

# green line

A MAGAZINE OF IDEAS AND ACTION FROM THE ECOLOGY PARTY AND THE GREEN MOVEMENT



No. 1 ♦ 25p

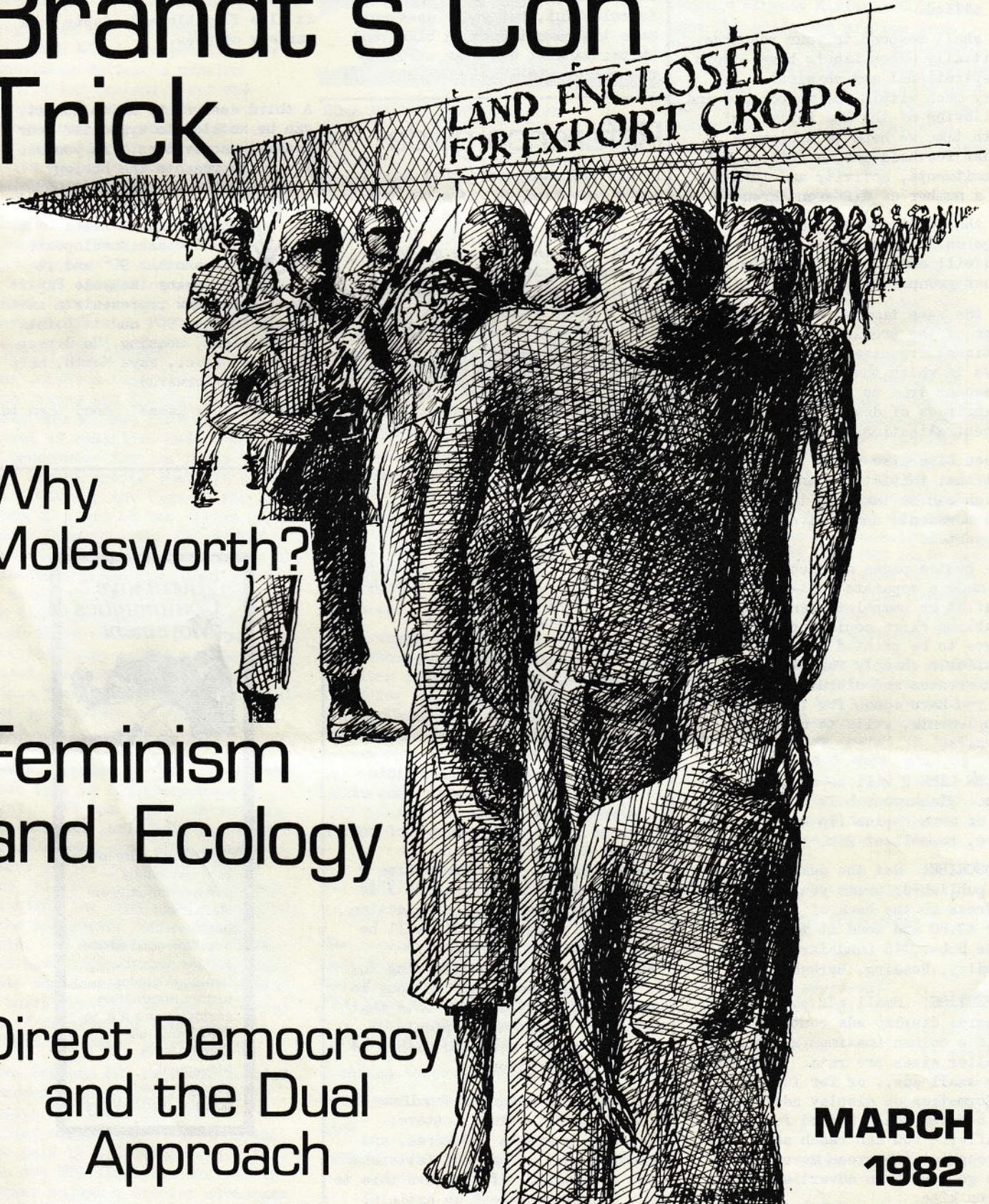
## Brandt's Con Trick

Why  
Molesworth?

Feminism  
and Ecology

Direct Democracy  
and the Dual  
Approach

LAND ENCLOSED  
FOR EXPORT CROPS



**MARCH  
1982**

**green**  
line

14 Alexandra Road  
Oxford OX2 0DB  
Oxford 46079 or 45301

This magazine had grown from a desire within the Ecology Party to see an independently edited and self-financed paper which would serve both the Eco Party and the wider green movement with which it is allied.

We shall respond to your response. Initially Green Line's base - both inspirational and physical - is very much within the membership and following of the Eco Party, but with time we hope to achieve a wider foothold and to reflect the commitments, activity and thinking of a number of different groups.

We shall retain our grassroots page on Ecology Party activity, and will extend this to include other groups where appropriate.

At the same time we shall explore some of the problems which confront national organisations, and the ways in which they can develop in a manner true to ecological principles of devolution and decentralisation.

Green Line also wants to hear of national initiatives and campaigns which can be taken up throughout the movement, and actively supported.


The centre pages of each issue can be made a separate pull-out leaflet or pamphlet when required, enabling extra copies of these pages to be printed and made available cheaply for workshops, conferences and discussion groups. If you have ideas for these supplements, write to us with details.

GREEN LINE 2 will be out on April 1st. Place your bulk orders NOW: 10 or more copies 17p each post free, re-sell at 25p.


SUBSCRIBE! Get the next 8 issues as published: write your name and address on the back of a cheque for £2.80 and send it to Green Line Subs., 16 LundsFarm Road, Woodley, Reading, Berkshire.

ADVERTISE! Small ads cost only 5p a word: display ads cost £20 for half a column (maximum size) and smaller sizes pro rata. Send two for small ads., or for fuller information on display ads. write to 8 Helen Road, Oxford for a leaflet. You can reach activists throughout the green movement in one go - with an advertisement in Green Line.

# Logo search

ECO IS LOOKING for a new logo - a new visual catch-phrase! Hitherto the party's only symbol has been the well-known .

Some people want to do away with it altogether: others want to add a new symbol to be used alongside it. The sunflower logo of 'Die Grünen' is colourful, but sadly does not make the same impact in black and white. And it can bear a strong resemblance to a black hole!

Another candidate is the logo of the former Oxford Ecology Movement, forerunner of the Ecology Party in Oxford. This has the advantage of being suitable both to colour and to black and white: the  ecology party basic design shape is also flexible and adapts to a variety of uses.

## Reference guide

IT HAS BEEN suggested that Eco needs some kind of research facility, starting off perhaps just as a collection of books and a bibliography. In the absence of the necessary funding to set up a library, Janet Crawford has started a card index of ecological titles and is interested to hear from readers about titles they would like to see included which relate directly or indirectly to the ecology movement.

And if you would like a list of publications on a particular subject, Janet will send you one from her file.

If you are contributing titles, please include title, author, publisher (with address), date of publication, price, where available, and a descriptive sentence. Please enclose a s.a.e with requests for information. All enquiries should go to Janet Crawford, 32 Kylemore Road, London NW6 (01-624 0206).

## Deadlines

GREEN LINE's publishing schedule is designed to fit in with that of Catalyst, a quarterly journal produced jointly by members of the Liberal Ecology Group and the Ecology Party. Thus Green Line 2 will appear on April 1st; GL 3 is due on May 21 with a post-election special coverage; and GL4 will be out in time for the Green Conference and Green Gathering in July. Please send copy as long in advance as possible, and note that only very urgent and topical material can be accepted within 14 days of publication.

Starting next issue, Green Line will be printing your letters: please keep within 200 words, and remember that we may cut letters when necessary. If you have more to say, consult us about an article!

A third design, by Keith Abbott, can be rotated to symbolise four separate activities. As you see it, it represents the Ecology



Party: turn it 90° clockwise and, says Keith, it means 'Re-use Envelopes'; another 90° and it means 'Recycle Paper'

(the symbol now represents a saved tree); another 90° and it points to the right, meaning 'Re-direct Politics' (i.e., says Keith, help us to move forward).

What are your ideas? Send them to Green Line ...

*Alternative  
Communities  
Movement*



Take your future into your own hands - join a community or learn about this highly viable alternative to bedsits and the nuclear family. Write for further information enclosing an s.a.e. to the Alternative Communities Movement ( ). 18 Garth Road. Bangor, North Wales.

# Rio Tinto Stinks

**PARTIZANS ARE PEOPLE** against Rio Tinto Zinc and subsidiaries. Rio Tinto Zinc (RTZ) is a British-based multinational mining corporation responsible, through its 600 + subsidiaries, for the ruthless exploitation of third world mineral resources.

Amongst its many unsavoury activities RTZ is responsible for maintaining Britain's uranium supplies for nuclear power and weapons, and is in fact the world's largest uranium producer (24% of world output). At present half of British supplies come from the Rossing Mine in Namibia - in direct contravention of UN decree and the ruling of the International Court of Justice. The illegal origin of these supplies is disguised by RTZ's mysterious laundering company, RTZ Mineral Services Ltd, based in a one-room office in Switzerland.

