

GREEN LINE

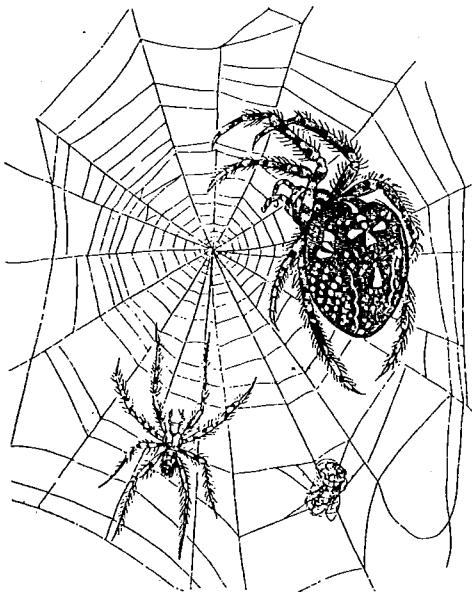
BAHRO ON ANIMALS
SATISH TALKING
NATIONALISM

MEN'S LIB

ECONOMICS ON ITS TOES

June 1986 No 43 **45p**





GREEN LINE

Green Line, 34 Cowley Road, Oxford

(0865 245301)

Monthly magazine of

Green politics and lifestyle

How to subscribe

Don't miss the next issue!

Subscribe today and get the next 10 issues in the post for just £6 (low/unwaged £5). Special offer for the high-waged: take out a special "supporter subscription" and do your conscience a good turn, for only £10!

Back-issue offer for new readers: we'll send you SIX recent different back issues post free for £1.75.

Bulk orders

You can buy 5 or more copies for only 35p each; or 10 or more for only 30p each - post free! Cash-with-order first time please: after that, if you want a regular order, we'll give you a month to pay.

Sale-or-return for one-off events: you pay 35p a copy for however many you sell, and recycle the rest.

Advertising

Green Line reaches an audience of like-minded people like no other magazine! Our display rates are only £45 a page (smaller sizes pro rata). Send camera-ready copy to our Oxford address before the 15th of the month, or write for more details

A NEW AMERICAN INDIAN TIPI can transform your camping expeditions this summer! Individually created to meet your own requirements, carefully made from quality materials. Comfortable, robust, long-lasting, surprisingly easy to transport. Roof racks designed and manufactured, delivery arranged. Repair service for all tipis and canvas tents. Secondhand tipis sometimes for sale, also required for reconditioning. Contact: CUMBRIA TIPIS, 1 Chapel Terrace, Nenthead, Alston, Cumbria. 0498 81512.

RURAL VILLAGE IN GALLOWAY, S W Scotland. B & B and evening meal. Vegetarian and raw food diets. Free reflexology treatments by student. Kirkcovan (0671 83) 440.

CLOURFUL ADHESIVE WINDOW TRANSPARENCIES (11 varieties, rainbow, mandalas, peace doves, etc). Now available wholesale. SAE for catalogue to Earthcare, 33 Saddler Street, Durham.

IOTA PICTURES - FILM, VIDEO, STILLS. The video cassette is now used all over the world to propagate ideas, record events, and promote goods and services. It is a valuable aid to education, training and fundraising. With 15 years professional experience in the film industry, Iota Pictures offers a creative approach to people who need audio-visual material on environmental, educational and social issues. Phone 0822 833692 for an informal chat, or write for details to: Malcolm Baldwin, May Cottage, Calstock, Cornwall PL18 9QN.

"SUSTAINING AND SUSTAINABLE", the case for home-grown vegan diet, plus nutrition information, balanced menus, recipes. Free of exploitation of people and animals. Sustainable in the overpopulated, post-industrial Britain of the future. 60p plus 15p p&p. Also recipe booklet "Whole New Ways". Same price. Movement for Compassionate Living, 47 Highlands Road, Leatherhead, Surrey.

GILLETTS' COMMUNITY is looking for new members. Rented house in 2½ acres. Organic garden. Meditation room. Diverse interests. Vegetarian meals. Smarden, near Ashford, Kent. 023-377 224.

ARTISTS: please would anyone with knowledge or information about green/environmental art contact me, as I am writing a thesis about it. A Oliver, 1 Morant House, Stockwell Gardens Estate, Stockwell Road, London SW9. Thank you.

