

# GREEN *Line*

● Green Economics  
and the New Right

● Greens in Brazil

● Sizewell;  
Working to Win

No 51 • APRIL 1987 • 50p

*Just the tip of the iceberg*

**NUKES**



**Racism**

**ACID RAIN**

**SEXISM**

**CAPITALISM**

**soil erosion**

**ozone depletion**

**MILITARISM**

**PATRIARCHY**

**industrialism**

**ANIMAL ABUSE**

# GREEN LINE

Green Line, 34 Cowley Road, Oxford

(0865 245301)

Monthly magazine of  
Green politics and lifestyle

GREEN LINE is published ten times a year, and is produced by a collective based in Oxford.

This issue appeared with the help of Jerry Spring, Leigh Shaw-Taylor, Barry Maycock, Graham Hooper, Ann Davison, Carol Guberman, Andy Kaye and Euan Dunn. It was edited by Jon Carpenter.

## SUBSCRIPTIONS

Normal rate £6, low/unwaged £5, voluntary hi-waged "supporter subscription" £10. (The "supporter" rate helps build our publications fund.) Overseas readers please add £1.50 to all these rates (surface mail), or enquire for air mail rates to your area.

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For special occasions like demos or big meetings, we'll supply you sale or return: you pay us 40p a copy for however many you sell, and recycle the rest. We can sometimes supply limited numbers of back issues for the cost of postage only (less than 10p each): please write if you could put them to good use in stimulating future sales.

## ADVERTISING

Green Line reaches an audience of several thousand people very much like yourself. Display advertising is only £45 a page, smaller sizes pro rata (£5 for one third of a column on this page, for example). Send camera-ready copy by the 10th of the month prior to publication, or enquire for our typesetting and layout charges.

## DEADLINES

The next issue is due out on May 1: we need all news, etc by April 10. Space for articles is often booked up longer in advance, so please allow more time for these. In general, all articles are read and discussed at an editorial collective meeting on the first Wednesday of each month.

SPECIAL OFFER!

## BACK ISSUES

We'll send you six recent back issues for just £2, post free. An ideal offer for new subscribers.

◊ Cover illustration by SARAH TYZACK.

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LEEDS GREENFAIR - May 2nd. Promises to be even better than last year's with a Nicaraguan focus, as well as usual womens' space, children's triangle, peace corner, discussion forum, etc. Anyone who wants to hold a stall (free), do a workshop or do anything, please contact Gordon Haycock, 11 Chestnut Ave., Leeds 6.

RURAL PREMISES wanted by expanding small business (renewable energy suppliers). Accommodation and workshop space needed, ideally part of a larger co-operative project. 'Wind and Sun', Islip, Oxon OX5 2RZ (Tel 08675 6349).

GREEN GATHERING, Smarden, Kent, from Sat June 6 to Sun June 14. Registration fee £5, plus camping at £1 per tent per night. Map and full details will be sent on receipt of registration fee. Camping charges payable on arrival. Concessions for unwaged etc. available on request. Please make cheques payable to "Green Gathering" and send to Green Warehouse, 50 Mackenders Close, Maidstone ME20 7JE (Tel 0622 77043).

COLOURFUL ADHESIVE window transparencies (11 Varieties, rainbow, mandalas, peace dove etc.). Now available wholesale. SAE for catalogue to Earthcare, 33 Saddler Street, Durham.

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to tell  
the world,  
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FIRST!

# Pacific Women Speak

"WHY HAVEN'T YOU KNOWN?" This question was posed by Titewhai Harawira, one of nine indigenous Pacific women who visited Europe in 1984-8. They were speaking in support of the campaign for a Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific, revealing truths that have been ignored or suppressed for a century or more in this country, and by Europeans and white people worldwide.

Their words had a tremendous impact, and those who were fortunate enough to hear the women speak have been filled with new energy. Their strength and charisma comes across powerfully in the printed word too, and this pamphlet is the first publication of the speeches and talks they gave. Additional background information and notes up-date the current situation in the Pacific to early 1987.

"PACIFIC WOMEN SPEAK" is edited by Women Working for an Independent and Nuclear Free Pacific, and published by Green Line. Single copies cost £1.95 (£2.15 incl postage) from Green Line, 34 Cowley Road, Oxford OX4 1HZ. Bookstall rates available. Trade orders to Turnaround Distribution.

# Small Ads

5p/word

'SUSTAINING AND SUSTAINABLE' - the case for ecological veganism, with nutritional guidance, menus, and recipes, 60p + 15p p&p. 'MORE SUSTAINING RECIPES', quick and simple, using only ingredients that could be grown in the UK. 30p + 15p p&p. The two together £1. 'GROWING OUR OWN' - guide to vegan organic gardening, 35p + 15p p&p. Movement for Compassionate Living, 47 Highlands Road, Leatherhead, Surrey.

GREEN FIELD, Glastonbury CND Festival. Contributions welcome in these main areas: site and gate crew, cooks, stallholders, crafts people, musicians, tipi dwellers, healers, welfare workers, NVDA facilitators, snowball veterans, co-op members, kids' creche workers, buskers, workshop leaders, green activists. Please contact: Kim McGavin (coordinator for Green Field), St Nectans, Welcome, Bideford, N Devon.

'CONTINGENCIES FOR APOCALYPSE SURVIVAL SOCIETY' believes world civilisation may soon be reduced to chaos, with whole nations being extinguished by a combination of war, natural disasters, famine and disease. However, we also believe a 'New Age' of enlightenment will quickly establish itself after the turmoil subsides. It is to prepare for both that CASS has been formed. We base our views on converging sources of info - psychic, astrology, archaeology, legend, religion and 'modern' science. For more info write, enclosing a stamped envelope, to: CASS, c/o 15 Heather Lea Avenue, Dore, Sheffield.

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## As I slept, the bombs fell

BARRY MAYCOCK writes:

WHERE WERE you when the bombs fell, when the planes roared overhead? It is fitting that they flew in the darkness, and many of those who slept in the quiet suburbs of North Oxford stirred in their sleep and felt the ground shake and heard the jets from Upper Heyford roar high above them. I slept through it all: I heard the news about the bombing of Libya early the next morning, and thereafter my moods flew wildly between rage and a desperate weeping. I couldn't think of anything to say: the sense of outrage, of betrayal, of despair - these went deeper than any words. Gradually phones started to ring, from peace campaigners, cruise-watchers - friends of mine produced with amazing speed a leaflet condemning the raid, and soon it was being distributed by the thousand on the streets of Oxford; the printer must have been driven by a similar fury. Normally I shrink from giving out leaflets on the street, but on this occasion I found myself shouting at people, urging people to take them, which for the most part they willingly did. Gradually demonstrators began to gather round placards and improvised

banners - everyone I knew seemed to be there. Someone produced a loudspeaker, though the words could scarcely be heard in the noisy centre of Oxford. Sympathetic people, unused to demonstrations, stood quietly with us in the unfamiliar crowd. I rushed around creating my own posters, and stuck them up where I could: people travelled up to Heyford, some broke into the Base and sat on the runway, others went to London for the evening rally, some rang the Pentagon in a frenzy of rage and anxiety.

From familiar and neighbouring fields, from among quiet Cotswold villages the planes had been plucked at the bidding of someone far off, an ocean away, had veered south and murdered sleeping people in a sleeping city - from our own doorstep they had flown, and now children lay dying in the rubble of their homes. Then the planes had returned and resumed their routine work as if nothing had happened - the pilots were our neighbours, they lived at the end of our street, and now they sang in the showers, they went jogging, they sat in jeeps and drove round the old stone villages. We never really believed it, did we, that death would be unleashed from Upper Heyford, yet here it was - the unspeakable had been uttered, the impossible had come true. Yet there were good moments too - I've never felt so proud of my friends, much despised "peace people", as I did then, as we stood together round our scruffy banners in the middle of Oxford. The lunchtime crowds still flowed past, sometimes looking uncomfortable, embarrassed, vaguely hostile. Were they really going back to work, heading for the shops, hurrying to a lunchtime appointment? Why weren't they moving north in vast numbers, to tear down the barbed wire, to take the Base apart with their bare hands?

Have they all forgotten, a year later? Many of us who will be marching in April, or gathering flowers for the dead, or lighting candles, or just quietly thinking, will not so easily forget.

### APRIL EVENT

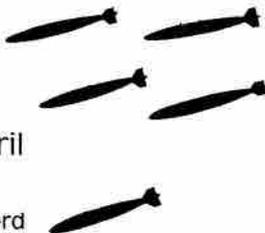
IN APRIL we remember this act of state terrorism with a series of events at USAF Upper Heyford, north of Oxford, organised by the Peace Camp and friends and supporters - a brave and ambitious undertaking which deserves our support. I must admit to feeling misgivings when this event was first announced - I had become so fed up with endless marches and "big events". Now however I feel grateful that there is an opportunity for me to join with others in expressing outrage and sorrow at the bombing of Libya. Details about this can be obtained from "April Event", 34 Cowley Rd., Oxford (726441), or from Martin Robinson on Oxford 242229. See also the announcement on this page.

### CND DEMO IN HYDE PARK

'NOT WITH TATTERED PLACARDS...'

A BIG (surely difficult) step for CND has been in linking up with FoE for the London demonstration on Chernobyl Day, April 25th ("Your most important date this year" - 'Campaign'). It's a big step in other ways, too, for a few years ago it would have been unthinkable for CND to come out so emphatically against nuclear power in such a major demonstration. It'll probably be difficult for FoE to be associated too closely with our

U.S. foreign  
policy. •  
*Remember Libya!*

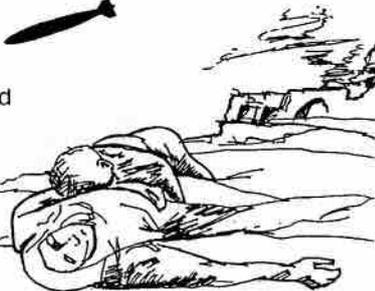


Protest March  
Saturday 11 April

- The Long March:  
Assemble 8.45 am  
USAF Upper Heyford
- The Short March  
Assemble 1pm-2pm  
Cutteslowe Park Oxford  
Rally near City Centre

Anniversary Vigil

- 6pm 14-Noon 15 April  
USAF Upper Heyford
- +NVDA on 15 April  
contact U.H. Peace Camp



Organised by April Event c/o 34 Cowley Road Oxford OX4 1HZ Supported by CND

THE  
OTHER  
ECONOMIC  
SUMMIT  
1987

Cities all over the world are in disrepair and, in response to this, people are taking their own initiatives: building their own homes, organising their communities, planning their own environment, and working for their individual and collective well-being. The Rally will celebrate these initiatives.

### RALLY FOR URBAN REGENERATION

#### Speakers

- Ameneh Azam Ali  
(Orangi Housing Project, Karachi)
- Leighton Andrews  
(Director, International Year of Shelter  
for the Homeless, UK)
- Liz Drysdale  
(Merseyside Co-operative Development Agency)
- Charles Knevt  
(Dir, Inner City Aid)
- Reverend Barry Thorley  
(St Matthews, Brixton)

7.30 pm. Thursday 4th June, 1987  
Friends House, Euston Road, London NW1  
(opp. Euston Station)

Tickets: In advance £4 (£2 unwaged); at the door  
£5 (£3 unwaged). Five or more tickets, 20% discount.

Further details of this and other TOES events are available from TOES, New Economics Ltd, 27 Thames House, 140 Battersea Park Road, London SW11 4NB. (Also ask for information on the New Economics Foundation, an educational charity which researches into the new economics.)

"tattered placards" (See the advert of Monday Feb 23rd). Well, FoE, I have been proud in the past to stand by tattered placards on a tattered demo - perhaps FoE will march separately, far away from Cruisewatchers, Greenham women, peace campers, and all the ragged, embarrassing grassroots of the peace movement.

**But the nuclear lobby is hell-bent on ignoring our outcry.**

**Friends of the Earth has been fighting this lobby for 15 years. Not with tattered placards, but with expert scientific evidence.**

**We have represented you**

CND is not only "making connections", but taking fully on board the notion that the "political" must be firmly rooted in the "personal", judging by the two excellent articles in the March "Sanity", one on male violence, the other on the necessity for women-only groups; and there is also a debate at the April CND Council meeting about male violence in the peace movement, in the light of the rapes at Molesworth. The stately CND vessel does indeed move, albeit slowly, with much creaking of timbers and groaning of mast and rigging. I long for the day when CND will finally bring itself to pronounce: "There are no single issues!".

Details of the march and rally in London on April 25th can be obtained from CND, 22-24 Underwood St., London N1 7JG (01.250.4010).



## TRAINING FOR BREAD

A TRAINING day for the Bread not Bombs campaign takes place at Alington House, North Bailey, Durham on April 11 (10.30 - 5). Info from Kevin Daws [0287 24624].

## DIARY

### PEACE EVENTS

April 2nd - 12th: Marathon Mass Leafletting, for a nuclear-free Britain. Leafletters needed! Contact Scottish CND on 041.331.2878.

April 10th: Public Meeting in Warwick - "Working for Peace". Tel. Howard Watson, Warwick 498068.

Public Meetings in London on the themes of Radiation, the Health Service, and the nuclear threat in the light of the Chernobyl accident, April 6th: Council Chamber, Civic Centre, Dagenham. April 15th: Hammersmith Town Hall, King Street, W6. April 23rd: The Riverdale Hall, Lewisham Shopping Centre, SE13. April 27th: Assembly Hall, Hackney Town Hall, Mare Street E8. May 8th: The Hogarth Hall, Chiswick Town Hall, W4.

April 18th: Ploughshares Digging Action at RAF St Mawgan on Easter Sunday. Faslane Rainbow Marches: the last leg will take place on May 3rd, from Dumbarton to Faslane - come on, you southerners, there's a whole world north of the Watford Gap: come and glimpse some beautiful scenery and discover how unpopular the whole Trident programme is with ordinary Scottish people. Info from Faslane Peace Camp, Helensburgh, Dumbartonshire (0436) 820901.

May 15th: Anti-nuclear parliament in Parliament Square, London: an action initiated by Essex CND, which will take the form of a mass act of civil disobedience. This sounds a lot more fun than marches or rallies! Please contact Jimmy Johns, 17 St Johns Green, Chelmsford, CM1 3DZ (0245 420178).