## DOCTORING THE FIGURES

Other supplies come from Australia, South Africa and Canada. In Canada trades unions have just obtained control of radiation hazard monitoring procedures for the first time, after having proved that RTZ have been doctoring the figures for a number of years at the Elliot Lake mine in Ontario. The Elliot Lake operations have also resulted in the radioactive poisoning of 18 lakes in the area. In Australia unions have been blacking shipments of uranium, though three recently got away after the union action was declared illegal. After enrichment in Britain that shipment will eventually be re-exported to Japan.

## EXPLOITATION WORLD-WIDE

However, uranium is only one of the rotten eggs in RTZ's enormous basket. RTZ has huge interests in South Africa, including the world's largest copper mine at Palabora. Another projected copper mine at Cerro Colorado in Panama threatens to destroy the homelands and culture of the indigenous tribal Guaymi people. In Australia RTZ subsidiaries have usurped Aboriginal land rights and desecrated sacred sites and burial grounds in the exploitation of reserves of bauxite, diamonds and other minerals.

In New Zealand RTZ have manipulated governments to obtain electricity supplies for their aluminium smelting operations at 1/13 of the price paid by N.Z. consumers. In Wales the RTZ aluminium smelter in Anglesey enjoys a similar advantage

## BRIG OUBRIDGE smells them out

with a direct power line from Wylfa nuclear power station supplying electricity at a loss under a long-term contract.



## SOME POLITICAL CONNECTIONS

These are only a few examples of RTZ's world-wide operations. A quick look at past and present members of the RTZ board is similarly revealing. Present chairman is Sir Anthony Tuke, former chairman of Barclays Bank. Chief Executive is Alistair Frame, formerly of the UKAEA. The Queen's secretary Lord Charteris is a director as is Labour peer Lord Shackleton. Former Liberal Party chairman Lord Byers is an ex-director, and Lord Carrington was a director for five years until he became Foreign Secretary in 1979. (Carrington's Rhodesia settlement enabled RTZ to repatriate the profits from their Rhodesian mines which had continued to operate throughout the period of U.D.I. - his and Britain's RTZ involvement must also cast doubt upon Britain's role in the present talks on Namibia).

Most surprisingly of all, it was none other than Tony Benn who as Minister of Technology was responsible for the original placing of the Namibian uranium contract and who, as Minister for Energy, was responsible for the continuance of the contract during the 1974-79 Labour administration - despite a 1973 Labour conference vote calling for its cancellation!

## THE DISINVESTMENT CAMPAIGN

Many County Council pension funds have large shareholdings in RTZ, as do many charities and religious bodies. Tyne and Wear recently became the first County Council to decide to disinvest - but even they are waiting for the price to be right. Councils need persuading that holding RTZ shares is incompatible with calling their areas 'Nuclear-Free Zones' and should be encouraged to follow the example of West Midlands C.C. who have set aside £42 million from their pension funds for investment in local enterprises. Charities are also open to persuasion: some have already disinvested, and Oxfam has instructed its field workers to prepare dossiers on RTZ activities throughout the third world.

## THE INVESTMENT CAMPAIGN!

Paradoxically, Partizans' other major campaign involves the buying of RTZ shares. Last May, about 40 Partizans equipped with one share each, successfully disrupted the company AGM with over two hours of awkward questions about a number of aspects of RTZ activities. The action received wide coverage in the financial press and brought at least two important concessions from Sir Anthony Tuke. Under pressure from Aboriginal representatives Joyce Hall and Les Russel he promised that no more Aboriginal burial grounds would be desecrated; and in response to a question from Donegal he said that RTZ would not be going ahead with plans to mine uranium in Ireland. (The company has since relinquished its Irish uranium prospecting licences.)

It is hoped that there will be even more dissident shareholders at this year's AGM, but for this we need more shares. Shares can only be bought on the open market in blocks of at least 50, and then split up into single shares. Fill in the form below for more information, or to enable Partizans to buy more blocks and allocate you a share.

To: PARTIZANS, 218 Liverpool Road, London N 1. (Tel 01-609 1852).

I would like to become a PARTIZAN. Please send me the following:

- The regular Partizans newsletter (donation enclosed) £ .....
- Back issues of Partizans newsletters at 10p each .....
- One RTZ share as soon as available (approx. cost £5 enclosed) .....
- 'The Case against RTZ' - disinvestment campaign manual full of facts and references. .... copies at 50p each .....
- 'RIO TINTO STINKS' bright red badges, .... at 15p each .....
- Donation to cover postage .....
- Total enclosed (cheque/P.O. no. ....) £ .....

NAME

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PHONE

THERE ARE MORE ENVIRONMENT, ECOLOGY AND ANIMAL WELFARE GROUPS IN BRITAIN THAN ANYWHERE ELSE IN THE WORLD. THERE IS A LONG TRADITION OF PEACE CAMPAIGNING. The Suffragettes inspired women throughout the world to tackle sexual inequalities. Devolutionary calls and regional autonomy groups have provided a constant back-cloth to the theatre of national politics. Why then have we signally failed to produce an effective radical challenge to conventional political parties and institutions? In this article, DAVID TAYLOR sees a convergence in the eighties of those social movements that form the bedrock of our radicalism.



FEMINISM, NONVIOLENCE, ECOLOGY and direct democracy, each distinct in origin and action, now co-operate to present what could be the most powerful and radical challenge to ever face the British state. Community action groups, the Women for Life on Earth, the Ecology Party and the anti-nuclear movement have all played their role in highlighting the links which could bind these four social movements into an irresistible political challenge. Each confronts domination, whether it be the masculine over the feminine, the violent over the gentle, the artificial over the organic, or the centralised over the local. They challenge the mutually reinforcing values of patriarchy, militarism, economic growth and centralism.

It is therefore imperative that these radical movements combine also: together they could form the most powerful political movement in this country.

Each has long searched for a true political home to replace their

present 'existence' on the margins of orthodox political currents such as socialism or liberalism. There is hope that they could now form the mainstream of a genuinely radical force. There is only one colour that can give full expression to this desire for a living, dynamic interaction between people and a caring relationship with our planet. Green is the colour of healing, of balance and of life - the properties that our divided and scared world so desperately needs.

#### FEMINIST PERSPECTIVE ON POWER

The feminist perspective on power structures in society must be understood if the green movement is to have any real chance of pulling together. The Ecology Party's past failure to understand feminism has been one of the main reasons for its lack of support from those it considers its natural allies. National party politics are seen as an extension of the traditional 'male' approach based on competition, centralism

and hierarchy. The 'party' label has alienated many feminists who would otherwise be Eco's natural supporters: a feminist analysis links the domination of women by men with the domination of the earth by men and distorted masculine values. Potential violence is seen as the means by which men use their physical strength to retain power and indoctrinate women into a subservient role in most relationships.

In working for non-sexist modes of living and organising, feminists have played an important part in helping to break down hierarchies in the movement and develop collective campaigning structures and skills, many of which are now used throughout the nonviolence movement.

#### THE PERSONAL CONFRONTATION

Feminism is concerned with correcting the imbalance between feminine and masculine values. Feminine values are seen as those of healing, home making, sharing, and being emotional; with masculine values being those of aggression, competition, domination and rationalism.

Feminism began with the Suffragettes: that led to the struggle of women to assert themselves in a man's world through emphasising their masculine characteristics.

This struggle is now evolving into what is called 'third wave feminism' or eco-feminism. In this, everyone - woman or man - seeks to find their own personal balance between the masculine and feminine, the rational and the emotional, the competitive and the collective. Whereas women are oppressed by outside influences, men tend to suppress their feminine characteristics themselves. One result is the ease with which the military can divorce decisions from their actual human consequences. More than any of the other cornerstones feminism confronts on a personal level.

Men find this challenge particularly difficult; but without a new and dynamic relationship between the feminine and the masculine we shall not have the power, based on personal contact, to build the green movement at all.

#### CND AND NVDA

In the 60s the peace movement was seriously divided between direct action groups and those who followed the conventional approach of the CND leadership. This was one of the main reasons for its failure. Last November CND committed itself to nonviolent

direct action (NVDA) when necessary. This single decision reflects a shift in the thinking of CND activists that goes way beyond the question of tactics. Many activists are now tackling the problems of hierarchy and sexism within their own groups; they are building new structures and campaigning techniques. In fact it might be said that the peace movement was evolving into the nonviolence movement: groups are disposing of their 'chairmen' and are using consensus decision taking and collective structures.

#### PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY RECLAIMED

CND's decision on NVDA clearly shows that it sees its responsibility to rid this country of nuclear weapons as more important than its responsibility to obey civil law. This reclaiming of personal responsibility for the health and welfare of both planet and people is the central theme of direct democracy. Many of us feel that the peace movement is part of a much broader struggle that takes opposition to violence further than nuclear weapons. The principles of nonviolence apply in our homes, communities, and relationships with the planet. The Women for Life on Earth highlight the clear links between feminism, nonviolence, ecology and direct democracy. It is significant that they have become the focal point of our resistance to cruise at USAF Greenham Common.