HANDMADE COTTAGE, main room, bathroom, 3 bedrooms, workshop, ¼ acre near Llansadwrn, Dyfed: £25,000. Write: Sheila Ness, c/o Brook House, Dartington, Totnes, Devon.

A BUDDHIST SUMMER. Men's retreat in the Norfolk countryside. Meditation will be taught. Includes Yoga or Karate classes. July 11 - 25 (5 nights minimum). Leaflet giving full details from PADMALOKA RETREAT CENTRE, Lesingham House, Surlingham, Norfolk (Tel 050 88 8112).

EXPLORING ALTERNATIVES, 21 - 27 July. A week in which to look at various "alternative" approaches to health, education, politics, lifestyles, communities, co-operatives and other issues. There will be live speakers, lively discussion, films, books and good company. We will also dance, sing, play games and do what you, the participant,

Small Ads

5p/word

would like. For further details, send SAE please to LOWER SHAW FARM, SHAW, near SWINDON, WILTS.

MORFA NEIGHBOURHOOD CO-OP offers camping site and group room for groups max. 25. Close to Preseli Hills, Pembrokeshire Coast. SAE to Morfa, Blaenffos, Boncath, Dyfed (0239 74462).

recycled stationery

made from 100% recycled paper

Gift Packs - 40 plain sheets and 25 matching envelopes in a choice of colours: apple, azure, buff, gold, or white. A5 size £1.70 each, or four packs for £5.95. (please state colours)



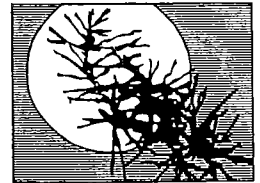
Trial Pack - 20 plain sheets plus 12 envelopes in assorted colours, send 5x17p stamps. or S.A.E. for New complete lists of stationery products.

Steve & Susan Hammett
designers, printers & stationers

Gate Farm, Fen End, Kenilworth, Warks, CV8 1NW. Telephone Berkswell (0676) 33832

FULL MOON FUTONS

Send sae for leaflet and swatches to
20 Burneshe Road
Reading RG1 5RU
Reading (0734) 65648



We make Japanese style mattresses, (single, double, king size, cot size), cushions, pillows, yoga/massage/shiatsu mats, to individual orders. All 100% cotton, range of colours. Pine bases. Deliveries arranged. Competitive prices.

How Green Are Your Weekends?

One and two day courses on Energy and the Environment (Summer 1986)

A.T. TOUR TO: CENTRE FOR ALTERNATIVE TECHNOLOGY, WALES (JULY 5 & 6)

Another opportunity to stay at this pioneering centre where hydro, wind and solar power serve the community and form a fascinating display of their potential. £25 (£19 for low income, UE, OAP & Students). Return travel from Bristol and accommodation included.

'WHEN THE OIL RUNS OUT ...' (JULY 26)

A day of information, ideas and discussion on Britain's energy use - now and in the future. As well as expert guest speakers, there will be videos, slides and displays. Themes for the day will include Low Energy Housing, Combined Heat and Power stations, the Severn Barrage and Nuclear Power. £12/9

To book your place on either course, CONTACT:

THE COMMUNITY ENERGY WORKSHOP
109 Philip Street, Bristol BS3 4DR
Tel: (0272) 633895

Part of The Urban Centre for Appropriate Technology





COMING IN FROM THE COLD:

LIBERATING MAN

The women's movement has put men on the defensive. MATTHEW HANNAM believes that the way forward for men is to accept themselves as men and remove the protective layers - "coming in from the cold that is man today".

I'M SORRY, said Sharon. Can you leave me to do this on my own? It's difficult for me with you here.

I cried. I'd tried so hard not to take over, to dominate, or to give my "expertise". As we nailed down the bathroom carpet I really tried to be sensitive to her. But in the end it was simply my presence that was intimidating. The fact that I was a man oppressed her, regardless of my personal behaviour.

At that moment I reached the end of what I now believe was my negative approach and response to sexism and women's liberation. No longer was I in a position to make a choice about my behaviour, to stop using sexist language, to stop taking over, to listen to women, to be aware of tasks and to be sensitive to those pressures on women to do them. The oppressive element in this situation was my manhood and I could not, should not change that.

