

The Beginnings of Environmentalism: Schlesische Bund für Heimatschutz and Public Housing in Silesia

DEBORAH ASCHER BARNSTONE

Washington State University & Delft University of Technology

*Everything will again be great and mighty
The land simple and the water bountiful
The trees gigantic and the walls very small
And in the valleys strong and multi-formed,
A nation of shepherds and peasant farmers.* Rainer
Marie Rilke, 1901.

The early 20th century Heimatschutz movement in Breslau, Germany offers a window into the beginnings of German environmentalism and the theoretical debates over Kultur (culture) and Zivilisation (civilization) central to Weimar cultural production. On the one hand, Breslau Heimatschutz combined the legacy of Romanticism and its love of folk art and vernacular building, with the conviction that a nation and its nature are inextricably connected, to create a unique path to environmental awareness. On the other hand, the movement promoted modern art and architecture, mass housing projects, standardization of both construction systems and building types, and a rationalized building industry. The struggles to negotiate between Romantic values and technological imperatives paralleled larger cultural conflicts between proponents of culture and civilization – historically portrayed as mutually exclusive oppositional value systems. Recent scholarship has shown that although some extremists espoused exclusively one or the other set of values most Weimar Germans were caught in between the two poles, often vacillating between them. In architecture, the split is usually described as the struggle between traditional and modern styles that paralleled industrial modernization in Germany and accelerated after 1871, what Hans-Georg Welter dubbed the “idiosyncratic stress ratio between Tradition and Modernity.”¹ Also cast as the tension between Spengler’s pessimistic world view and Taylor’s optimistic embrace of industrial potential, the conflict between notions of culture and civilization

gave rise to a number of other cultural dichotomies that shaped the way architects viewed and represented their work. These include: representational versus abstract art, intuitive versus rational thinking, romanticism versus realism, rural versus urban, handicraft versus machine-made, one-off unique design versus standardization. The work of the Breslau Heimatschutz reflects the split especially in the tensions between a romantic worldview and realistic responses to contemporary challenges.

The legacy of German Romanticism runs deep and was inextricable from a deeply rooted culture of symbolic thinking. Although the movement ran its course by the late 19th century it has touched many aspects of contemporary German culture, as the eminent historian Gordon Craig pointed out long ago.¹ Nature and the human experience in nature were central to Romantic aesthetic expression. The Romantics idealized emotional responses to nature and natural phenomena: mystical love of the environment, awe and terror at nature’s power, and a sense of nature as sublime lay at the heart of Romantic aesthetics. Romanticism had a strong following in German-speaking territories. The approach was exemplified by Hegel and Fichte’s philosophical treatises; Caspar David Friedrich’s dramatic landscapes; Bach, Schubert, and Schumann’s musical compositions; Heine and Hölderlin’s poetry; and E.T.A. Hoffmann’s literature. Already by the early 19th century, the Romantic reverence for nature was metamorphosing in Germany, into a sense that being German was intimately tied to nature itself, to the particulars of local and regional natural environments.²

Such sentiments translated into very specific local and regional feelings. A Rhinelander therefore felt a mystical connection to the Rhine River and the

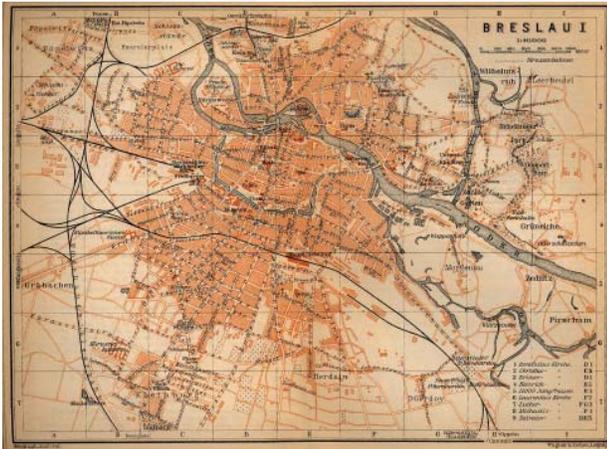


Figure 1. Map of Breslau ca. 1900. The North/South division of the city is visible with the Oder River running through.