### OTHER EVENTS

April 23rd-25th. 1st National Bannermakers' Conference, Huddersfield. Contact Bannerworks, 9 Spinkfield Rd., Huddersfield, W. Yorks. (0484 513772).

April 24: World Day for Laboratory Animals, pickets of local laboratories by local groups. Islington Animal Rights Campaign will be picketing Biorex Laboratories, Canonbury Villas, London N1 from 3 - 6 pm. Biorex conduct obscene experiments such as the Draize and LD50 test, and have a contract with the Ministry of Defence. Further details from IARC, Box 17, 83 Blackstock Road, N4 [01-359 6225].

April 25th: World Day for Laboratory Animals March in Oxford. Contact 0732 364546. Assemble at 1.00 Oxpens Park, Oxford; 2.00 pm: march through Oxford, then a rally and stalls afterwards. The demonstration will be targeted at animal experiments at Oxford, at the John Radcliffe Hospital, and the University laboratories, particularly sight deprivation experiments going on at the department of physiology.

May 2nd: LEEDS GREENFAIR, this year with a Nicaraguan focus. Please contact Gordon Haycock, 11 Chestnut Avenue, Leeds 6.

### AGAINST WAR TOYS

PEACE PLEDGE UNION have launched a petition regretting the trivialising and glorifying of violence, particularly in promoting and packaging 'war toys' for children, as creating a violent culture. This is part of a larger project, 'Children and War', questioning the way we bring up and educate children today. The petition will be handed over to the relevant toy manufacturers in the Autumn. Copies of the petition form are available from PPU, 6 Endsleigh St, London WC1.

## ANIMAL RIGHTS NEWS

### OUTRAGE IN SHEFFIELD

TEN ANIMAL rights campaigners were imprisoned on February 5 for a total of 38 years after being found guilty on conspiracy charges. Ronnie Lee, former ALF press officer, was convicted on all three charges of conspiracy to cause criminal damage, arson, and inciting others to cause criminal damage: his sentence of 10 years was more than double what anyone else has received for animal rights offences. The remaining 9 defendants, 4 of whom were also charged with conspiracy to steal the Ecclesfield Beagles, were jailed for periods ranging from 9 months to 4 years.

The judge, once a member of a now defunct fascist group, made biased statements throughout the trial, calling the ten "terrorists". As expected, press coverage was hysterical. Continual reference was made to "fire bombs", whereas the devices planted were designed merely to cause smoke to set off the sprinkler systems of department stores that sell fur coats, ruining the stock. They could not be used for arson. One MP, however, showed a rare perceptivity for someone in his job when he compared the sentences to the lenient ones given to two men for rape the same week, saying this means the state regards attacks on property as more serious than attacks on women.

The sentences, and the furor surrounding them, clearly show the concern with which those in authority view the direct action campaign of the ALF. The introduction of the incitement charge also indicates that they do not want ALF activists to gain the publicity they have received in the past. But the decentralised cell structure of the ALF means that there are no 'leaders' or 'head office', and actions against the animal abuse industries will certainly continue. Within hours of the sentencing, a research laboratory in Cheshire was raided, and 52 chickens and 4 piglets rescued.

• Most of the animal rights prisoners listed in our New Year issue have now been released. For an up-to-date list of prisoners, complete with addresses and advice on writing, send a sae to SARP, BCM Box 5911, London WC1N 3XX. We will continue to give lists in GL from time to time.

### FREE RANGE EASTER EGGS

COMPASSION IN World Farming, along with other animal rights and welfare groups in the EEC, will be conducting an intensive campaign this Easter to persuade members of the public to boycott battery eggs and buy free range instead. They are calling on groups to stage vigorous but peaceful demonstrations outside supermarkets and shopping arcades, and have produced an Easter Campaign leaflet (£1.50 / 100, £4.50 / 500, £7.50 / 1000) and a new battery hen fact sheet at 50p each. A human battery cage and two stuffed caged hens (free range, died of natural causes!) are available to local groups, first come first served.

Contact: CIWF, 20 Lavant Street, Petersfield, Hants GU32 3EW.

# GREEN PARTY BYE-ELECTION RESULTS

JON CARPENTER writes:

THE GREEN Party has just stood in two parliamentary bye-elections and emerged with a cheerful face. Graham Bell, whose 295 votes in Greenwich represented .72% of the votes cast, says he was "delighted with so much in the campaign that although more votes would have been a bonus, it was not a disappointment." Among his abiding memories is a visit to a burger bar: "Are you Greek?" he asked the proprietor, who nodded and was promptly given a leaflet in Greek. Whereupon the waiter asked, "Do you have it in Turkish?" When Graham handed him a copy of his Turkish leaflet, the man promptly performed a dance among the tables...

The decision to stand in Greenwich was based on the conviction that "if we don't stand in a bye-election before the General Election, we don't exist." Built in to the campaign strategy was the message that whatever the outcome, it was not to be seen as a failure. Even the percentage vote, which may look desultory, at least put the party fourth, and that's maybe a "first" in its bye-election history. The Greens have been known to tail all and sundry - including the fascist parties. But instead of concentrating on votes, the Bell campaign went all out for fun. Fun meant avoiding the "doom and gloom" label. It also meant using media-friendly images. Canvassing by tandem, or having a frogman crawl out of the Thames mire with a "Vote Green" placard, went down well with the photographers: it was also fun to do. For the voter on the Greenwich omnibus, the message the Greens were trying to get across was: Politicians are trying to get your confidence so they can sort your problems out the way they want. Greens want to give you back the power to sort your own future out the way you want it. As Graham put it:

There is 14% unemployment in Greenwich. One of the messages of our campaign is fun not fear. What politicians offer people is fear. They say: You are victims, you need us to solve your problems; be frightened and we will protect you. What we say is, the last thing you need is politicians to tell you how to run your life. The politicians should be working with people to help them realise their own solutions. There is this great pressure from the conventional media: they are always asking, "How would you solve unemployment?" I'm not after solving other people's problems, other than by making it possible for them to solve them.

In Truro on March 12 the Green Party's Howard Hoptrough gained 403 votes (.8%) - 1 Green vote for every 9 Labour votes cast. Truro Greens cashed in on the fact that the first of the Ehrlich TV programmes went out just before the poll: it was, they claimed "a party political programme for the Green Party," and some voters said they had been "scared" into considering voting Green. A central theme of the campaign in Truro was economic: other parties were criticised for accepting an economic system that values money before the environment, health, etc.

While local press coverage was described as "fair", the national coverage was not, and the party is making a series of complaints to the Press Council. However, unexpected support came from Dr James Whetter, chair of the Cornish Nationalist Party, who pledged his personal support to the Green party after the CNP decided

not to stand. Speaking at a CNP dinner he said that his party had built "a close alliance with ecology groups".

Truro Greens are now promising the election of Geoff Kitchener as a Green Party district councillor in Penzance in May.

Thanks to Jim Harris for his help in compiling this report.

Last month Brig Oubridge resigned as one of the three co-chairs of the Green Party Council. The extremely demanding schedule of duties proved incompatible with his responsibilities as a single parent and his remote habitation in a tipi in West Wales. Brig was replaced as co-chair by Gundula Dorey, from Bristol, which means that all three chairs are women. He remains a member of the Council.

The Green Party launched an appeal to its members earlier this year for £100,000 with which to fight the General Election nationally. Local parties would still be responsible for finding the deposits and local campaign funds. By mid-March the fund still had £94,000 to go. Over 100 prospective candidates have been selected so far (committing local parties to costs of over £50,000 in lost deposits alone). Local parties will also be contesting seats in District and Parish Council elections on May 7: over 11,000 seats are vacant in Districts alone, and the party is expecting to contest up to 500 of these.

Working for the Green Party isn't all clover. Brigadier Oubridge has resigned as the party's co-chairman, saying the pressures have forced him into an "un-Green lifestyle - constant commuting, sleeping on floors, irregular meals in cheap cafes and constant overwork." He plans to spend more time in Wales with his two children. Guardian

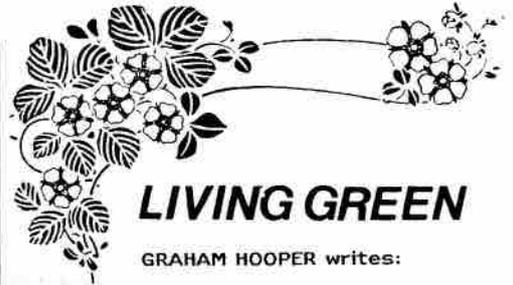


## SANITY SIT-IN

ON MARCH 16 a group of women calling themselves "Sisters of Silence" occupied the Sanity office at CND's Underwood Street HQ to protest at CND's handling of the Molesworth rapes. They said that there had been a conspiracy of silence in CND over the rapes, and that Sanity had refused articles from rape survivors and others giving the women's point of view. After four hours CND gave in to the women's demands: Sanity is to publish a series of articles by Molesworth rape survivors and others, and the Sisters have been allocated three minutes of platform time at Hyde Park.

## WOMBOURNE 12

THE 'WOMBOURNE 12' were arrested after a protest at the home of the notorious Councillor Brownhill, Tory leader of the South Staffs District Council, who had stated that he would "gas 90% of queers" as a measure against AIDS. The charges were then dropped, but the Defence Campaign is being kept together - Brownhill's remarks are clearly the tip of the iceberg, and apparently he had the support of the Labour Party in South Staffs: "Nobody would disagree with your remarks". Who could vote for such people? This sort of ugly anti-gay consensus between the major parties might lead to a strong campaign to repeal the 1967 Act and make homosexuality "illegal". For more info, contact The Wombourne 12 Defence Campaign, c/o Box 11, 118 Mansfield Rd., Nottingham, or tel. 01.833.3912 or 01.317.9690.



## LIVING GREEN

GRAHAM HOOPER writes:

### WHOLEFOODS: GROWING YOUR OWN

ONE CRITICISM that may be made of wholefoods and vegetarian staple foods is that many have to be imported, often from the Third World. However it is possible to grow a variety of beans and grains in the U.K. and you could grow them in your garden or allotment.

A number of types of bean can be grown to dry for use as wholefoods. They are generally treated similarly to the usual garden beans and peas, but instead of being picked when tender the beans are left to ripen fully on the plant. At harvest, the whole plant is cut, hung to dry and then threshed (alternatively the beans can be picked from the pods, which takes longer).

Field beans, relatives of the broad bean, are already cultivated here as livestock feed. Obtainable from agricultural feed merchants or wholefood shops, they are usually sown in autumn or early spring. See Peggy Ellis' article on field beans in GL31 (April 1985).

Most garden peas can be dried when mature for storage but marrowfat peas are especially suited and can easily be bought at the grocers or wholefood shop. They are sown in March 2ins deep, 2ins apart in double rows 1ft apart. Harvest is at the end of July.

Haricot beans have three varieties suitable for our climate; Comtesse de Chambord, Purley King and the flavoursome Brown Dutch. These are sown in May, 2ins deep, 6ins apart and up to 1ft between rows, and are harvested about mid-September. I have tried growing Brown Dutch and can recommend them.

There are also some varieties of butter or lima bean which will grow here; White Achievement, White Emergo and Earliest of All. The beans sold in shops are probably not hardy enough. Cultural treatment is much the same as for runner beans.

There have been attempts at growing chickpeas in Britain with various degrees of success. They are sown in May 2ins deep and 4ins apart, and harvested in early autumn. I tried growing some last year and hardly got any.

I also grew a few green lentils as an experiment and got a small crop. Maybe they have some potential. Red kidney beans are also a possibility; a few years ago a local farmer grew a crop of these for sale in some grocers.

As well as wheat, barley etc., some types of millet, sorghum, buckwheat and rice can be grown in Southern Britain at a pinch, although they are not considered to be commercially viable. Buckwheat can be sown after the last frost in spring and harvested in August-September. Buckwheat seeds can be obtained from Chase Compost Seeds Ltd., Benhall, Saxmundham, Suffolk, and millet seed is available from John Chambers (Seedsman), 15 Westleigh Road, Barton Seagrave, Kettering, Northants NN15 5AJ.

Further information about cultivable wholefood crops can be found in Lawrence Hills' book "Organic Gardening" (Penguin, 1977) and "The Complete Book of Self-Sufficiency" by John Seymour (Corgi, 1978).



# Sizewell B: Building the opposition

Juliette Majot

SIR FRANK LAYFIELD has at last handed over the official report of the Sizewell Inquiry, concluding that it would be in the best interest of the nation to proceed with the construction of a Pressurized Water Reactor in Suffolk. Just weeks after its release, its merits were debated in Parliament. A decision by the Secretary of State for Energy, Peter Walker, was expected in late March, and will be followed by a second debate.

Although the debate (in eight bright green volumes) has provided supporters and objectors with sufficient ammunition to continue the nuclear debate ad nauseam, it certainly does not provide the PWR lobby headed by Lord Marshall with an overwhelming approval and recommendation to proceed full steam ahead. Layfield discounts the original Central Electricity Generating Board (CEGB) economic case, states that the safety case presented was insufficient, and confirms that the construction of Sizewell B would be a "massive intrusion into the Sizewell area." (Layfield, 104.3) Given the inclement political climate in which the nuclear debate now takes place, the report as a whole does not provide the stormproof shelter it could have done.

In addition to the firm but lukewarm review of economic and safety issues, Layfield provides more material for what Walt Patterson has referred to as the Marx Brothers' act - that is recognising that the evidence given by the CEGB and the South of Scotland Electricity Generating Board (SSEB) was inconclusive in determining the fate of the Advanced Gas Cooled Reactor technology developed in Great Britain. While Layfield admits that the decision to adopt US PWR technology comes at a time when the troubled AGR technology appears to be improving, he goes on to recognise that "there are problems in keeping open two different types of reactor for the UK." An understatement. The chronic indecision of the UK nuclear industry regarding reactor choice has been primarily responsible for delays and cost overruns, and embarrassing false starts for developing not just AGRs but also the steam-generating heavy water reactor (SGHWR), the high-temperature gas cooled reactor (HTR), and the fast breeder reactor (FBR).