#### THE SOCIAL BASE OF EVOLUTION

As a dynamic social relation, nonviolence is the means by which people discover that their social power is not dependent upon wealth, weaponry, authority or institutions. It is a form of organising and acting that allows us all to develop our full potential and to challenge the very essence of state power - violence. Nature can be violent as well as non-violent, no one can deny that. However, we have now reached a time when violence threatens planetary existence.

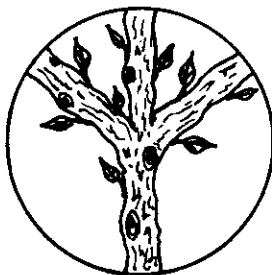
Nonviolence is the necessary counteracting force. Threatened with global annihilation, people throughout the world are coming together to resist this ultimate catastrophe. In nonviolence they hold the seeds of a change so radical that the future of humanity could forever be set in a new direction. Nonviolence is not just the absence of violence; it is the social power on which our evolution rests.

#### POLITICAL ECOLOGY

Political ecology has two main aspects... the physical and the human. Physical ecology is based on the principle that we must learn to live in harmony with nature within the limits of the Earth's finite supply of resources.

Unlike the essentially reactionary politics of environmentalism, ecology tackles the causes of pollution and environmental degradation. All other political doctrines share a belief in perpetual economic growth - the assumption that it is both possible and desirable to ever increase our production and consumption, a root cause of exploitation.

Ecologists therefore propose transition to a sustainable economy putting back into the Earth what we take out and learning to tread lightly and live more simply, recognising the natural laws of our existence.



#### HUMAN ECOLOGY

Human power over nature turns out to be a power exercised by some people over others, with natural resources as their instrument: the exploitation of people cannot therefore be separated from the exploitation of the Earth.

Beginning with those at the bottom of the pile, this level of exploitation has caused massive suffering and now threatens our very survival unless we begin the transition to a sustainable society.

A system can only be sustainable if it guarantees the basic material security of all and allows for full participation in decision taking with the establishment of collective structures. Discrimination of all kinds can be countered in community based social structures in which everyone has a role, in which the artificial barrier between the employed and unemployed is removed, and everyone's creative energies are given the fullest possible opportunity for expression. Radical ecology opposes all exploitation, whether it be of women, men, children, minorities, animals or the environment. The same natural laws govern the interrelationships between people and between people and the environment.

#### DIRECT DEMOCRACY

Direct democracy encompasses both community action and nonviolent direct action. It is the expression of a desire to have personal responsibility for the welfare of both planet and people. Without personal responsibility all ideas of a genuinely decentralised society become a nonsense: such a change can only be possible through the twin motivations of self-determination and self-reliance. Direct democracy recognises that temporal law can deprive people of the right to take control of their own lives. Gandhi said: "I have disregarded the order served upon me, not for want of respect for lawful authority, but in obedience to the higher law of our being, the law of conscience."

Direct democracy can be contrasted with electoral or indirect democracy. Electoral democracy means that decisions are taken by representatives - whether MPs or councillors. Although they may be influenced by letters, leaflets, demonstrations, and - occasionally - by elections themselves, such a system necessarily involves some abdication of personal responsibility.

#### THE DUAL APPROACH

This is not to dismiss completely the value of elections, but simply to show the vital need for a Dual Approach - a combination of direct democracy and electioneering, challenging the state from without and within. At present most Greens channel their energies through one or other of the approaches, but not through both. The movement will only be united in tactics through the recognition and practice of the Dual Approach.

In the 60s this alternative / green movement of ours began to emerge. In the 70s it took shape. In the 80s it can mature as the single most powerful political force in Britain. We shall have to examine this common philosophy and use it to break down the political barriers that divide us. As the Spring Equinox approaches, let us concentrate our energies on a period of renewed growth and synthesis, breaking down the ghettos of our artificial separation and working together to build the green movement - uniting the social forces of feminism, nonviolence, ecology, and direct democracy.

Diversity and unity will be our strength.

# Feminism & Ecology:

STEPHANIE LELAND

DUALISM, PERCEIVING THE world as a set of opposite principles, is an essential stage in the evolution of human consciousness. It is the recognition of the 'Other' which signifies the birth of the ego out of the dark unconscious; as in Nature, when the seed travels from the dark Earth towards the light.

Within pre-polarised unconsciousness there are no distinctions, no sex differentiation. Research into our earliest history has revealed the possibility that psychologically as well as biologically we began as unconscious hermaphrodites, reproducing parthenogenetically. Some mysterious, cataclysmic, evolutionary act of creation caused a revolution in our consciousness in which we began to view ourselves as separate from the cosmos. The striving toward individuation and independence had begun.

The birth of the ego, of conscious perception, is regarded in symbolic interpretation as the birth of patriarchal consciousness. It is the dawning of the intellect, of projecting concepts onto form. It is the division of unity into polarity. The evolution of the distinction between male and female, and between the polarities of the masculine and feminine principles in the human psyche.

As each culture imposes its own definitions and value judgements onto the polarities of masculine and feminine according to its own weaknesses and aspirations, it is necessary to clarify that the terms masculine and feminine should not be confused with sexual differences. Identifying masculine and feminine in terms of sexual differences has clouded the essential dynamic qualities and experience of the masculine and feminine principles. Though the essential nature of man is masculine and the essential nature of woman feminine, each of us is a reflection of the interplay and inter-relatedness of the dynamic energies of both principles.

In terms of the polarity of the male and female principles, the urge to separate, to divide, to individuate, is a masculine impulse. Unfortunately, hand in hand with the positive evolutionary aspects of this impulse exist corresponding

negative tendencies. The masculine drive to discriminate can result in extremism and conflict. Life is viewed as a battleground of irreconcilable opposites, such as masculine/feminine, subject/object, body/mind, good/evil, feeling/intellect, black/white.

By conceptualising everything into conflicting mental images, a dichotomy of opposites is established which emphasises differences rather than relationship. Through focussing on differences we have become caught in a maze of intellectual definitions and symbols and have lost the actuality of the experience. Our primary, unitary feelings have become warped and prejudiced until feeling itself has become something to fear and avoid.

The emphasis on difference also creates a feeling of insecurity and a corresponding need to belong. Hence follows an identification with a chosen set of differences, which only serves to perpetuate separation and opposition. The result is that perception becomes one-sided and distorted.

What follows this masculine urge to discriminate is the tendency to dominate in order to feel secure in the choice of a particular set of differences. By placing greater value on one opposite over the other, a hierarchical system of values is created which infiltrates into the social structure.

Hierarchical social structure is fundamental to a society which is dominated by patriarchal consciousness. Within the dichotomy of Subject/Object, the prevailing masculine energy is Subject, and masculine thinking is considered superior, while that which is attributed to the feminine is considered inferior, and becomes Object. Hence follows a social structure which favours the masculine and allows it full rein while suppressing the feminine. This has created a destructive imbalance within each individual which manifests itself on every level of our existence.

Perhaps the most distressing manifestation of this imbalance is created by the masculine drive for power. In its positive sense power means 'the ability to do or act', 'vigour, energy'. But within a structure which depends upon dominance, on the concept of

Subject/Object, power is used toward a negative end - for the purpose of subduing the Object in order to secure the position of the Subject.

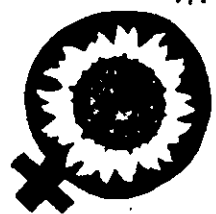
This hierarchical power structure is the seed-bed for the germination of the concept of oppressor/victim, friend/enemy. The creation of an 'enemy' is the fuel upon which the destructive fires of patriarchy depend. Without an enemy, there is no longer an excuse to subdue the Other. Without an enemy, there is no longer a conceptual motivation for aggression and violence. Without an enemy, there is no war.

It is interesting and provoking to note how this concept of the Enemy is used today by those in positions of power. The ramifications of the East/West cold war are hypocritical and conceal deep-rooted corruption. Behind the extrovert aggression lies a web of economic and trade relationships which accrue vast profits for a small elite. While the West quietly benefits from State controlled Gulag labour, the East benefits from the technological advances earned through the labour of Western workers now being made redundant. Yet we are told that vast amounts of our resources are needed for building weapons against the very Enemy we are in reality supporting.

In this light it becomes depressingly obvious that the politics of patriarchy is merely a game, which distracts us from the real issues and only serves to perpetuate the hierarchical concentration of power in the hands of the few. Those few appear to have allegiance to no particular country or ideology but only to their survival in positions of power. Yet the idea of nationalism is encouraged and exaggerated at the cost of many human lives and indeed to the detriment of the condition and quality of life of most of humanity.

Though aggression and violence expresses itself throughout nature it is only in the human species that it occurs over abstract issues such as religious or political ideologies. It is also only the human species that has learned to employ more and more cruel methods of violence on emotional and psychological levels as well as the physical. Throughout the rest of the animal kingdom violence, defined as 'an excessive use of force', is usually connected with

# the Connections



reproduction and the defence of territory, and serves the purpose of maintaining the delicate balance of Nature.

