

# GREEN

*Line*

No 55 / SEPTEMBER 1987 / 60p



**OZONE-**

**Skinning the earth**

**Politics after the Alliance**

**Danube Blues      Circle dancing**



34 Cowley Road, Oxford OX4 1HZ  
Tel: 0865 245301

The independent 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 as a result of the efforts of Jerry Spring, Leigh Shaw-Taylor, Barry Maycock, Carol Guberman, Sarah Tyzack and Jon Carpenter.

• Cover illustration by JERRY SPRING

## PRICE INCREASE

Increased printing costs have forced us to increase our cover price by 10p to 60p. GL still represents incredibly good value, a really good read with hardly any of our space taken up with adverts. We've kept our subscription rates unchanged, as it is the bulk and bookshop sales that have been losing us money. If you're a regular reader but don't yet subscribe, why not think again? You might save yourself money, too: copies still only cost 50p each on a low/unwaged subscription.

## SUBSCRIPTIONS

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For special occasions like demos or big meetings, we'll supply you sale or return. Normally, however, we do not give sale-or-return on monthly orders.

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Display advertising is only £75 a page, smaller sizes pro rata. 10% off for cash with copy. 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 October 1st. We need all news by September 15. When sending articles, please note that in general all articles are read and discussed at an editorial collective meeting on the first Wednesday of each month.

## SPECIAL OFFER! BACK ISSUES

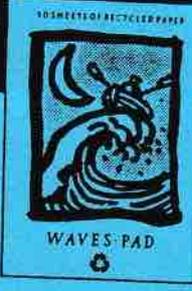
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ACCOMMODATION NEEDED: married couple seek long let on property in rural Wales, with space for art / craft work. We have no private transport, so would prefer something within 415 miles of local shops. References available, please contact Mr S J Lake, 55 Beech Way, Clarke Estate, Basingstoke, Hants.

VISIT OXFORD during August or September. B&B £30 pw in Green household. 0865 246079.

GREEN GATHERING, Headcorn, Kent. Sat 22 Aug to Mon 31 Aug. Emphasis on workshops. £10 per person, under 16s free. Come self-sufficient. Water and toilets provided. Details: 50 Mackenders Close, Maidstone, Kent ME20 7JE.

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# BEING EFFECTIVE — OR JUST NICE?

"COLONIALISM ISN'T nice, racism isn't nice, the nuclear issue isn't nice. We've got to stop being nice people." These words, quoted in the last issue of Green Line, were spoken by Maori activist Titewhai Harawira, as she reflected on the plight of her peoples, and their current campaigning. But her words could apply to our own peace movement - we too have got to stop being nice! I was reminded of a peace demonstration some time ago, another 'vigil' in which, instead of feeling more and more 'spiritual' in the candlelit silence, I felt more and more tense with frustration as I swallowed down my angry feelings, and sense of outrage. No wonder we need more and more 'therapy', and workshops to help us release our anger! It seems to me that many demonstrations have nothing to do with 'peace' and everything to do with being quiet and well-behaved, and keeping a low profile.

In the same speech Titewhai also talks about the Maori people and the way their minds had been 'colonised' by church and state, the latter grinding them down, the former persuading them to accept their lot and providing 'consolation' in their oppression. Her main task, as she saw it, was to help 'decolonise' her people's minds, and this is no less necessary for us: our minds too have been colonised - though not by an alien culture, but by an unspoken set of assumptions that sees the task of the peace movement more in terms of individual change and personal witness than in challenging state power. There is a suggestion that peace is outside or beyond politics, that we are here to 'spread the word' and be witnesses for peace in the way we behave, so that the success of a

demonstration can be judged on how nice we were, persuading people by our peaceful demeanour rather than by our arguments. All this is closer to 'religion' (in the broadest sense) than to politics, providing consolation in troubled times; peace magazines promote more of a cheery evangelism than any analysis of what we are doing in our campaigns, what is going right or what is going wrong.

Behind all this is a point of view which emphasises individualistic growth and personal change rather than collective and community action, the idea that peace 'ripples outward' from the individual to embrace others around us, and eventually the world. But unfortunately it doesn't work like that - if it did it would have happened by now! The 'ripples' can only go so far before encountering walls and barriers, entrenched interests and political structures, divisions of race, class, sex - everything in fact that we mean by 'politics'. Such assumptions lead



away from social action to a sort of quietism - being peaceful in this sense is no subversion of the war-machine, but tends towards conformism, along with law-abiding respectability, restraint and obedience. The authorities don't need to tell us to be quiet - we do that ourselves!

So the peace year rolls round, a programme of anniversaries, more like a religious calendar than a political campaign, with vigils, blockades, snowballs, stretching out

to the crack of doom. But the political realities are changing rapidly all the time. Mobile land-based missile systems, vulnerable to clutch failure, Ian Lee, and a potato in the exhaust-pipe, already seem anachronistic and absurd (but then they always did) - if they get traded off in the arms talks, attention will switch to air-launched and sea-launched systems.

Greenpeace have realised this and have begun a campaign to harass ships involved in the nuclear arms race at sea. This sort of action, facing up to the changes that are taking place internationally, will become more and more necessary. And on the domestic front, CND and the other national campaigning organisations will need to defy the Public Order Act, mobilising resources and supporters to make it unworkable; and also, for example, to combine with other groups and join the picket at the South African Embassy, and challenge any restriction on demonstrations there.

If genuine defiance is only shown by a few brave individuals and groups they will easily be picked off by the authorities. We need to be reassured that the large peace organisations are less interested in self-preservation and 'peace careerism' (it is quite easy to 'rise without trace' in the peace movement) and more in challenging the power of the nuclear state. Otherwise we descend not only into mere 'protest', policing ourselves more effectively than the state could ever do, but also into ritual - the candlelit vigil, the silent witness - muffling our anger, taking away our passion and our defiance.

• Barry Maycock

## ORGANIC SOLUTIONS

While the government agonizes over how to cut down nitrate pollution without offending its masters in the agrochemical industry and NFU, the latest New Farmer & Grower provides the only rational solution - organic farming.

Nitrate levels in Britain's drinking water are increasingly alarming. East Anglia Water Authority has needed special relaxation of EEC nitrate limits but is still finding it difficult to comply. In some areas, water has to be piped in from outside to dilute the contamination and special water supplies are laid on for bottle feeding babies. While the government says there is no good evidence that the water is harmful, other scientists claim that nitrates are carcinogenic and can cause blood deficiencies especially in babies and fetuses. The EEC intends to reclassify nitrates as

'dangerous chemicals' to force compliance with existing limits.

By far the largest source of nitrate pollution is the 1½ million tonnes of artificial fertilizer thrown on our fields to make sure our grain mountains grow by as much as possible every year. A fair proportion of this fertilizer is washed straight off into the rivers by rain. More is leached slowly into the ground-water supplies, creating a long-term problem which will take 20 years to clear even if the fertilizers were banned immediately.

For this government, stopping farmers from polluting the environment is a political non-starter. But if we grew food organically then there'd be every incentive to keep nitrates in the soil and out of the water supplies since you can't chuck on a bag of Fison's when you feel like it. This the subject of the NF&G article which discusses the difficulty of matching nitrate levels to a crop's changing requirements during its growth. At Elm Farm Research Station they're looking for ways to

stop nitrates, built up in the ley period, from leaching out in the rain so that they're available when they're needed by the plants in the Spring. At the same time of course, the pollution of water supplies is minimised. Sad then that MAFF seems so blindly prejudiced against organic farming. In the meantime, any beer swilling vegetarians in East Anglia might be advised to go on a long trip away.

◦ JERRY SPRING



...YOU KNOW IT MAKES SENSE.

## PARTY TIME AT THE FESTIVAL



• JO ROBINS writes:

**WHAT'S THE** best way of recovering from a strenuous General Election campaign? It has to be letting your hair down at a festival, especially if you can do it with the blessing of the Green Party Council!

Glastonbury '87 couldn't have come at a better time for the Greens, just a week after polling day, and there was no shortage of volunteers to run the Green Party stall. Our marquee, loaned to us by the Green Collective, was in a prime site on the main thoroughfare of the Green Field. It was too bright and colourful to miss easily, but just to make certain we put up signs in the main festival fields as well as at both entrances to the Green Field.

This year we had a large exhibition as well as a stall, and although there were no formal

workshops, lots of political discussions took place. Response to our presence was overwhelming; 15 people joined on the spot, around 100 took information packs, and many more were put in touch with local parties.

I have two suggestions as to why we were so successful this year. First, that it was due to increased interest in Green Politics after our general election campaign. Second, it was a wet and muddy festival, and our warm dry marquee and Brig's tea stall attracted people as much as did the politics! Still, Party Council was well pleased with our efforts, and to prove it they voted a small budget for festivals and other outside events. Let me know of any major events in your area, and I might see you there.

Have Stall, Will Travel.

### YET ANOTHER LEAK

The much loved Sizewell B had its first leak even as Walter was turning the first commemorative sod. Apparently, the marquee leaked rain all over the platform crammed with honoured guests. Terribly difficult, this high technology....

### CARE CONFERENCE

Cleveland Against a Radioactive Environment (CARE) are hosting the third Anti Nuclear Network conference in Hartlepool on 5th Sept for groups and individuals opposed to n. power. For more info on this chance to get together to share ideas, strengths etc. contact Anti Nuclear Network c/o Nth. London Anti Nuclear Group, Jacksons Lane Centre, Archway Rd, London N6

### LEAD FREE MAP

CLEAR have published a map showing all 260-odd lead free petrol stations round the country. Whilst 2 or 3 star is no problem, 4 star petrol is still hard to come by. CLEAR advise that hardened valve seats are fitted before converting to lead free.

### GOOD WOOD=LIVE WOOD

FoE's Good Wood Guide has now received approval from such august bodies as the WWF and NARF (National Association of Retail Furnishers). The latter's recommendation will help persuade shops to join the scheme to replace tropical hardwoods in our furniture. On the downside, the Timber Trade Federation appear to be back-sliding on the code of conduct which they had previously agreed to in principle. With £5000 from WWF, FoE are starting on European Tropical Hardwood Product List.

### WASTING PAPER

As FoE point out, we consume 131 million trees a year as 7.7m tonnes of paper and board, but we only recycle 27% of it. FoE will be having a 'recycling week' of action and information in October. Meanwhile, Cambridge FoE have looked into community based waste recovery schemes for their local council. The report provides useful material for anyone else trying to encourage their local council to recycle waste. It's available (£7) from Cambridge FoE, Bath House, Gwydir St, Cambridge CB1 2LW

### FORESTS ALERTED

Despite atrocious weather, FoE got 4000 out to walk in the remains of Britain's woodlands and arrangements for Forest Alert '88 are already underway. Meanwhile the Forestry Commission have been persuaded to take yet another reluctant look at the state of the trees following EEC pressure and the results of their own recent survey.

### BRUNDTLAND REPORTS

The conclusions of the World Commission on Environment & Development were not wholly encouraging: "no trend, identifiable today, no programmes or policies, offer any real hope of narrowing the gap between rich and poor nations." The problem is that the report's own ideas are an attempt to have sustainable policies for development but without changing a fundamentally unsustainable economic world order. Another case of tinkering with the symptoms, it seems.

### FROM SIZEWELL...

On October 10th there's a march and demo to commemorate those dead and dying from nuclear power, assembling on the recreation ground at nearby Leiston at 11 am. The action is backed by FoE, CND and Greenpeace, and is organised by the East Anglian Anti-Nuclear Groups. Info: Charles Barnett, Tudor House, Dunwich, Suffolk IP17 3DU (072-873 3001).



### GREEN CND

has been junked financially by National CND, which seems a pity straight after the April demo designed to foster peace-ecology links. Green CND are at 90 Gorwydd Rd, Gowerton, Swansea.

### FoE MOVE SHOCK!

In Sept/Oct FoE will be moving to 24 Underwood St N1, next door to CND. So who says the April demo didn't bring people together...?

### SKOOL BUSINESS

The New Travellers' hopes of establishing their own education system have been rewarded with the purchase of their first "skool bus". The next stage is getting recognition from the DES and Inland Revenue as an educational charity. If you wish to help them, for £5-10 you can become a 'friend' of the Skool Bus by writing to Richie Cotterill, 24 Clive St, Hereford HR1 2SB.

Stop messing around...

# SELLAFIELD

...CLOSE IT DOWN!

...TO WINDSCALE

where there's a complimentary demo the same day organised by CORE.

## ORGANIC SERIAL

'New Farmer & Grower' continues to be an entertaining and informative mag on organic farming issues. In addition to providing a sane solution to nitrate pollution (see box) it has surveyed the cereals scene with a critical eye, suggesting that organic farming is becoming increasingly secure and organized. Apparently, organic wheat makes better bread flour than the same wheat conventionally grown. The reason is not known yet but is probably connected with the quantity and quality of the protein (which in turn determines the gluten content of the dough). If your loaf is wholemeal as well as organic you'll not only save on the fertilizers etc. but the loaf will have used 25% less wheat than an equivalent white one.