cliffs of the Loreley that no other German could share. A southern German enjoyed a similar tie to the Black Forest; a Breslauer felt a spiritual bond with the Oder River and the Riesengebirge Hills. The numerous poems celebrating the Oder; the writings by Carl and Gerhart Hauptmann extolling the Riesengebirge mountains; and the paintings by artists like Caspar David Friedrich and Max Wislicenus paying tribute to the Silesian landscape, are just a handful of examples of the deep attachment to their natural surroundings Breslauers experienced. Nature worship had an impact beyond the arts as well. The hiking groups of the Wandervogel (1896-1914) were one outgrowth; the Natur- and Heimatschutz (preservation of nature and homeland) movements of the early twentieth century another. Members in these groups elevated love of nature and the homeland to an all-encompassing aesthetic pursuit. That is, appreciating the natural environment was akin to appreciating a great work of art.³ Furthermore, to members of the Wandervogel, Naturschutz and Heimatschutzbewegungen, nature was part of a greater German cultural heritage in much the same way as poetry by Heine, literature by Goethe, music by Beethoven, and architecture by Friedrich Schinkel. Local and regional landscapes were part of a greater natural environmental network to which all Germans belonged and as important as literary, musical, and architectural masterpieces. Viewing nature as part of national culture might not have been unique to Germans, Theodore Roosevelt made similar claims about the American landscape, but it was particularly strongly felt in Germany.

The advent of Heimat- and Naturschutz closely followed Germany's rapid industrialization after 1871. During this period the population shifted from rural areas to the cities spawning an unprecedented urban explosion with all the attendant building projects: housing, commercial developments, industrial plants, roads, canals, telegraph and electrical services, and rail connections. As in other industrialized nations like England overcrowding resulted in squalid living conditions; pollution magnified in both the air and water. First founded in 1904, by 1914 it had approximately 30,000 members nationwide. Its purpose was, "protecting the natural and historically developed uniqueness of the German homeland."⁴ Interestingly, although the Heimatschützer organized to counter the negative effects of industrialization, they were never anti-modern or anti-industrial. They worked for a balance between the excesses of capitalist-industrial society and the need to conserve historic landmarks and resources. Perhaps their most important contribution to the German ethos was teaching that each citizen had as important an ethical stake in the environment as in the national cultural heritage.

One of the most interesting facts about the early German Heimatschutz movement was its locus outside politics. Unlike contemporary environmental movements that tend to lean left, the Heimatschutz espoused policies that in our eyes often seem confused since some are associated with the right and others with the left.⁵ On the one hand, the movement sought to conserve the natural landscape, preserve monuments of historic interest, and construct war memorials; on the other, it sought to promote contemporary art, architecture, and culture. Part of its preservation mission made Heimatschützer defenders of Völkisch art and culture as they attempted to rescue local and regional tradition from obscurity. Yet recent scholarship has called into question the view that Heimatschutz was essentially a movement of the right.⁶ In Breslau, for example, the early movement (1907-1930) belonged to both conservatives and progressives.

The Schesische Bund für Heimatschutz (SBH), founded in Breslau between 1907 and 1908, typified the early Heimatschutz movement. When the SBH was established, Breslau was the second largest city in Prussia, and the seventh largest in Germany. It had a population of over 500,000 and was expanding to new suburbs in almost every direction a



Figure 2. Drawings of the Roesler Brewery in Breslau ca. 1900. Even the brewery is idealized where it is depicted in a natural setting alongside the iconic Oder River.

growth of close to 150 percent in a mere 40 years.⁷ Breslau was the industrial and shipping capital of coal and iron-rich Silesia located at the intersection between the old east-west trade route from Mongolia and the north-south trade route on the river Oder. The city was the major inland shipping center on the Oder as well as an important rail transit link. By 1910 Silesian coal production was second only to the Ruhrgebiet and exceeded that of all of France. Even though it was less productive than the Ruhr, its output made Silesia a key economic player in Wilhelmine Germany.⁸ Between 1871 and 1910 Silesian manufacturing capabilities expanded dramatically in many areas: woodworking, brewing, tobacco, and textiles as well as industries supporting coal and iron production. The economic expansion mirrored growth throughout Germany as did the attendant degradation of the landscape, destruction of forests, and explosive urbanization.