By viewing ourselves as separate from Nature, through seeing the Earth as Object and ourselves as Subject, the Earth has also become that which should be subdued, controlled, dominated.

Nuclear power is perhaps the deadliest manifestation of our dominance. Under the guise of the need for more energy to support, as well as supposedly to defend, humanity, we have created utility stations and an arsenal of weapons so dangerous that one malfunction of a computer can cause the destruction of all life on Earth. If we learned better ways of living in harmony with the Earth, there would be no energy shortage. If we employed our knowledge and technology towards a greater understanding of ecology, we could learn to use the clean energy resources and power provided by Nature - the Earth, sun, wind, and sea.

We are now in a time of changing consciousness. The feminine principle has begun to express itself with the strength of conscious awareness; to balance the masculine urge to separate, discriminate, and control, with the feminine impulse towards belonging, relationship, and letting be. It is the strength of the feminine which can guide us towards a consciousness which, though aware of polarities, is concerned with their interplay and connectness rather than their conflict and separation.

A positive and encouraging sign of

this changing consciousness is the growth of the feminist movement which is seeking to challenge and change the artificial and hierarchical division between the sexes into that of a direct, autonomous, and balanced relationship. Sadly some sections of the movement are serving to support the dominant masculine consciousness by emulating some of its negative tendencies in their attempts to secure positions of power. However, many feminists are discovering that it is not enough to secure positions of power within the current masculinist structure, because this is in effect only changing the content and not the form. Unfortunately the media are



quick to exploit this tendency within the movement to their own advantage as the media is controlled by the white male power elite and is simply a mouthpiece for maintaining the status quo. The feminist movement represents a threat to the status quo; therefore it is presented to the public by the media in a bad light.

The result of this propagandising action by the media is the denigration and misuse of many significant words, such as ecology

and feminism. Both words have become loaded with meaning and elicit highly emotive reactions from every individual. This is interesting when one considers that the meanings of both words are inescapably connected.

Ecology is universally defined as the study of the balance and interrelationship of all life on Earth. The motivating force behind feminism is the expression of the feminine principle. As the essential impulse of the feminine principle is the striving towards balance and interrelationship, it follows that feminism and ecology are inextricably interconnected.

It is time to stop being sidetracked and misled by false interpretations. It is time to recognise and listen to the voice of the feminist movement, which is calling for a positive transformation and change in our consciousness. This change is not towards a state of static equalisation, but towards the full manifestation and vital interplay of the balance of life's energies.

Women are taking the lead towards this change, spurred on by the inherent, inbuilt, nurturing and life-giving power of the feminine, which has sparked a sense of urgency for the survival of our children. Perhaps men as well as women will learn to respond to the call of the feminine, and join in our movement towards a consciousness of Wholeness, in which we may learn how best to live together and to cultivate the Earth out of love and a conscious understanding of the harmony of life.

\*\* Stephanie Leland is a committed feminist and environmentalist and an active member of Women and Life on Earth, a network which promotes the link between feminism and ecology. They can be contacted c/o 2, St Edmund's Cottages, Glastonbury, Somerset.

‡ This article was originally published in a slightly different version in Resurgence magazine last year. Their special issue 'Resurgence of the Feminine', which was devoted to the subject of ecology and feminism, can be obtained from Resurgence, Ford House, Hartland, Bideford, Devon, price £1 post paid. It is well worth reading.

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# Embracing the Feminine

MOST PEOPLE HAVE by now heard of the women's peace camp at Greenham Common. Not yet so well known, because newer, is the People's Peace Camp at Molesworth, the second proposed cruise missile base.

The camp was established partly as a result of the visit to Molesworth last spring of the Fellowship of Reconciliation cycle pilgrimage from Iona to Canterbury, when the Bishop of Huntingdon planted a cherry tree (Japanese symbol of peace) on the base. We were also concerned that the attention being paid to Greenham Common might persuade the authorities to decide against putting cruise missiles there - and instead to put them all at Molesworth.

Therefore some of us at Northampton were keen to do something about the Molesworth base and to find out what was happening there. The final inspiration was of course the camp at Greenham Common, and Ann Pettit's speech at the October 24 rally when she referred to them 'digging in for the winter'.



## MOVING IN

So on December 28 we moved in. We set up two caravans and half a dozen tents and opened our camp with a worship service led by the Bishop of Huntingdon. Most of the core group were Christian, though we have been joined for short and long periods by people of many persuasions and none: all are welcome. The three people who prepared the camp are women, but we call ourselves a people's peace camp - and women and men have an equal place in the life of the camp.

Three of the initial core, including myself, are members of the Ecology Party - though other political persuasions are also well represented. But for me the fact that I am a woman, a Christian and an Ecologist is deeply involved in why I am here, sitting on the edge of a cast area of abused land, trying to live simply, in community and witness against the macho immorality of nuclear missiles.

I would like to share with you why I see things in this way.

ANGELA NEEDHAM reports  
from  
MOLESWORTH PEACE CAMP.

## MASCULINITY AND FEMININITY

The world has for a long time seen in technological advance something to be proud of. A man proves his 'masculinity' by finding new ways to overpower the world, while a woman proves her 'femininity' by going round tidying up the pieces the man has left behind and looking pretty against the strange new skyline he has built. It is an over-simplification of the society we are trying to overthrow, but if we analyse a little more fully how the ideas of 'masculine' and 'feminine' have worked themselves out we may find some clues to the way ahead and to the need for a philosophy of nonviolent direct action as a new way of creating social change - in our own heads as well as in the community.

## A BATTLE WITH NATURE?

The masculine is strong, dominant, the leader, work-oriented, the hunter, the rational; the feminine is subordinate, the follower, nurturant, home-making, the emotional. Society has ascribed the former to men exclusively and the latter to women exclusively; and the former have developed a certain kind of expectation of life.

To be dominant there must be that which is dominated, and men have set out to dominate not only other people but also the earth itself. Life has been described as a battle with nature. The results have included some good things, but also deforestation, the extinction of other species, etc., etc. The need to dominate has also led to war, and those people who have been least successful at killing have become the slaves of the others - and have in some cases themselves faced extinction (the American Indians, for example.)

Leadership is a far more neutral characteristic - but when it is allied to domination it has produced similar results. It has become part of the battle for power in such a way that even those who have sought to lead 'for the good of the people' have often

ended up finding it necessary to destroy everything that stood in their way, believing that ends justify means and confirming Acton's view that 'power tends to corrupt and absolute power corrupts absolutely.'

## WORKER, HUNTER, RATIONAL

Work is a good and necessary thing for the fulfilment of people, but in this setting it has led to a work ethic which praises that work which most fully leads to increased power over people, creatures and things - and helps create the pecking order where those whose skills lie elsewhere are seen as having less status. And 'time to stand and stare' to meditate 'to be still and know that I am God' is felt as wasted time.

Man the hunter is man the destroyer. Curiosity to track and find in order to look and learn is turned upon itself so that what matters is not the hunting, the searching itself, but the killing. So much so that if I talk about the Boxing Day Hunt I am talking about the unspeakable chasing the uneatable: to kill, and only in the kill, lies success.

And what can possibly be wrong with being rational? Is it not part of the definition of being human? Yes surely, but separated from feelings it becomes a process of objectifying one's work - the task of so-called pure science. It is this which enabled scientists to split the atom with an easy conscience, for they were only carrying on a rational process of research: it was not their responsibility to concern themselves with the uses of their discovery, to place it in a social context. This rationality, divorced from all other considerations has not only led both directly and indirectly to the creation of the means for the final act of domination of the earth and all that in it is - by destroying it; but to many other scientific 'advances' which are worthless or damaging to the world, done for their own objective sake while areas that are socially



desperately needed remain unexplored.



### THE FEMININE CHARACTERISTICS

And the feminine characteristics? The subordinate is entirely a creation of the dominant: there cannot be that which is less unless there is that which is more. And in human terms no one can be dominated unless someone wishes to dominate. Yet it is also true that domination is often only possible if those who are dominated acquiesce. And for many it seems socially attractive to do so, since the role often excludes the need to bear responsibility for self. The same applies to many aspects of the relationship between leader and follower.

The nurturer and the gatherer were originally one. Hence the long history of corn goddesses, fertility goddesses, wise women, herbalists, witches. It is as a part of more recent Westernised history that these aspects of farming, creating and healing have been removed from the 'feminine' to the 'masculine' side of the divide by the felt need to dominate the earth by means of rationality - called science. Thus the arena of the feminine has been shrunk.

Home-making is closely allied to this of course. It remains feminine and is seen as the obverse of work. But a short time watching TV commercials should demonstrate how effectively even this is controlled by masculine - represented by male - science. A 'new' soap powder is introduced by a man to a woman who can't get her husband's shirts white as science's answer to her problems. She is assured by means of technical mumbo-jumbo that there is magic in the blue bits: it works, and she is deliriously happy at the way men have helped her keep her man. And so on.