Sadly, organic growers still have to contend with supermarket resistance to unclone-like fruit and veg and many shoppers are no longer capable of cleaning greenfly out of a lettuce - they simply take it back and complain that it's 'off'!

If you interested in the mag - get the local library to take it - then contact Chris Mair, The School house, Whitbourne, Worcester WR6 5SP.



## LESBIANS AND GAYS MARCHING AND CELEBRATING

IT WAS good to be celebrating something for a change, as opposed to rejecting something: this accounted I'm sure for the happy, carefree atmosphere of the Lesbian and Gay Pride march through London on June 27th. The initial gathering was in Hyde Park, the mood light-hearted, though underpinned by a serious and important theme - in this rare and beautiful moment men could hold hands with men in public, and women with women, in complete safety. The proud banners rolled past, from groups all over the country - there were many trades unions represented, and local Labour groups; the RCP had a strong presence, and the SWP placards proclaimed, in their usual abrasive manner: 'Fight the bigots now! I looked for a Green banner, but didn't see one - I may have missed it.

There was only a small amount of scattered abuse on the march - generally speaking there was much encouragement and support. Gay policemen were invited to join us - they would have been most welcome! The only anger was provoked by the sight of the South African Embassy: 'Burn it down, burn it down!' we sang out. In Jubilee Gardens the balloons floated freely, over the cold bleak towers behind us and away towards the Houses of Parliament, perhaps to float through the windows and occupy the chamber; at the

## TIME OFF FOR WOMEN

24th OCTOBER

TIME OFF is the first ever internationally co-ordinated action by grassroots women, pressing governments to implement the 1985 UN decision to count all women's work in every country's GNP. In 1985 and 1986, women in over two dozen countries, and in dozens of towns and cities, celebrated TIME OFF, with social events, petitioning, meetings, women's fairs and speak-outs.

Since 1975, when the women of Iceland took a 'day off', bringing the entire economy of Iceland to a halt, there are no longer doubts about the importance of women's contribution and about their potential economic and social power. It is criminal for this economic contribution to continue to be hidden. According to the ILO, women have double the workload of men for 5% of world income. These are the consequences of the invisibility of their work.

Women everywhere have paid by hard unwaged and low-waged work for the

WOMEN COUNT - COUNT WOMEN'S WORK

enormous world military budget, nearly US \$1 trillion in 1986. Third World women spend as much as four hours a day fetching water, and women in the UK are being forced into workfare - dead-end training and low-paid jobs as the condition for receiving welfare benefits - so that governments can develop, stockpile, trade in and use against us, weapons of every type, some of which can destroy the world.

TO 87 IS TIME FOR WOMEN, WHO DO 2/3 OF THE WORLD'S WORK, TO SAY LOUD AND CLEAR HOW THE WEALTH WE CREATE, IN PEOPLE AND THINGS, SHOULD BE SPENT.

Information from: London 01-837 7509, and 01-833 4817; Bristol 0272 550887; Bury 061 797 4642; Hyde 061 368 1334. Co-ordinated by the International Wages for Housework Campaign, Kings Cross Women's Centre, 71 Tonbridge Street, London WC1H 9D2.

## IS WALTER UNVIABLE?

The International Commission on Radiological Protection (ICRP) meets in September. So what? Well, the outcome will be crucial, not only for the health of nuclear workers, but also for the future feasibility of the nuclear industry itself. For the first time, environmental groups such as FoE will have a voice - through John Dunster of the UK's NRPB. No ecologists have ever been invited onto the ICRP board.

The importance of the meeting derives from new evidence that the calculations from the Hiroshima bomb victims, on which have been based all subsequent radiation dose limits, underestimated the dangers by at least two times. In the past the commission has accepted the ALARP (as low as reasonably possible) principle in setting dose limits, despite longstanding evidence that no level of radiation is safe, so as to provide "reasonable latitude for the expansion of nuclear power in the future" (ICRP pub. 9; 1966). No prizes for guessing whose side they're on.

Now, however, to preserve its scientific credibility, the ICRP will have to decrease dose limits sharply - FoE are arguing for a ten times reduction. But this will have serious implications for Wally Marshall's economic viability since the costs and technical difficulty of nuclear power are bound to rise.

So let's look forward to the final irony of an establishment body sealing the coffin of the nuclear industry. Anyone know a good burial site?

foot of all this totalitarian architecture flowed some beautiful freewheeling anarchy to the music of Bronski Beat and other bands. Despite the airless, steamy weather there was no torrential rain, no wrathful thunder - another indication that the gay-bashing patriarch in the sky doesn't really exist. Perhaps next year there will be a proud Green banner to march under.

• Barry Maycock



## BUSK FOR GREEN DESERTS

Musicians and entertainers are needed to help Green Deserts raise money towards their anti desertification tree planting projects in the Sudan and elsewhere. If you fancy a few weeks touring the country on an old canal boat called Lilith then contact Rob or Joy, greenhouse/Ty Gwilyr, 1 Trevelyan Terrace, Bangor, Gwynedd, N.Wales (0248) 352655

## VEG CONFERENCE

The Vegetarian Society will have a symposium on "the crisis in the countryside: food for thought" with speakers from science, Whitehall, journalism and environmental groups. Tickets for 17th October are £3 (£2) from Hilary Sadler, Veg. Soc, 53 Marloes Rd, London W8 6LA.

## AFRICAN MEDICINE

The Commonwealth Institute has an exhibition of traditional medicine, particularly herbal, that draws attention to the need for the world to avoid losing this pool of knowledge. Till October 4th.

## EDUCATION FOR LIFE

The Mediating Network, a grassroots organisation of the spiritual New Age have set up a conference of talks, action groups, workshops and celebrations in Brighton on August 28-31. Write for info or tickets (£15) to 10 Bramber Court, Eaton Gdns, Hove BN3 3TS.



## DECENTRALISATION - GRASPING THE NETTLE

A MEETING on June 6th at Birmingham involving peace campaigners from all over the country grappled with the thorny problem of decentralisation - which everybody thinks is desirable in theory but which never gets put into practise. An accretion of power at the centre seems to take place beyond human will, as if it were a law of nature. There were timely warnings at the meeting about 'elected careerism', and proposals to devolve resources to the regions. Yet the 'region' is simply another unnecessary tier of decision-making, another layer of waste. It's all a kind of empire-building - a shadowy structure is erected, and resources are diverted into propping it up. The actual campaigning is then paid for by jumble sales! The main role for central funding lies in the area of redistribution - allocating funds to the groups that have the most need, both in terms of a local presence, and of importance to the campaign.

Whatever happens to the various suggestions that have come out of this meeting, and a further discussion of them at CND's July Council meeting, this is certain to be a hot topic at CND's conference in November.

## ALMS OR ARMS

If faced by a defender of the UK armaments industry, it's worth mentioning that since 1981 over 245,000 defence related jobs have been lost in the midst of the Tory's arms bonanza. Moreover, the idea that defence jobs help the north is equally false: the government spends ten times the amount of regional aid it gives to the north on arms manufacturers in the south.

## PROSECUTING THATCHER

THIS SEEMS like a good idea - it would be nice to see Thatcher in the dock. A criminal charge - conspiracy to murder - has been lodged against the Prime Minister by John McGarty of Wigan CND. The campaign around the case will bring to public attention the issues of international justice and state terrorism, investigate government conduct, and may eventually involve others who were responsible (including US servicemen). However much they prosecute us, we in turn will prosecute them. "Every step you take, every move you make, we'll be watching you", as the song goes. Finance is needed for the prosecution case. For more information contact: The Tripoli Bomb Plot Prosecution Group, c/o 1 Russell Road, Manchester M16 8DO.

## NORTH ATLANTIC NETWORK

IF THERE is a superpower deal on land-based systems, the missiles will simply be put on ships instead. Anyone who is interested in campaigning against the militarisation of the seas can take part in the 5th annual N.A.N. Conference in Galway, Eire, on September 18th-20th. For more information contact Dr Richard Gault, Department of Industrial Engineering, Galway.

## Uranium threat to Aborigines

CRA, NOW 49% owned by the UK transnational Rio Tinto Zinc, is test drilling for uranium in Western Australia's biggest national park at Rudall River, in a huge area called Kintyre in the Great Sandy Desert - a very important aboriginal area.

The company has already poured

## NEWS FROM THE PACIFIC

millions of dollars into the project. Rumours abound of another 'Roxby' - i.e. uranium mined would be 'incidental' to other minerals mined. Under existing federal government policy, companies are technically only allowed to 'explore', not 'mine', uranium. The two established Aboriginal communities living there, whose roots go back over 10,000 years, were not consulted, and the Labour government of Western State, who worked with the transnational mining corporations to force the federal government to abandon aboriginal land rights legislation last year, is actively encouraging further development in the park.

Info: Partizans, 218 Liverpool Road, London N1 (01-609 1852).

## UN-NUCLEAR UMBRELLA

Good to see that New Zealand's Conservatives have conceded that David Lange's stand on nuclear warships was right all along. Let's hope the British Labour party take note before they scuttle off to the middle ground vacated by the Alliance.

## Belau gives in

THE TINY republic of Belau in the UN Strategic Trust Territory of Micronesia is in turmoil. It is on the brink of finally rejecting its anti-nuclear constitution and accepting a semi-colonial status with the US. After the fifth referendum in five years on whether to join the US in a 'Compact of Free Association', the vote (at 67%) was yet again too low to overrule the nuclear ban in the Belauan constitution. Under the Compact, US military material would have right of entry into Belau.

Violence has erupted following the sacking, without pay, of two thirds of all government employees, and the nightly shutting off of water and electricity supplies. The pro-US President of Belau claims this reflects the country's dire financial situation. He says people will be re-instated with back pay once the country has agreed to the Compact, under which Belau would have 15 years worth of 'economic aid'.

To force compliance, two more referenda are being held. On August 4 electors were asked to change the constitutional requirement for a 75% majority to a provision for 50%, a change which itself required only a 50% majority in three quarters of Belau's 16 states. If this succeeded, voters would be asked on August 11 to accept the US proposals.

The UK government has been completely behind the US government in its attempts to end its UN trusteeship responsibilities, and to turn Belau into what is in effect a militarised colony.

Info: Bristol NFIP, c/o 82 Colston Street, Bristol 1 (tel. 550905 or 743224).



**AUGUST 26-31:** Christians on the march. Annual Christian CND pilgrimage from the Cruise Control Centre at Dawes Hill, High Wycombe, to the Malvern Hills. Lots of witnessing, vigils, etc. Forms and other details are available from: Angela Needham, 7 Furnace Cottages, Crow Edge, Sheffield, S30 5HF. Or contact Barbara Egglestone, 01-250 4010.

**AUGUST 28-30:** Youth Camp for young people from West and East Europe. Contact Sally Biggs, Senning Common Peace Group, Manor Cottage, Peppard Common, Henley on Thames, RG9 5JE.

**AUGUST 29:** Croydon Peace Festival. Croydon Parish Church Hall and Gardens, Church St., Croydon, 10 - 6. Inflatables, etc, plus a four minute warning, and a guest celebrity (Bruce Kent?). Contact John on 01-679 1520.

Youth CND will be holding a series of dayschools throughout September in each area and region, on street campaigning, Schools against the Bomb, regional workshops, national committee elections. Contact Margo, 01.250.4010.

SEPT 1: 'Trident and the Defence Spending Crisis'. Steve Schofield talks to Huddersfield CND, 7.30pm, Huddersfield Town Hall.

SEPT 5: Ex-Services CND Annual March, 11.30am, Victoria Embankment.

SEPT 5-6: Scottish CND Annual General Meeting, Kirkcaldy.

SEPT 7: Solihull CND General Meeting, 54 Langcombe Rd., Shirley. And a further meeting Sept. 9th, 10am-12 noon, 76 Poplar Rd., Dorridge. Solihull. Details from Josie Knowle, 4100.

SEPT 7-19: Environmental Festival in Haregey, culminating in a Peace and Friendship Festival. Details: Valerie Cooper, 01-341 5517.

SEPT 18-27: Bradford Peace Festival. Details: 0274.370.718. Room 12, Wool Exchange, Bank St., Bradford.

SEPT 19 onwards: Seminars on 'The Disarmament Process / Campaigning in Wales.' All welcome. Sept 19 - Colwyn Bay; Sept 20 - Welshpool; Sept 26 - Barry; Sept 27 - Carmarthen.

SEPT 26 - OCT 3: First Global Radiation Victims Conference, Roosevelt Hotel, New York City, USA. Details: Health and Energy Institute, 236 Massachusetts Avenue, NE, Suite 506, Washington DC 2002, USA.

SEPT 27: CND Sponsored Bike Ride, Blackheath to Tunbridge Wells. It will start at 8.30am, with a mystery celebrity (Bruce Kent?) leading the field. Contact Annie Moreton at 01-250 4010. Souvenir T-shirts available!





# How Die Grünen are organised

— LEIGH SHAW-TAYLOR

THE INTERNAL organisation of Die Grünen reflects one of their most basic demands - Grass Roots Democracy. Unlike any other political party in West Germany (or the UK for that matter) the grass roots are firmly in control of the party and of most of their elected representatives.