According to its manifestoes of 1907 and 1908, the SBH considered promotion and preservation of all Silesian culture within its purview. By culture, the SBH meant the arts but also all human production and nature too. Historically, romanticism centered on the natural environment. The Heimatschützers expanded the understanding of environment to encompass manmade as well as natural features. The mystical aesthetic experience valued by romantics now applied to buildings, memorials, cemeteries, and cities as well as the landscape and natural highlights. The SBH therefore tried to convince the Silesian to foster "close relationships between the external world and his own life." The SBH hoped in

this way to endow cultural artifacts, the built and natural environments with meaning so that a larger public would take an interest in cultural conservation. The SBH approach also implies a heightened, or expanding, awareness of the moral and health benefits of spending time in nature. The Bund's policies therefore included protecting existing natural features like the woodlands but also promoting green development in the cities and especially as part of the new housing projects.

The SBH had a mix of conservative and progressive Silesians.⁹ It counted among its members the director of the Arts Academy Jugendstil architect August Endell, Neues Bauen architect Theo Effenberger, director of the Museum of Fine Art Heinz Braune, visionary City Planner Max Berg, sculptor and professor Theo van Gosen, painter and professor Max Wislicenus, and future director of the Academy and Matisse disciple Oskar Moll. Moll, who was a native of Brieg in Silesia, and Wislicenus were both known for their sensitive paintings of Silesian landscapes. Wislicenus memorialized the Riesengebirge at winter time in a series of eerie paintings of 'snow people' set against a white, glacial background. Moll conveyed the breathtaking beauty of Silesian nature in canvases saturated with rich colors. Effenberger, a native Breslauer, and Berg were both involved in housing estate planning and efforts to green Breslau. In 1929, Effenberger helped design the Deutsche Werkbund Wohn- und Werkraum model housing estate at Grüneiche where integration of architecture into the landscape was a primary concern. Thus, for Effenberger, Berg, Moll, and Wislicenus, participation in the Bund may have stemmed in part from professional interests. The more conservative faction was represented by City Building Director Behrendt and Guidotto Graf Henckel von Donnersmarck the son of the last Kaiser's close friend Otto Graf Henckel von Donnersmarck. As a mark of their cooperative spirit the membership made periodic declarations of their political neutrality.¹⁰ In 1919, for instance, the Bund declared, "Despite the views of all parties, the SBH has assumed responsibility as the collecting point for all cultural endeavors to rebuild Silesia. The Bund is apolitical. Men and women of all beliefs should participate in our work. Political parties change, culture remains."¹¹ The apolitical approach was connected to the notion of the best path to national renewal after the war. To develop national culture of any merit, the people must col-

laborate across ideological divides of every kind confessional and political.

It is hard to believe that the organization charged with such politically sensitive responsibilities as preserving local and regional cultural heritage might be neutral. Yet the group clearly aspired to neutrality, at least for a time. Or perhaps the appearance of political and aesthetic neutrality was propitious since it permitted every group to retain a voice in cultural affairs during a politically turbulent era. It is the clauses in the various decrees, reports and manifestoes that most reveal the mission of the SBH.