Once again the nuclear industry as a whole finds itself split over the choice of technology, this time in the eye of a public that is sceptical of further moves from British to American technology. More important is that even among the shrinking number of people who support nuclear power after Chernobyl, AGR technology is considered to be safer and preferable to PWR technology. To compound the problem, the Westinghouse / Sizewell PWR becomes more and more antiquated and less desirable as newer and supposedly safer PWR designs continue to be produced.

#### • An old report with a new audience

Ten years ago there might not have been as much hoop-la over yet another inquiry report and its implications. But ten years ago the nuclear industry's PR wasn't blatantly flying in the face of experience. Even three years ago, when Layfield opened the Sizewell Inquiry, he could not

have been prepared for the change that would take place in the public's perception of nuclear power, as the accident at Chernobyl confirmed its worst fears. Assurances that "it can't happen here" have calmed few as Britain has fallen victim to Iodine 131 and Caesium 137 contamination. Government plans to bury low-level radioactive waste in engineered shallow trenches in one of four sites - South Killingholme, Elstow, Fulbeck, or Bradwell - have raised entire communities to anti-nuclear fervour in conservative constituencies which have in the past been docile or ignorant of the impact of a continued nuclear programme. Layfield did not know that the PWR decision would fall before a public the majority of whom would be anti-nuclear in a pre-election year. Nor could he know that fossil fuel prices would fall drastically, making the economic case for nuclear power fall as well.

As Sir Frank Layfield's terms of reference would not allow him to consider events beyond the scope of the Inquiry itself, it was widely speculated that upon its release the report would carry a "cover memo" with comments on the impact of Chernobyl and the continued decline of fossil fuel prices. No such comments were made, however. As pointed out by Roger Milne (New Scientist, 29 January) the absence of any comments has left the government more room to manoeuvre its political response to the report.

#### • For those already holding tickets...

The timing of the report's release could not have been better for nuclear opponents, as was clear when a government report on the incidence of leukemia clusters near nuclear facilities was forced out of hiding during the week prior to the first Sizewell debate. Though the report shows no absolute causative link between nuclear facilities and areas in which there is a higher incidence of leukemia than should be expected, it did report the coincidence of the clusters. The pressure applied by a number of Labour MPs to force the release of the report (which though complete was being suppressed to keep things calm prior to the Sizewell debate) succeeded in reminding nuclear proponents that The Overall Nuclear Policy Picture is now in focus. No longer can the industry rely on artificial divisions splitting the anti-nuclear lobby; nuclear weapons and civil nuclear power, nuclear power and nuclear waste, radiation and leukemia are all links forged in the public perception of nuclear power as a whole. Even the industry's failed attempts to solidify the divisions by promoting the NIMBY (Not In My Backyard) syndrome backfired because the newly formed pressure groups to oppose low-level waste dumps had the wisdom to join together in a national effort, claiming that the type of dump proposed is not suitable for any site.

Still, for too long there have been divisions for which the nuclear industry should be grateful. Perhaps the most striking was the length of time CND held out against adopting an official policy against civil nuclear power. Yet CND presented some of the most convincing and effective evidence given at the Sizewell Inquiry. This evidence showed that the plutonium extracted from reprocessed nuclear fuel from nuclear power plants has been used in

nuclear weapons. This had long been denied by the government. As the original terms of reference of the Inquiry did not require Layfield to consider the weapons link, only CND's insistence that evidence be accepted on plutonium led to the revelations, and to Layfield's recommendation that the government provide accurate reports of the plutonium extracted from the civil nuclear programme. In addition Layfield recommends that spent fuel from PWRs be reprocessed separately from military spent fuel (no problems to begin with, since existing military reactors are not PWRs) and be stored away from military stockpiles.

- The "First Tank over the Hill" theory

So it seems that the whole picture is finally coming together, and that the future of nuclear power is at least not as inevitable as it once seemed. The opposition is working together in ways it hasn't in the past. Friends of the Earth was joined by Greenpeace in a rally for safe energy in London last September. On April 25 FoE and CND will together hold a mass demonstration against nuclear power, on the anniversary of the disaster at Chernobyl. The East Anglian Alliance was relaunched last September, and the Stop Hinkley Point Expansion organisation has had the foresight to concentrate not just on problems with the existing reactors at Hinkley Point, but also on plans to build the PWR there lickety split. The same can be said for the Welsh Anti-Nuclear Alliance, spearheading campaigns against similar expansion at Wylfa. At Druridge Bay, the Druridge Bay Alliance has taken on the task of educating members of the public who have yet to face the realities of a nuclear plant on their own shore.

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- The existing Sizewell magnox nuclear station, as seen ("landscaped"! ) by the CEGB, celebrates its 20th birthday on April 7. Photo © CEGB.

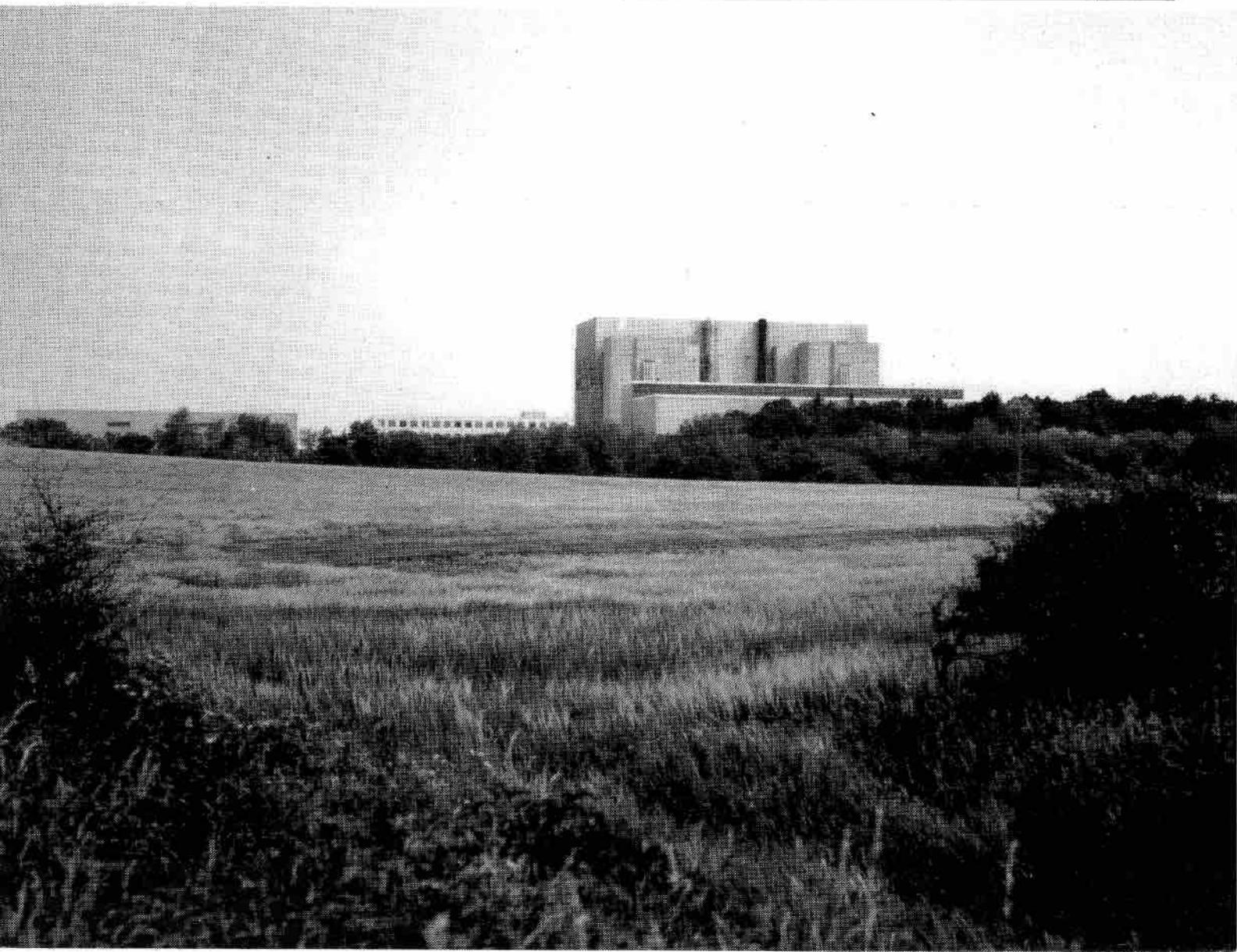
But let's not forget that there could be an inherent danger lurking here. We could miss the tree for the forest. It is Sizewell, the first in the series of reactors proposed for Hinkley Point, Dungeness, Wylfa, Druridge Bay, that must be stopped if Britain is to begin a sane energy policy and take the lead in the renewable technologies so long neglected and underfunded.

Underestimating the investment already made in the PWR programme (£250m plus the political fortunes of some of the most powerful politicians in the land) is easy. The pressure groups that have been with Sizewell from the start are for the most part still strong and active, but the rise in public awareness is not necessarily reflected either in their active memberships, or in the public pressure that could and should be applied from the local level up. Established organisations like FoE, the Council for the Protection of Rural England, Greenpeace, the East Anglian Alliance, the Welsh Anti-Nuclear Alliance, SCRAM and CND, to mention only a few, should not be left to become "victims of their own success". In other words, they are not to be left to get on with it. They must be joined, actively, now.

There is certainly no shortage of information available to those who wish to bring themselves up to date on the issues, and the campaigns: critiques, books, leaflets, organising packs, fact sheets, workshops, speakers bureaux, videos, exhibitions, public meetings – all for the asking. It's not more information that is needed. It is more use of existing information that is imperative.

So if you're an info junky, or if you're looking for basics, find the information you want. You needn't look far: write to any one of the organisations already mentioned here. (If you write c/o Green Line, we will forward your enquiries.) Next month GL will publish a resource list.

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Before we take the "New Economics" too much for granted, we should be sure that it is reasonably consistent and unified in its approach. We also need to ask whether it has "green" objectives, and to understand the role economics plays in political programmes: not least, that economics follows political prescriptions, and cannot function without some kind of blueprint. In her analysis of the economics of 'The Living Economy', PENNY NEWSOME uncovers some political assumptions which derive from the thinking of the "New Right", and which make strange bedfellows with some of the principles which many greens believe underlie the new, "green" economics.

# Economics, right and wrong

JUDGING BY its new "textbook", 'The Living Economy', something's gone badly wrong with the New Economics. I think TOES is being infiltrated by the New Right, for a right-wing bias keeps raising its head among the hotch-potch of often mutually contradictory papers and the editorial link passages of the "New Manifesto".

TOES claims the mantle of Fritz Schumacher. Schumacher did indeed lay the foundations of a New Economics, but it is barely recognizable in the TOES version. What distinguished 'Small Is Beautiful' (1973) was the conception of a Buddhist economics. The beauty of Buddhism as a system of ethics is its uncompromising clarity. From four Noble Truths we move to the Eight-Fold Path, and the minute detail of everyday conduct follows logically. There is no reason why a Buddhist economic system, defined as "the systematic study of how to attain given ends with the minimum of means" [Small Is Beautiful, p 48], should not be characterised by the same simple elegance.

It is fairly easy to see what's happened in 'The Living Economy':

- 1) There are too many people in on the act, many of whom know nothing about economics.
- 2) It has attempted to be 'inter-disciplinary'.
- 3) There has been a failure of nerve.

So we end up with a complex text that contains some bits of quite useful, but not very new, economics and a lot of psychology, ecology and so on which is also hardly new. Far from making any clear statement of principles followed by precise policies for action, 'The Living Economy' leaves the reader wondering what the authors originally hoped to achieve (for presumably they didn't intend to play into the hands of the New Right).

Non-economists have always had a healthy distrust of economics and economists. A friend expressed it succinctly: "Well, they haven't cured any ills yet and all we get is more and more economists." Economics is looked on as a phoney science – something like Ju Jitsu. I asked my friend what she thought about the 'spontaneous ecological society'. "Well, that's here already," she replied, giving me a bunch of snowdrops. I went away pondering on Colonel North...

Perhaps the difference between Schumacher and TOES is something to do with their view of human nature. TOES is very naive about power whereas Schumacher accepted that greed, envy and lust for power are endemic. It's not the goodies you need to worry about, it's the baddies. TOES seems to think that all you have to do is to convince the baddies that they're cutting their own throats, teach them about 'self-reliance' and leave the rest to 'spontaneity'.

According to TOES, you should have no "greenprints" – which means that there is no economic policy in the New Economics. Economics has failed to "cure ills" for two main reasons. Firstly, it is a science of ways and means to given ends, so if the ends are misguided then the ills must remain. Secondly, if its calculations are wrong then you don't end up where you intended, and the ills remain. Thus a New Economics must state its ends unambiguously and also ensure that it knows how to reach those ends.

Currently, most economists are engaged in the second part of the task since, as every student of economics learns, the ends are set by society, by the political system. Of course, economists can and do work to change the ends, the political system – but then so do lots of other people whom you wouldn't call economists. There are many people in TOES who are not economists and who are confusing the task of the New Economics, not least because they keep moving the goalposts or even seem to be trying to play several different games at once.

## • A failure of political nerve

It all seemed so much easier way back in the 1970s when we all first woke up to what was going on. 'The Blueprint for Survival' published by the editors of the Ecologist in 1972 was the first great clarion call. "Radical change is both necessary and inevitable ... the industrial way of life with its ethos of expansion" is not sustainable "except for a while longer by an entrenched minority". "There will be chaos if we don't do something urgently: ... governments will fall into the hands of reckless and unscrupulous elements" that will not balk at nuclear warfare in the pursuit of vanishing resources. So this is what we must do now, starting with a control operation, a freeze operation and finally a "carefully synchronized and integrated" strategy for change, i.e. with the route to the goal properly mapped out beforehand [Blueprint pp 30 & 58].

The Meadows report 'Limits to Growth', also published in 1972, produced a "formal written model of the world...in which the implications for the future behaviour of the world system can be traced without error by a computer." We were all ready to go.