There are three tiers of party organisation, district, state and federal (mirroring the system of government with local councils and both state and federal parliaments). Membership is of the district party rather than of a national organisation, though district parties must abide by the national constitution. The federal and state parties are controlled by delegates elected from the district parties. At weekly meetings the district parties deal with all their local matters, including mandating their councillors who are required to act on the instructions of the local party. These weekly meetings also discuss state and federal matters, and when necessary elect delegates to represent them at the state or federal level.

In Hamburg (a city state) there are seven districts, all of which have their own offices, and six of which each have one part time paid employee. In addition to the district meetings, there is a meeting every Monday evening in the Green Groups' extensive offices at the state parliament to discuss activity in the parliament. These meetings are open to everyone who is interested, and determine how the MPs - all of them women at present - should behave in parliament. As well as the MPs, their staff, and the state executive committee, the meetings are attended by Green activists and members of special interest groups who want to use the Greens as a lobby for their cause.

Any contentious or important issues require a general meeting of the Hamburg party. This likewise is open to anyone, but only members can vote. As well as deciding on the important issues for which it was called, the general meeting reviews the decisions taken at the Monday

meetings since the last general meeting. On Tuesdays the state executive committee, elected once a year from the general meeting, meets at the state party's offices. The executive committee has the job of executing the party's decisions, not of taking decisions. There are also executive committees at the district and federal level.

## Federal conference

The annual federal conference of the Greens has three tasks; to determine the party's programme, to deal with any constitutional changes, and to elect the national executive committee. The party's programme evolves from the grass roots through a system of policy groups. Anyone who wishes to be involved in the creation of policy can join one of the local policy groups dealing with whichever policy area they are interested in.

In Hamburg there are 23 policy groups dealing with everything from Ecology to Media Politics to Gay Rights. These groups meet once a week to sort out detailed policy. Members of the groups soon develop an impressive expertise in their area. For instance, Philippe, on the Media Politics Group in Hamburg, had a detailed knowledge of the problems facing the BBC, which few people in Britain would have. So the policy groups create a pool of expert knowledge at the grass roots level from which to formulate policy. The policy gets thrown back at the local party, and three or four times a year each policy group sends delegates to a national weekend conference in its particular field. Ultimately national policy must come before the annual conference of delegates who will already have discussed all the motions at the district level. These federal policy meetings also work with the MPs in the federal parliament guiding them in their special areas.

The federal executive committee of the Greens, which is charged with running day to day affairs, reports to the federal central committee which is composed of delegates sent from the states and meets every six weeks.

Delegates to conferences have their travelling and hotel expenses paid, so anyone can afford to go.

They can be mandated to push for the policies desired by their grass roots. Mandating is not as strong as it used to be, and there is an increasing tendency to a freer vote. Some Greens feel uneasy about this, but the idea underlying this change is that under the mandating minority voices never get heard above the district level.

## Women's role

Women have a special role in the party constitution, which requires that every second post in the party be filled by a woman. So every committee, every party list, every party position must be at least 50% female. Furthermore, women have the right to say no to any decision which is of special interest to women (and the women say what is of special interest to them). If the votes cast as a whole produce a different result from the votes cast by women alone, the decision has to be deferred. So the issue gets discussed again at the local level, and comes back to the next meeting.

The system of delegates with expenses paid is in sharp contrast to the system in the UK, where Green Party policy and constitution are determined by those 5% of members with the time and money to attend the party conference, rather than by representatives of the local parties. The policy is originally formulated largely by nationally organised policy groups attended by the few people who can either afford to travel round the country regularly, or happen to live in London.

Of course, Die Grünen have experienced problems with their system too. Elected representatives sometimes prefer self-determination to the party line (Petra Kelly and Kurt Bastion the ex-general being the most famous examples). Some individuals have an undue influence on the party and become remote from the grass roots. However, these problems have so far been contained, though as the party grows, so will the problems involved in retaining control at the bottom. With 40,000 members, some Greens feel it is already beginning to break down at the federal level. At the state level all seems well. Small is beautiful.

## Legal landmark for Maoris

THE MAORI Council has successfully stopped the New Zealand Labour government from implementing part of its controversial corporatisation plans for most of the country's state-owned bodies. The Court of Appeal ruled on June 29 that the State owned Enterprises Act 1986 was not in accordance with the

Treaty of Waitangi, and ordered the government to work out a new system whereby present and future Maori land claims, threatened by impending transfers of Crown land, would be legally safeguarded. The Act was to enable state-owned assets (such as land) to be transferred to commercially-run corporations, which could then sell on to the private sector. This unanimous decision of the five appeal judges has been heralded as

a legal landmark. It has given more recognition than hitherto to the rights of the Maori to their lands, forests and fisheries under the Treaty of Waitangi of 1840.

The Maori view of land, in which it has spiritual value and is held in communal guardianship, has always been an inconvenient nuisance in the free market economy of successive NZ governments who have viewed the land as a commodity to be bought and sold.

# OZONE: Skinning the Earth?

We should all be concerned at the state of the earth's ozone layer. JERRY SPRING reports why.

"WE'RE CONDUCTING a global experiment on the earth's atmosphere without a full understanding of the consequences." So says Robert Watson of NASA about the world's generally cavalier attitude towards the state of the earth's vital ozone layer. According to the US government's Environmental Protection Agency a 1% globally averaged depletion will lead to 10-20,000 extra skin cancer cases, and therefore hundreds of extra deaths, per year in the USA alone. There is much disagreement over whether or not there has been significant ozone depletion. But given the long time lag that is likely to be involved in any clean up, the politicians - despite their attempts to complete a UN sponsored treaty - do not seem to show a full appreciation of the dangers.

## THE OZONE BARRIER

Ozone, a molecule of three atoms of oxygen, is formed in the stratosphere by the action of the sun's ultra-violet (UV) radiation on normal oxygen molecules of two atoms each. At the same time, other chemical and physical processes are reconverting ozone back into oxygen. Between about 10 and 40km in altitude the balance between these two processes favours the production of ozone and so, fortuitously, the ozone layer exists - with two important consequences for life on earth. Firstly, the UV absorbed by the ozone layer includes a waveband, UV-B, that is particularly damaging to genetic material. Secondly, in the process of absorbing radiation the molecules of the ozone layer are necessarily heated and so the ozone layer is significantly warmer than the atmosphere immediately beneath it. This has an important part to play in the formation of the earth's weather systems and climates.

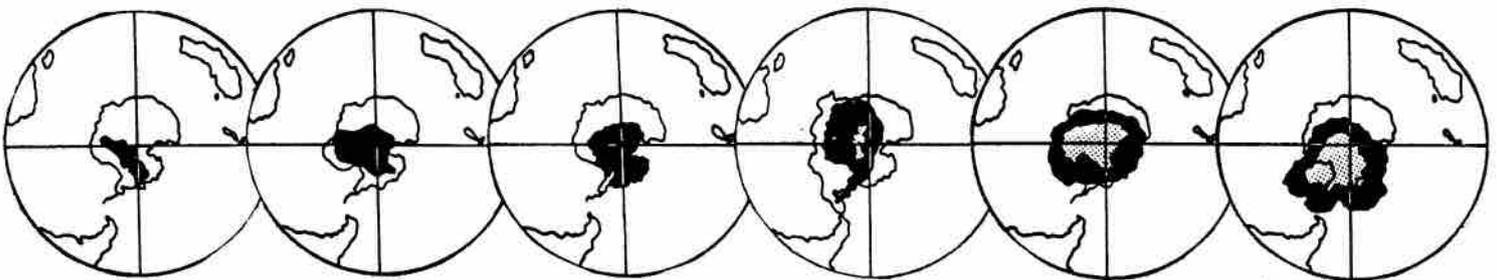
Any increase in the amount of UV reaching the earth's surface can cause extra skin cancers and cataracts, increased incidence of diseases such as herpes, hepatitis and leishmaniasis, reduced populations of phytoplankton at the base of the marine food chain and

fellow scientists. Consequently, the media and some environmental groups have been reporting as fact what is actually hypothesis. This doesn't help our case, and simply allows those who aren't so interested in cleaning up our environment to side track us into unnecessary, time wasting arguments.

The claim that there has been a statistically significant depletion of globally averaged stratospheric ozone is not proven - yet. But since "not proven" is not "disproven" we should still be greatly concerned, especially given the alarming implications if Don Heath's conclusions do prove to be even partially correct. Moreover, current models predict ozone depletion in the future on present trends, even if it hasn't occurred yet.

If global ozone levels are still under debate, there is hardly any disagreement over the latest information about the ozone layer above Antarctica. The British Antarctic Expedition (BAE) have been taking measurements there since 1957. Since the end of the 70s the scientists have been alarmed to find a dramatic annual collapse in levels every Spring. So far, this 'hole' has always disappeared in the Antarctic Summer, as ozone rich air flows in from outside. But the drop in levels itself has been increasing in depth each year. More recently the US National Ozone Expedition (NOZE) has shown that the ozone hole is not even and that there are bands of between 1 and 4km thick where depletion is as much as 90% adjacent to bands with relatively little depletion. The development of ozone holes was missed by previous NASA satellite studies because they assumed that such low levels must be due to measurement error!

Because ozone formation depends on sunlight, seasonal variations are to be expected. However, the huge depletions discovered by the BAE coupled with the realization that ozone formation also varies significantly with latitude has led the scientists to revise upwards their estimates of the effects of ozone depletion around the planet. For instance, at a meeting in Wurzburg,



Increase in Antarctic ozone hole, 1979-1984.



<200 dobson units



200-250 units.

Dobson units are a measure of ozone concentrations.

lowered productivity in plants, especially crops. UV gradually destroys many artificial fabrics and materials such as plastic.

These known predicted effects of ozone depletion on the ecology of the planet are bad enough, but the effects on global climatic and weather systems of reducing the temperature of the ozone layer through ozone depletion are as yet incalculable, and therefore the risks of our present behaviour are enormous.

## HOLES

At present, the overall state of stratospheric ozone is a matter of controversy. Recently, Don Heath of NASA reported satellite data indicating a 4% reduction over the last two decades. Unfortunately, he talked to the press before his conclusions had been accepted by his

Germany, last April they agreed that the risks of developing skin cancer because of ozone depletion are 2-3 times greater at higher latitudes than at the tropics.

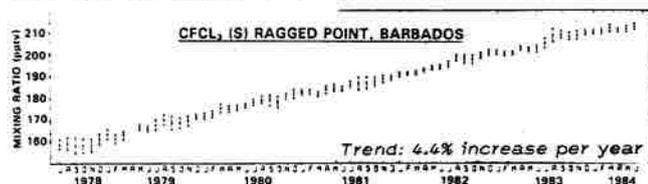
The regular appearance of an ozone hole over Antarctica is simply not predicted by current models of the atmosphere. Whilst the atmospheric physics and chemistry of the antarctic are undoubtedly different from the rest of the atmosphere, our lack of understanding of the changes taking place should urge great caution. As Mark Schoebe of NASA puts it: "Just as an earthquake precedes volcanic eruptions, this could be the signal of something worse. It could be the leading edge of something more detrimental....We just don't know right now."

In the absence of certainty, political action has relied on the best guesses of the scientists. Currently, the

theory with most credence - although it's unlikely to offer the complete explanation - argues that ozone is destroyed by other chemicals present in the stratosphere. In particular, certain atmospheric conditions allow reactive halogen compounds (such as those containing fluorine, chlorine or bromine) or other radical species like HOx and NOx to reconvert ozone to oxygen. A major attraction of this theory is that there is a known source of halogen compounds from industrial processes and consumer products. Furthermore, the production of these pollutants has been increasing continuously for the last three decades which makes them a likely cause of the more recent depletion in ozone levels. This is the theory on which environmental groups and governments have begun to act.

## CFCs AND OTHER NASTIES

The three groups of chemicals thought to be involved are chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs), especially CFCs 11, 12,



Increasing concentrations of CFC113 at two widely separated measuring stations.

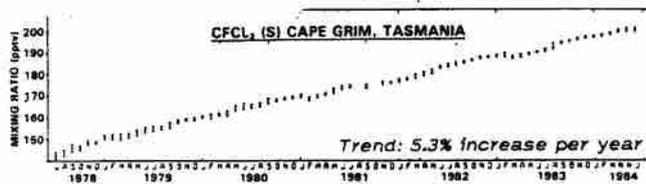
CFC emissions is needed immediately merely to stabilize current stratospheric conditions, let alone allow ozone levels to increase again. If there is a 10% depletion of ozone by 2010 then the chemicals involved would still cause a further 4-5% depletion by the 22nd century even if all emissions were to be stopped in 2010.

Even with the uncertainty over the actual degree of depletion so far, this time lag is cause enough for immediate steps to halt CFC production until they are proved not to be destroying the ozone layer. What is actually being done is simply inadequate.

## POLITICS

A number of countries do seem to acknowledge the need for urgent and drastic action. However, this is cancelled out by the partiality of individual governments in the UN sponsored discussions for a CFC limiting protocol.