The language of the Breslau manifestoes from 1919-1926 betrays a deep-seated romantic attitude towards preservation and conservation. The authors saw their role as "the reconstruction of the cultural life of the Heimat."¹² It is important to remember that by culture, the Breslauers meant built and natural environment as well as art. To this end the SBH outlined an ambitious program that mixed preservation and conservation with promotion of new involvements. The list of proposed activities included: design and construction of housing estates (Siedlungen) and social housing, establishment of an advisory committee to improve the quality of construction, compilation of building norms, preservation of Silesian natural landmarks, and implementation of the Law for the Preservation of the Tree Population.¹³ On the one hand, the Heimatschützers wanted to protect the traditional Silesian crafts and what they termed, 'hand-work culture.' To that end, they planned lectures on craftsmanship, exhibitions of exemplary Silesian crafts, and a fair. On the other hand, they intended to mount an exhibition titled, "Exemplary Industrial Buildings." The exhibition was to feature industrial plants in Breslau and its surroundings in order to show how such buildings could be successfully integrated into the local landscape.¹⁴ The Bund members hoped to influence architects in their design decisions by demonstrating how industrial plants could respond more responsibly to nature, be better integrated into it.¹⁵ Finally, the SBH expected to regulate the public use of advertising in order to protect, and presumably preserve unspoiled, the urban environment.

The SBH encouraged the development and construction of affordable housing estates in

its various programs although it remained to individual members to actually initiate projects and construct them. The Breslau agencies most active in this regard were the Municipal Building Authority, Schlesische Heimstätte (Silesian Rural Settlement Authority), and Siedlungsgesellschaft A.G. (Housing Cooperative) a semi-private development corporation. From 1919 until 1925 the Siedlungsgesellschaft A.G. and Schlesische Heimstätte were directed by Ernst May while the Municipal Building Authority counted several progressive architects amongst its ranks: Max Berg, Theo Effenberger, Paul Heim, Albert Kempter, Richard Konwiarz, and Ludwig Moshamer, most of whom were simultaneously active in the SBH. (Effenberger was the SBH director for many years). The housing estates designed by these architects combined a romantic love of the Silesian vernacular and natural landscape with rationalized new spatial models and construction techniques. Their approach both typified the mix of culture and civilization values common in contemporary Breslau work and signaled an aesthetic option between the extremes of traditionalism and the avant-garde. Susan Henderson has argued that in Breslau May began to experiment with ideas he later implemented more fully in Frankfurt.¹⁶ It is also possible to argue, however, that May, and his associates, used a more pragmatic approach in Breslau that was fitting to the cultural milieu.

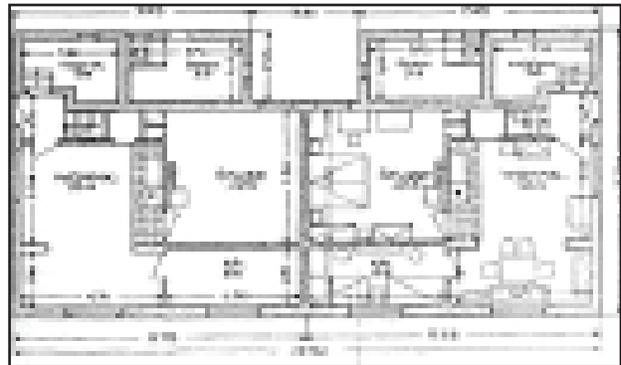


Figure 3. Plan of Oltaschin.

Breslauers and Silesians had notoriously conservative taste. Artists, architects and cultural critics as diverse as Hans Poelzig and Adolf Rading, Oskar Moll and Oskar Schlemmer, Franz Landesberger and Heinz Braune, repeatedly bemoaned the lack of support for new, experimental work.

And in Silesia, resistance to innovation existed across the board in every economic class. Thus, more vernacular architectural features like steeply pitched gable roofs, heavy timber detailing, eyebrow windows, and small, individuated rooms, appealed to the romantic desire to celebrate tradition and inherently 'Germanic' architecture. The flat roofs, large windows, white stucco, and open spaces of the new architecture (Neues Bauen) were viewed negatively as antiseptic, impersonal, 'internationalist,' and therefore not German. Architects like Ernst May, Theo Effenberger, and Adolf Rading exploited romantic local sentiment to their advantage. They argued that traditional forms embodied the essence of regional culture. Yet they used the abstracted image of vernacular architecture as a device to allow experiments in spatial organization, standardization, and mass production that in a flat-roofed, modern-looking house would have been unpalatable to many Silesians.¹⁷ Ernst May's project at Oltaschin (1921) is typical of the approach. Here, May opted for a steeply pitched, saddle gable with a large eyebrow window in the roof and small, square windows on the stucco facades. The gable end sports a modern adaptation of the traditional farmhouse decoration designed by Lotte Hartmann. The roof covers a two-family house, one departure from the historic farmhouse. May also experimented with the layout of the individual units where he discarded the four-room model separated by a corridor to join spaces together in a more modern plan. May rationalized the spatial organization to minimize the building footprint while maximizing usable space and increasing spatial efficiency. His professed goal was to develop a more "sachlich and functional" dwelling.¹⁸ May spent a great deal of effort to develop more efficient, standardized, mass-produced construction methods for the projects which were, themselves, conceptualized as types that could be repeated.¹⁹