### THE RATIONAL / EMOTIONAL DIVIDE

The careful placing of 'emotional' in the feminine box is probably the most serious step of all however. Emotionality on its own can be a pretty useless thing. And that is how the world of the novel and film has shown it - with women swooning at the sight of blood (unlikely considering the phenomenon of menstruation) and screaming at a mouse. But as we have noted above, when the rational faculties of humankind become separated from feelings - that is from emotions - they become the most dangerous tools of all in our hands.

### CHRIST'S EXAMPLE

But the founder of Christianity, Jesus the Christ, demonstrated in word and deed another way. Some feminists have found the fact that the Christ came as a male person destructive of this view. But this is not so. It was males who, glorifying domination, created the separation between masculine and feminine when wholeness required their unity. It was and is these characteristics, isolated and portrayed as belonging to the male, which have created and are creating the self-destructive society in which we live. Because of the supposed superiority of masculine attributes there have always been women who have striven to demonstrate - and indeed have done so with complete success - their ability to be as masculine as men.

There is still a danger today of women seeing such behaviour as the way forward for feminism, although it is (and most know it is) the very antithesis of it.

It is men therefore who need to make the greatest changes in their understanding of themselves. The need for them to embrace the feminine in themselves is most important for the survival of the human race.

### LEADERSHIP TURNED ON ITS HEAD

Christ means 'the anointed one' and in the Jewish tradition the king was anointed by the priest prophet. God's voice was always paramount. And Jesus was anointed by a woman - probably an outcast woman, a prostitute, at that.

And he turned leadership on its head by showing that only one who takes the role of a servant can lead. He turned domination, the love of power, into the power of love - choosing ultimate self-sacrifice rather than the sword and violence. He lived the life of a healer; not as a scientific rationalist (though such medical means were known in his day, especially in Egypt) but in the tradition of the witch, using the properties of mud, the power of the word, and the creative nurturing strength of touch and trust.

### HARMONY OF THE EARTH

His ways of teaching in simile and metaphor referred to the natural life of earth, plants and animals not as something to fight with but as something to work with and accept

in harmony. And he achieved victory not by destroying the enemy but by reconciliation through his own death; which resulted not from war but from a life made up of acts of nonviolent direct action.

It is right and inevitable that as Christians we should be involved in nonviolent direct action, empowered by the love of one who came to show what true humanity could look like and who broke the bond of sin. Sin was and is the masculine - but not exclusively male - belief that man can and should dominate the earth and mould it to his needs regardless of the needs of all else that lives here - including other people and the very earth itself.

And it is right and inevitable also that women should be here. For we have not had our emotional, creating, nurturing, healing gifts flattened by the demand that we be objective and powerful. We have learnt other means of living with each other than by hierarchy, other means of relating to the earth than by raping it.

### ECOLOGY IN THOUGHT AND DEED

It is by recreating a positive understanding of the 'feminine' in women and men that we begin to think and act ecologically; it is by understanding Christ's teaching on wholeness (and the similar teaching of many other great prophets and religions - especially that of the American Indians) that we can begin to feel ecologically.

Here at Molesworth we have before us all the time the great dividing line on which the whole world now unconsciously stands between the abyss of total destruction of the earth - the final rape - and the rolling plains leading to a new, sustainable, caring, trusting society. We cannot forget. If people can be helped to recognise the existence of this choice, maybe there is hope for future.

\*\* Molesworth Peace Camp is holding teach-ins on NVDA late on

Saturday afternoons. They welcome visitors. The Camp's phone contact is Helen Lowe on Clopton 257. The Camp is halfway between the villages of Old Weston and Brington north of the Huntingdon - Kettering road (A604). Its address is: People's Peace Camp - Molesworth, Old Weston Road, Brington, Cambs.

### JOIN THE ECOLOGY PARTY!

The annual subscription is £6 (couples £9), with half rates for students, pensioners and claimants. Send your cheque to Ecology Party (GL1), 36/38 Clapham Road, London SW9 0JQ. You will be put in touch with your nearest branch.

I OFTEN WONDER as I sit here in my little pegtiled house on the east bank of the River Stour in Ashford (which is closer to Calais than to Trafalgar Square) how other people motivate and visualise the role of their Eco branch. The advent of Green Line gives me the opportunity to find out and you the opportunity to tell me - and, through me, the rest of the green movement.

This section is about your branch: what you are trying to achieve, your successes and failures. We all run jumble sales and drink coffee: what I want here are the great experiments in branch politics and organisation. And if as an individual you've got a brilliant idea that no one else will listen to, send it in: perhaps we can use it here, and someone may take it up.

All this will founder if you don't put pen to paper. Write direct to me (Martin Collins) at 46, Hythe Road, Ashford, Kent. And do make sure I'm getting copies of all your branch and area newsletters too.

#### ROUND THE BRANCHES

##### TORBAY

One of the 'in' things at the moment is Nuclear Free Zone campaigns. Torbay have got themselves good spreads in their local papers from their NFZ campaign - with quotes like "Although Torbay is not famous for trail-blazing policies it would be a comfort to the great many concerned residents of Torbay to see councillors' heads rising from the sand and standing up over this vitally important issue."

##### HASTINGS

Scanning the first issue of 'Hourglass' from Hastings, I first thought, "Oh no! Not the SDP raising its ugly head again!" When I read it more closely I realised I was wrong. Or was I? See what you think ...

"Now that the Central Ground is no longer apparently required for cricket, there are plenty of helpful people offering to do something with it for us. Nothing simpler, you might have thought - a green meadow ready-made in the centre of town: imagine exhausted shoppers being able to relax their feet on grass rather than pavement and get out of the rush and noise of the traffic for a few minutes. A few trees might be planted to improve the view and attract some (non-pigeon!) bird life, and some seats and maybe a small cafeteria would be pleasant.

# Grassroots

Round-up of branch and area activities  
compiled by Martin Collins and others

It could become quite a lovely spot, very easily...

That is not, of course, what is going to happen."

Hourglass then goes on to describe a typical developers' dream.

##### ASHFORD

At least two local Eco members were persuaded to attend an SDP public meeting. The South-East area co-ordinator wrote in his newsletter afterwards:

"The rise of the SDP ... has raised the hopes that this new party might provide ready answers to some pressing problems. One particular attraction has been the pretence that members would be encouraged to help decide policy, and I must admit that I was persuaded by some of its members to go to a meeting for this reason.

"We were all in for shattering disillusionment! After a very boring and inaccurate speech by a pompous 'renegade' Labour MP Questions were limited to one per person and the discussion was brought to an early close. I then took the opportunity personally to question this MP on how members would be able to contribute to policies. To my astonishment he produced from his pocket a 'constitution' where all the main policies were laid down: continued membership of the EEC, encouraging the stationing of cruise missiles in England, etc., etc. As he put it to me: 'If you don't agree with these policies, don't join our party.' So I will not. Perhaps even more importantly he made it quite clear that SDP MPs will represent the electors, not be delegates - and will thus be free to vote any way they wish without necessarily any regard for the wishes of the electors: just as it is now!"

##### CHELTENHAM

North Cotswold branch is collecting used Christmas Cards: they'll be cutting out the pictures and pasting them onto clean cards, to be sold to raise funds. If you can donate funds or labour, please contact Martin or Caroline Davis, Hill View, Sevenhampton, Cheltenham (Andoversford 474) - or look Martin out at the Bridlington conference.

##### COVENTRY

There has been some doubt whether Coventry had a branch of the Ecology Party or not. While there purported to be a local secretary, the branch certainly wasn't listed by West Midlands. And local FoE coordinator Paul Braithwaite, who is an Eco member too, has not lacked encouragement in turning the old 'branch' over and trying to set up something more active and outgoing.

According to Paul, people had got the impression that ecology in Coventry was more about one or two personalities than about ideas and politics. And it seems that many of the enquiries that stemmed from the General Election in 1979 went unanswered. Paul has also got the impression that some people were put off by being asked to take on too much - a happy member is more likely to be of long-term value, says Paul - and that the branch had tried to cover too large an area.

With a nucleus of eight members willing to 'get involved' Coventry is now getting off the ground - with its sights restricted to the city itself. The launch meeting is to be on the need of the car industry to make socially useful products, and they hope for good media coverage for some important points on employment in 'car city'.

Coventry welcomes 'any other advice and potential local involvement'. If that means you, then write to Paul Braithwaite at 5, Kenelm Court, 555 London Road, Coventry.

##### CROYDON

So the Hunger Campaign in Croydon paid off in cash - and in approval in at least one quarter. The following letter was received from Martin Bax, associate director of Christian Aid:

"I am very happy to be able to enclose our receipt for the very generous donation of £200 on behalf of the Ecology Party.

We at Christian Aid have been very interested in the activities of the Ecology Party in relation to recent by-election campaigns, and would like to congratulate you on involving so many people in rethinking their ideas about the world in which we live. We have no doubt that in the long run you will also have increasing support at the polls."

