only a small fraction of their full potential and if our grandchildren are to have the opportunity of a healthy and diverse environment which offers them some freedom of choice and creative opportunities, then population growth must cease. The freedom to grow in numbers must go for ever, for in the end it will destroy everything else of value. The Ecology Party would do well to adopt the Conservation Society's original slogan 'whatever your cause, it's a lost cause unless we limit population'.

Yours sincerely,

*Aubrey Manning
The Old Hall, Ormiston,
East Lothian.*

Ecological building society

Dear Sir,

Anyone trying to mortgage a house with its own electricity supply or a compost toilet, or smallholders on hill farms, or people trying to convert derelict buildings to bring them back into use, find it almost impossible to get sensible mortgages. Building societies prefer jerry-built estates on green field sites, and push up inflation by granting high mortgages on such properties to people who would be better off with smaller mortgages on other houses.

What is needed is an ecologically concerned building society. The Co-operative Party had links with the Co-operative Insurance Society and Bank, and Nationwide (formerly Co-operative) Building Society, so it is not unprecedented for a political party to foster commercial ventures. I would suggest that if the ten people required to start a building society can be found to put up the necessary £500 each, that an 'Ecological Building Society' or 'Ecology Building Society' should be started.

There would be no problems with covering security on the mortgages as the society would be flooded with applicants and could employ all its funds

on 50% mortgages to people who already have a reasonable amount of capital. It would probably be able to lend initially at slightly over Building Society Association rates, if necessary, as people are desperate to get loans. There should be a lot of goodwill from people in the ecology movement so only standard building society rates need be paid to investors. Outlets would be a problem, although payments-in can be made by providing bank credit slips to potential investors. It would have to start with a few sympathetic professional people acting as agents from their offices before it ran to the expense of public offices, although it could share Eco's headquarters building in London.

Obviously there would be problems, but existing small building societies still do extremely well so there is no reason why an Ecology Building Society should not do likewise.

Yours faithfully,

*David Pedley,
Hilltop Farm, Colne Road, Oldfield,
Keighley, W. Yorks.*

Energy blueprint

Dear Sir,

Simon Barker did indeed invite 'ridicule and contempt' in his letter (Econews 6). I'm sure you don't need me to repeat the familiar arguments against nuclear power in general and fast breeders in particular (although to state as he does, that FBR's burn plutonium is plainly silly - by their very nature they produce *more* plutonium, which has to be disposed of; and as for FBR's being a welcome addition to the landscape, I'm lost for words!)

No, opting for FBR's is not the answer, but Simon does raise a very important issue. We reject nuclear power absolutely. But we must also reject projects like the Vale of Belvoir. The site alone would destroy much needed land, and emissions from the power stations would pollute the atmosphere. So that leaves us rejecting two of the suggested ways out of our energy hole. We must be constructive and offer alternatives.

David Fleming's editorial (also Econews 6) calls for an energy blueprint, and I believe this must be formulated with all possible speed. Wind, wave, solar power, sound like soft options, pretty ideas on paper that could never work on the required scale. But, even with the small amount of research (in comparison with nuclear power) that has been done, these alternatives have shown much promise. We must have the courage to call for the total abandonment of nuclear development in favour of these sources. The energy consumption of the Western nations is unnecessarily high - we'll have to learn to live without electric toothbrushes, washing machines, dishwashers,

and all the other seemingly trivial items that add up to so much waste eventually, so Eco might as well start hammering the point home now.

Thatcher is planning one new nuclear plant a year, to meet a projected energy use increase. Let's cut our consumption and make this expansion unnecessary. Let's cut our consumption and show that 'real energy' can meet our needs, given a chance.

Sincerely,

Ian Sharp,
44 Priors Walk, Crawley, Sussex.

Letter from America

Dear Sir,

Peter Frings described American environmentalists as having two distinct advantages over their British counterparts, their legal system and their Freedom of Information Act (Econews 6). I would give them a third - the American public's love of a new craze. At the moment energy conservation is the trendiest thing since the skateboard and the frisbee. Nothing too serious of course, it doesn't do to be too serious here because everything will be alright when this Iran business is sorted out and the American oil companies stop ripping the country off and produce more.