The romantic attachment to the landscape was equally important to large housing estate design. May was particularly influenced by the garden city philosophy of his mentor British planner Raymond Unwin. At Oltaschin the houses were grouped around treed common courtyards with private gardens at the rear. Orchards, stands of trees, and a thick hedge weave their way through the site helping to make the buildings feel deeply tied to the natural environment. Breslau-Zimpel (Sepolno) planned by the city architects Paul Heim and Hermann Wahlich

epitomizes the approach. Here, the architects alternated block designs and the building relationship to the landscape in a picturesque arrangement that today seems overwhelmed by green. May writes about his love for the German landscape, "love for nature accompanied me during my entire career."²⁰ May also connected landscape to space, freedom, and man's sense of wellbeing. He argued strenuously for better urban planning in which housing and nature were integrated as a panacea to modern urban problems.²¹ Thus, May and his contemporaries combined the rational and technological values of civilization with formal and romantic values of culture.

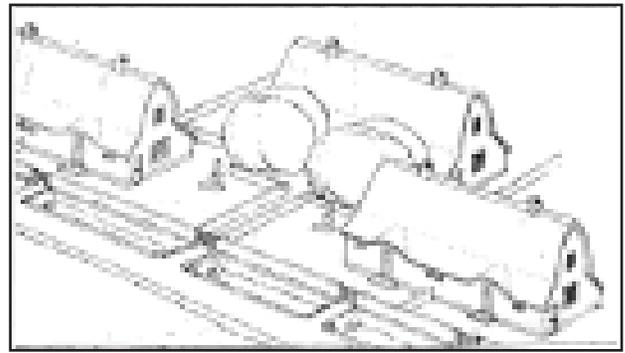


Figure 4. Oltaschin from the street.

Another proof of the SBH's early effectiveness was the achievement of the 1929 Deutsche Werkbund Exhibition's Wohn- und Werkraum (WuWA) housing estate in Breslau. WuWA's planners assessed the 1927 Weissenhofsiedlung in Stuttgart as they developed plans for Breslau and tried to correct perceived weaknesses in the first exhibition. Observers criticized Weissenhof for failing to truly incorporate the natural environment in the site planning and individual projects. Breslau therefore put greater emphasis on green development. Houses had a more sophisticated relationship to surrounding nature and there was much more open space overall. Hans Scharoun's Ledigenheim typifies the ideal. Here, the building is composed of a series of wings that extend into and define external spaces. Beyond the individual buildings, the planners experimented with innovative building systems to reduce environmental degradation. The heating system was centralized, for instance, so that there was only one exhaust for the entire site. In this way, air pollution was both concentrated and minimized to keep most of the area smoke free.

For the Silesian Bund romantic idealism came in several guises: the stated, if not real, belief in the possibility of crossing the political divide to make common cause; the emotional attachment to the Silesian landscape; the belief in the cultural importance of vernacular art and architecture; and the elevation of nature appreciation to an aesthetic pursuit. According to Gordon Craig, a "sense of inwardness, or remoteness from reality, of intimate community between self and the mysterious forces of nature and God" were typical of German romanticism.²² If we accept this view, then the Schlesische Bund für Heimatschutz embodied the romantic spirit. At the same time, the communion with Silesian built and natural environments promoted by the SBH reveals it as a pioneer in environmental activism.