The Americans banned 'non-essential' applications of CFCs in 1978 - although the Chemical Manufacturers Association's own figures suggest that the US ban on



113, 114 and 115, chlorinated solvents, such as carbon tetrachloride, and methyl chloroform, and bromine containing halons like halon 1211 and halon 1301. It should also be noted that agriculture (e.g. burning vegetation) and the oceans release significant quantities of chloromethanes like methyl chloride into the atmosphere, although these chemicals are not nearly so long lasting as the others.

The link between CFC production and ozone depletion was made as far back as 1974. Since then the use of these chemicals has expanded into a wide range of products from those natty little hamburger boxes to the latest in supercomputers. They are used in aerosols, refrigerants, solvents, foam expanders, fire extinguishers and air conditioners. They appear in consumer goods, medical supplies and military hardware. Their attraction is that they are relatively cheap to produce and tend to be extremely unreactive, nontoxic and inflammable.

Unfortunately, this chemical stability means that they have an extremely long lifetime (as much as 150 years) when dumped into the environment. Consequently, any product or process using CFCs, chlorinated solvents or bromine halons sooner or later releases them and they drift up to the stratosphere before finally being broken down into more reactive compounds by the sun's radiation.

However, even before they become involved in ozone depletion CFCs are making their contribution to the 'greenhouse effect'. A CFC molecule is as much as 10,000 times more effective at trapping heat than the carbon dioxide normally associated with global warming. The drastic effects of a rise in temperature on agricultural patterns and the earth's climate have already been predicted. So even without their role in the damage to the ozone layer these chemicals are a pollution menace.

In the stratosphere, it is the reactive halogen breakdown products of the CFCs that catalyse the destruction of ozone. What is worse is that because of the longevity of the chemicals and the catalytic nature of their reactions with ozone, a single CFC molecule can cause the eventual destruction of hundreds or even thousands of ozone molecules before it is itself finally destroyed. This means that any of these chemicals released today will still be depleting the ozone layer in 50 to 100 years time. As the EPA argued, an 85% cut in

CFC aerosol propellants has only led to their diversification into other uses rather than reduced production. The Scandinavian countries and West Germany have taken similar steps to the Americans. West Germany has already announced its intention to impose unilateral measures and its CFC production has fallen from 65,000 to 23,000 tonnes between 1976 and 1986.

Those countries whose governments and industries have been aware (like the US and Du Pont) are more prepared to replace CFCs etc. with other related but less damaging chemicals. These unsaturated chemicals react with OH radicals in the lower atmosphere so that they are broken down more rapidly. Some of these alternatives have been around since the 1930s but have not been used, partly because it was cheaper and easier to produce the more polluting variants, and partly because saturated CFCs are certainly less immediately hazardous for the user.

Of course, in a competitive industrialised world any sign that one country might gain commercial advantage from restrictive agreements is immediately seized upon by those who've been left behind - notably Britain and France - and this has continually held up negotiations towards the UN protocol. An exasperated American Under-Secretary for the Environment said of France and Britain: "They're more interested in short-term profits than in the protection of the environment for future generations." But then the Americans are not exactly blameless. They have continually pushed for restraints on domestic consumption rather than production quotas so as to leave their industry free to expand exports to developing countries regardless of the consequences for the environment. EEC ministers favour production cuts.

The protocol is due to be signed in Montreal in the autumn of this year. However, at the last EEC environment ministers' meeting in Brussels in May, the politicians simply avoided discussion of the many issues still to be resolved. William Waldegrave (at that time) our own fearless defender of the environment ruled out any consensus in advance of the Montreal meeting. At present the EEC position accepts a production freeze on CFCs 11, 12 and 113 at 1986 levels by 1990 followed by a 20% cut in production in 1992. Most EEC members also accept that a further 30% reduction by 2000 is necessary. Britain, having obstructed negotiations for months in an attempt to protect ICI, have belatedly done

**A**s we are preparing ourselves for "another four years" of Thatcherism, it is vital for the left to re-evaluate its future. The last election saw the Alliance and the Labour Party do us a great disservice by playing out the fantasy that each alone could win power in some kind of virility contest, when in reality they knew that they could not.

We are already starting to see the recriminations fly in the Labour Party as the left blames the right for not standing on a truly socialist programme of state ownership and all the implications that the alternative economic strategy would have brought. The right blames the defeat on the defence issue, and on 'fringe issues' such as gay rights. There is a mistaken mood that "we didn't quite do it this time, but then we always knew that it would take more than one election to put Labour back on top to defeat Thatcher." Of course these people conveniently forget that even with the most glossy PR campaign Labour only managed 31% of the vote, virtually all regained from the Alliance. Let's face it, Labour is unelectable.

For the Alliance, whose main mistake was zig-zagging between floating Tory and Labour voters, never quite deciding whether it was to be a left or right of centre party, it is now open warfare.

It is absolutely right that the Alliance cannot carry on as it has in the last six years. After all, it was the birth of the SDP that held the growing green wing of the Liberal Party in check. In 1980 the Liberal Party was committed to no growth, PR, decentralisation, environmentalism, and the scrapping of the independent nuclear deterrent. It was the Liberal MPs who led the opposition in the House of Commons to the last Labour government's plans for nuclear power. Even with the brakes on, the Liberal Party has at last started to open

Two activists consider the implications of the Alliance alignments during the next four years of Conservative rule. Liberals must ditch the SDP and look to a "rainbow" coalition. As a green, TIM COOPER argues that the Green Party has its chance to ally with Liberals disaffected with their

up to feminism, which will find a more comfortable home there than it ever has in socialism. It has seen the promotion of the end of the theory of deterrence ("Across the Divide: Liberal Values on Defence and Disarmament" is well worth a read).

What has worried many of the radicals in the Liberal Party, and I'm sure in the Green movement too, is that the Alliance was going to turn into a social democratic party just interested in, as Ralf Dahrendorf says, "tinkering with the system... [They] have no answer to the underlying issues. The new pragmatists are merely survival politicians essentially about the past rather than the future."

With David Owen and his supporters entering the political wilderness - his only hope being to return as a latter day Ramsay MacDonald - I believe there will be little to fear from the new Liberal Democratic Alliance. It may well give us the opportunity for a radical realignment. At the Young Liberal conference this Easter I called for a Rainbow Alliance that should be made up of Liberals, some in the pressure groups, the wider Green movement, some in the SDP, and parts of the non-authoritarian anti-statist wing of the Labour Party. This group should not be made up of personalities but, like the German Greens, from the grassroots upwards. I would hope that its ranks would include people like Meg

## ACROSS THE

TIM COOPER is a member of the Green Party Council and was parliamentary candidate for Brentford & Isleworth in the recent General Election

**G**REENS ARE proud of their honesty, integrity and realism. Members of the Green Party should not, therefore, be ashamed to admit that the party's share of the vote in the General Election was, to say the least, rather disappointing.

Green Party candidates averaged 1.36% which, although higher than our miserable result in 1983 (1.04%), was below the average vote obtained in 1979 (1.46%). A mere 3 out of 133 candidates received over 2% of the vote, compared to 5 out of 53 eight years ago. More than a quarter of them actually suffered a decline in their vote compared to the last election, and representation in parliament looks as elusive as ever.

When the party was formed in 1973 images of an imminent environmental crisis were commonplace - resource depletion, pollution, over-population. We grew because people believed that political solutions were necessary to stop what was termed the "eco-crisis". But the crisis we feared then is now manifest: the resources of the rainforest are being plundered, pollution from acid rain is affecting thousands of trees, the five billionth child has been born. What, then, is our future?

If we cannot attain a momentum of growth which is stronger than the momentum with which the crises around us are worsening, then our ineffectiveness will render us irrelevant. Some party members may consider this to be an over-statement, and point to the time it took the last major political movement in Britain - socialism - to become established. However, after nearly

a decade in the party, I believe it would be complacent to think otherwise. The crises affecting our planet are immediate, not just long term, and it is imperative that there are Green voices in parliament well before the century ends. The inconsistency of the argument that, although the global environment is suffering a state of crisis, people ought to vote for a party which cannot be successful in the foreseeable future, was cruelly exposed in this election. Voters are simply very reluctant to place their crosses for candidates who cannot win. There aren't many idealists left among the British electorate.

### • Confrontation or Cooperation

We need first to reconsider our 'political positioning' (i.e. where we fit on the spectrum of political ideologies), and second, whether we ought to be willing to sacrifice a little of our self-designated political purity in order to be in a position in which we can effect political change.

The red-green debate has without doubt been a useful forum for people to analyse their political beliefs. But those of us who were predicting a post-election influx of disillusioned Labour members into the Green Party are now having our hopes dampened by the fact that Labour's successful public relations campaign during the election has renewed their confidence. It is now more important for the Green Party to seek a deeper understanding of how Green thinking relates to Conservatism and Liberalism. We must not naively ignore the reality that Thatcherism is changing attitudes and aspirations, and will continue to do so. But of more immediate significance is the currently volatile state of the Alliance.

The links and similarities between Liberal and Green politics are sometimes not fully appreciated. It was a

's recent internal struggles for political  
e government. FELIX DODDS suggests that  
"Alliance" of progressive forces regardless of party.  
will face increasing marginalization unless it takes  
party's role in the Alliance.

Beresford, Ken Livingstone, Chris Smith, Jonathon  
Porritt, Des Wilson and Paddy Ashdown, therefore uniting  
in one movement the strands of radical liberalism that  
exist as minorities in other political parties and in none.

It is that social or radical Liberalism that is the true  
opposition to Thatcher's free market liberalism.

#### • A Dual Approach

This group should have a parliamentary and an  
extra-parliamentary wing encompassing the Liberal  
strategy of the dual approach to politics. It would  
recognise that over the last eight years the most  
effective opposition to the Tory government has come  
from the pressure groups, not the political parties. It  
would recognise the significant contribution that NVDA  
has made in this country; when people are prepared to  
take power into their own hands, then change is  
possible. One has only to remember the suffragettes, the  
civil rights, peace and environmental movements to see  
that.

This grouping should offer an approach based on an  
enabling philosophy that puts democracy at its centre,  
as Anthony Barnett argued in the Guardian, that can  
coalesce around notions of participation, community,  
human liberation and freedom. Our ideal would be similar  
to that of Bakunin, who said: "We want to reconstruct  
society not from the above down, with the help of some  
kind of authority and of socialist engineers and other

scholars, but from below up." There is a new political  
agenda to be written by a radical grouping on the left in  
opposition to Thatcherism; one that will bring into  
question our whole lifestyle and our relationship with  
the planet we live on. It should question the ownership  
and control of our society by the rich and privileged, be  
prepared to introduce a social income, and to  
restructure and share out work. Such an agenda is  
about releasing the talents and powers of all the people  
for the common good.

In the next four years we must all realise that the  
opposition parties cannot afford the luxuries of  
sectarianism, unless we are prepared to commit this  
country and its people to Tory rule into the next  
century while we play our little games. We must unite  
around a popular front, maybe the Liberal Democratic  
Alliance; we need to start talking to each other and  
agreeing a common programme for the election in 1992,  
one which will have a commitment to electoral reform.

If you look at the Alliance and Labour manifestos for  
the last General Election, you will find that with the  
exception of defence and the Alliance Reform Charter  
they were both similar. In fact in many areas the Alliance  
was more radical. The problem with both was that neither  
offered a vision of the society they wanted to create in  
the 1990s. The Greens do have the vision and the  
passion to create a better world for all of us,  
independent of class interests. What unites us, wherever  
we are, is so much more than what divides us. Let's start  
working together for a better world tomorrow.

• FELIX DODDS was chair of the National League of  
Young Liberals from 1985 - 1987.

# IE ↑ DIVIDES

19th century Liberal philosopher, John Stuart Mill, who  
created the concept of the 'steady-state economy',  
which lies at the centre of the Green Party's economic  
policies. Moreover, in 1979 the Liberal Assembly passed a  
motion acknowledging that "sustained economic growth as  
conventionally measured is neither achievable nor  
desirable." In June last year the Liberals launched a  
campaign to phase out nuclear power, while in September  
the assembly at Eastbourne passed the notorious motion  
approving closer links with other West European nations  
only if on the basis of a non-nuclear strategy.

Such policies make the task of achieving a harmonious  
merger with the SDP a hopeless one, for contrary to the  
media image of a Liberal takeover of the SDP, the truth  
is that the Liberal Party is about to be swamped by  
centre-right members of the SDP. Take the following  
ballot paper statement of the SDP's 'Yes to Unity'  
campaign: "There would be no repetition of the  
Eastbourne fiasco: under a tightly drawn constitution, a  
combined Liberal / SDP conference would vote clearly for  
multilateralism." What political future is conceivable for  
environmentally radical, non-nuclear, decentralist  
Liberals?

The time is ripe for closer links to be forged between  
Liberals who want a genuine alternative to conservatism  
and Green Party members who are not content to remain  
permanently on the political sidelines. The Green Party,  
particularly Council and its committees, tends to be very  
wary of engaging in the nitty-gritty of political debate;  
many individual party members tend to fear power, as if  
it inevitably corrupts. We need to become more bold and  
courageous. It is safe, but hardly purposeful, to remain  
electorally impotent and permanently on the political  
sidelines. While Green Party members can doubtless name  
Liberals with whom they may not wish to be too closely

associated (and vice versa), many Greens are working  
within the Liberal Party and many Liberals would like to  
help the Green Party.