# Eco beats Labour to fourth

North Cotswold's Eco candidate Harry Kemp took 9.3% of the vote (253 votes) in a District Council by-election in Cheltenham on Feb. 11, pushing Labour into fourth place with only 140 votes (5.1%). The seat was won by the Tories with a 5% margin over SDP who went to town with the paperwork: Eco scouts spotted 10 separate items, including an anti-Eco broadsheet. The Eco campaign was active, with 40% of households spoken to in the canvassing. Martin Davis comments: "We must join in the identifying of issues, not bang away with too much theory. We must be super-practical to dispel our image of airy-fairy. We must be prepared to campaign (as opposed to canvas) 100% of the electorate. We don't stand a chance otherwise."

In another, largely bedsitter, ward last September, Tories retained a seat elsewhere with 50% of the vote: Eco's Chris Eldon Lee polled just 3.9% after canvassing reached at most 15% of households.

## Slough

Slough Eco contested two by-elections on December 10 in Joan Lestor's marginal Labour seat. In a Parish Council election at Britwell, Edward O'Reilly took 27% of the meagre 21% turnout in a straight fight with Labour. Over 2,000 households were canvassed.

On the same day O'Reilly also stood for Slough Council - in (from Eco's point of view) the least promising ward in the town, a GLC overspill estate where Labour inherited a massive majority. While an Alliance candidate routed Labour and took over with 54% of the vote, and despite the fact that the Tories again kept out, Eco polled only 2% - just 21 votes.

\*\* Some interesting ideas on party structure are coming in. There is a proposal to set up a 'remote region' to handle people who are not part of a branch structure or live in a remote area. Another idea is to set up a 'Young Eco' movement. We've asked the originators of these ideas to expand them somewhat for the next issue of Green Line, but your comments at this stage are very welcome.

# Santa in



WHEN THE TWO Eco branches in Oxford decided to book the Town Hall and risk £150 on a pre-Christmas 'Alternative Bazaar', the last thing they expected to do was make a profit. Yet by 4 p.m. on Saturday November 28 they had made over £350 clear - and some 1500 adults (plus a great many children) had come through the doors.

What are the lessons to be learnt? Well, the Town Hall in Oxford is well placed just a few yards from the busiest corner in town. So it was easy to stand outside and hand out 1500 leaflets to people (each with a big smiling Santa inviting them in); and the rickshaw which toured the town centre from time to time was also very visible. Coming just three weeks before Christmas, too, there was an incentive for people to go in search of unusual gifts, and this they did.

Almost 30 different organisations and individuals took part, and it was the tremendous variety of stalls which gave the event its unique character. Stallholders were asked in advance to write their own entries in the programme, copies of which were given to each visitor as they paid their 10p admission (children were free.)

Some of the stalls were geared to Christmas and packed with gifts. Others concentrated mainly on propaganda and literature. They ranged from craftspeople, through practical groups like the Oxfordshire Self-Sufficiency Group and the Lower Shaw Farm residential centre, to organisations like the Peace Pledge Union, a natural health group, and the local Anti-Nuclear Campaign. With the inclusion of such groups as Education Otherwise, the Minority Rights Group, and the Development Education Centre, we hoped that people might get a rather broader picture than usual of the concerns of ecologists.

Each stall paid a fee: £12 for a 12' stall, £6 for half that. The

organisers had expected some difficulty in finding enough takers to cover the hire of the hall: in the event, every available table was booked. The Ecology Party profile was fairly low: we ran our own tombola, white elephant, and literature stalls - all of which contributed to our profits - and took the entrance money, but our main attempt at direct propaganda was limited to the back of the programme.

A static display of cycle trailers and various adaptations was set up on the stage, and drew much interest. We shall have to think of something different next time. An attempt at live music failed for various reasons, and other experiences suggest that music of a routine kind (a local silver band, for example) just doesn't pull people in anyway. The answer is probably to try and get a big name to come and open the event and perform too: Oxford didn't manage to come up with anyone.

The other attraction was of course food - continuous excellent refreshments provided by a whole-food co-operative from Aylesbury. They paid us 10% of their takings, which only just covered the cost of the extra room we booked to accommodate them: if we had been able to find more helpers ourselves and organise the food from the local branches, then we'd have cleared another £150 or so...

As it was, we used about 20 helpers on the day. As most of the stalls were run by other organisations we had remarkably little to do, and the advance preparations were mainly clerical. All in all it proved a fairly trouble-free way of staging a substantial, well-attended and profitable event.

We've booked the hall again for this year...

\*\* Copies of the programme are available from Green Line for a s.a.e.

# Greenham Common

ON THE SPRING Equinox and Mothers' Day - Sunday March 21st - Greenham Common Women's Peace Camp is organising a Festival 'celebrating life'. The Festival will take place at all six gates of the RAF camp, with a different theme at each. There are to be the Women's Gate, Music Gate, Religious Gate, Green Gate, New Age Gate, and Artists' Gate. More information on the Green Gate is available from Ann Waterhouse on Reading (0734) 478297.

In the evening a blockade of the base is planned, and this will be strictly a women-only event. To prevent this direct action becoming violent, the women at the Peace Camp emphasise that all women who intend to take part should attend their training session at the Peace Camp on the weekend of March 6/7, or get in touch with them about running a similar training session for their own group.

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# Life style

IT IS BEING suggested that ecologists should support the Life Style Movement, and a motion to this effect is on the agenda at an Ecology Party conference to be held later this month. JUDITH PRITCHARD explains why:

## Green students

AT ITS ANNUAL General Meeting recently, the Student Ecology Movement decided to contest four of the five top posts at the NUS Annual Conference in March. This will include that of president. Also planned for the conference week is a stall, and a fringe meeting on NVDA.

Policy discussions included topics such as education, NVDA, the ANC Consumer Campaign, and Sizewell B. A debate on SEM's relationship to the Ecology Party was inconclusive, and a postal ballot of members is to be held on the subject.

The next SEM meeting will be on June 26, venue to be decided. More information is available from Neil Jacques, 27 Caplestone Close, Lambton 6, Washington, Tyne & Wear, NE38 0PT.

## Lead handbook

CLEAR - THE CAMPAIGN for Lead-free Air - was launched at the end of January with tremendous media publicity. What few people know is that CLEAR has produced an excellent campaign handbook, superbly laid out, which is packed with the background information needed for a local campaign. It is available for £1.50 from CLEAR, 2 Northdown Street, London N1 9BG; or send £3 and you will receive additional material and be placed on the mailing list for the Clear newspaper.

The movement emanated from Bristol cathedral in the early 70s. Against a background of profligate spending in Britain, contrasted with mounting poverty overseas, individuals were invited to make a post-card declaration of intent to adopt a simple life-style. Inspired perhaps by the Bishop of Winchester's book 'Enough is Enough' they were encouraged to abjure the blandishments of the advertisers and the temptation towards mounting acquisitiveness. No specific rules were laid down. Instead suggestions were made, such as going without a meal, avoiding waste, setting aside a fixed proportion of income to be given away, the practice of unostentatious hospitality. A spirit of light-hearted enterprise was enjoined.

### A NEW POLITICAL EMPHASIS

The commitment can be signed by subscribers to any creed or none. In some areas cell groups are arising for mutual support and furtherance of new ideas. After a modest start the movement has recently taken a forward leap with regular conferences and an updated newsletter. A call to members to participate in social or political action has given it a new emphasis.

It is the call to political action which is most likely to win the approval both of members of the Ecology Party and of the ecological wings of other parties. Committed political activists should not overlook the Lifestyle Movement since it presents an opportunity for making contact with people who may be taking their first tentative steps into the political field. Such people, who have gladly accepted the simple discipline of the Life Style Movement, may in their turn have much to offer.

Further information may be had from The Life Style Central Correspondent, Bristol BS1 5TJ; or from me at 58 Quest Hills Road, Malvern, Worcs.

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and our London Bookshop, 64-66 Charing Cross Road, WC2, for a wide range of books by and for the left. New and secondhand books on politics, economics, history, and trade unions. Literature, pamphlets and journals. (Telephone: 01 836 6306)

# BRANDT REPORT CON TRICK

800 million people in the Third World are underfed. Millions have starved to death. But world shortage of food is not a cause of that starvation. "Present world grain food production alone would provide every person on earth with more than 3000 calories a day." (Lappe and Collins.) Population growth is not at present a cause. "Between 1952 and 1972 86% of the population living in underdeveloped countries lived where food production kept pace with or exceeded the rate of population growth." Nor is the cause the lack of basic knowledge. In Mali for centuries they have stored grain against emergencies in clay pots sealed and sunk in the ground. But nowadays there is never enough grain left after the depredations of their elites to fill those pots. They do not need our advanced technology.

## THE CONFLICT OF INTERESTS

But cannot the Third World governments keep back enough food to feed their own people? If they do not export their crops there is no foreign currency to buy themselves the status symbols of western industry or the so-called wealth-creating western technology. There is a direct conflict of interest between the governors and the governed of the Third World.

The Third World elites justify the removal of the crops by saying that selling them to the developed countries brings in the foreign currency to buy the machinery which will create more wealth than the crops sold off to pay for it.