EPILOGUE

The Schlesische Bund für Heimatschutz is one part of the pre-history of the contemporary German environmental movement. It was one of many local and regional associations active from the beginning of the 20th century in *Natur-* and *Landschaftsschutz* two areas that continue to be of concern today. Modern preservation interests are also in part inherited from the Heimat movement. As scholars of the German movement have pointed out however, environmentalism, as we know it today did not really exist before the Second World War. After the Second World War, the scope of engagement for groups concerned with nature and ecology gradually widened. The term *Umweltschutz*, or Environmental Protection, slowly worked its way into the German psyche and language as a concept; the use of the word dates to 1969 or 1970.²³ The new term reflects the altered ethos in Germany where concern for preserving nature and the Heimat inflected itself to become concern for safeguarding the human species in its natural habitat.²⁴ Where early movements had a local or regional focus environmentalism is local, regional, and global. The new way of understanding the problems affecting nature allowed activists to broaden the scope of their involvement to encompass such threats to humankind as animal extinction, pesticides, air and water pollution, excessive noise, and nuclear waste. One of the palpable results of the growth of environmentalism as a public interest was the foundation of the Green party in the late 1970s. Historians of the Greens have pointed to its com-

pllicated origins in multiple new social movements only one of which was environmentalism. But the party name and its platform, which cites ecology as the first among four central issues, demonstrate the centrality of environmentalism to the Greens. Other shifts in Germany include the expanding public awareness of environmental issues across the political spectrum. By 1977, 97% of the West German electorate rated environmental protection as 'important' or 'very important.' By the 1980s all German political parties regardless of orientation took the issue seriously if not agreeing on degree of importance or the proper legislative approach.



Figure 5. Hans Scharoun's Ledigenheim. White stucco, steel and glass, rationalized, repetitive forms of the Neues Bauen together with curvilinear non-rational form.

Contemporary environmental parties do not support modern art and architecture or promote public housing in the manner of their interwar predecessors. In contrast, a green agenda has permeated architectural, urban, and landscape design. The contemporary assumption is that every aspect of the built environment will attempt to be as environmentally responsible as possible. Unlike the 1920s, the realization of environmental goals is divorced from romantic images of traditional architecture and wholly tied to the rational application of scientific principles.

What of the romantic strain to early *Natur-*, *Heimat-* and *Landschaftsschutz*? The present day environmental movement is worlds away from that of the interwar period when Dr. Konrad Guenther, a leading conservationist, could appeal to the German nation to understand the natural environment, "not only through reason alone but with the entire soul and personality; for the chords of the German soul are tuned to nature."²⁵ Yet there is a mystical side to some contemporary environmental posi-

tions like those of Rudolf Bahro and the Green party fundamentalists; and an implicit need for people to feel a connection to the natural environment in the less radical positions of eco-socialists.²⁶ The first plank of the Green platform the Hesse Green List of 1977 "advocates a society in which ecological principles are given precedence over so-called 'objective economic constraints.' Human beings are both part and partner of nature and not its master... Environmental questions are questions of life and have precedence over all kinds of economic and profit motives."²⁷ The language of contemporary environmentalists therefore appeals to the good sense and rational-thinking of Germans yet calls for the suspension of normal human behavior in its utopian desire to eradicate capitalism in favor of environmentally sensitive, altruistic, public policy. Today's environmentalists may espouse a broader program but they are in many ways as idealistic as their predecessors in the 1920s.

ENDNOTES

Parts of this article were initially published as "The Prehistory of Environmentalism: the Schlesische Bund für Heimatschutz," in *Architecture Annual 2006-2007*, (Delft: 2008).