If the merger looks set to go ahead, the Green Party  
should seek unashamedly to attract Liberal activists  
who don't want to wallow permanently in the mud of a  
hopelessly conservative revamped Alliance party. A high  
profile campaign should be launched to attract the  
environmentally radical, non-nuclear decentralist  
Liberals to its membership. If the merger is approved by,  
say, a 75% majority, that leaves 37,500 discontented  
Liberals!

But what of another scenario? Green Liberals should  
really be campaigning actively against a merger (even at  
the cost of agreeing with Dr Owen!), for the parties might  
then be able to split and diverge. The centre-right SDP  
could do all of us a favour by seeking, and then  
splitting, the Tory vote (essential if Mrs Thatcher is to  
be defeated. The Liberal Party, freed from the shackles  
of the Tory Party Mk II and, hopefully, with a new  
leader, could adopt more radical and Green policies - as  
indeed it was doing before the SDP thwarted its  
progress. In 1987 the Green Party fielded candidates in  
one fifth of the constituencies and the Liberals  
contested one half; is it beyond the realm of possibility  
that grassroots pacts might be agreed for local, and  
possibly parliamentary, elections?

The dilemma for the Green Party is this. Our  
membership, at 6,850, has risen a mere 350 since 1981.  
Our candidates this year averaged 10% fewer votes than  
those who stood in 1979. The Alliance is in a more  
vulnerable state. The Green Party can sanctimoniously  
distance itself from the real world of political toil and  
turmoil. Or it can actively seek friends in a party in  
disarray. It should choose the latter.

an about turn and with a new environment minister is now beginning to show some needed urgency and sincerity.

The EEC's position though, is totally unacceptable to a number of other nations including the USA, USSR and Canada. They want a 50% cut over 5 years and a 95% cut over the following 10 to 15 years and this is still a good deal less than what international environmental groups claim is necessary. Perhaps the one event likely to bridge this gap is the forthcoming NOZE trip to Antarctica beginning this month (August) which may well provide more alarming reports about the state of the ozone hole.

### FIRST WORLD HYPOCRISY

A critical factor in the success of any protocol that might emerge from Montreal will be the response of the developing nations whose consumption of CFCs per head is only a fifth of that among developed nations. India, Brazil and South Korea have already invested heavily in CFC plant for their own use. China has hardly begun to use CFCs yet. At the moment it is suggested that developing nations be exempt from any limits for the next five years or until annual production reaches 0.1kg per person. But to countries like South Korea it is utter hypocrisy for the industrialised nations, having set the bad example in their free use of CFCs in the past, suddenly to try and slap a worldwide ban on an important set of industrial chemicals just as third world nations begin to produce them themselves.

To most greens though, all this is merely a symptom of the flawed approach to the whole question of CFCs and ozone: that the politicians can't or won't jettison the economic system that makes it more worthwhile to destroy the environment rather than protect it. We seem

to think it is worth the risk of destroying the ozone layer for the sake of unnecessary consumer items or military hardware.

Apart from the lack of agreement, the proposed protocol is hopelessly inadequate to arrest the predicted, or possibly current, rate of ozone depletion: cutbacks need to be made immediately, not in ten years time. Moreover, the remit of the negotiations simply does not cover newer products like the bromine containing halons which are known to be even more destructive and persistent, and whose production is expanding at 11% every year.

The politicians haven't begun to get to grips with the problems of monitoring and compliance. The production figures for many of the solvents, such as CFC113, used in the microchip industry or the halons produced for supercomputers and military hardware are closely guarded commercial or state secrets. The only way we can estimate the production of these chemicals is by monitoring the pollution brought about by their use - only then it's too late of course. The negotiators have paid scant attention to whether we really need many of the products currently using CFCs. If there is to be any real progress then the industrialised nations have got to set the right ecological example, which means little less than a complete change in our economic philosophy, or else it is ludicrous to expect the poorer nations to sacrifice their own 'development' at our demand.

The scientists meeting in Wurzburg were fairly gloomy about the ability of the politicians to provide a lead. They fed a "realistic" scenario into their new model of the ozone layer where just 80% of industrialised countries froze production of CFCs 11 and 12 at 1987 levels. The result was a 16% loss of ozone by 2060.

The reality could be worse. It's unlikely to be much better.

CIRCLE DANCING is what happens when a group of people hold hands in a circle and dance together. Which sounds as though it should be easy to describe, but it is far easier to say what it isn't. We are doing folk dances, but it isn't folk dancing. We are not dancing to get the steps exactly 'right', or to be authentic, though some degree of accuracy is important in honour of the oral teaching tradition which has survived for hundreds of years. But we are not traditionalists either, for new dances are being created to music that particularly moves us - it could come from any culture. Basically we are doing folk dances with an awareness that something indefinable happens when we take the most ancient and simple way of expressing our togetherness - by being together in a circle. A connection with our distant past when everyone celebrated in this way; a simple way of expressing basic feelings of community, of wholeness; a way of healing and being healed and working for planetary healing.

Everyone is equal, for a circle is essentially a leaderless form, though also important are the ancient spiral dances, symbolic of a retracing of our steps from the light, into the darkness, back into the light. But this makes Circle Dance sound solemn, which it isn't, though a wide range of emotions can be covered. Very many of the dances are simple

Circle Dances are now a common feature of festivals, gatherings and camps. KATYA GAHLIN explains the history of the dancing, and its main features.



and joyful; some evoke a strength and connection with the Earth, some are 'watery', almost hypnotic; some are fiery, some childlike. We generally start with a simple greetings dance and end with a meditation dance. Please beware of coming to a circle dance session or workshop with preconceived ideas and expectations, for every teacher is different and will give the session

their own particular colour and feeling.

A German dance master, Bernard Wosien, realising that many dances in the Balkans had a significance beyond mere village celebration dances and were in danger of dying out, collected a group of them, worked with them consciously, then took them to the Findhorn Foundation in Scotland, where they have been holding regular dance workshops since Bernard Wosien's first in the mid 1970s. For a while there were a few groups in England. Around 1985 there was an explosion in the growth of Circle Dancing throughout Britain, and now gradually in many other countries. Certainly some of the thanks for this should go to the vision, energy and hard work of Colin Harrison in Glastonbury.

Some of the Israeli dances are prefixed 'Nigun', which comes from the Hassidic tradition and means 'a tune expressing an emotion for which words are inadequate'. Even after experiencing Circle Dancing it is hard to describe it in words. Far better to try it for yourself and see.....

For details of all regular groups, camps, weekend workshops, an SAE to Castle Rd, Colchester, CO1 1UW.

Missing Link community arts project is organising a Festival of Dance at Glastonbury, Sept 18-27th. There'll be international dancers, ceilidhs, workshops and dance for all. Glastonbury Festival of Dance, PO Box 10, Glastonbury, Somerset BA6 9YG

On a recent visit to Hungary, NIKI KORTVELYESSY met environmentalists who had been fighting government plans to construct dams on the River Danube and reconstruct the river's navigation. She was able to learn something of the complex issues involved, and also gain an insight into the nature of - and openings for - protest in eastern Europe.

# Danube Blues



A SCHEME to divert the River Danube along the Hungarian / Czechoslovak border in order to build two hydro-electric power stations and to make the river navigable to much longer ships has finally been approved and appears to be irretrievably under way. In spite of the universally uncritical coverage which the national press has given to the scheme, the plan had become the focus of the largest protest movement in Eastern Europe in recent years. It united politicians, scientists, academics, and more significantly villagers and towns-people throughout Hungary.

The project involves the 150km between Bratislava and Nagymaros, where the river forms the boundary between the two countries. It will affect an area of fertile agricultural land, and the population of 200 - 300 villages. The first dam is well under construction 20km south east of Bratislava, and will create a reservoir covering 60 sq km. A canal 30km long will be built from here to Palkovicovo, near which is the hydro-electric power station at Gabčíkovo.

Further east on the Hungarian side and 25km north of Budapest is Nagymaros, where a second dam will control the daily fluctuations in the Danube's water level. This small town is situated on the picturesque Danube Bend, the chief tourist attraction in northern Hungary. It's an area of high cliffs overlooking the river, with lush vegetation and largely unspoilt scenery. Atop a high peak is a recently reconstructed 12th century fortress and royal castle of great architectural and historical importance to the Hungarian people. The area is reminiscent of the lovelier stretches of the Rhine: The plan's proposers assured the public that rows of trees would be planted to disguise the unsightly results of

their efforts!

The Austrian government, having been forced to abandon its plans to build a large dam at Hainburg on the Austrian / Czechoslovakian border two years ago due to strong green opposition within Austria, agreed in December 1985 to provide the cost of the Gabčíkovo / Nagymaros scheme, and to carry out 70% of the work. The Hungarian government undertook to repay this debt in electricity over a period of 20 - 30 years. The Austrian connection has particular significance in view of another more localised protest recently regarding a proposed dump for Austrian chemical wastes near the Hungarian town of Mosonmagyaróvár (12km from the Austrian border) and another at Dorog (30km from Budapest).

As far as can be established, there is no protest within Czechoslovakia, and the state government of Slovakia has enthusiastically welcomed the scheme as the shipping aspect will revitalise the port of its much neglected capital Bratislava.

Hungarian protest sprang from the findings of an unofficial committee formed to investigate the project. Made up of academics and experts in biology, geology and engineering, headed by Janos Vargha, a respected biologist and journalist, the committee warned that the scheme's implications for the environment had not been thoroughly investigated.

- [1] The geological structures which the River Danube has carved out have the effect of filtering and cleaning its waters very efficiently, enabling the Hungarian water authorities to carry out minimal purification to supply drinking water. The hydro-electric scheme involves diverting the Danube 3km out of its natural bed into a manmade canal, thereby destroying this natural cleansing capacity.
- [2] The scheme does not envisage any cleaning of the Danube basin once the dam is built, resulting in tons of mud and silt largely made up of domestic and industrial waste accumulating, stagnating, and eventually poisoning the natural drinking water reservoir below it.
- [3] The two dams and the canal will create an imbalance in the natural water table, affecting what is now very fertile agricultural land on both sides of the river.
- [4] The fluctuations of the water level at peak and low capacity periods will involve damming the three rivers which supply the city of Győr, and which are also its only sewerage dispersal system. This will in turn threaten the clean Karst water that supplies the whole of this region with drinking water.
- [4] Vargha's committee estimated the cost of rectifying these side effects at £1.2bn, twice the amount that the Hungarian government had earmarked to pay for the construction of the whole scheme. Their findings did cause the government to pause for a short while to reconsider, and many politicians added their voices to the protest. The Austrian government then stepped in with its offer of cash and expertise, and the project has gone ahead.

Several groups have sprung up over the Danube issue, of varying degrees of efficacy and radicalism. They are known collectively as the Blues (Blue Danube - get it?!). The most effective of these has been the 'Danube Circle', a group of academics and professionals who formed the committee which originally directed attention to the project. They have made most of the running so far in spreading the news, doing research on what data is available, though some of its members were employed on the scheme from its inception and had first hand knowledge.

They have also been active abroad, lobbying the Austrian government through articles and letters in the Viennese press, and they have had coverage in the Financial Times and the New Scientist. They publish two magazines in Hungary: 'Watermark' (up to date information on the dam) and 'Danube Circle News' (on wider environmental issues). A legal point they were looking into while I was there is the implication of moving

the Danube 3km into Czechoslovak territory. The Treaty of Versailles (Britain and France are among the signatories) declares that the Danube shall be the border between Hungary and Czechoslovakia. Can these nations simply move that border without referring to the signatories?

In 1985 the Danube Circle was awarded the Right Livelihood Foundation's 'alternative Nobel prize' award. It has not yet taken up the money as it cannot get guarantees from the Hungarian government to be able to spend it on environmental research in its own name, as it undertook to do at the award ceremony.

The activists of this loosely organised group were mainly also professionals and students (this is no grassroots initiative!) but they did stress that they made strenuous efforts to approach people who would be affected by the scheme and to solicit their support - with some success. One of their first strategies was a leaflet campaign: the Hungarian people are not as used to unsolicited printed matter as we are, so they probably did take some notice. Though sadly the leaflets were densely typed, full of technical data, and probably outside the reach of the agricultural workers in the affected villages.

Later a petition was drawn up calling for the abandonment of the hydro scheme. It was collected over many months with no press support, no public meetings, simply word of mouth. Only signatures were asked for, but I noticed that many prominent writers, actors, sportsmen, economists etc allowed their names to be printed as bait to the general public.

At an advanced stage the authorities began to take an interest. The lack of coordination resulted in no conclusive result: no one knows how many signatures were finally collected (I heard 7,000 and 13,000), but 2,000 hidden in an activist's loft were seized by the Police, and others got lost in various ways. The final collection was presented to the government, and no more was heard of it. Sounds familiar?