Then what happened? Nothing at all. The entrenched minority strengthened its position quickly, infiltrated the newly emerging ecology parties, muddied the waters of change and continued to run their show – what Schumacher called "a society of 'enrichissez-vous' which celebrates millionaires as cultural heroes". It wasn't economics that had failed: 'conventional' economics, which TOES blames for causing the ills in the first place, had on the contrary proved itself equal to the task. What had failed was the political nerve of ecologists.

Why? Well, someone – notably Murray Bookchin – started spreading the idea that 'blueprints' were very unecological. Bookchin's "Towards an Ecological Society" [1980] was adamant that "to draw up a blueprint – a 'scenario' – ... would be a regression." 'Blueprints' were vehicles for a concreteness that pitted the presuppositions of the new against the old. "Their need for detail is now irrelevant to an age that requires full consciousness of all presuppositions ... to attain a totally liberated ecological society." What is required instead is spontaneity. Otherwise what will you get? You'll get socialism. "The tragedy of the socialist movement is that it opposes organisation to spontaneity and tries to assimilate the social process to political and organisational instrumentalism." But economics is 'instrumentalism'. Worse, it's 'social engineering'.

• Faith in the boardroom

But somehow I doubt if Schumacher would have abandoned either economics or socialism – and let's be clear about this, he was a socialist: "The Market' is the institutionalisation of individualism and 'non-responsibility'". [*Small is Beautiful*, p 213.] Compare Murray Bookchin's "libertarian form of social ecology" with its naive faith in the goodness of "individual self-consciousness".

I understand the attraction of Murray Bookchin's world. This is the world my friend spoke of as "being here already" – interdependent, non-hierarchical, diverse, gently transcending, viable, harmonised, tailored artistically to the ecosystem, the world we inhabit in leisure hours with our friends, our affinity groups. Colonel North and President Reagan live somewhere else in another world – with Mrs Thatcher, Norman Tebbit, Rupert Murdoch, et al. But that world is not somewhere else.

However, Bookchin's idea of gentle transcendence has swept the floor. Any minute now Fortress Wapping will tumble, Nicaraguans will be left to their own creative self-management, Norman Tebbit will get on his bike. If we try to hasten the day, we'll be using "the methods of domination" to try to "liberate" ourselves.

[Unless otherwise stated, all page references are to 'The Living Economy', edited by Paul Ekins (paperback £8.95). All underlinings in the text are emphasis added by the author of the article.]

There is some truth in all this, enough to make me wish I was planting seeds in my garden rather than writing this. But if it's the whole truth, why do we need a New Economics at all? What are we going to use all those lovely new indicators in ch. 6 of *The Living Economy* for? One might have thought they'd have been used for planning, for navigating. That's what Schumacher would have used them for. But "rational planning will be a weak tool" of the New Economics (p 348); there will just be a few "codes of conduct" as "back-up instruments" (p 272).

So according to the new revisionists, how is the change to the sustainable society – which 15 years ago required urgent and radical measures – going to come about?

Notwithstanding the fact that Murray Bookchin himself was just as wary of capitalism as he was of socialism (he seems to be some sort of visionary communist), it turns out to be large corporations suitably 'legitimised' by "the consent of the affected" that will "ride the wave of change" (p 348). I suppose there's no alternative really when Transnational Corporations (TNCs) control one third of gross world production (we learn this on p 340); when 40% of all world trade is intra-firm; and in some sectors, notably commodities, 90% of trade is controlled by TNCs. "Tackling these sources of power directly" is mentioned in passing, but not in a way to sound at all 'dominating'.

This is precisely what I mean by the right-wing bias of TOES. TOES is much less afraid of the boardroom than it is of bureaucracy. Capitalism is apparently much more likely to have a human face than socialism. And since "a few corporations have already adapted, and committed themselves to corporate goals which essentially put contribution to meaningful lives and societal well-being ahead of profits to shareholders and other financial goals", "this order of priorities could be much more characteristic of corporations in the future!" (p 348). We only have to convince the boardrooms that their "interests truly coincide with the interests of those whose lives are a daily witness to spoilation and loss".

That's easily done, of course. It's only "blind spots in their thinking", says Johan Galtung (p 105). "If things go wrong, it might be more fruitful to seek for reasons in lack of theoretical understanding than in lack of honesty".

• Social capitalism: redistribution with growth

As TOES produces more and more papers, "a new type of political system", called "social capitalism" will take shape, of which the community land bank will be "a basic building block" (p 181). Especially, of course, once USOP (Universal Capital Ownership) gets going. Ward Morehouse's paper on USOP (p 232) has the virtue of a clarity unrivalled in any other part of the 'text book'. Mrs Thatcher could be proud of him. A neat way of destroying socialism is to give all the 'envious' a stake in "the enrichissez-vous" society.

Under USOP, "every American family would acquire (through a government guaranteed loan which would be repaid through the earnings of the assets) a \$100,000 share in American industry. The \$100,000 figure is determined by dividing 50m families into the \$5 trillion that Speiser estimates American business will spend on new productive assets in the next twenty years". In 15 to 20 years' time, the 94% of the American population who at present hold few or no assets would have acquired about 50% of productive assets. "Thus while there would still be rich people in America, there would be no really poor", and "the worker whose job was now being done by a robot would at least have the satisfaction of thinking that he or she was the partial owner of a robot" (p 238).

But Ward Morehouse has already told us that there are 34.4m people (8m families?) in America today below the poverty line. I'm not sure that if I were homeless, relying on state welfare for a bowl of soup, I would leap at the chance of a loan to become a shareholder in a US corporation as an answer to my "basic needs" problem. But then, a 'middle management' concept of 'relative poverty' has taken root in TOES. Roefie Hueting's paper states it again: "The absolute height and the growth of income are of much less importance to welfare, or satisfaction [!], than the place that a person's income occupies among the incomes of his or her peer group" (p 247). Don't worry, they won't hear about USOP in the ghettos; and we can persuade the relatively rich to participate "with the powerful incentive of relief from federal corporate income tax and access to capital for expansion". Later we can settle such details as "how broad public interests ... would be introduced into the management of companies without hamstringing the ability of management to manage." These "politically acceptable" community banks will make those investment decisions that were supposed (I thought, in ch 1, that this was the key principle of the New Economics) to be limiting, positively putting a stop to 'expansion'. After all, "the very assumptions which form the basis of conventional economics are unsound", "its very orientation ... boils down to the pursuit of economic growth" (p 8). Strange that Meadows was able to use the very tools of conventional economics to develop his model of 'global equilibrium', while the tools of the New Economics produce a model where "the rewards for enterprise would be untrammelled by ... high taxation" (p 238).

In the Conserver Economy of which Hueting speaks, there will – reassuringly – be "a positive correlation between increased output and human welfare" (p 241), so long as we realise that "environmental measures amount to a reduction in the wage rate" (p 247). This of course explains why those corporations have hitherto been so slow to realise the employment opportunities of the "Sunrise Seven" (p 257), the new conservation technologies. They hadn't realised that higher prices wouldn't lead to higher wages. But of course in the new 'self-reliant' economy, "an infrastructure which is geared towards self sufficiency will compensate for losses in income" (p 233). Quite how this 'infrastructure' is to be created without taxation and without planning and administration is a bit of a mystery.

Ward Morehouse is quite honest about his reason for advocating USOP, i.e. redistribution with growth. "In the USA ... there is increasing political resistance to maintaining, let alone increasing ... transfer payments in order to diminish poverty and diminish the gap between top and bottom" (p 234), and any redistribution of existing assets would be "politically impossible". The Blueprint for Survival (p 50) need never have bothered to insist that



"solutions must be formulated in the light of the problems and not from a timorous and superficial understanding of what may or may not be immediately feasible". And as for "legislation and the operations of police forces and courts" - well, codes might as a last resort have to be made more binding (p 270).

• Basic Income

So if there's already political resistance to transfer payments, what hope has the Basic Income Scheme which has so far been such a hallowed policy of both TOES and the Green Party? Well, it does happen to be my opinion that it should be scrapped. **Not** because, as Ward Morehouse thinks, USOP will make it almost unnecessary, for USOP should be hit smartly on the head anyway; **not** because it's "politically unacceptable"; **not** because it couldn't be paid for (as Richard Hunt suggests [GL49]), because of course it could be paid for by steeply progressive taxation, which is desirable in any case, however unpopular it may be with the rich. † In the form suggested by the Green Party (p 228), unless BIS was combined with other benefits, you'd get less than under the present SS. You'd get £28 a week as a right, but you could only earn £10 a week above that before paying tax at 50%. So consumption patterns would still be skewed to the more environmentally damaging demands of the rich, and as TOES intends to maintain an almost uncontrolled market economy...

Many of the "conventional" economists so castigated by TOES have long pushed for a much more just taxation and benefits scheme, the idea of 'negative income tax'. This scheme avoids the real objection to the present SS system, i.e. the need to 'sign on'. Those below the tax threshold would get an automatic transfer in a unified tax/benefits system. The cost would only be greater than under the present system in so far as the tax threshold should be substantially raised. There should no difficulty in restoring high rates of supertax on the highest incomes, which are also the most ecologically suspect. The transition to the ecological society, towards a more labour intensive, capital- energy- and resource-saving economic system, and towards increasing social justice, can be self-financed.

TOES admits that local self-reliance can only come about if taxation is raised at the local or 'inner' level and passed from the 'bottom up' (p 107). Nor does TOES apparently worry about the 'political acceptability' of resource taxes, nuisance taxes, proportional VAT and the other taxes which would have to be introduced to bring global equilibrium anywhere in sight.

Not that I can find 'taxation' in the index to 'The Living Economy' to check on this. Strange, this new economics. Working out details of a tax system may be boring perhaps; but it is precisely the sort of thing economists do. A greenprint is long overdue.

† Even if such taxation might inhibit the enterprise of the top 6%, that leaves plenty of scope for the other 94%. In any case, are we really going to truck with Rawls' Theory of Justice? (pp 75/6) Here we find a typical bit of 'new right' infiltration, with a three-point resume of his theory. The first, about basic liberties, is hardly contentious. But second: "social inequality would only be tolerated to the extent that it benefitted the least well off through expanded production" (i.e. 'trickle down'). And "the third principle ensures that the competition for places in the resulting social hierarchy would be efficient and fair". The New Economics is about "competition", "social hierarchy" and "expanded production"? High time for some weeding, I'd say.

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## THIS MONTH WE REPORT ON THE GREENING OF POLITICS IN FIVE COUNTRIES

# Poland: No peace without freedom

ANDZREJ KAYE

ON 18th November 1984 Marek Adamkiewicz was arrested for refusing to take the military oath. He was sentenced to 2½ years in prison. When a petition demanding his release proved ineffective, a fast was held in a church in the village of Podkowa Lesna, near Warsaw. From this fast emerged the Freedom and Peace Movement.

Military training in Poland begins in school when children are 14, and continues throughout secondary school. All males and some females (e.g. doctors) have to undergo 2 or 3 years of military service. Afterwards, in civilian life, they are occasionally recalled for military training and have to carry military as well as civilian ID cards. The oath of loyalty to the state, which all military personnel must swear, was broadened in 1976 to include allegiance to Poland's allies - essentially to the USSR. It was for objecting to this that Marek Adamkiewicz was imprisoned, while others questioned the whole idea of the military oath.

Although generally seen as a peace group which declares nuclear war to be "the greatest danger", the aims of Freedom and Peace actually go much farther. They deal in particular with issues of human freedom such as free speech, free assembly and organisation, the right of workers to defend themselves against exploitation, the right to religious freedom and, obviously, the right to conscientious objection. Their reasoning is clear and simple:

No action against war can be effective as long as we do not oppose political systems which survive by practising internal violence against their own systems. (Declaration of 17 November 1985).

Understandably the movement also supports all struggles for national independence.

- A broad political view

Freedom and Peace see the threat to the biosphere as an issue of freedom too, since "freedom should also include the possibility to live in unspoilt natural surroundings." They are worried about nuclear power and the widespread effects of the Chernobyl disaster. Other areas of concern include poverty and famine. They argue that the demilitarisation of Eastern Europe would release money to fight these problems. They also focus on feminism, and the general right of people to find their own path in life. Freedom and Peace declare their support for nonviolent action, but add that:

In exceptional circumstances when human life is threatened, especially by mass extermination (as was the case of the Jewish nation in World War II or Cambodian people under Pol Pot), man has the moral right to turn to violence.

Action taken by the members of Freedom and Peace so far has dealt with the issue of the military oath and military service generally. It has taken two forms: either refusing to swear the oath of allegiance, or returning military documents. The latter was initiated by Freedom and Peace in support of Marek Adamkiewicz, and by October 4 1985 twenty-eight people were known to have taken this action. Each sent a covering letter explaining their reasons. This stated that they did not oppose national service "of which the aim is the defence of the Motherland", but rather the compulsory nature of the oath. The letter proposed that the oath be made voluntary, should not include obligations to other countries, and that provision should be made for alternative service for those who refused military service for political, religious or ideological reasons. Such a provision, they claimed, already existed in name. On October 8 a petition making the same proposals and signed by more than 100 people from Gdansk, including Lech Walesa, was presented to the Polish parliament.

Official reaction was swift. There had been arrests and sentences before the campaign to return documents gathered momentum. On August 8 1985 Tomasz Kulczewski was arrested and given a 1½ year suspended sentence for refusing to do military service. The court declared him insane. Krzysztof Gliuski was arrested on October 9 for possession of Freedom and Peace documents. Two student members were expelled from the Jagiellonian University on the 10th, and on the same day another member, Jozef Taran, was detained by the police for 48 hours. On November 15 a primary school teacher, Wojciech Jankowski, was arrested for refusing to do military service and was later given a 2½ year sentence.

The next day 14 members of Freedom and Peace were arrested to prevent them attending a commemoration of the German soldier Otto Schimk who had been shot for refusing to carry out an order to kill people during the Second World War. On November 20 court proceedings began against those who had returned their documents. Substantial fines were handed out as alternatives to prison sentences.

- First fruits of success

However, Freedom and Peace was not stopped. On March 16 last year, six women began a fast in the church at Podkowa Lesna. A message was sent to an END meeting in April. On May 2 a protest over Chernobyl was held in Wroclaw, with people sitting down at an entrance to a subway. Two days later a commemoration of Otto Schimk was held with participants from several countries, despite the detention of two members for 48 hours. In June an anti-nuclear demonstration of 2000 was held in Krakow. And in August Freedom and Peace took part in a conference of peace activists from nine countries in Budapest, where they proposed a motion for closer cooperation between the independent peace movements of

the eastern bloc.