1. Hans-Ulrich Wehler, *Modernisierungstheorie und Geschichte*. (Göttingen: 1975.).
2. *The Culture of German Environmentalism: Anxieties, Vision, Realities*. Ed. Axel Goodbody, (New York and Oxford: 2002). Goodbody points to the connection between Romanticism and the early Naturschutzbewegung. Gordon Craig, *The Germans*, (New York : Putnam, 1981). Craig did not have the environmental movement in mind but the German temperament.
3. See Goodbody and Celia Applegate, *A Nation of Provincials: The German Idea of Heimat*, (Berkeley: 1990).
4. See William H. Rollins, *A Greener Vision of Home: Cultural Politics and Environmental Reform in the German Heimatschutz Movement, 1904-1918*, (Ann Arbor: 1997) and Raymond H. Dominick III, *The Environmental Movement in Germany: Prophets & Pioneers 1871-1971*, (Bloomington: 1992).
5. "Mitteilungen des Bundes Heimatschutz 1904," p. 7, cited in Rollins, p. 3.
6. See Rollins for a detailed discussion.
7. See Rollins and also Rudy Koshar, "The Antinomies of Heimat: Homeland, History, Nazism," in *Heimat, Nation, Fatherland: the German Sense of Belonging*, ed. Hermann Jost and James Steakley, (New York: 1996).
8. See Norman Davies and Roger Moorhouse, *Microcosm: Portrait of a Central European City*, (London: 2003), p. 317-20.
9. Op cit, p. 282.
10. IHA Rep 92 Effenberger. Nr. 50, "Kulturpolitik oder Romantik? Zwei Breslauer Kundgebungen" 10 April 1922, Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz (GSPK), Berlin.
11. For instance, see numerous documents in: IHA Rep 92 Eff. NR, 50, GSPK, Berlin.
12. "Entwurf des Programs," WSPS 1181, Stadtarchiv Breslau, p. 108.
13. IHA Rep 92 Effenberger. Nr. 50, "Bericht über die Tätigkeit des Schlesischen Bundes für Heimatschutz in den Geschäftsjahren 1919 bis 1921," GSPK, Berlin.
14. Op cit, "Übersicht, Über die Arbeitsgebiete des Schlesischen Bundes für Heimatschutz," GSPK, Berlin.
15. Op cit, "Übersicht, Über die Arbeitsgebiete des Schlesischen Bundes für Heimatschutz," GSPK, Berlin.
16. "Der Schlesische Bund für Heimatschutz," WSPS 1181, Stadtarchiv Breslau, p. 12.
17. Susan Henderson, "Ernst May and the Campaign to Resettle the Countryside: Rural Housing in Silesia, 1919-1925," *Journal of Architectural Historians*, Vol. 62, No. 2, June 2002.
18. In his articles for *Schlesische Heim* May reiterates this argument again and again. In "Notheime," *Schlesische Heim*, 1 Jg, Feb 1920, Heft 2, p. 1, May quotes Wilhelm Raabe who links architectural form to the innermost desires of the human soul. The forms May presents in the article are all variations on the Silesian farmhouse.
19. Ernst May, "Wohnungsfürsorge," *Schlesische Heim*, 5, 1924, Heft 12, pp. 406-412.
20. For more on May's work in Breslau see Klaus-Jürgen Winkler, "Das soziale Moment in den Architekturanschauungen Ernst Mays in den 20er Jahren." *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Universität zu Köln für Architektur und Bauwesen*, Nr. 33, 1987, pp. 288-291.
21. NL Ernst May, Vorträge, nr. 159, "Aus dem Leben eines Architekten", GN ABK.
22. See for instance May's essay, "Stadterweiterung mittels Trabanten," *Schlesische Heim*, 1922, p.269.
23. Craig, p. 190.
24. See Dominick, p. 138-9.
25. Gayil Talshir, *The Political Ideology of Green Parties: From the Politics of Nature to Redefining the Nature of Politics*, (London: 2002), pp. 105-6.

26. Cited in John Alexander Williams, *Turning to Nature in Germany: Hiking, Nudism, and Conservation 1900-1940*, (Palo Alto: 2007), p. 219 from Konrad Guenther, *Die Heimatlehre vom Deutschtum und seiner Natur* (Leipzig: 1932, p. 12.

27. "Ecological Crisis and Social Transformation - 12 Theses," re-printed in *The German Greens: Paradox between Party and Movement*, (Philadelphia: 1998).

28. Op cit.