Another attempt at campaigning was an 'environmental walk' planned for Feb 9 last year, through one of the more beautiful parts of Budapest, Margaret Island in the Danube, an enormous mid-city island park. A single press release did appear stating simply that the walk was to assert people's love of nature and their desire to protect it, and that thousands were expected. That was their undoing - 1986 was the 30th anniversary of the 1956 'events', and thousands of people potentially 'celebrating' could not be ignored by the authorities. As it wasn't a clandestine protest but an open public statement, the organisers came forward willingly. Their discussions with the Police are not recorded, but they were heard on radio and in the press hurriedly cancelling the event and asking people to stay away. The 'thousands' did. A few dozen who didn't were fairly harshly dealt with - although all were released after a few days. But the experience of earlier years is still within living memory and it is unlikely that a similar event will take place for some time. Hungarians have grown skillful at keeping their heads down.

I asked each of the three Blues to look ahead. Had a consciousness been created, or even a movement started? They were aware of being pioneers, of testing the political waters (no pun, honest!) and of being watched by many more people than those involved. But they were demoralised: the fight had been lost, work is continuing on the dam and the canal, and they could easily lose the public energy so painfully accumulated. Two of them felt that the movement was lost without a leader: Janos Vargha seemed unwilling, or unequal to the task. They knew it could be possible to open the Circle into something much broader than the one issue that gave birth to it, but "we don't have your experience at protesting". Indeed, I realised, you can lose the habit if you don't or can't practise it.

DAN MARTIN is field officer in the Justice and Peace Office of the (Roman Catholic) diocese of Southwark. In 1986 the Catholic Fund for Overseas Development (CAFOD) established formal links with Traidcraft, and in May this year Dan Martin shared some misgivings about this with the readers of 'Southwark Justice and Peace News' in an article which we reprint here. It is particularly timely, as increasing numbers of organisations are following Traidcraft's example and marketing "ethnic" Third World products in this country through shops or catalogue sales.

# Ethical Exploitation

TRAIDCRAFT ORGANISES the sale of goods direct from Third World producers to consumers in this country, by-passing transnational corporations and other profit-seeking middle agents. Advocates of Traidcraft make the following claims about the organisation:

- [1] Traidcraft is non-profit making and therefore more of the money goes to the producer.
- [2] It is 'fairer' trade, sometimes described as 'fair' or 'just' or 'equitable' trade.
- [3] There is a development education element in its products / catalogue which encourages consumers to think about Third World products, labour and culture.
- [4] Products bought through the catalogue help development agencies (i.e. CAFOD and Christian Aid).
- [5] It encourages small cooperatives and/or supports producers that have a genuine concern for its workers (e.g. Nicaragua).

As far as it goes, therefore, Traidcraft is an admirable organisation and one which is attracting more and more support.

## ATTRACTIONS OF CONSUMPTION

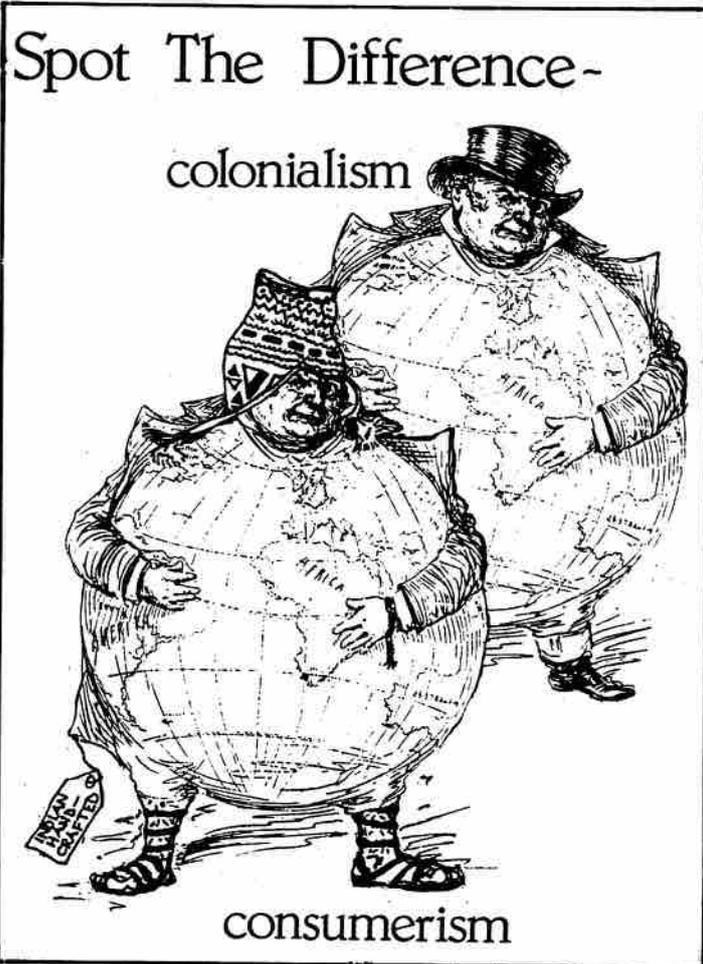
The poverty in the Third World to which Traidcraft is responding is largely a result of 300 - 400 years of exploitation and robbery by more powerful countries, and it continues through existing patterns of trade and habits of consumption. This process is fuelled by what economists call 'effective demand', which is the willingness and ability of people to pay for consumer goods. Transnational corporations are very efficient at providing the goods regardless of the consequences for the environment and people of the Third World. 'Effective demand' is the fuel, and TNCs are the vehicle, for Third World impoverishment.

However admirable its other attributes, Traidcraft does not challenge this consumption pattern but makes it more attractive. Through Traidcraft we can now have our bread buttered on both sides. We can now consume and feel good, rather than guilty. Through Traidcraft we are assured that the producers are paid 'a fair wage, working conditions are better, there is no "middle man", etc.', and all this is good... but it is still a buyers' market. It is still we in the rich first world who determine and kind and quantity of products that are produced. The basic relationship is not questioned. The people we have impoverished must still work for us to earn their daily bread. The irony is that we can only afford Third World products because of past and present exploitation. But why should the impoverished work for us one second longer than they have to, however better their conditions are?

I also think it is quite ironic (to use a mild adjective) to see Christian Aid and now CAFOD, two organisations working for justice and development, promoting the sale of food and household decorations to first world consumers from countries that do not have enough of either.

Years ago CAFOD warned people of the hazards of Third World child adoption schemes, but does not Traidcraft pose the same hazards? The adopted child whose education, meals, medicines are paid for does receive a benefit, and it is a measure of justice, but is it the way forward for development agencies and people concerned for social justice? CAFOD has said 'no' because there is a better way to help children in the Third World. I agree with this position, and it is one which does not challenge or question the sincerity of people who 'adopt' Third World children.

Child adoption schemes have a danger of fostering the wrong attitudes in both donor and recipient. It is an



active-passive relationship. The donor is charitable and the recipient is grateful, and because of the usual racial combination the scheme, objectively, implies that white people are better / better off than non-white people. Hence it sustains racial prejudices and ignores the culpability of the donor in the creating of and benefitting from the injustice which surrounds 'his/her adopted' child. Also, children are members of communities: raise the standards of community life and the children will fare better.

Through Traidcraft small workers' collectives have access to the pot of gold in the first world. Of course not everything in the Third World is saleable and neither is everyone in the Third World employable. Therefore selection must be made on the basis of what people here will buy. Does this not invidiously separate one part of the community from the larger part, and advance some members separately from others?

At the same time - like the child adoption scheme - we can feel good, and rightly so, because we have helped

some people; we have done something to alleviate poverty. But like the adopted child, Traidcraft producers are beholden to first world consumers, dependent on our charity and grateful for our attention. A measure of justice can, and often does, obscure the larger injustice. And to say 'no' to child adoption schemes and 'yes' to Traidcraft seems to be contradictory.

In Traidcraft's 1985-6 catalogue Cardinal Hume writes in support of CAFOD's formal link with Traidcraft: "For too long we in the North have used the countries in the South as sources of both cheap labour and natural resources. By buying direct from small producers and workers' co-operatives Traidcraft knows that a fair price is paid, and that the money will go to those who do the work." But the fact is that we are still using cheap labour and depleting the resources of the South. More money may be going to the producers but it is still cheap: otherwise the goods could not be transported half way round the world and sold here. Also the 'fair price / fair wage' paid is at or only slightly above local rates, and these are determined by the larger social climate. CAFOD's goal of encouraging 'self-sufficiency' is not enhanced by links with Traidcraft, because Traidcraft is founded on dependence. Granted it is a modified version of what has existed before and still does exist, and a better one, but it still relies on the old dependent, first world / third world relationship with the first world partner being the dominant one.

#### ALTERNATIVE

Nowhere in Traidcraft literature do I read of the need to change and reduce first world consumption patterns, modifying 'effective demand'. Rather, we are encouraged to change only our source or supplier. 'Fair trade' is only possible between equals. The relationship as it exists now is one of gross inequality of wealth and power. What is required is a reversal of 300 - 400 years of imperial culture.

Yet Traidcraft lessens the exploitation, is therefore better than transnational corporations, and should be used as a 'halfway house' - a transitional tool - for first world consumers on the way from full dependence on Third World products to no, or minimal, dependence. So if people must buy products from the Third World - and it is difficult not to - it is much better to buy through Traidcraft. In some cases, as with the sale of Nicaraguan coffee, consumption is a political as well as an economic statement of values.

But better still is the transfer of wealth to the Third World direct, rather than through Traidcraft which perpetuates the view and the reality that the Third World exists as a workshop or global shopping centre for us consumers in the first world. These transfers can take place through development agencies like CAFOD, and through liberation movements and organisations in the Third World.

Such direct transfers are the essence of justice, are an act of restitution, and best foster the attitude that 'we are not bestowing a gift to the poor person but are handing back to him/her what is his/hers.' (St Ambrose). My understanding of the teaching of the Church in a situation of such inequality as exists now is one of voluntary poverty for the sake of sharing out of our sustenance, rather than out of our abundance. Traidcraft smacks of the 'work ethic' attitude whereby the poor must earn their right to our abundance and generosity. We dare not give without getting back in return.

I am not prompted to write by the idea that Traidcraft is bad, but because its supporters claim too much for it. Traidcraft is not 'fair' trade, but fairer trade; it is not 'free of exploitation', but freer; it is not 'equitable trading', but less iniquitous trading; it is not 'partnership' but benevolence; it is a better-run workshop for the 'orphans, widows, stranger - the anawim, the poor'. It is not 'radical' but liberal - which may account for its growing popularity. ●

Greens, write SIMON YOUNG, should not reject progressive ideas, whether they come from New Age spiritualism or municipal Socialism.

## Against Intolerance

RIGHT WING pseudo-Greens, who account for much of the New Age movement, have been the focus of concern in recent issues of Green Line. While such reservations are welcome, I fear they could mistakenly lead to a wholesale rejection by the ill-informed of anything calling itself New Age as coming from the irredeemable realms of New Right Yuppiedom. I would like to redress the balance by emphasising that the Green/New Age philosophies are totally complementary, and by suggesting that the perceived division between the two is indicative of a general weakness within the Green movement which is equally exemplified by the ongoing Red/Green debate.

Of course, New Age means different things to different people. To some proponents of 'Deep Ecology' New Age means specifically the kind of anthropocentric humanism which champions the technological fix as the answer to the world's problems in such a way as to allow the continuation of present levels of consumption through growth / capitalism in order to sustain Western affluence. Obviously this ideal is to be deplored, but it represents a debasing of the term New Age in a manner which, I will suggest, is symptomatic only of a temporary phase in cultural evolution.

The real New Age as I understand it, when it does not refer to potentially regressive forms of ritualistic paganism, could be described as the philosophy of evolutionary humanism: the continuation of evolution seen as resting with the development of human consciousness, and hence the responsibility for the planet lying firmly within our own human hands. The mystical experience / enlightenment / expanded awareness or whatever term one chooses is seen as a natural evolutionary development; the fact that in such a mode of consciousness the individual experiences a state of unity with all things inevitably draws him/her to an ecological perspective. The Human Potential movement can thus be regarded as an attempt by various groups to encourage the aforesaid change in consciousness.

Now obviously Jon Carpenter is right to criticise the large element within the movement which represents the egoic, narcissistic individualism of the New Right, fuelled by capitalism, and of course he is not the first to do so (e.g. Christopher Lasch, Peter Marin). However, I would warn against dismissing the New Age movement altogether. It is through a fundamental change in consciousness alone that green philosophy comes to be something genuinely felt rather than merely thought, and any discipline involving elements of meditation/contemplation in the widest possible sense can only encourage that change. Furthermore, the present cultural dominance of the New Right should be seen in historical terms as representing high capitalism/industrialism/consumerism/materialism at its peak. The ideas of the 'rising culture', to use Fritjof Capra's terms, will inevitably be initially manipulated by the 'dominant culture', but this must be regarded as part of the transition period preceding the replacement of one by the other. Just as Greens do not abandon politics even though Thatcherism is in tune with the 'majority', nor reject vegetarianism because the New Right have adopted it through a sort of Aryan efficiency kick, neither should they reject the New Age movement because of an influx of egoic license from the self-indulgent. Instead they should work to encourage a wholly Green perspective in such groups, rather than giving the impression that the urge to develop one's

'inner life' is in any way secondary to political / social / ecological aims. The two are complementary (personal/political).