Towards the end of 1986 the situation changed dramatically. All Freedom and Peace prisoners were released under the amnesty announced by General Jaruzelski, and many have now resumed their activities within the movement. The future remains much as the underground paper 'Wola' put it at the end of February last year: "In spite of the repressions, new members are joining. The next spring recruitment to the army will show what chance the Polish peace movement has of developing."

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### Notes

Not all political prisoners were covered by the amnesty. To my knowledge about 100 Jehovah's Witnesses remain in jail for their refusal to have anything to do with military service. As do Robert Chechlocz and Tomek Lupanow who were given heavy sentences in the wake of the declaration of martial law when they disarmed and accidentally wounded a soldier in an attempt to start armed resistance. The soldier died later in rather dubious circumstances. The sentences have recently been reduced.

◦ Information provided by, and thanks to: Voice of Solidarity, War Resisters International, Black Flag, and Volya.

Voice of Solidarity is available from 215 Balham High Road, London SW17 7BN (subscription £12 / year). It reprints documents from Solidarity and the underground press in Poland and the rest of Eastern Europe.

War Resisters International are at 55 Dawes Street, London SE17 1EL.

Black Flag is available from Black Flag, BM Hurricane, London WC1N 3XX (subscription £12 / year, £6.50 / six months).

Volya is available from 83 Sowerby Close, London SE9 (subscription to 4 issues [1 year] £2 payable to 'T Liddle'). Volya is an information bulletin on Eastern Europe and the USSR.

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**ADRIAN ATKINSON** was in Brazil during the recent elections. He discovered a Green Party which is the offshoot of an urban guerrilla movement, and whose leaders include those who kidnapped the Swiss, German and US ambassadors.



# Guerrilla to Green

THE GREEN MOVEMENT is growing everywhere, and Brazil is no exception. Although there are, obviously, issues of national importance - such as the rape of Amazonia and the mania to build dams - green organisations are tending to start activity at the local level. The greatest activity is in the state of Sao Paulo where by 1985 some 150 groups had formed, establishing a loose federation around an organisation called the Permanent Assembly for the Defence of the Environment. A similar structure developed in the state of Rio de Janeiro.

In Rio impetus was given by the fact that the nuclear industry has its various facilities located within the state: the nuclear power station site at Angra do Reis and the fuel processing plant at Resende. In 1982 an anti-nuclear group formed in the city of Rio and

established contacts in Angra, some 170km to the west. A local organisation - SAPE - was formed and a demonstration organised at the power station site; this has now become an annual event, organised locally by SAPE but supported by the network of environmental organisations.

It is worth noting in this context that much headway has been made in discrediting the nuclear power programme. A call for a referendum was successfully passed through the state assembly and only blocked by the central government. The nuclear organisation has been repeatedly embarrassed by revelations of the lack of a local emergency evacuation plan and by massive cost escalations. Although the most recent issue of the public utility union workers' journal carried a long article that, whilst acknowledging the problems, continued to support the programme, the establishment national weekly business journal carried an article rubbishing the programme as an unnecessary costly white elephant invented by the military regime for military purposes.

#### • Political evolution

The green groups have been discussing now for some years whether or not to form a political party. In Rio Grande do Sul, where there are strong organisations, the consensus is against such a move, and there is no great enthusiasm in Sao Paulo. But in Rio moves are under way to form a green party - as a breakaway from the left-wing Partido dos Trabalhadores (Workers' Party) which, since its formation in 1978, has represented the 'progressive forces' of new unionism, anti-racism, feminism, gay rights and the green movement.

With the breakup of the military regime, the establishment has done all it can to hang onto power by other means. This it has done by changing the rules of the democratic game at rapid intervals and in ways which inhibit the development of concerted opposition forces. At the same time they have opposed the growth of left-wing parties with a catch-all coalition of a variety of middle to right party fragments.

The traditional left is made up of two communist parties and a social democratic workers' party (PTB) originally formed in the 1940s. A further workers' party (PDT) formed around the charismatic figure of Lionel Brizola, who was associated with the leftist movement of the 1950s which became the pretext for the military takeover. Returning from exile to become governor of Rio, Brizola represents a serious challenge to the establishment in the event of a resumption of presidential elections. Finally, there is the PT, already referred to as the party of the progressive forces, which was born of a massive wave of strikes in 1978 which are seen as having initiated the breakup of the military regime.

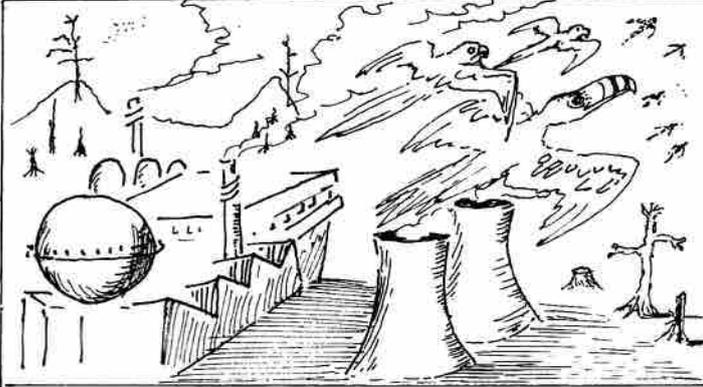
The present political right has evolved out of the breakup of the military. During that regime there were two official parties; Arena, which was the party of the government, and one official opposition. With the end of the regime, a number of parties emerged which included a party of the regime, the PDS, and a number of parties which formed a coalition called the Party of the Movement for Democracy (PMDB). Interestingly, the communists came to be included in this coalition. The PDS has since become entirely discredited through association, but the PMDB managed to make a clean sweep of the recent elections for state governor against the various leftist parties. The electorate quickly regretted having lent such wholehearted support, as the president immediately passed a series of decrees (a form of legislation invented by the military, and which the president had undertaken not to use) involving swingeing economic measures.

#### • Forming a Green Party

Forming a political party remains a difficult task, requiring an organisation to be established in at least one third of the election units of at least nine states. This is why it required a coalition to get the PMDB act together. Clearly this is a challenge to the founders of a would-be green party. The driving force behind the foundation of a green party in Rio grows in part out of the existing green organisations - which are made up overwhelmingly of young people - and the "generation of '68". Those of us hailing from that time will recall the spectacular feats of the urban guerrillas who successively kidnapped the Swiss, German and American ambassadors, demanding the

release of political prisoners. Whilst the military eventually "liquidated" some 200 people, the guerrillas killed no one. But they were defeated and fled the country. Returning after the demise of the military regime, it was these ex-guerrillas who formed the Rio contingent of the PT, Liszt Vieira becoming a state deputy.

It may shock many members of the British Green Party to know that the Brazilian Green Party (Partido Verde: PV) is the child of ex-urban guerrillas. But they should also be aware that these same people are currently acknowledged - as writers and academics - to be amongst the country's intellectual elite. Furthermore, they were able to use the fact that the captured ambassadors had expressed support for their cause - the US ambassador having written as much in his autobiography - as proof of their political integrity.



#### • Electoral success

In the state of Rio, the recent elections saw a three-way contest between the PMDB, the PDT, and the PT/PV. In fact the PV was not officially constituted; rather, it rode on the back of the PT, the main candidates having written extensively around green issues (including a green manifesto as well as PT literature emphasising environmental issues. Massive rallies - in Rio's central business district, in the wealthy southern suburbs, and in the steel city of Volta Redonda - were acknowledged even by the establishment press to be the most ebullient and enthusiastically supported. In the end Fernando Gabeira, the PT/PV candidate for governor, received 10% of the votes cast; Carlos Minc, an academic who has written the most popular book on the Brazilian environmental movement, was elected state deputy with a big majority.

Not everyone within the local green movement is happy about the move into party politics, especially the close association with the left. Carlos Minc attempted to use the Rio Permanent Environmental Assembly as a machine to support his election, which brought an angry response from groups and members with PDT and PMBD sympathies. Nevertheless, following the election, concerted moves are being taken to build the necessary national organisation to qualify as an independent political party, and it will be interesting to follow development over the next few months to see whether country-wide support is yet strong enough to get a party together.

#### • Whose side are the Greens on?

Forming a political party is one thing, implementing green policies is something else again. Brazil is a highly industrialised country with a large, affluent middle class. It is also a "third world" country with massive problems of economic and social deprivation. The concerns of the green movement tend to be sophisticated relative to the simple and crying needs of the majority of the population. Of course nuclear power must be stopped and Amazonia protected (or rather developed in an environmentally more considered fashion). But the major problems lie with the need for services to overcome the squalor of life in urban squatter settlements, for jobs (or some other source of reasonable income) for the poor, for land reform, for education. In this respect, Brizola's authoritarian, populist socialism is far more attractive to the bulk of the population - and they demonstrated this in the elections.

Indeed there are signs that the intellectuals who are pushing for a green party have little grasp of the size of the social problems which must be confronted and the

hard political grind that will be necessary to up-end the social system before the majority of the population will be in a fit state to appreciate the complexities of modern technological life which are the focus of green politics, let alone capable of participating in the decentralised political structures advocated by the greens.

It was the wealthy suburbs of Copacabana, Ipanema and Leblon that turned out to be the strongholds of the PT/PV coalition (but more strongly of the right-wing parties). But the real problems are associated precisely with the lifestyles of those living in these suburbs. In other words, lending their vote to the greens - which costs nothing - may help to conceal real political needs behind a feeling that the voters are voting for the "right" party. But what is needed is committed political action, to participate in political change.

If this doesn't happen, then the formation of a green political party may end up being part of the forces of reaction, masquerading as a progressive force.

## BOOKS FOR GREENS

**THE SPIRITUAL DIMENSION OF GREEN POLITICS.** Charlene Spretnak, £3.95.

**TO CARE FOR THE EARTH:** a call to a new theology. Sean McDonagh, £7.95.

**COLLECTIVE HOUSING HANDBOOK.** Sarah Eno and Dave Treanor, £3.50.

**TURNING THE TIDE:** US intervention in Central America and the struggle for peace. Noam Chomsky, £5.95.

**THE HORNE GOD:** feminism and men as wounding and healing. John Rowan, £7.95.

**THE JAGUAR SMILE:** a Nicaragua journey. Salman Rushdie, £2.95.

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# How Die Grünen beat the system

• LEIGH SHAW-TAYLOR'S second report on the West German Green Party. Leigh visited Bonn and Hamburg during the federal elections earlier this year.

THE MAJOR political parties in West Germany hardly exist outside the parliament buildings in Bonn and the well lined pockets of large capitalist concerns. The Greens on the other hand, are both a parliamentary and an extra-parliamentary phenomenon. This is fundamentally important. Few people within the Greens see their role as winning more and more seats in parliament and eventually forming a government (as many in the UK Green party seem to do). The Greens were born out of the extra-parliamentary opposition movements and remain firmly rooted there. In many ways they can be regarded as the political wing of the wider alternative movement.

What made the Greens headline news was their election to the federal parliament. Their creative use of the parliamentary system (rather than being used by it) is even more interesting. West Germany has a written constitution, called the basic law, which gives MPs certain very well defined rights. One of the most important of these is the right to ask official parliamentary questions. These come in two forms, minor and major questions. Major questions start a full parliamentary debate. Minor ones do not. These questions are often very long and detailed, with as many as thirty sections, each containing a series of individual questions. MPs have a right to ask as many minor questions as they like and to get answers.



Die Grünen's offices in Bonn.

The Greens have made good use of this system. In the 83/87 parliament the 28 Green MPs asked more questions than the other 480 odd MPs put together. Many of these questions have been put on behalf of other organisations such as trades unions, peace groups, and human rights groups. This process has unearthed a vast quantity of information, most of which could not have been obtained in any other way. Much of it is extremely useful for those

groups who need the information. It has also been used to elicit official government policy and to generate a lot of publicity around the issues raised. In this way, the Greens are acting as a parliamentary lobby for all sorts of alternative and under-represented groups. The questions asked are exceptionally wide, ranging from the plight of Chinese occupied Tibet and the rights of Canadian Indians whose homelands are overflowed by NATO warplanes to military deployments in West Germany and the extent of German cooperation with South Africa. Just before the elections the greens exposed the scandal that plans for military submarines had been sold to South Africa.

A lot of work goes into the formulation of these questions, most of which require detailed research. The Green fraction (parliamentary group) employs a large group of support staff, many of them research assistants. The government pays the salaries of the MPs and their support staff as well as providing them with large well equipped offices, paying the phone and postage bills, and paying any expenses MPs incur in the course of their parliamentary work. On top of this MPs can make free use of all sorts of parliamentary facilities. All this gives the MPs a lot of scope for using the parliament.

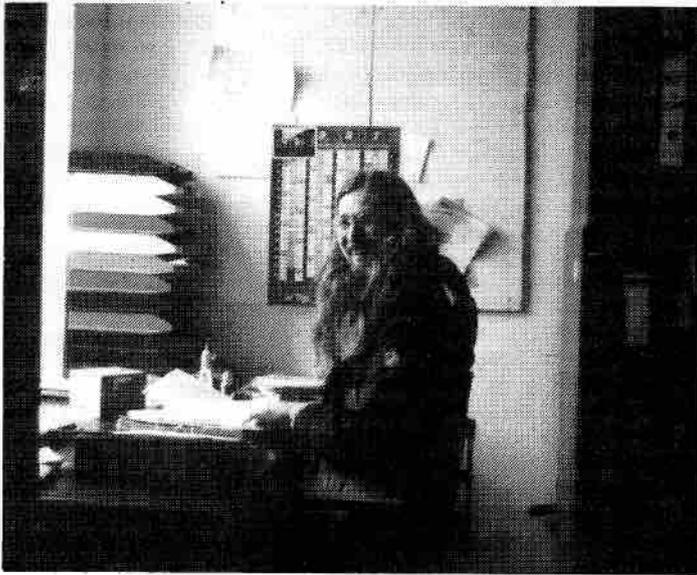
If an MP feels it is useful to her/his parliamentary work to pop over to Nicaragua to see what's happening, then the government will foot the bill. This provides an unrivalled opportunity to build up foreign contacts and develop international solidarity. There seems to be no limit to the amount of travelling an MP can do. Not surprisingly some MPs make very extensive use of this.