I realised that in essence my response to sexism had been to try to move closer to those attitudes and

In its different way, ours too is a struggle of liberation.

perceptions defined by women; I was becoming a "token woman". In my efforts to be acceptable to women, I was trying to be as good as a woman. And of course this is a kind of movement, a kind of change, and it's all very fine until it hits you that you're not a woman, and that it is that fact which is the root of an oppressing situation.

It is in this sense that I have come to regard my approach to sexism as a negative one; that as a man an approach of simply responding to the initiatives of the women's movement is ultimately disempowering

and deeply depressing. Its conclusion, for me at any rate, is of course that "I am not a woman." And while the direction of my change is to be "good as a woman", the dynamic for despair is clear. If my identity is in itself oppressive, then my response must be to change my identity; but where one is engaged in a simple reaction to the initiatives of women, such a change means to Stop Being a Man.

Indeed for some time I did feel guilty and unworthy, I did despair, though not because of some aspect of my identity. I felt guilty for being a man.

For most of my life I have been largely unaware of this identity. That's the luxury of being raised in a society based on male dominance. But now as I do discover it, my reaction is one of horror. But I want to celebrate it, I want to feel good as a man: I can't walk my path through life feeling ashamed.

I want to respond positively to the voices of women by finding my own voice, not by doing impressions of women's voices. Because of course that is all they will ever be - impressions.

Just as women have cast off their desire to be as "good as men" realising they're "great as women", so I must escape from my similarly depressing trap, realising that men are fine too.

I must turn around and look outwards, to other men - to discover our gifts and talents, and develop those qualities in each other. For just as men cannot

I want to feel good as a man:
I can't walk my path through life
feeling ashamed.

define the road to liberation for women, so women cannot do so for men (though of course it is us men who are struggling to realise this). It is for us to reclaim and nurture the hidden possibilities that lie latent within us - for in its different way ours too is a struggle of liberation.

But I do not suggest that this is easy. I suspect that as with all groups who through history have assumed a position of dominance, we will find an intrinsically conservative characteristic within ourselves, one that protects itself at the expense of change. Our separateness, for example. If we are to move positively at all we will need to reach for an equivalent of that feminist symbol, the web; we must connect with each other, learn to love and trust each other, so that we can come in from the cold that is man today. If we are seriously to nurture qualities that deepen our identities as men, then we will need to trust in each other so that we may give way to those feelings that are generated between us.

I'm scared, but not despairing. It's the scared feeling of a child about to leap from the playground wall into the outstretched arms of his friends, trusting to let go.

::





Big election boost for Greens

Councillors take their seats

THE DISTRICT COUNCIL elections brought success in the form of seats for two of the party's grass-roots activists in the West Country. In Stroud (Glos.) John Marjoram polled 658 against the Tories' 616, while Labour followed with 412. The potential SDP candidate did not have the necessary residential qualification to be able to stand.

John puts his success - which brought the party an immediate 15 new members - down to being very well known locally and very active in community politics.

More spectacular still, local GP Richard Lawson romped home with 725 votes (60%) - against Independent (380) and Labour (113) - in his local Congresbury ward of Wood Spring District Council. An agreement with local Liberals meant that the Green Party stood down in Yatton in favour of a Liberal (who got in) while the Liberals did not oppose Richard. Again, the personal vote was important: Richard describes himself as a "green, listening doctor with a personal interest in people's problems." "Frankly," he says, "they like me!"

He started the Campaign against Sea Dumping, and initiated the Congresbury Nuclear Freeze Group. He also got a lot of publicity when he polled his patients on the question of whether they would like him to prescribe a suicide pill in the event of a nuclear attack (64 out of 80 said yes).

There's no doubt that Chernobyl helped both candidates - Berkeley is uncomfortably close to both areas - but what won the day was a combination of strong local candidates who could do deals with Alliance parties. Talks are already under way with a view to more such co-operation next year. And at Wood Spring where 45 out of 59 seats are Tory-held, any alternative might be good news!

ABOUT 1 IN 10 of the Green Party's membership stood in the district and regional elections in May. The 500 candidates typically polled around 6% of the vote, a big increase on previous years: a provisional 6.2% for this year compares with 4.4% in the county elections a year ago.

The results compare very favourably with those of European green parties where FR helps bridge the 'credibility gap.' In Sweden Miljopartiet have 300 councillors on 2.6% of the vote!