This is not true and a starved 800 million proves it. Economic development does not mean that people are warmer and better fed. Here are quotes from four eminent economic historians who have studied the minutiae of history. Cipolla writes: "Abel has argued that the annual consumption of meat in Germany declined from the 15th century from an average of 100 kg or more per person (a sort of biological maximum) to not more than 14 kg per person in the mid-19th century." Pollard writes about Sheffield in 1851: "Le Play's

IN 1972, FOR EVERY TON OF FAMINE RELIEF, MALI EXPORTED 4 TONS OF FARM CROPS - INCLUDING COTTON. IN THE PHILIPPINES 55% OF THE ENTIRE FARM ACREAGE GROWS CROPS FOR EXPORT: SUGAR, COCONUTS, BANANAS, RUBBER, PINEAPPLES, COFFEE AND COCOA. WE DRINK PINEAPPLE JUICE: THEY STARVE. BRANDT WANTS TO INCREASE THOSE EXPORTS. WHILE WE WEAR COTTON JEANS AND DRINK COFFEE WITH SUGAR, THEY STARVE BECAUSE THEIR LAND IS GROWING CROPS FOR US. THEY STARVE BECAUSE THEY DO NOT OWN THEIR LAND AND HAVE NO CONTROL OVER WHAT IS GROWN AND HOW MUCH IS SOLD OFF.

BRANDT ESPOUSES DEVELOPMENT. BUT IF WE EXCHANGE OUR CUCKOO CLOCKS FOR NIGERIAN RADIOS, NO MORE FOOD HAS BEEN CREATED. NO ONE IS BETTER FED. BRANDT IS SAYING: 'LET THEM EAT CARS.'

This background paper from the Eco 'Third World Working Party' was written by RICHARD HUNT.

cutler's family (2 adults and 4 children) consumed about 21 ozs of meat per day." Thorold Rogers wrote in 1884: "The mass of English workmen are better off now than they were two generations ago, though the population has greatly increased. But relatively speaking the working man of today is not so well off as he was in the 15th century." Fernand Braudel: "The paradox must be emphasised since it is often thought that hardship increases the further back towards the Middle Ages one goes. In fact the opposite is true as far as the standard of living of the common people - the majority - is concerned. Before 1525-40 peasants and craftsmen in Lanquodoc ate white bread. The fact cannot be misleading. The deterioration becomes more pronounced as we move away from the autumn of the Middle Ages to the middle of the 19th century."

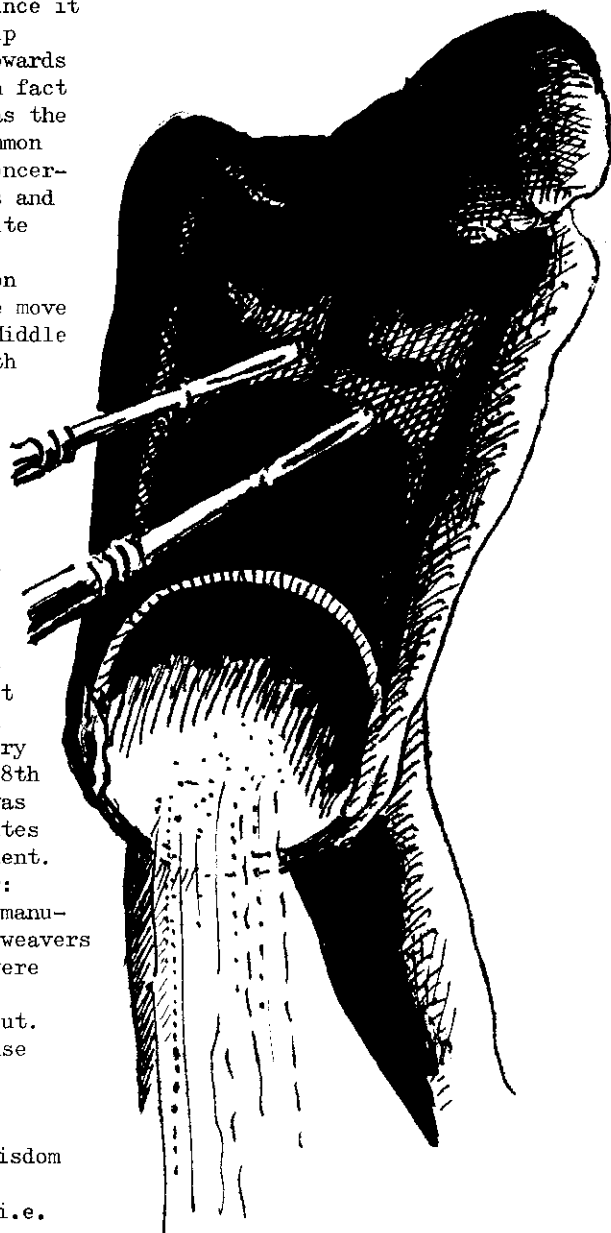
It was in the middle of the 19th century that we started taking food in quantity from the Third World. We are not well-fed because of development but because of something almost akin to theft.

## DOES MACHINERY CREATE WEALTH?

So economic development is not going to make the Third World better fed. But even in theory it is not possible. In the 18th century the mechanical loom was invented. Ludd and his Luddites said it would cause unemployment. In Manchester they were wrong: Manchester became the cotton manufacturer for the world. But weavers in every village in Britain were made unemployed: the cotton industry in India was wiped out. Ludd was right. Machines cause unemployment.

But conventional economic wisdom says that machinery creates wealth, i.e. buying power, i.e. employment. Who's right?

In India a peasant grew onions and exchanged them for the Manchester cloth (so the onions were no longer available to create jobs for the local artisans.) The onions were transported to the Manchester warehouses of the cloth bosses. In Manchester that wealth, the buying power, the jobs were created not by the manufacture of the cloth but by the transfer of the natural resources - the onions, or tokens for them (money) - from India to Manchester. There would be no work for the workers if there were no



iii:

onions: workers work to eat. It is the onions which create the jobs, not the cloth. Manufacturing does not create wealth and jobs: the cloth simply moved the wealth, the jobs from India to Britain. Manchester made itself rich by making India poor.

In this way Third World poverty is caused by First World wealth. There is no way that everyone can be rich. One is only rich because another is poor. (And since the manufacturer did not give all the onions to his workers - i.e. he made a profit - there were some onions left for British artisans to earn by making cutlery or microscopes for the manufacturer.)

The whole Brandt report is based on this false premise: that manufacturing creates wealth, buying power, jobs.

#### BRIBERY AND VIOLENCE

But why then did India allow in the cloth? A manufacturing country uses two methods to enforce its exports. In India's case it was colonised: the laws were made in England, who declared Free Trade, otherwise known as the Liberalisation of Trade. India was forced to accept the cheaper, machine-made cloth from Manchester. India was forced to accept unemployment.

The other method is bribery. The pattern was set early on by the Hudson Bay Company - a multinational. You give weapons to one tribe who can subdue the next to produce the crops and accept the manufactured goods. As the Cambridge Economic History of Europe puts it: the manufacturing countries "had to resort to warfare, to peddling supplies of arms, to the exactions of contingencies and forced deliveries from the native rulers whom they maintained in authority." Just as today the US and its multinationals maintain the Saudi-Arabians or the El Salvador junta.

The Third World elites grow fat from the power and bribery offered by the developed countries. The peasants starve. That is the conflict of interest between the governors and the governed. And it is the governors' view which predominates in the Brandt report.

IT IS BY THE FALSE THEORY THAT MANUFACTURING CREATES WEALTH, BUYING POWER, JOBS THAT THE ELITES ARE ABLE TO JUSTIFY THE REMOVAL OF AGRICULTURAL CROPS - THE REAL WEALTH, THE REAL JOB CREATION - FROM THE PEASANT.

And the Keynesians will support this theory just as enthusiastically as the monetarists.



#### THE BRANDT REPORT PROPOSALS

The Brandt report accepts this convenient theory. It says that the South needs the North for its manufactured goods and its technological know-how. Nevertheless it makes a step in the right direction. It acknowledges that the North needs the South for its raw materials and markets for its manufactured goods. But Brandt doesn't accept that it is those very needs which are the causes of the Third World starvation.

#### 'THE POOREST COUNTRIES'

Brandt recommends "support for industrialisation, transport, and other infrastructure investment." The roads, railways, ports and airports are to take the crops out of the country, just as the Romans built roads across their empire and the Russians built roads into Afghanistan. Susan George writes: "If you examine the transportation network, for instance, in nearly any poor country, you will see that the roads and railways have not been geared to facilitating commerce between neighbouring countries or even between regions of the same country; but to getting food and other raw materials from the hinterlands to the capital and the ports and from thence northwards."

#### 'HUNGER AND FOOD'

"Special attention should be given to irrigation, agricultural research, storage and increased use of fertilisers and other inputs." The Third World is not incompetent. It is and always has been quite capable of growing all the food it needs. These suggested intensive techniques are only necessary for the export of crops to us, in a paid-labour economy. For the indigenous population they are nearly always totally inappropriate.

"Agricultural reform is of greatest importance." They can say that

again, in letters of fire.