Parliamentary conference facilities are sometimes used by other groups to hold meetings. If an MP or group of MPs feels they need to hear what various people have to say, then they can do so at the government's expense. So if European war resisters want to hold a conference an MP can say, "It's important for my work to hear what these people say." Then they could use the translating facilities and so on and afterwards the MP can put a parliamentary question on the basis of the meeting. Green MPs involved in traffic policy organised a conference on opposition to the noise caused by military aircraft near bases, many of which are next to residential areas. Contradictions in the law were exposed by this conference. It turned out that flying small high altitude balloons was illegal whereas large high altitude balloons were legitimate. As a result of the consequent court case protesters can now close bases down by flying high altitude balloons from wires in the approach area to the runways, notifying the base in advance that this will happen. MPs can hold their fraction meetings wherever they please. Shortly before the federal elections in January, the Bavarian state government outlawed a meeting of antinuclear groups opposed to the construction of a nuclear reprocessing plant at Wackersdorf on the basis that they would be planning criminal actions. The Green fraction from the Bavarian parliament and Green MPs from a federal working group held their parliamentary meetings in the same building where the antinuclear meeting was taking place. The antinuclear meeting thus became a part of the other meetings. The police couldn't break up a parliamentary meeting so everything went ahead.

Another example of the creative use of parliamentary facilities and privileges was provided by Greens in the European parliament, who hosted a convention of European prostitutes.

Green MPs regularly take part in or attend events organised by other groups. This can be very helpful because the involvement of an MP makes it news. So if a small group is doing a blockade or something a Green MP can roll up and call a press conference and the action gets national publicity. However the Greens have great problems with the media, not least the tendency to interview the same famous people again and again. This is somewhat offset by being in parliament and having regular press conferences, and by having official speakers for the party and for the parliamentary fraction.

In addition to all this support for and interaction with the extra-parliamentary movement the Greens are involved in extra-parliamentary work of their own. A major aspect of this is the recycling of party money out into the wider movement. The Greens have received several million pounds in state money over the last few years as result of their election results. This together with money from members and the larger portion of MPs salaries (the Greens have a rule that all MPs, whether at the state, federal, or European levels must give most of their salary to the party) gives them a sizeable income. Each state party has its own ecofund for redistributing money to more needy parts of the alternative movement.



o Aind Grewer, ecofund administrator for North Rhine Westphalia.

In North Rhine Westphalia, the state ecofund employs two part time workers to assess claims and requests for money. They report to a decision-making elected committee. This year they have £200,000 to disburse: 15% will be used for grants, the remainder for interest free loans. The ecofund's money goes to setting up cooperatives, alternative lifestyle experiments, womens' groups, peace groups, publishing projects, ecology groups, and so on. The ecofund will help people with new projects only. They won't for instance provide the startup capital for the tenth bike shop co-op in the state. Aind Grewer, who works for the ecofund, believes that these alternative organisations form an ongoing campaign for the Greens, because people can see the ideas in action, and see that they really work. This gives a lot more credibility to the party's platform.

The Hamburg ecofund is quite different. It makes no loans or grants to alternative economic ventures, restricting its largesse to more directly political projects. The idea behind this is that the economy can't be reformed from within, only through politics. Whilst this is true, these projects do play a political role. Firstly because people's experience of self organisation plays an important role in consciousness raising. Secondly because they are a testing ground for lots of alternative ideas. However with limited funds priorities may have to be made.

The Greens also run their own campaigns. They are currently waging a major campaign against the census. Within the federal and state parliaments MPs have raised awkward questions about the legality of forcing public employees to fill in the census. Outside parliament the Greens are urging people to boycott it. This is technically illegal, so all the publicity material has to be ambiguously worded.

The Greens are frequently involved in organising demonstrations, often with other groups, usually footing the bills. Working with other groups brings its problems: some extra-parliamentary groups accuse the Greens of using them to promote the Green image. (These same groups are often trying to get money out of the Greens.) The Greens actually initiated the current campaign against Wackersdorf: the campaign is now standing on its own feet and operating with little green involvement.

There is one new form of extra-parliamentary work coming up this year. Every political party in Germany can build a political education foundation. These foundations serve as think tanks, and do political science and educational work, mainly by disbursing grants. The state will pay for the foundation up to a certain limit. The main parties use them for their own political work, which they are not supposed to do. The Greens wanted to avoid this political corruption and have not built their foundation. Otto Schilly, prominent Green MP and famous lawyer, went to the high court to challenge the way the other parties run their foundations. He lost the case. Many Greens now want their own foundation. Funding from the government for this would run to about £18m per year. Discussions are now taking place within the Greens about the best way of setting up their foundation. They don't want it to do party work, but would rather set it up in such a way that it can be used by the alternative movement. If they go ahead the plans should be finalised later this year. Such a foundation would be an enormously useful resource for the alternative movement. Plenty of groups critical of the Greens' extra-parliamentary involvement are urging them to hurry up and set it up!

The Greens are playing many roles, which is partly a reflection of the different strands within the party. In parliament they have raised the kind of issues that were never discussed before. They have acted as a pressure group within parliament, a lobby for many causes which previously had no lobby. Perhaps more important they have exposed huge quantities of information from the secretive bureaucracy (like a horde of Duncan Campbells). They have attracted massive publicity to their causes and ideas. So far the Greens have managed to enter parliament without being swallowed by it.

Most people I met were realistic enough to see that they wouldn't get parliamentary majorities in the foreseeable future and that actively cooperating with the SPD in government would result in a drastic dilution of all their fundamental demands. The most important element I detected in the Greens was that they are a vehicle for the wider movement. The danger is that they will lose site of the fact that at this stage the really important thing is to have lots of autonomous, strong, non hierarchical movements each with its own thinking. If they do and the parliamentary activity becomes an activity in its own right, separated from the wider movement, then the Greens will be integrated into West German bourgeois parliamentary democracy as tools of the system. Their importance would be at an end. Some suspect they may already have seen the writing on the wall, when the Bavarian Greens failed to back an anti nuclear demonstration just before the Bavarian state elections. More likely this was an isolated mistake. The great awareness of these dangers amongst the Greens I met gives much cause for hope. One major criticism that has been levelled at the Greens from sections of the alternative movement is that in entering the parliaments they have taken a lot of energy off the streets and are slowing down the process of change. This doesn't seem to be a balanced criticism. The parliamentary and extra-parliamentary processes are feeding off each other.

# Yugoslavs' green comrades

Jerry Spring

THE OLD GUARD in Yugoslavia are justly proud of their revolution, with its origins in the heroic partisan resistance of World War II. Continual reminders of this in monuments, celebrations and military indoctrination are the cement that keeps Yugoslavia together despite the enormous ethnic and cultural differences between the country's federal republics.

Under the communists, 'market socialism' has undoubtedly delivered many benefits to the people in terms of health, education and living standards. Yugoslavia has played a progressive role in world affairs through its leadership of the non-aligned movement (or Third World, to use the original meaning of the term.)

At the top, since Tito's death, the power of the party (The League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY)) has been weakened by the need to rotate the presidency among the leaders of the republics. It has also bred corruption as politicians try to benefit their own regions. For instance an aluminium smelter was built at vast expense in Bosnia, basically at the whim of one senior politician. It was later sold to the Chinese for a large loss when it was found to be totally uneconomic because of where it had been sited.

At the bottom, membership has declined dramatically in line with the party's credibility. At present a lawyer, Tihomir Zhivkovic, is suing the party for the return of his past membership contributions since, he argues, the LCY has led the country "towards an insuperable crisis" rather than, as is its duty, to the promised land.

Compulsory military service is meeting with increased resistance despite the harsh consequences of up to 10 years imprisonment for objectors. As in Switzerland, a referendum was forced recently on the issue: although it upheld the principle of conscription, the fact that it occurred at all is a sign of change to come.

Dissidents have become more outspoken, braving the "Law 133", the Yugoslav equivalent of the USSR's "Anti-Soviet Agitation and Propaganda". In the process the state's use of the catch-all "133" has been discredited in a number of political trials where the prosecution has been forced to drop charges.

## • Growth of the greens

Among these challenges to the state is a burgeoning green movement, centered in the north-western republic of Slovenia. There have been some notable successes on environmental issues that contrast with some of our recent experiences in Britain (over Sizewell, for instance). The movement forced the central government to abandon plans to build a nuclear power station near Zadar on the Dalmatian coast, and is holding off attempts to resite the thing near Ljubljana instead. Of course opposition to nuclear power has been bolstered by Chernobyl: Yugoslavia, like the other Balkan countries, suffered high levels of fall-out after the disaster. In addition, there was a dramatic cost over-run on Yugoslavia's only nuclear installation (built by Westinghouse, incidentally), so the government had its own economic reasons for delaying over a nuclear power programme even without the ecological arguments. Nevertheless, Yugoslavs have clearly become aware of environmental issues, and no government can now switch that off again.

In another case, the green movement persuaded workers in a hardboard mill (similar to the ones polluting Lake Baikal in the USSR) to close the plant and move to new jobs, because the effluent from the factory was destroying the ecosystem in a designated World Heritage Site downstream. This example of orderly job transfer is in sharp contrast to the inability of groups in this country

to promote such changes, despite their best efforts.

Other campaigns are continuing to block hydro-electric schemes on the Mura on the Hungarian border; and, in conjunction with Italian greens, to halt the construction of a conventional power station in Italy at the head of the Adriatic.

The centre of this activity is the official Organisation of Slovenian Youth (the ZSMS) which in recent years has been subverted by a radical leadership opposed to central government on a far larger scale than just ecological issues. For instance, it was ZSMS that proposed the referendum on military service, and the organisation's widely read newspaper, *Mladina*, is a constant irritant to the establishment. The editor, Tomaz Mastnak, was recently tried under Law 133 for slandering Prime Minister Mikulic: he was acquitted, apparently because of the huge public protest against his trial.

By taking over an official Communist Party organisation, the greens have made it difficult for the government to marginalise or suppress them without appearing undemocratic. The Slovenian government attempted to deflect the complaints of ZSMS by holding a referendum on whether everyone should donate a small percentage of their wage to anti-pollution measures. (Such referenda are a common means of raising money for community projects in Yugoslavia.) The greens mounted a campaign against the proposal, arguing that since the state had created the pollution, then the state could pay to clear it up. The proposal was overwhelmingly defeated.

## • A Green Future?

The green movement has shown itself to be a powerful force, at least in Slovenia. However, whilst Yugoslavia is clearly drifting, it is certainly not about to break up. The question then is whether ecological ideas might give direction to the country nationally and provide an impetus for the fundamental changes that will have to take place sometime.

There are two important problems that should dampen any expectations of a green Yugoslavia. Firstly, as with Solidarity in Poland, if ZSMS or other progressive group is perceived as a threat to the stability of Yugoslavia then the state will suppress them. Secondly, the appeal of the greens is mainly limited to northern Yugoslavs who are culturally and economically distant from their compatriots in the south. So, in the north, military service is widely resented whereas in the south it is seen as an opportunity to be fed and educated. Similarly, industrialisation is still seen as an escape from poverty in the south - most of the Yugoslav 'Gastarbeiter' (immigrant workers) in northern Europe are from the south of the country. Because of the divisions between the republics, it is understandable for there to be suspicions of political initiatives in Slovenia which preserve its own relatively privileged position whilst seemingly doing nothing for the rest of the country.

Despite these problems, the initiatives begun in Slovenia can only be beneficial in pushing Yugoslavia in new directions away from East or West. Green pressure has already brought more open discussion of matters such as defence, energy and pollution. Greens could push too far changes in agricultural policy to reverse the damaging flight from the land. At the moment, there is little incentive to farm due to the government holding down the price of agricultural produce. Consequently, Yugoslavia wastes valuable hard currency importing food when it has land enough to feed itself comfortably. Self-sufficiency would have the additional benefit of creating wealth within the rural republics without rapid industrialisation.

When Petra Kelly joined the Belgrade demonstrations at the trial of Tomaz Mastnak she wore a T-shirt reading "Abolish Law 133!" It shows that progressive ideas in Yugoslavia are still allowed only by sufferance and not by right. But the fact that she found so many others of like mind means that green ideas are there to stay in Yugoslavia. Now it is up to the politicians to respond positively and use this new awareness for the benefit of the country.

# Pollution in Armenia

Terry Liddle

THE WHOLE world knows about Chernobyl. A disaster of such magnitude with effects felt far beyond the borders of the Soviet sphere of influence could not be hushed up. But the dramatic events at Chernobyl were not, and are not, the only threat facing the peoples of the Soviet Union and their environment.

Recently there has appeared in the west a statement addressed to Gorbachev and signed by 350 Armenian scientific and cultural workers, writers, engineers, workers, students and musicians. It starts by pointing out that one third of Armenia's population of 3½ million live in the city of Erevan, where 80% of the air is polluted. A smog hangs over the city for 165 days a year. "According to international standards for measuring pollution," says the statement, "the inhabitants of Erevan ... should have been evacuated long ago."

Chemical plants in Erevan, Alaverdi, Kirovakan, Kafan and Kadzharan, and the cement factory in Razdan, have destroyed woods, vegetation and animal life. Over 35% of Armenia's green areas have been destroyed, and some 45% are endangered. The rivers Debed, Vokhchi and Getar are biologically dead, and the Razdan and Vorotan almost ecologically infertile.

A wide variety of toxic materials including nitrous oxide, sulphurous anhydride, mercury and lead are dumped, the permitted limits being exceeded by up to 1000 times. This generates a high incidence of illness including cancer, heart attacks, leukemia and birth defects. Cases of such illnesses have increased by as much as eightfold in the last 15 to 20 years. This state of affairs, says the statement, "is a biological massacre, in the precise meaning of the word."