About 40% of candidates were women, and about two thirds had stood before in local elections. In Bristol and Islington the party had a candidate in every ward. And from Herefordshire come reports of an average vote of 13.4%

In London, where voters had several votes and could thus give just one to the single green candidate, results around 10% were achieved, with Dave Fitzpatrick polling 14.6% in Hackney.



Friends of the City

'CITIES FOR PEOPLE' is a vigorous campaign led by Friends of the Earth (with a legacy of GLC funding) to persuade people that a good environment is an urban right, not just the country dweller's dream. A series of factual leaflets look at a range of issues, including the link between roads and jobs, transport funding, noise and vibration, lorries and freight, and community disruption. 18 public meetings have been held in London, and 1/4 million leaflets delivered to homes. On May 11 FoE held a picnic and demo at Oxleas Wood, Eltham - a SSSI in South London threatened by the proposed ELRIC (East London River Crossing), a four-lane trunk road linking main roads north and south of London's docklands.

Contact Chris Gittins at FoE, 377 City Road, London EC1V 1NA (01 837 0731).



Greenham Woodrunners

are a group of women, based in Gloucestershire, who maintain a weekly delivery of wood to the women's camp at Greenham Common. They are now without a regular vehicle and need funds to buy one and maintain it: the new van will also be available for other peace work, and will enable more women to visit the camp. Please send donations to J Lethbridge, Greenham Woodrunners, Hill Farm, Birdlip Hill, Witcombe, Glos. Phone 0452 862540 for more information.

Green shop for Cardiff

CARDIFF GREEN Group already have raised £7,000 towards setting up a Green Shop to retail (and possibly wholesale) organic produce and other fruits of "good work", to act as an information exchange, and possibly a vegetarian cafe. Two people are about to start working full-time on the venture (aided by the Enterprise Allowance scheme).

The group plans to buy rather than to rent, in order to have better security to offer lenders. All contributions are gratefully received, but in particular the group is looking for someone to take out a mortgage on the group's behalf. "Legal advisers have assured us this could be practically risk-free to the mortgagee, and you may even be able to get rent-free accommodation out of it!"

If you could help, please phone Viv Turner on Cardiff 24242.



Research campaign

THE CAMPAIGN against Military Research on Campus (CAMROC) has been launched to uncover and publicise the amount of military research taking place in every college and university in the country. Most students are completely unaware of the £10m that the MoD spends on university and college research each year.

CAMROC wants a group on every campus. Write to them at 190b Burdett Road, London E3 (01-980 2455).



Energy in Bristol

AN IMPRESSIVE series of courses are on offer this summer from the Community Energy Workshop at 109 Philip Street, Bristol (tel. 633895), ranging from bike maintenance and the care of tools to computer-aided low-energy design (June 18) and a day conference on "When the Oil Runs Out" (July 26).



New magazine planned

RICHARD OLDFIELD wants to start "a printed, postal-subscription newsletter entitled Green Options ... to help generate a more coherent, effective movement." It would look "professional", avoid the "radical ghetto", and "try to create the maximum common ground under the greenwood tree."

Pessimistic calculations suggest a need for an overdraft facility during the first year of £2,000. If you might be willing to help with a loan, or by acting as guarantor, please write to Richard Oldfield, 16a White Cottage Courtyard, Magdalene Street, Glastonbury BA6 9EW.



GUMMED LABELS FOR SALE

FIRST CLASS POST

BUY NEW ZEALAND NUCLEAR FREE GOODS

 **CND**

50p per packet from
50 Mackenders Close, Maidstone
ME20 7JE



Experiment with Anarchy

CHERNOBYL'S RADIOACTIVE cloud cast its shadow over Glastonbury as people gathered for the second Earth Mysteries Camp early in May. It did a lot for the consciousness of the event, really bringing it home that by taking a week off in the delightful Somerset countryside to celebrate our spirituality and the arrival of spring, we can't insulate ourselves from the realities of life on Earth which we'd rather not celebrate. A great deal of the meditation and healing energy generated at the camp was directed towards nuclear power and its victims.

The main theme of the camp was an ongoing one at Glastonbury - developing new, non-hierarchical ways of organising ourselves and working as a group. Each day started with a meeting, known as the pow-wow, in which everyone sits together in a circle. The pow-wows can be a space for simply sorting out the day's business, but at this camp they developed into more than that, a place of self-discovery for both individuals and the group. Powerful magic was raised in that circle.