Being in a progressive state (Michigan) with mandatory deposits on drink bottles and cans gives one a feeling of superiority. Can't understand why others don't do it too, its so sensible. Its a drag taking them to the collecting points of course, but the deposit is so large that to dump them in the trash would be ridiculous. And the non-removable tabs are really clever - its all helped the litter problem a lot. The supermarket down the road now heats the store from its own refrigeration plant and sells lots of organically grown stuff. Fortunately they still have avocados all the year round and triple wrap for hygiene.

Everyone with any responsibility is buying a small car or two to replace the family gas guzzler and it is unfortunate that the American car giants are going to the wall, but the little Renaults and Hondas are so neat! And of course there are the wonderful state and federal tax credit schemes for home insulation. Its silly not to take it when they are giving money away, and the woodburning stoves are so jolly when you have people in. They can see how low you've turned the thermostat. Isn't it lucky that woolly sweaters and stockings are fashionable this year?

You know . . . I think this is one craze that just could become a habit!!

Yours,

Sara Parkin,
1738-31 Murfin, Ann Arbor, Michigan
48105, U.S.A.

Planetary policies

Gundula Dorey reviews Barbara Ward's latest book.

Progress for a Small Planet,
Barbara Ward, Pelican, £1.75.

One of the problems of ecology is its very nature - a living complexity of interaction in which no action and no product is without significance. Most commentators on the world situation tend to simplify their approach to one subject; perhaps energy, perhaps employment, perhaps Third World economics - few would attempt to draw all the threads together and try to express the way forward as a coherent whole. Barbara Ward has achieved this difficult task with clarity, vision and even humour, while retaining a very useful balance between the practical and the utopian, the appropriateness to modern expectation and the anticipation of future needs.

Nuclear power

She begins with energy and the question of whether nuclear power is really necessary - "we have to accept the fact that in spite of all the research, all the dedication, all the fixation of purpose, no nation in the world gets more than a few percent of its energy supplies from nuclear power" - and produces very convincing arguments to show that by using a combination of more conservative use, reduction in waste and alternative sources, it may not be needed. One of the benefits to us of her enormous experience is that she can provide an already working model from somewhere in the world to illustrate convincingly each of her examples. As she points out time after time, whether discussing energy, recycling, efficient land husbandry, food sources, industrial planning or waste re-use, "the technologies are available, will become cheaper, and could even lead to a more humane and civilised mode of existence."

Nor does she neglect the social implications. The effects on employment and social welfare of the alternative strategies of action are carefully assessed. Monolithic schemes, whether in industry, commerce, farming or urbanisation, are found wanting; diversity is proved to be the key. This becomes especially apparent when she moves on to looking at the Third World and the multiplicity of problems which a burgeoning population, the imitation of inappropriate Western development and a rich-nation market economy have helped to create. Where the local environment is improved and the provision of basic needs of food, water and shelter bring a new security, especially in employment, higher standards in health care, education and social welfare, on an appropriately small and localised basis tend to follow.

Barbara Ward constantly shows what can be done at every level from individual

action to Government interest both financial and legislative, but stresses throughout that there is no point in having appropriate technologies and new schemes if apathy rules. Interest is aroused and sustained by involvement; whether in trying to improve living conditions in Western high-rise developments for example, or in regenerating rural communities in Third World countries where "the building of energy resources, the restoration of humus-producing wastes to the soil, the recovery of woods and forest, and beyond that the essential control and use of water are all virtually impossible on the needed scale if the community itself is not profoundly involved in the projects and committed to them with a sense of genuine personal and communal interest."



Barbara Ward

She sees the rejection of all economic growth as rather naive and favours diversion rather than cessation: "Science can be used to enhance, not disrupt, our knowledge of natural systems. Growth can be true growth if it preserves the renewable resources upon which sustained and reasonable expansion depends. Science and growth working creatively together will vary in the patterns of their use according to local resources and needs." Her message for the developed world is: climb down, clean up, and re-use, and for the developing: regenerate, and don't follow the mistaken path of the West. She is very positive in her feeling that rich nations can, and will, help the poor in an increasing spirit of international cooperation, brought about by the recognition of the oneness of the Earth. "Either it is the whole world's business," she writes, "or it will not be done in time."

Small is beautiful came high on the list of books which politicians said they had been most influenced by. *Progress for a small planet* is more readable, more sensible and more optimistic. It should come even higher. Read it - then make sure your M.P. does.

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