## • And now the nuclear threat

Nor does it end there. The 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union resolved to construct a new nuclear reactor at the Medzamor atomic power station situated 24km from Erevan, with a view to increasing the level of chemical production. In the last decade there have been 150 serious accidents at the nearby Oktemberian power station with large volumes of radioactive gas and contaminated water escaping. On three occasions between 1980 and 1985 a disaster on the scale of Chernobyl was averted by only a hair's breadth. Artesian wells used for irrigation are already contaminated, and the population is advised not to eat certain fruits and vegetables. In the area near the power station, 50% of children are stillborn or suffer deformity or disease. The government has done its utmost to keep all this secret from the Armenian people.

In two letters addresses to the Armenian Academy of Sciences, a group of academics has warned that the construction of an atomic power station in an area where there is a high incidence of earthquakes could turn Armenia into a wasteland. Such a proposal, they write, is a crime against the Armenian nation.

At meetings of the Communist party to discuss the development of the Soviet economy, it was proposed that the construction of the station be dropped. It was also proposed that several factories which cause widespread pollution be closed. As with earlier similar suggestions and the numerous letters from individuals and groups pointing out the dangers, these proposals were ignored. Instead, plans for construction of the plant not only went ahead, but it was also proposed to build a depository for the radioactive waste from all the nuclear power plants in the entire Caucasus region.

Yet as the statement makes clear, such a plant is not needed even in terms of the current Soviet policy of

industrial expansion. Armenia already produces twice as much energy as it needs, and is an exporter of power. Furthermore, 60% of electrical power is used in the factories which are the source of pollution. Their closure would save both energy and lives. The statement also points out the potential for hydro electricity, wind and solar power, which could not only provide safe energy but also aid in the irrigation of agricultural land.

In conclusion the statement asks for:

- (1) the immediate shutdown of the Medzamor nuclear power station, its decommission within a year, and an end to proposals to build a second station;
- (2) the relocation of industrial enterprises causing pollution;
- (3) the expansion of hospitals to treat the sickness caused by pollution;
- (4) the creation of an international commission of experts to research Armenia's ecology and make recommendations for its survival;
- (5) that a number of officials including the president of the atomic energy industry, the minister of health, the vice-president of the Academy of Sciences and the director of the Institute of Geological Sciences be treated as criminals for ignoring warnings from specialists about the scale and scope of the ecological disaster facing Armenia.

## • A growing movement

In the wake of the Chernobyl disaster a growing ecological and anti-nuclear movement has arisen in the Soviet Union and other countries of Eastern Europe. For example, a statement circulated in East Germany and signed by several hundred people called for a halt to nuclear energy production, the publication of radiation levels, the redirection of funds into research into safe energy, emphasis on energy saving technology and insulation, financial penalties on energy-profligate products, decentralised power supply systems, and education of the public in energy conservation. In Ljubljana, Yugoslavia, ecology and peace activists issued a statement demanding that parliament declare a moratorium on the construction of nuclear power plants, and calling for a referendum on the Prevlaka plant. In Poland the Freedom and Peace Movement called for "an international ecological order based on honest cooperation of state and social institutions aimed at the elimination of ecological threats or their consequences." Back in the USSR the Moscow Trust Group announced: "Our anti-nuclear platform firmly includes the most negative attitude to nuclear power stations." To be sure, the Armenian statement was no isolated protest.

At the time of writing it is impossible to say whether or not Gorbachev's new policy of glasnost (openness), which has led to the release from prison of a number of human rights activists, will make it possible for critics of current plans for industrial production and atomic power generation to voice their opinions without fear of persecution and the likelihood of internment in the labour camps or so-called psychiatric hospitals. If past events are anything to go by, it seems likely that the political pendulum will swing away from liberalisation back to neo-Stalinist repression. But one thing is certain. If the Soviet Union does not radically alter its industrial and energy production plans, then sooner or later it will find itself facing disasters far greater than anything that happened at Chernobyl.

The TUC Bulletin reports that in April a delegation of British trade unionists including TUC General Secretary Norman Willis will visit Chernobyl. Willis' defence of Poland's free trade union Solidarnosc at the recent Soviet Trade Union Congress was most welcome. But given the vested, if myopic, interest of powerful British unions in the nuclear power industry, it remains to be seen if he will be as critical of Chernobyl and the negative impact of atomic power on the Soviet environment.

[Terry Liddle is editor of *Volja*, a libertarian newsheet on Eastern Europe].

## NEWS IN BRIEF

### EYE SPY FILTHY BEACHES

SINCE THIS is EYE, or European Year of the Environment, maybe the government will improve on its pathetic response to the 1976 EEC directive on bathing beaches. So far, the DoE has allocated money to clean up 54 out of the 389 beaches it (grudgingly) admitted were used by bathers. The Marine Conservation Society has launched a 'Clean Britain's Beaches' campaign to make all our beaches comply with EEC standards. So look out for local campaigns if you're near the coast and help to publicise the campaign.

### COCA-COLA BACK IN THE CAN

FoE's campaign against Coca-Cola Food's citrus plantation project in Belize has led to the company shelving the idea until a proper environmental assessment has been carried out.

### FAIR EXCHANGE...

A NEW MAG from Norwich has been started to support fairs, gatherings and things alternative generally. Instead of paying subscriptions by cash you can offer skills/goods in a regular needs-wants column. Contact Fair Exchange c/o Norwich Third World Centre, Church Alley, Redwell St, Norwich NR2 4SN.

### ...AND GREEN SCOTLAND

HAS BEEN relaunched, now independent of the Green Party. It is a quarterly mix of local and global writing and requests articles, adverts and readers. Subs are £2 per annum from Green Scotland, 11 forth St, Edinburgh EH1 3LE

### ORGANIC THATCHERS?

IN RECENT YEARS British thatch straw has developed a bad reputation for deterioration. Tests at Bath University show that organic thatch lasts far longer and that the poor quality of British thatch has been largely due to the use of ever increasing use of nitrogen fertilizers. Hopefully then there is time to save another traditional skill from extinction.

### WOMEN TRAVELLERS

PANDORA PRESS has published a guide, 'Half the Earth - Women's Experiences of Travel Worldwide' (£5.95), that deals with the aspects of other countries that particularly affect the woman traveller such as dress, health and local attitudes. Available from bookshop.

### LIBERTE, EGALITE, NUCLEARITE

LISTENING TO the Sizewell debate there seemed as many different French nuclear power programmes as speakers. Phil Davies has written "Nuclear France: Power at any Price?" for FoE, price £1.75, in order to debunk some of the myths surrounding nuclear power in France. He exposes all manner of price fixing, bad forecasting, risky operational standards (heard this somewhere before?) and so on. An essential read for those who think France is the model for our energy future.

### 17,000 EACH YEAR

THAT'S THE number of animals killed in tests on cosmetics, toothpastes etc. BUAV, along with various personalities and companies like Body Shop, are launching a 'Choose Cruelty Free' campaign of events and advertisements aimed at the ordinary shopper. Hopefully it will make people more aware of what is being done to animals and show them that there are alternative products available.

Contact: BUAV, 18a Crane Grove, London N7 8LB [01 700 4888].

### CAPOA (not a Pacific island).

THE NEWLY formed "Campaign Against the Public Order Act" will soon be demonstrating - for the right to demonstrate! The first such gathering will be on April 4th at the University of London Union; please contact CAPOA c/o Box CAPR, 83 Blackstock Road, London N4 (01. 881.2938).

## YOU DON'T HAVE TO BE AN EXPERT TO KNOW WHAT'S WRONG WITH NUCLEAR POWER

### LIFESTYLE PAMPHLETS

The Lifestyle Movement has produced four pamphlets on lifestyle issues. These are 1) "Sustainable Energy Use and World Peace", 2) "Food and Agriculture in a Sustainable World", 3) "World Resources and World Peace", and 4) "The Future of Work". They are available at 50p each plus 13p postage. The Lifestyle Movement have also produced a series of 11 leaflets (2p each) on a variety of lifestyle topics. For these and other Lifestyle publications, write to: Lifestyle Movement, Margaret Smith, Manor Farm, Little Gidding, Huntingdon, Cambs. PE17 5RJ.

### SUBURBAN FORESTRY

'THE FOREST GARDEN' is an intriguing booklet describing how to establish your own mini-woodland and reproduce a self-maintaining natural forest. The author Robert Hart has spent 30 years developing his ideas from the skills of peasant people living in tropical forests. The garden will produce herbs, fruits and vegetables as well as a natural haven for wildlife. Definitely a sound way to green our cities through our own actions. The booklet is available from the Institute for Social Inventions at 24 Abercorn Place, London NW8 9XP for £2.50

### BURGERS VERSUS THE OZONE LAYER

AS IF the use of rainforest beef by burger chains was not enough reason to boycott their products, it transpires that those natty little boxes you carry your burgers out in use chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs) for the foam insulation. CFCs are implicated in the damage apparently being done to the ozone layer. So don't scrunch up your burger boxes and anyway, why not support the local caff instead of some American multinational?



### Economic sabotage: the way ahead

ANIMAL LIBERATION: the Road to Victory. John Harris. Published for Red Rat Library by the ALF Supporters' Group. Available from London Greenpeace, 5 Caledonian Road, London N1, price 50p plus 25p p&p.

THIS BOOKLET is the latest contribution to the ongoing debate on the future of the Animal Rights Movement. Until recently the movement was carried along on the crest of a wave of success, but latterly setbacks, particularly the failure of the parliamentary campaign and the imprisonment of many activists, seem to have instigated a wave of introspection.

The first chapter briefly elucidates the various forms of animal cruelty, while others examine the failure of political campaigning, the growth of direct action and illegal activity, and the misinformation campaign by the media. The thesis presented is that while the movement has made great strides forward in the last ten years, it has been checked by national societies such as the League against Cruel Sports and the British Union for the Abolition of Vivisection who have wasted huge amounts of time and money in lobbying MPs to change the law - with no success at all.

The future must see a massive increase in direct action (i.e. economic sabotage) to reduce the profitability of animal abuse, and a complementary blossoming in autonomous local animal rights groups to campaign in the community and educate the public. They could work in unison with direct action support groups to use the publicity generated by direct action. The author also proposes the establishment of a Federation of Local Animal Rights Groups to "smash the national organisations' domination of the movement." He rightly stresses the importance of getting the right strategy "because mistakes ... can cost the lives of millions of animals."

I agree totally with almost everything in this booklet. It avoids the overt despondency of "Against All Odds", the other recent publication on the subject [reviewed in GL48], and correctly recognises that we have progressed: the movement is not in a state of crisis, it is at the crossroads. We have a golden opportunity to disencumber ourselves from the reformist groups which pander to parliament, and to create a genuinely radical mass movement. I would disagree with the proposed structure of the Federation in some respects, for I am suspicious that it might degenerate into a sort of surrogate national society; but such details are currently relatively unimportant while the bulk of the movement is not yet even in autonomous local groups.

"Animal Liberation: the Road to Victory" is clearer, conciser and more comprehensible than "Against All Odds". It can be read and understood by someone with little or no connection with animal rights, while the latter is altogether more profuse and specialised. Both should be read by anyone who is seriously interested in ending the persecution of animals in society.

• PAUL JAMES

## CASE FOR PR

Chris Simpson and Ian Smith are right to point out [GL50] that when deciding on proportional representation, it is important to be clear which system is being proposed, as different systems give very different results. In this context they are also right to point out that under STV parties will need about 15% of the vote to get constituency members elected, and that therefore the German Additional Member System (AMS) is much more representative and proportional.

Where they are wrong, however, in my view, is in suggesting the German system for the UK. If they look at the Blake Report of the Hansard Commission 1975, they will see that the Commission recommended a type of AMS system, but modified to suit Britain. As we know, governments have rejected it, but it is still the best system so far as I can see.

Where it differs from the German system is that the voter would have just one vote instead of two, making it simpler. Very importantly, it also prevents interference by party machines in the choice of members to fill allocated seats after an election, which is a major criticism of party list systems. Under this modified system, extra seats would be won by a "topping up" procedure on top of seats won outright at constituency level, as in Germany, but these extra seats would automatically go to the candidates of the party in order of priority, in terms of the percentage of the vote which they received; the candidate with the highest percentage being elected first. In this way the voter is still directly voting for a preferred candidate from within a particular party.

There is a further modification which I have suggested in a paper to the Green Party: the size of the House of Commons should not be fixed, but should fluctuate directly in proportion to the number of votes cast at each election. In this way it is much easier to achieve direct proportionality, rather than trying to fit an inconstant number of votes into a constant number of seats.

With these important modifications, I agree with Chris Simpson and Ian Smith: the (modified) AMS system is clearly the best.

Geoff Collard  
Grizedale College  
Lancaster University.

## GREEN IDEOLOGY

Jon Carpenter's analysis of green ideology, or the lack of it, has much to be commended. The identification with socialism is central to what greens want to achieve. The question of whether you take a materialist or idealist approach to the explanation of social change is also central to how green aims will or will not be realised. Hence the red-green debate is a vital one, and far from being irrelevant "nonsense".

However, there also seem to be some shortcomings in Carpenter's analysis. He correctly portrays Marxism's achievements in broadening our understanding of social processes, but then goes on to accuse Marxists of creating some highly undesirable social systems - thus eliding Marxism as a mode of social analysis and Marxism as a political doctrine. I think this is counter-productive and confusing. I doubt if you can define Marxism in terms of what people who call themselves Marxists do, any more than



you can define socialism or Christianity by how professing 'socialists' or 'Christians' actually behave. The clearest example of this lies in the deeds of the Nazis, who called themselves National Socialists - some socialism! And I think that in the Western intellectual tradition, Marxism is primarily a way of understanding how societies work, and how they change; herein lies its value to green theorists and activists. As such, Marxism features historical materialism, dialectical thinking, structuralist explanation and a commitment to the ideals of socialism. [See R Heilbroner: 'Marxism for and against', 1980.]

If this is so, then we would be wrong to try to assess Marxism in terms of any 'bible' (e.g. 'Capital'), testing its predictions to see if Marx got it "right". Marx's writings were done in a 19th century context, and are clearly related to that time. But since Marxist analysis calls on us to relate ideas in society to an understanding of historically changing social and economic forces, and since Marxism itself constitutes a set of ideas, then it follows that the predictions and prescriptions associated with Marxism will also change with changing historical circumstances.