Equally I would argue that Greens should positively rejoice in the fact that 'big business', and hence the mass media, has got hold of the term 'New Age', and are using it to their advantage. To take a personal example, I write a New Age music column for a magazine in London. Now there's no question that New Age music is typical of the whole situation: beginning as an ultra-serious aid to meditation in the sixties, it has snowballed to such an extent that practically every major record company is trying to make a fast buck by churning out the blandest, clinically produced instrumental fodder under the New Age banner, because of its enormous success as an aural valium-substitute for North American yuppies. So what should I do? Abandon it as a lost cause? Or be delighted that the phrase is infiltrating the mass media, and set about drawing people's attention to the origins of the term and to the practitioners of genuine N.A.M. who are composing 'spiritual' music today? I choose the latter. Many Greens, however, seem to profess a rejection of the necessarily centralised media-machine method of promotion (whilst spouting vacuous but catchy slogans). We should not be afraid of the apparent contradiction between a movement espousing post-consumerist values and a campaign to 'sell' Greens as 'the brand new product in the political market place'. There is nothing hypocritical in this so long as fundamental values are never lost sight of. It is simply a realisation of the cultural situation in which we are forced to act, and it should proceed on equal terms with a grassroots fundamentalism by means of which we can answer critics of 'ecology-as-product marketing' by saying, 'we develop the new from within, preserving our dignity whilst operating under the conditions set by the old'.

There is a danger that the Green Movement will get so wrapped up in itself and its own purity of self-image as to dismiss everything that is not 100% 'Manifesto for a Sustainable Society', even when it clearly represents part of the cultural transformation Greens are advocating. Greens are in this way in danger of isolating themselves even further from the rest of society.

If the reluctance to embrace the term 'New Age' is partly understandable through the need for political respectability, the frequent outright dismissals of advances within the labour movement is a further example of the parochial, cliquey, blinkered attitude of some Greens which reveals both their own inner insecurity (being 'green' becoming so essential to self-image/identity that anyone outside the 'club' questioning their values is attacking the ego itself) and the way in which they are falling into the same old trap of depending for their very existence on an 'enemy' - in the same way that Mrs Thatcher's support is maintained partly by firing cold war rhetoric against the Soviet Union to stir up national pride and justification for the war machine here.

The tremendous work of the Labour councils in London simply cannot be dismissed any more. Decentralisation of council bureaucracy to neighbourhood level, promotion of feminism, anti-racism, freedom of sexuality, anti-nuclear/peace issues, encouragement of co-operatives, community spirit and self help, introduction of re-cycled paper, more bottle banks... it sounds like a Green manifesto, and it's happening right now. The argument that the national leadership is as yet following a traditional centralist / industrialist line disregards the fact that there is a revolution going on within the Labour movement that will not be crushed. The aims of local socialism are gradually enveloping the party and making continual Green condemnations increasingly foolish.

Greens should give support to everyone who shows signs of adopting eco-philosophy in practice, whether

New Age or socialist, and encourage further change. The fundamentalist v realist debate within Die Grünen is the ultimate expression of the overall problem, and complementarity is once again the way forward. Greens need not alter their fundamental beliefs and aims, nor should they reject the advances made by the 'old order' in the transition towards an ecological future. In other words - be fundamentalist in belief, realist in action, and embrace all strands of eco-thought. The alternative is to alienate and turn away potential support. Both New Age on the one hand, and local socialism on the other, should be encouraged as part of the evolution of the ecological paradigm. It should be recognised that New Age is often used as an umbrella term for the ongoing

transition in favour of 'Green'. As a movement it is necessarily becoming more and more politicised, and will therefore be increasingly unable to focus on spirituality as media attention increases (ask Die Grünen), but it can and must emphasise social and economic issues without a sense of political one-upmanship.

New Age and Green philosophies are wholly compatible. The former emphasises the need for a development in human consciousness, the latter the intrinsic value in all life within a social / economic framework. Together we get what Skolimowski calls 'ecological humanism' (I would prefer 'ecological evolutionary humanism' to emphasise the point), a philosophy which unites the two and looks forward to a Green/New Age.

THIS IS an excellent book - the ideal present for all those friends and relatives who are not yet convinced of the Ecological Imperative and the prime need for ecological vigilance in their own daily habits. The book is well enough written for young people too, with its clear and lucid style. It should be a school textbook.

This is a 'blueprint' for individual action, not for government macro-economic policy - but every civil servant ought to read it. Some of the ideas have been presented before, for example in Birmingham FoE's excellent 'What on Earth Are We Doing at Home?' published in 1979. But now the information is expanded and thorough, with good presentation: plenty of sub-headings, good graphics, illustrations and index. All this greatly helps the reader to absorb the wealth of facts and figures on water, farming, rubbish, health without drugs, answers to car pollution, low energy housing and so on.

Two features of the authors' approach particularly appealed to me. The first is the sympathy shown to the reader, who is not blamed for his or her crimes against the biosphere but gently fed with practical advice on how to sin no more. Not that sins are condoned: "Everyone who eats meat is implicated in the crime of factory farming" (p.56), and with this book available no one can plead ignorance as an excuse any more. As the authors stress, all that is needed is a little persistence plus "the power of the purse", which is the key to change in our consumer society.

The second feature that appeals relates to a question someone asked me: "What are the politics of 'Blueprint for a Green Planet'?" The quick answer is that there aren't any, but then governments don't commit different ecological crimes from individuals. Polluting your own sewer is no less a sin than the massive dumping of waste. The personal is political.

More profoundly, a sound politico-economic philosophy is implied in this book. The individual consumer may be a victim of a false conditioning: "the obsession with appearances...the obsession with cleanliness" that makes him or her throw bleach at everything, but big business is quite aware of what it's



## PERSONAL POLITICS

Blueprint for a Green Planet: How You Can Take Practical Action Today to Fight Pollution. John Seymour and Herbert Girardet. Published by Dorling Kindersley at £9.95.

up to. For example, "where the need to make profit clashes with the need to keep water clean, profit-making wins" (p.36); or, "they are only doing it to make money for people who already have too much" (p.38). Bureaucrats are no less to blame. Sewage engineers have been told to "get rid of work" rather than "recover for the use of agriculture the extremely valuable materials that occur in human sewage" (p.30). However, 'whose fault' is much less important than 'let's get it right now' and it is a delight to find a book that is so sure of the positive practical solutions.

Politics, as we are all learning now, is process. How can we proceed against the tide of 'profits before everything else'? Well, first let's get the facts and figures straight. Information such as that provided here is very useful ammunition;

The only possible justification that there can be for factory farming is that it is cheaper - a claim that is heard again and again whenever the inhumanity of the system is challenged. But it seems that agribusiness might have got its sums wrong...There is actually no clear cut financial benefit brought about by locking animals up. (p.55).

This is an example of what the authors call "the power of the pen". One might prefer to say "the power of the word" as a timely word can be very effective. "We should personally and boldly speak up when we find polluters at work" (p.38). One may laugh at the suggestion of painting "Polluters at Work" on all guilty establishments but the person who wrote "Meat is Murder" outside my local Tesco has no doubt pricked a few consciences.

But, you say, we've proved the dangers and expense of nuclear power with facts and figures, and still they go ahead with Sizewell B. The message of Blueprint for a Green Planet is for goodness sake don't give up campaigning and if you haven't started then start now. I personally was shaken out of despair (yet again!) by this book. "Governments do not, on the whole, like conservationists. And when they are scattered and disorganized they find it easy enough to deal with them" (p.180). We need "the determined efforts of large numbers of people" so I shall renew my Greenpeace subscription and go along to the newly formed local group. And to anyone who subscribes to Green Line and doesn't subscribe to at least one environmental organisation - come on! It's only the price of a few beers.

Green Party members will say this is only 'environmentalism'. No. The Blueprint does not urge us all to join the Green Party but the deeper green political implications are there - just not forced on us. You won't find 'Employment' for instance in the index, but it is clear that if you refuse your labour to a biocide manufacturer you will eventually end up with a smallholding or whatever. On finishing this book, I was left wondering how the DHSS would cope with a mass walkout of conscientious objectors from "factories and other establishments that are guilty". They'd have to bring the Basic Income Scheme in overnight!

But my main conclusion was that we're always insisting on a great dramatic turn around in government policy that will save the planet, yet meanwhile, what on earth are we doing at home? If we really did all the positive things suggested by the authors of the Blueprint and urged all our friends and relations and colleagues to do them too, then we might be ready for Politics with a big P.

I must end with one little niggler about the book. It looks a bit Yuppie/coffee table oriented. This wouldn't matter at all except for the stick that the authors give to bleach (p.95). The paper looks suspiciously glossy to me. Perhaps we could have recycled for the reprint?

• PENNY NEWSOME

# ANIMAL NEWS

## MORE ABOUT THE FED

PLANS FOR a Federation of Local Animal Rights Groups were outlined in the last issue of Green Line. The Federation has started a 5-year plan to take over the national animal groups, merge them together and then split their fortune between the local and regional groups who already do the best campaigning for animals. These groups, working together in a Federation, would be financially independent, and more effective in the fight for animal liberation. A national conference in Manchester has been proposed for September 26th.

There are lots of good ideas here, and certainly criticisms of the profligacy of central organisations are justified; but there are also dangers. It is tempting to look for scapegoats, and use the inadequacy of the central groups as an excuse for our own failings, thus preventing thoughtful self-criticism; and over the next few years the Animal Rights Movement could be torn in two, giving comfort only to the animal abusers. Direct Action could wither away as we retreat into internal politics, and agonised self-questioning. But changes in the attitudes of the national organisations and the way they function are long overdue.

For information on the Federation, contact: Gallagher, 48 Gleddoch Road, Glasgow G52 4BD; PO Box 16, Liverpool, Merseyside L24; Greenpeace (London), 5 Caledonian Road, London N1.

## ANIMAL LIBERATION

A USEFUL booklet about Animal Rights campaigning, about theory and tactics, is 'Animal Liberation: The Road To Victory' by John Harris; this was written in response to Peter Singer's book 'The Animal Liberation Movement' which is very dismissive of Direct Action, indeed seems not to understand it. This book argues convincingly that Direct Action and public education together are the most effective tools against animal abuse. Conventional campaigns that hope to persuade parliament are here revealed as a waste of time; it is true that effective action tends to be illegal - but it is illegal because it is effective! As the author points out, 'all useless forms of campaigning are allowed by law, and even encouraged by the other side', and quotes Gertrude Colmore on the suffragettes: 'Those who break the law must perish by the law, and unfortunately we seem driven to break it, since, by keeping it, we can get no hearing.' The booklet is available from London Greenpeace, 5 Caledonian Road, at 75p per copy.

## WHALING FOR SCIENCE

The International Whaling Commission (IWC) has finally made an official attempt to block the loophole in the original whaling moratorium whereby governments could set any quota they liked on any whale species - so long as it was for scientific purposes. One example was using whales as convenient collecting bags for squid studies. 'Scientific' whalemeat cannot be predominantly for export and so the Icelanders ended up selling theirs to mink farms - so those fur lovers are probably wearing whalemeat now.

Scientific whaling hasn't actually been banned, although the validity of any

'study' will have to be proved. The real problem is that IWC nations appear unwilling to enforce the rules on recalcitrant members like Norway, Japan and South Korea. The hope was that the moratorium would kill off whaling before the extinction of whales did, but if the whaling nations help their industries get through the next few years we could see a disastrous free-for-all at the end of the moratorium.

## BIG MAC DAY

London Greenpeace are coordinating a world-wide day of action against McDonald's Corp. to coincide with UN World Food Day on October 16th. A chance to tell the world what you think of the American Way.

## HUNT SABOTEURS ASSOC.



JOIN THE FIGHT FOR LIFE!  
Active/non-active members welcome  
Membership £5 per annum  
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PO BOX 87 EXETER EX4 3TX

I WAS very surprised by your article "Swinging Greens" - not because it criticised the Green Party's General Election campaign (UK) but because it was one sided and laden with innuendo and inaccuracies.

I was the person who called for the expulsion of Paul Ekins from the Party, but your article is simplistic in stating that this was "because of his activities in the tv87 campaign". As I said in my letter to Party Council members, it was because he had made a written statement which went to the media saying that he had stood down as a Green Party prospective candidate in favour of the Labour candidate Peter Hain - which incidentally his local party maintain is untrue. The statement also urged Green Party supporters in Putney not to vote for the Green Party candidate Simon Desorgher; because of this, his local party asked for Paul's resignation, which he refused.

I cannot imagine what worse thing one could do to a political party during an election campaign. But that is just my individual opinion, and for you to imply that the whole of the Green Party Council were involved other than as adjudicators is factitious. I would also point out that I had made it very clear that I would not, as a member of Council but also as the person petitioning for the expulsion, have any part in the decision-making process, and had

## AUTOPSY ON EKINS

the matter come before Council I would have had observer status.

I find it interesting that two other requests for expulsion of members were dealt with at that meeting, yet GL makes no mention of this.