There were about 50 people in the circle, and no facilitator. Four people took it in turns to initiate things, and having done so merged with the group. This approach brought out a maturity in the members of the group which produced some fine discussions and made a safe space for people to open up about themselves. The strength of the group and the responsibility of its members provided the order for which, in the past, we have relied on a chairperson.

The process was greatly aided by the use of the "talking stick". This stick is passed round from hand to hand, and whoever is holding it has the absolute right to speak. No one may interrupt, though in rare cases the stick-holder may allow another to speak, but the holder retains the stick and complete discretion. If you have nothing to say you can pass the stick straight on, or hold it for a while in silence, sing a song, or do what you like. Knowing you've only got one chance to speak concentrates the mind beautifully. In a large group, when emotions are rising, it can bring peace and understanding. Its best use is simply to go round and let each person say what they really need to say on any subject. These are very powerful occasions.

The camp was an ideal environment for such an experiment in leaderless group work - relaxed, secluded, away from the normal pressures of modern life, especially that of time. We need such a space to learn the new way and become practised in it. As we become more skilled we can bring it more and more into the tougher world of practical action.

The following week a public meeting was held in Glastonbury town to decide what action we want to take as a community on nuclear power. The influence of the

work we'd done at the camp - and elsewhere over the past couple of years - was clear. Although the meeting had a facilitator, she was able to do the job very loosely. There were some fierce passions blowing around, as always when this subject is discussed, and a wide mixture of people many of whom had never been near a large leaderless meeting. It could easily have become a shouting match, but there was an element of maturity and responsibility which prevented that. It was a useful meeting with a positive feeling and practical results flowing from it. ::

Patrick Whitefield



Green Youth Gathering

will be held at Groundwell Farm, Swindon from July 17-20. Cost only £5: bring tent, and food to add to communal cooking. Send cheque to 'Young Greens', 2 Sheringham Court, Liden, Swindon, Wilts., and you'll be sent a map and a bus timetable.



Men and Peace

is the title of a gathering for men involved in the peace movement, to be held Aug 11-15 at Barmoor, Hurton-le-Hole, Pickering, N Yorks. Cost is on a sliding scale between £20 and £45. Leaflet from Simon Hooker, Flat 2, Millmead, Sutton Road, Shrewsbury, SY2 6DR (0743 249489).

A RESOURCE Pack for community groups promoting local activities in this, the International Year of Peace, is now available from the IYP office at 29 Great James Street, London WC1N 3ES price £2 (incl p&p).

It's all happening...

- June 14/15: Leamington Festival of International Understanding and Peace, Pump Room Gardens, Leamington Spa.
- June 20-22: Glastonbury CND Festival.
- June 21: Who will be at Stonehenge?
- June 21/22: S E London Green Fair at The Albany, Deptford, and Fordham Park New Cross (01 318 6628).
- June 22-28: Gandhi Summer School (see ad in GL42). Near Abingdon, Oxon.
- June 29: Beverley Rainbow Festival, Beverley Hurn (part of the racecourse). Info: 0469 30721.
- June 29: Brixton Youth Festival, Angell Park.
- July 17-20: Green Youth Gathering, near Swindon. Info: 2 Sheringham Court, Liden, Swindon, Wilts.
- July 19-20: Norwich Rainbow Fayre, Earlham Park; info from 48 Bethel St.
- July 19-25: Lifeways Gathering at Emerson College, Forest Row, Sussex. (See ad. in GL42).
- July 25-27: Elephant Fayre, Cornwall (0503 30816).