Many greens do not seem to appreciate this essentially dialectical relationship between Marxism as an analytical tool and the society and culture which uses that tool. They are stuck with the 'bible prediction' approach, and the idea that Marxism is what 'Marxists' do - hence they find only too easily the ammunition which they wish to fire at it in order to justify their view of themselves as having the only valid ideas on what should constitute the 'new' society.

Secondly, Carpenter seems to be drawing a distinction between socialists on the one hand and anarchists on the other. Presumably he does this because, like so many greens, he associates socialism solely with the idea of state socialism and centralist planning. However, elsewhere in his article he acknowledges that the Labour Party at present leads the way in planning for decentralisation. This is happening because of a re-emergence in the Party of the tradition of decentralist socialism. This tradition has a long history and, although it has frequently been suppressed, many would argue that it is the cornerstone of 'true' socialism. After all, in Marxist analysis the state is the ally of a specific class - the bourgeoisie under capitalism (and the Party elite under Soviet 'communism') - and in a truly classless society the state would become redundant. Being essentially a theory of liberation, Marxism, with its commitment to socialism, is fundamentally antithetic to the notion of totalitarianism or even 'democratic' centralism. This is not to say that the state does not have an important role to play in the transition to true 'communism', of the kind that greens advocate.

By the same token, anarchism simply cannot be viewed as a homogeneous or even coherent philosophy. At least this is my reading of it in George Woodcock's seminal works. These show us clearly that there is a whole spectrum of anarchist traditions. At one extreme is the romantic, egotistical

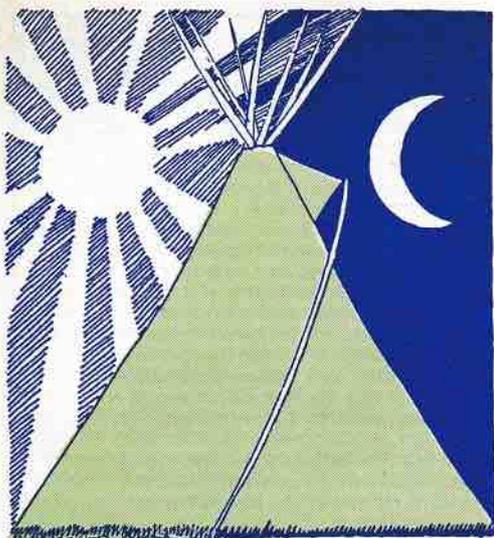
and reactionary anarchism of that revolting character, Stirner (who 'drew near to nihilism and existentialism in his denial of all natural laws and common humanity' and was 'in conflict with the collectivity' and did 'not shrink from the use of any means in "the war of each against all"', and judged 'everything ruthlessly from the viewpoint of his own well-being'). At the other end is anarchist-socialism, represented by, for example, anarcho-syndicalism (i.e. the 'guild socialism' which Bertrand Russell advocated) or by anarcho-communists like Kropotkin. Evidently, green aspirations are compatible with the latter. They do not seem to be compatible with Stirner's anarchism - though as Carpenter points out, there are distressingly over-individualistic and romantic green approaches which smack of romantic liberalism or conservatism.

Some greens go overboard for anarchism in its socialist form. But we should, I think, be sceptical and cautious about it. The anarchist tradition is utopian, and utopianism can so often become the reserve of bigotry, zealotry and the ideologues. And, anarchist experiments have, on the whole, not worked. There may be good reasons (Kropotkin described how the principle of mutual aid could not survive in hostile environments, as small pockets). But whatever they are, anarchism does not strike one as an immediate or convincing answer for the social and environmental ills of the majority of people in contemporary Western society. More to the point, exactly how the anarchist - socialist/green utopia is to be achieved is left very unclear: as unclear as it was in William Morris' day.

Finally, Carpenter's four prescriptions for a 'new' understanding of politics by greens, and for political solutions, sound remarkably consistent, to me, with the understanding of very many people who form the rank and file of the current Labour Party. It is because I felt that such an understanding of politics was crucial for solving the problematic of our current relationship to nature that I decided to join this rank and file a few years ago. I think other greens might sensibly follow suit, as well as participating in other activities, such as specific pressure campaigns or programmes of 'consciousness raising'. This is because the ultimate aim of very many of this rank and file is the achievement of 'true' (decentralist) socialism in Britain, and whatever their shortcomings of achievement, they have got a lot further than any greens, individually or as a green party in this country. Even if an environmental nemesis were to visit our society, precipitating sudden and violent social change, it seems highly likely that such change would be towards totalitarianism rather than the reverse.

In the meantime, many shorter-term gains can be made within the existing political structure, provided that we can swallow our ideological purism and compromise with the much-disparaged 'old' politics. We could get rid of nuclear weapons from Britain, and stop Sizewell 'B'. Won't this, and other progressive measures in Labour's programme, do for starters, while we are still pondering the practical details of how to achieve the ultimate anarchist-Ecotopia? Of course, working for Labour, now, is not as easy as copping out and slugging off the whole process, but then presumably, if you think there really is no difference between the parties, you will not mind another five years of Thatcher!

Dave Pepper Oxford Polytechnic



# Three claims on the Green vote



THE GREEN movement has long regarded its diversity as one of its great assets. Greens are concerned with bringing revolutionary ideas to society, and a diversity of background and approach is essential to generating and developing new thinking.

The impending general election clearly demands new thinking by greens and by the electorate as a whole. It is hardly surprising that the green movement should have thrown up three diverse and apparently competing strategies. Each has its own logic and degree of validity, and we should resist the temptation to regard any one as right and the others as wrong.

The three strategies in question have raised their separate banners as the Green Party, "Greens for a Labour Victory", and "Tactical Voting '87".

It cannot be a rash generalisation to say that all greens must be heartily sick of the present government and anxious to see the back of it as soon as possible. It is the absurdity of our present electoral system that makes that aim difficult to achieve, and the three rival strategies are each attempting to beat the system in their different ways.

## ● Greens for Labour

GLV, the Oxford-based group fronted by Friend of the Earth Joe Weston, are proposing the simplest and most traditional of the three. To defeat a Tory government (runs the familiar argument) it is essential to unite behind the Labour Party, warts, witch hunts, Cunningham and all. And after all (runs the sweetener), Labour policy has become greener than it was, even if it is not yet perfect.

It would be churlish to deny that there is not at least some truth in this assertion, and it is not my aim here to point out just how far short of perfect that policy is: that fact is painfully obvious even to the green wing of Labour Party members. However, GLV do a disservice to their own argument by claiming that the shift which has taken place is due entirely to their efforts within the Labour Party. In far greater measure it reflects the greenward shift in opinions within the population as a whole on issues such as nuclear power, nuclear weapons, and the importance of environmental conservation; and under a voting system in which even a handful of votes can make a crucial difference to the outcome in a marginal seat, it reflects also a real fear among Labour politicians of losing any votes at all to the Green Party.

GLV clearly see themselves as pragmatists, and yet the acid test of pragmatism is the question, "Will it actually work?" Here their strategy falls down. The consistency of Labour's rating in opinion polls shows that it would take a shift far more dramatic than anything GLV might accomplish to give Kinnock and Co an overall majority in the next parliament.

Nevertheless, if I lived in a Tory marginal where Labour was a close second, I would find myself with a difficult choice. My decision would have to rest on my assessment of the greenness of the particular Labour candidate. While the prospect of another Thatcher government is enough to make many people consider leaving the country, there are still many Labour candidates that no green could consider voting for in a month of polling days!

## ● The tactical method

TV 87, brainchild of former Green Party co-chair Paul Ekins, has an even-handed anti-Thatcher pragmatism more in tune with the three (major) party reality. Their list of 100 target Tory marginals is split 50/50 between Labour and Alliance challengers. Their message is to vote tactically for whoever is second, and their aim is a hung parliament - the principle attraction of which is that it might bring about electoral reform, though probably of the non-proportional "Irish PR" STV variety favoured by the Alliance. It's even more of a "half a loaf" philosophy than that of GLV, but if the only object is to get rid of Mrs T., it is the one with a greater chance of success.

Like Labour, many Liberals have been consciously trying to inject a little greenness into their image. As with Labour, the effect is largely cosmetic, and is mostly outweighed by a preponderance of policies based on the old conventional wisdom of capitalist growth industrialism. But as with Labour, it would be unjust to deny that there are some signs of movement to a more green position. Unfortunately, these hopeful signs are confined to the more radical wing of the Liberal Party and are fatally marred by their hideous alliance of convenience with the appalling Dr Owen. Greens in marginal Liberal target seats might well be tempted to vote for a greenish Liberal candidate, but don't ever ask me to vote SDP!

Both the GLV and TV 87 strategies are limited in that they are relevant in only a small proportion of constituencies - those in which a degree of tactical voting might remove a Tory MP. The Labour Party, even at its most optimistic, has only about 100 seats which it might gain from the Conservatives. Adding to these the 50 best Alliance targets identified by TV 87, there are still 500 seats in which both strategies are irrelevant, since under the present system they are unlikely to change hands at any election.

## ● The Green Party

The Green Party intends to stand in a total of about 150 seats. Both the randomness of geography and an element of deliberate choice ensure that a majority of these are among the 500 non-Tory or safe Tory seats. For green voters in these seats the Green Party candidate is the only logical choice. An increased Green Party vote is the only unambiguous way of emphasising the growing support for green politics and policies; and in the safe seats, green voters should have no doubts who to vote for.

Even in the marginals there are many voters for whom the Green Party is the only option, and they deserve the opportunity to make that choice. In such seats, Green candidates know that they will be squeezed almost as remorselessly as Graham Bell was in Greenwich (and as I was in '83 in Swansea West), but they will be left with the votes of people who would otherwise not have voted at all.

Of course, the Green Party's votes will not produce any Green MPs: not under the present system. That does not mean that the Green Party option is one of "no bread", in contrast to the half loaves offered by GLV and TV 87. It is a mistaken oversimplification to see the result of elections simply in terms of who gets elected to sit on the green leather benches of the Palace of Westminster.

Elections are a unique time, when the established politicians of all parties feel uniquely vulnerable. At joint meetings they share platforms with other parties' candidates, and frequently find that it is the Green Party person who has the most cogent and sensible answers and who draws the most applause from the audience (even if this is not later translated into votes.) Perhaps it is precisely because we confront them when they feel most insecure that the major party politicians have on the whole a much higher opinion of the Green Party than they would ever care to admit in public. In fact, the Green party is probably more influential among politicians than it is among the general public.

Politicians know the system they are working in. They know that "first past the post" is a crooked horse race in which the outsider carries the greatest handicap. They know that on the fairer racecourses of Europe there are far more "punters" prepared to back the Greens, but they know too from opinion polls that "green" issues are at least as important to people here as they are in West Germany. Thus the influence of the Green Party on British politics is proportionally far greater than the numerical size of its vote: in the political weight of the message it gets across, every Green Party vote might be said to be worth ten or twenty votes against one for the traditional parties.

I hope the various proponents and adherents of these three differing strategies will not fall to arguing with each other over which is exclusively "right" on a holier- or greener- or more pragmatic- than thou basis. It would be far more honest, productive and "green" for us all to acknowledge that each strategy is a one-dimensional direction marker within a political context which is far more complex than the system allows it to appear at first glance. Taken together, perhaps these three strategies can provide us with a more useful, three-dimensional view. In the not-too-long term we must all realise that it is only a new green-oriented coalition of Greens, radical Liberals and green socialists that can provide a viable alternative to increasingly divisive, repressive and authoritarian conservatism.

Brig Oubridge

**WAS THIS CHILD  
A TERRORIST ?**



**REMEMBER THE  
LIBYA BOMBING  
DEMONSTRATE  
SAT. APRIL 11TH**

# April 1986— US BOMBS LIBYA FROM BRITISH BASES

# April 1987— DEMONSTRATIONS AT USAF UPPER HEYFORD & OXFORD

—to **protest** against the U.S. bombing of Libya and Britain's role as an instrument of U.S. military power

—to **oppose** the increasing domination of this country by the U.S. (both military and economic)

—to **show solidarity** with the victims of U.S. policy throughout the world

## Saturday April 11th

### The Long March : Upper Heyford to Oxford

Assemble 8:45 am at the east end of Camp Road. About 11 miles through the villages to Cutteslowe Park, then on to the rally with the short march.

This will be a good walk, but a brisk one. Public transport to Upper Heyford is poor; we are running a shuttle from Oxford train and bus stations to Upper Heyford between 7:00 and 8:30. It will be possible to park at Heyford; drivers can regain their cars by taking the 17:50 bus from Oxford after the rally. Coaches should drop their passengers at Heyford and park at the Oxpens coach park in Oxford.

Good walking shoes recommended !

### The Short March : Cutteslowe to Oxford

Assemble in Cutteslowe Park from 1 pm to welcome the marchers from Heyford. The combined march will leave at 2 pm. The route is about 3 ½ miles into the centre of Oxford. Cutteslowe Park is just outside the Oxford ring road, to the north of Oxford. Regular buses run from the city centre (no.s 2a, b and c); coaches can drop at Cutteslowe and park at the Oxpens coach park.

### The Rally : Oxpens Field, Oxford City Centre

We plan to have refreshments, stalls, music and a wide range of international speakers. The rally will start as the march arrives: probably about 4 pm. Oxpens Field is close to the city centre for transport: the Oxpens coach park is next to the field.

We also hope to have music and speakers at Cutteslowe Park.

## April 14th and 15th

### A Vigil at USAF Upper Heyford

From 6pm Tues. 14th until noon Wed. 15th. Over the time that the planes were in the air last year, we shall remember the bombings, and what they tell us. All are welcome, for the whole or any part of the vigil.

There will also be a **direct action** on Wed. 15th. The theme will be **Stop the Flying**. If you intend to take part, please contact the Peace Camp, Portway, Camp Road, Upper Heyford, Oxon. Please organise yourselves in affinity groups, and come as self-sufficient as possible.

This demonstration is supported and partly funded by CND – but also needs **your** support and donation. Cheques and enquiries to :

"April Event", 34 Cowley Road, Oxford. OX4 1HZ.

Local contact:

**SAY NO TO U.S. AGGRESSION!**