As for the story in 'News on Sunday', I am surprised that more newspapers did not pick up on it given that Paul Ekins' local party put out a press release stating that they had called for his resignation. However, I make no secret of the fact that I and another member of the Council were asked questions on the subject by a 'News on Sunday' reporter prior to a press conference at which we were to speak, and I told him that I had asked Council to consider expelling Paul. I'd have told you the same thing if you'd asked.

I find it sad that we in the Green movement spend so much time having post mortems on internal matters when there is so much campaigning work to be done, but I respectfully suggest that you would do a greater service to your readers if you at least put both sides of a story and allowed them to make up their own minds.

Your comments on the rushed General Election campaign and the poor quality of some of the literature are not without some grounds, but as usual the UK

campaign was run by a handful of people working flat out on a voluntary basis for 60+ hours per week both before and during the campaign. Perhaps that's how things should be in a decentralised party, and no one expected any thanks.

As to the poor media coverage, we certainly didn't get as much coverage as the hard work of the press team warranted, but we certainly got some of the best and most politically analytical coverage I've seen. Finally, the radioactive sand stunt which you said the media ignored made BBC tv and radio news at 1.00, 6.00 and 9.00 on the day we did it, also the Guardian, Time Out, Peace News, and now Green Line.

Jo Robins  
102 Broadwater Road  
London N 17

[Jon Carpenter replies: "Nowhere did I imply anything so absurd about Party Council, or even mention that body. As for mentioning only Paul's expulsion, why drag other names into the open and offer them to the Guardian and NOS as well: my aim was not to muck rake. Paul was threatened with expulsion because he took tv87 to its logical conclusion; and I find it ironic that Jo makes a plea for no more "post mortems on internal matters" (my point exactly) when she claims to have started it all off and now wishes I'd brought other people into it too.")]

## ECONOMICS FOR THE HAVE-NOTS

WE SEEM to have two completely different ideas about what constitutes a 'new economics' - Penny Newsome's, and that of Jonathon Porritt, Paul Ekins et al.

It doesn't surprise me at all; it simply reflects the growing divide between the have-nots and the haves. I wouldn't for a moment deny (and I doubt whether Penny Newsome would either) the importance of the work of TOES, or Jonathon's powerful campaigning skills, but (like John Elkington's 'green capitalism') they cannot pretend that they are talking about a really radical approach to the field of exploration that calls itself 'economics'.

Economics is about the distribution of wealth, and 'wealth' in green terms is having everything you need for a healthy and fulfilling life. But in today's 'real' world, 'wealth' equates with material possessions and financial security, wealth is closely allied with privilege, and having wealth means having power. I wouldn't want to deny or belittle the contributions of Penny's critics to green affairs, but I do wonder if they have ever personally experienced the debilitating poverty which is the heritage of the bulk of the world's population (and a very real aspect of life in our relatively rich country too).

This leads inevitably to the question of whether a 'new' economics can ever be truly radical, and continue to consort with the existing system. It may be trendy to invite the ex-chairman of ICI to talk

to (more or less) greens about the importance of individuals and their environment (as Findhorn did recently), but it doesn't stop ICI making vast profits out of lethal pesticides and deadly drugs. It may be much better to have The Body Shop and Boots selling cosmetics that don't harm the environment, but it makes little difference to the masses of people who can never hope to own a share in such an enterprise, or to those who simply cannot afford to own such items. And can we endorse John Harvey Jones' retirement to his mansion home? Or the salaries of the directors of Boots or The Body Shop? Surely the 'new economics', if it is to be truly green, must see these things as a whole.

The main problem seems to be that 'economics' has become such a mystique that even the 'new economists' have often blinded themselves with science, only to be sucked inexorably into a system which is enticing in its rewards (esteem, acknowledgement: 'ah, so some radical lefties do want to understand what we're up to', material gains) and tempting in its pseudo-expertise ('we understand the language but you can't be expected to - we'll help you out').

The fact is that it is the poor who know best about the real truths of economics, and the intimate association of economics and politics. I'm not going to claim it as the only useful indicator, but I wonder if it crossed her critics' minds that Penny's experience as a woman, as an unsupported mother, as a connoisseur of the vagaries of social security, might give her some worthwhile insight into the real

meaning of economics.

Greens have done some excellent thinking about economics - basic income schemes, land value assessment and local control are all crucial to truly radical reform. But to my mind we should not be tempted into believing that radical economic change can come mainly from tinkering with existing systems, or that it is economists (of whatever persuasion) that have the will, the insight and the courage to promote - and implement in their own lives - the changes needed to live as lightly as possible. With very rare exceptions, to 'be an economist' is itself a luxury which involves cutting some of the links with the 'real world'.

A truly green economics is one which is prepared to tackle the fundamental issues of wealth, power and the fulfilment of people's real needs. 'The Living Economy' takes some tentative steps down that path, though the way leads through some deep jargon-strewn bogs and sometimes gets lost in blind alleys. My impression was that this was what Penny was saying in her incisive and witty way; the resultant defensiveness from the guardians of the 'new' economics suggests to me that there is somewhere a profound (but ultimately unfounded) fear of losing out.

But the whole point about green economics is that in the end everyone gains in the things that really matter.

John Button  
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### NOPE TO DOPE

THREE THINGS occur to me concerning the legalisation of cannabis (Letters, GL54).

Cannabis is a cash crop. In Mexico *sensimilla* is grown between the rows of maize (to avoid detection by the authorities) with a consequent reduction in the level of food production. A similar misuse of land occurs in Morocco where the youths are economically forced into acting as couriers for the drug barons. Surely this flies in the face of the Green commitment to returning the land to food production and initiating fair trading practices between the developed and underdeveloped countries. Perhaps Linda Hendry envisages a day when the drugs industry is an international, non-profit making, workers' co-operative? A vain hope, methinks.

Secondly, most people who smoke dope mix it with tobacco. Not only is this another cash crop produced by an evil multinational, but it is also a drug responsible for a lot of preventable illnesses which surely

has no place in a Green society (remember the beagles!)

Thirdly, I thought the 'Green alternative' was about creating a society which rendered escapism obsolete. I accept there may be good arguments for decriminalising cannabis and ridding it of the rebellious image it enjoys, but surely there are stronger arguments for refuting the egotistical arguments of a largely discredited drug culture.

Milan  
High Wycombe

### LEFT IN THE LURCH

A LETTER recently, and rightly, congratulated you on having "refused to accept a narrow definition of what Green is about."

If only your correspondents could do the same! Let me give but two examples of what I find irritating - far more irritating than the absurd heterosexist nonsense of a now notorious letter. Writing in GL51 Penny Newsome wrote: "Let's be clear about this, he [Schumacher] was a socialist." And Mark Douglas remarks in GL54: "We are on the left, let's admit it."

What those 'let's' clauses imply is: if you don't agree with me, you're either dishonest or stupid." And it's

just this kind of arrogant telling us, rather than inviting us, to think in a certain way that makes a green consensus impossible.

But just for the record, neither the secretary of the Schumacher Society nor myself have found evidence that Schumacher considered himself to be a socialist (he did not of course call himself a capitalist either); and the only convincing argument I have read for considering Greens inherently 'on the left' is in an essay by George Watson which cleverly demonstrates that this is precisely where socialism is not!

Perhaps what we most need to read in your columns is a clear definition, written by green socialists, of precisely what they consider the word 'socialism' to mean. Then the rest of us will be in a better position to decide how far we can agree with them. But nothing woolly, please: just "Socialism is for this and this and this, and against that and that and that." It could even include a modest "It has nothing to say about this and this."

Christopher Fettes  
St Columba's College  
Dublin 16



# LONG GRASS AND TALL STORIES

WHOEVER THOUGHT up the timetable for elections certainly wasn't a gardener - or at least, didn't think politicians should be allowed to be gardeners! Local elections at the beginning of May, with their campaigns in April, play havoc with the spring planting season. Mrs Thatcher's liking for June general elections compounds the problem, so that even though I had the good fortune to be elected unopposed to my local Community Council in May, general election preparations kept me so busy that, once it was all over in mid-June, I could only look forlornly at a selection of seed packets marked "Sow April/May" and muse on what might have been.

I was able to console myself for my failure to become Carmarthen's MP with the thought that, since it was the only job in the area with only five applicants, it can't have been a very good job anyway. Nevertheless, by the time the post-election shock and fatigue had worn off, and the Solstice rituals of Glastonbury and Stonehenge done for another year, my neglected acre had become - once again - a sea of knee-length grass through which the docks and thistles reached defiantly for the sky.

To avoid any misunderstandings, I should make it clear that this sea of grass was of the kind from which farmers make hay and silage. It was NOT of that other kind for which a quarter of the entire Dyfed/Powys police force came searching in our valley at the beginning of July; that damn-fool election timetable had kept me far too busy to grow any of that! I was as innocent as any prospective MP should be, but even so I was awakened by the Drug Squad in person, and was the very first in "Sector 4" to be searched - just to make sure!

The TV story that evening of a "£10 million dope farming racket" was far taller even than my thistles, and certainly bore little relation to the £40 fines imposed on the "racketeers" by local magistrates later that night. Even the "official" police estimate of a "£50,000 haul" in the next day's papers was a gross exaggeration. Though they may indeed have seized 1,000 plants as they claimed - not so huge a number among 1-2,000 people! - their calculations assumed that every seedling would successfully avoid the perils of slugs, rabbits, sheep and accidental neglect, and justify a notional "eventual street value" of £50 by growing up to be very large and female (cannabis being an ultra-feminist crop in which the male plants are considered totally useless for anything except fertilising the female seed).

Such assumptions are so unreasonable that I can only conclude that the "official" figure had more to do with justifying the cost of 250 policemen's time, packed

lunches, hired Land Rovers, spotter planes, helicopters and a month or two's surveillance. I haven't yet managed to find out the official figure for that lot, but I am trying because many of our local ratepayers would dearly like to know.

The orchestrated media hype seems not to have had any adverse effects locally. Perhaps our obvious poverty fits too uneasily with the idea of people making an illicit fortune. The magistrates clearly regarded it all as a huge waste of money and effort, as did almost everyone else. The local newspaper joked that he'd had all the police in next morning for packets of Rizlas. The Community Council didn't actually take up my suggestion of a new category in Llanfynydd Show, but laughed sympathetically. A carnival float a few days later featured schoolchildren dressed as hippies and policemen, with a placard proclaiming "300 police and still cultivating!" Even most of the police taking part thought it all a waste of time, though they enjoyed the break from routine and a sunny day out in the countryside - at times it seemed like the Dyfed/Powys Police summer picnic.

For twenty or so people who were busted it was not quite such a joke, though they all took it philosophically. For over 100 who weren't, it was a whole day disrupted and a gross invasion of privacy. For the people trying to sell one of the few cottages in the valley it was a tragedy, as their buyer got caught up in the raid and pulled out of the deal. The fact that the law is so generally seen as an ass only

emphasises the need to change it.

As for me, I went back to the gardening. After a few blistering days on the scythe I borrowed a motor mower and for once succeeded in winning the race to get the docks and nettles down before they seeded. (I also managed to steer the mower carefully round each of my common spotted orchids, which I had diligently preserved from the trampling feet of the visiting blue hoard.) My grass is now raked up into very satisfyingly large compost heaps, giving me one reason at least to look forward to an election-free 1988 before we have to face May County, and June Euro, elections again in '89.

Our new MP for Carmarthen apparently got into trouble with Mr Speaker for daring to take off his jacket in the House in the summer heat. Honourable Members aren't allowed to do that sort of thing. I was obviously right about it being a bum job - give me the joys of gardening any day! The new potatoes are lovely, and the baby oaks I planted out in March are bearing clusters of bright green leaves. The perennial comfrey clump looks strong and healthy this year, with the purple flowers giving way to seed, and the rowan berries too are forming promising bunches for me to plant as tree seed in the autumn. Opposition MPs don't see so much encouraging progress in a whole four or five year term.

## Time for Revolt

THE CURRENT rows over the proposed poll tax bring to mind the fact that the last attempt to introduce such a tax in England led to the Peasants' Revolt of 1381. On that occasion Wat Tyler gathered his NVDA group on Blackheath outside London, and the young King Richard II quickly changed his tax policy.

The poll tax is no less iniquitous a proposal now than it was then. In fact, it is arguably far more so: the peasants of those days had no votes, so were not being discouraged from registering as electors as many will be now. Nor did Richard II have the computer technology to keep track of people moving round the country, as would be necessary to implement the poll tax today.

Surely there is no reason why we peasants of today should be any less revolting than our forebears of 600 years ago. There must be some limit to how far Mrs Thatcher can turn back the political clock. There are many things that can and should be done to resist the poll tax, and with even the Cabinet apparently split on the issue, there are more reasons than usual to think that the PM might for once be persuaded to back down. It would be very apt for such campaigning to include a commemoration of Wat Tyler and Co. in the form of another mass demonstration on Blackheath next May 28 (the nearest Saturday to the actual anniversary). Someone should form an organising committee: I'd gladly serve on it. Will the new Wat Tyler please come forward?