"Food aid should be increased ... without weakening incentives to food production." Impossible: if more food comes on to the market the price comes down. The local producer suffers. One answer might be government support of the buying price: but that would hurt the elites too much, who make their profit from a low buying price.

Brandt extols the virtues of the 'Liberalisation of Trade'. Free Trade always has to be forced on the Third World. Europe forced it on its colonial empires. The US forces it on South America in return for supporting local tyrants. India has just been given a massive loan by the IMF: its specific condition was the 'Liberalisation of Trade'. India must accept any western imports and the accompanying unemployment. Brandt extols the 'Liberalisation of Trade' because it's in the North's interests, not the South's.

#### 'POPULATION'

These proposals are, as we have shown, at present irrelevant to unemployment, poverty and starvation. If population is acknowledged to be a significant factor, governments will be able to sidetrack attention from the only real solution, land reform.

#### 'DISARMAMENT'

If we allow the arms trade, population growth, lack of knowledge and technology or even health to be significant causes of hunger, the First and Third World elites will latch on to them, piously rectify them, yet continue to plunder and starve their peoples by controlling the land.

The Brandt proposals on disarmament are more contentious than they might seem. It is the removal of the crops, the wealth, which causes starvation. What the elite spend that wealth on is irrelevant. If we suspend all arms trade, the elite will spend that wealth on Rolls Royces or computers or Wedgewood instead. The people will still starve. (The elites buy our tanks and guns to suppress their peasantry in order to remove their crops to sell to us. They can't suppress them with kidney machines or alternative technology.)

#### 'MULTINATIONALS'

They take business away from local firms and repatriate the profits. But Brandt proposals are ineffective. The power of multinationals is derived from governments - whether from western government contracts such as armaments or telephones, or underdeveloped countries' govern-

ments' grants of land, business concessions, or mineral rights. When Iran withdrew its oil concessions from BP, BP was powerless. Multinationals are dependent almost totally on government contracts and concessions: withdraw these, and the multinationals will die. (A concession restricts trade to the concessionaire. Capitalism is based on the restriction, not the freedom of the market.) (ITT was only successful against Allende because it had the active help of the US government through the CIA.)

Developing countries can quite easily terminate concessions to multinationals. But that would terminate the agency fees, the kick-backs, the 'considerations' with which multinationals have bribed governments for generations. They cannot operate in the Third World without the connivance of the Third World governments.

#### 'THE TASK OF THE SOUTH'

Most of the Brandt report proposals are contradictory. Some are glaring. It calls for "regional and sub-regional (international) integration" And yet it wants "decentralised governmental administrative systems." Most of the contradictions are less obvious.

A village pays, say, £500 in taxes. If that is enough to create five jobs in the city, where the taxation is nearly always spent, it means that the £500 is no longer available in the village to create at least five jobs there. In most underdeveloped countries a government's income comes almost entirely from the taxation of the peasant. So every government job in the city is unemployment in the village.

Thus most of the Brandt proposals will be counter-productive. "Expanded training and extension services," "a more scientific basis in education," "improved economic management", improvements in taxation policies and public administration systems all sound highly desirable. But they will all require higher taxation and so will cause village unemployment, poverty and starvation.

The development policies are equally contradictory. "Accelerated economic development", "industrial and trade expansion", "multi-country ventures," "preferential trade schemes among developing countries," "extension of payments and credit arrangements," all contradict "increased development of regional areas," "stimulation of small-scale industry," or "emphasis on intermediate technology."

Intermediate technology will not help the peasants. If they have no

land, they would be working as farm labourers in the paid-labour/formal economy. The farmer will be selling his crops on the open market in competition with the highly mechanised, cheap American crops. Intermediate technology would be useless. If the peasant owns his own land and is self-sufficient, he's quite capable of inventing anything he needs (Boserup shows that technology increases work more than it increases farm output.) If a peasant is forced by taxation to grow cash crops, he'll still be competing with America. Alternative technology is no panacea. It is international trade which is the problem.

"Stimulation of small-scale enterprises" can only be achieved at the expense of large-scale enterprises. If the money is spent with one, it cannot be spent with the other. Since nearly all the Brandt proposals involve greater government activity which will necessitate higher taxation, the higher cost of living and therefore higher labour costs will mean more labour-saving machinery and larger-scale enterprises... and unemployment.

#### 'INDUSTRIALISATION AND WORLD TRADE'

"Protection is inimical to the long-term interests of developing and developed countries alike." Nonsense. The industrial revolution was born out of protectionism. (See Maurice Dobb: Studies in the Development of Capitalism. It's required reading.) The British colonies - Ireland, India, America - were forbidden to industrialise. Without such protection and without land reform the industrialised nations would starve, just as today the Third World is starving without protection.

#### 'THE WORLD MONETARY ORDER'

Herodotus said that the King of

Lydia invented money in the 7th century B.C. By a century later the King of Lydia was Croesus, the richest man in the world. Be suspicious of money.

Basil Davidson writes, "A Cape Colony act of 1894 imposed a tax in cash of ten shillings on fit adult males so that, as Prime Minister Cecil Rhodes blandly explained, rural producers might be removed from their life of sloth and idleness and made to give some return 'for our wise and good government'. The idea took on fast. To pay cash taxes the Africans would have to earn cash; almost invariably in that period this meant leaving the village for European employment. If they faulted to pay they must naturally be punished and would work as prison labourers instead." And that's the way they forced the Africans down the mines.

So be very suspicious about money - and taxes.

Brandt is proposing an improved Special Drawing Right (SDR), a new currency issued by the IMF. "New SDRs should be created to the extent called for by the need for non-inflationary increases in world liquidity." Any extra currency will be inflationary if it increases the supply of money above the supply of natural resources. But this one is blatant: "There should be an agreement on an adjustment process which will not increase contractionary pressures in the world economy." That is to say: 'We'll print money if there's a recession!'

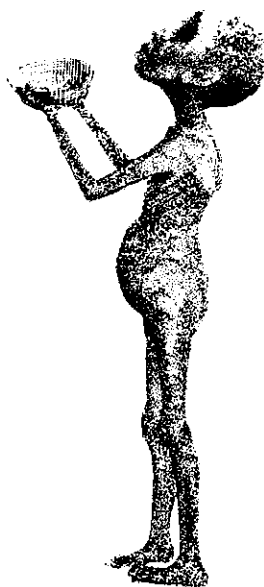
In every period of inflation the rich have got richer and the poor have got poorer. Because they have no collateral they cannot borrow inflating cash. The rich borrow at the expense of the poor. Inflation is unacceptable. The poor lose everything to the rich.

#### A MASSIVE TRANSFER OF RESOURCES?

The phrase which stands out in the Brandt report is "a massive transfer of resources". Surely no one could complain about such a noble sentiment? Except that we don't know what it means. Does 'resources' mean food, or money, or manufacturing capacity?

If it means money - which most people assume - why doesn't it say money? And if it means money, God help the Third World. The money will be given to the elites to distribute and it won't be distributed. It will be used to increase the government's power at the expense of the peasants. The people will be worse, not better off.

If resources mean food, the same applies. The henchmen of government,



:iv:

the army, police and bureaucracy, will be well fed; the others will starve. "A massive transfer of resources" will be used to reinforce the power of the elite against the people.

So: the Brandt report, by increasing international trade will cause poverty, unemployment and starvation in the Third World. And it will give intellectual and moral justification to every tyrant to screw his peasantry into the ground.

#### ALTERNATIVE POLICIES

The cause of the poverty, unemployment and starvation is the loss of the land by the people, caused mainly by the concept of the private ownership of land introduced by colonial administrations.

The only solution is land reform where the small community owns the land and individuals have the private use of their plot; if a person dies or doesn't want it, the community reallocates that plot. But because

no individual owns it, it cannot be sold off to a landlord, nor can it be used as collateral for debt - which was the way most of the land was lost. By this means the peasants can keep as much food as they need and only sell off any real surplus.

But governments would still be able to confiscate large tracts of land for development. The decentralisation of taxation should put a stop to that by increasing local power.

To create and return employment to the villages, governments must cut taxation and therefore expenditure.

Britain must make itself self-sufficient by its own land reform so that it doesn't need to buy the Third World crops.

#### WE ARE THEIR PROBLEM

The problem for the Third World is the First World. We drink their coffee and wear cotton jeans. So the land which grows this cotton and coffee is not growing food for the people of the Third World. We are

their problem and no amount of alternative technology, aid, 'a massive transfer of resources', or all the other liberal panaceas will change that until we stop taking their crops.

#### Quotations from:

Cipolla: The Industrial Revolution, page 131

Thorold Rogers: Six Centuries of Work and Wages, 1884, p 355.

Sydney Pollard: History of Labour in Sheffield, 1959, p 27

Fernand Braudel: Capitalism and Material Life, 1967, p 129

Susan George: How the Other Half Dies, 1976, p 36

Cambridge Economic History of Europe, Vol 3, p xxiv

Basil Davidson: Africa in Modern History, 1978, p 126

Lappe and Collins: Food First, 1980

#### See also:

Esther Boserup: The Conditions of Agricultural Growth

Maurice Dobb: Studies in the Development of Capitalism

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