Mail Order

- SUSTAINING AND SUSTAINABLE. Theory of ecological veganism, with nutritional guidelines and recipes. Kathleen Jannaway, Movement for Compassionate Living, 60p
- HOUSING IS THEFT: HOUSING IS FREEDOM Colin Ward, Old Hammond Press, £1
- THE ANIMAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT. Peter Singer, Old Hammond Press, £1.10
- THE LAST NIGHT OF RAINBOW FIELDS VILLAGE at Molesworth. Bruce Garrard, Unique Publications, £1.
- POLITICS FOR LIFE. Green Party Manifesto, 50p
- PROGRAMME OF THE GERMAN GREEN PARTY. (In English). Heretic Books, £1.50.
- SOCIALISM AND ECOLOGY. Raymond Williams, SERA, 75p.
- COAL AND ECONOMIC GROWTH. Wales Green Party, 20p.
- FOOD ADDITIVES. Wales Green Party 30p
- FAIR VOTES GUIDE (guide to FR). 95p.
- EMBRACE THE EARTH: a green view of peace. Jonathon Porritt et al. Green CND, 90p
- EASY VEGAN COOKING. Sandra Williams and Joy Scott, Old Hammond P., £1.20
- WHOLE NEW WAYS. Vegan recipes without imported food. Movement for Compassionate Living, 60p
- ETHICS AND NUCLEAR WEAPONS. Jeremy Naydler, Fox & Lantern Press, £1.
- NEW ECONOMICS '85. TOES report and summary 1985. £1.20
- LIBERAL ECOLOGY GROUP Manifesto, 50p
- HEALTH, WEALTH AND THE NEW ECONOMICS. James Robertson, TOES, £1.20
- WINNERS ALL. Co-operative games for all ages. Pax Christi, 60p.
- BRANDT REPORT: CON TRICK. Richard Hunt, Green Line, 10p
- LAW AS CIVILIAN DEFENCE. Keith Motherson, Green Line, 10p
- RAINBOW VILLAGE ON THE ROAD: poems and writings Feb/Mar 1985. Unique Publications £1.
- GREEN LINE BADGES
 - + Green CND (fluorescent green/black)
 - + Sunflower CND (yellow, gold and green)
 - + Green Anarchist (@ on sunflower patters, fluorescent green/black)
- GL badges 20p each (over 20, 10p each) Each design 1" diameter.
- ORDERS OVER £3 are POST FREE Under £3: please add 25p.
- SEND CASH-WITH-ORDER to
- Green Line,
- 34 Cowley Road, Oxford

Economics

on its

TOES

The Other Economic Summit held a conference in London in April. TONY CARTWRIGHT went along to see how green economics is shaping up.

FOR THOSE OF us involved in the British local election campaigns this spring, The Other Economic Summit (TOES) 1986 came as an apposite reminder - if we needed it - of that most widely used Green maxim, "Think globally, act locally." For with the dual emphasis on international and local economics, this conference was all about the increasingly obvious and necessary connection between the two.

The morning centred on a paper by Michael Redcliff and Jonathon Porritt entitled "Why Bankrupt the Earth? An Exploration into International Economics and the Environment." The afternoon heard the second paper in which James Robertson developed in some detail his wealth of ideas on "The Economics of Local Recovery". These were the principal proponents of "The Other Economics" and they formed one half of the platform. Sitting over against them were three mainline economists: Frances Cairncross from The Economist, Sheila Page from the Overseas Development Institute, and David Pearce, professor of economics at University College. They had been invited in demonstration of the conviction that TOES had grown up enough to submit its essential thesis to the scrutiny of the established economic pundits. It was a useful if at times sobering dialogue, and one that TOES will have learnt lessons from.

In a paper that rehearsed the familiar and ghastly facts of catastrophic, global environmental disruption Redcliff and Porritt began by taking the "barren summits" to task, seeking to show that the "life-support systems of millions of people are being destroyed in the process of propping up an international order that is inherently inequitable and unsustainable." Contemporary "development" makes environmentally responsible policies impossible. They pointed out that the central beliefs of the Bonn summit of 1985 - sustained level of economic growth, expansion of world trade, open markets and an end to protectionism, need for lower interest rates and flexible rescheduling of international debts - only tie the less developed countries more tightly into an economic order that is hopelessly weighted against them.

The "bankruptcy of the earth" was discussed in detail in relation to economic growth, trade and development, aid and the monetisation of local economies, debt and interest rates, and the perverse activities of the transnational corporations. In each case they adduced argument and evidence to illustrate the hopeless bind that less developed countries find themselves in.

The debt crisis is just one instance. The scenario is familiar. In order to pay off their debts Third World Countries are forced to "develop" cash crops for export

that leave no room for meeting the basic needs of their own people. Increased indebtedness assumes a continual growth of GNP which is quite inappropriate to the health of their local and national economies. In addition it has crucial environmental implications:

Indebtedness is not a curiosity of bad economic management, it is a symptom of a deeper malaise that equates "development" with the conversion of natural resources into consumable products... Indebtedness makes claims on the environment which are unsupportable and unsustainable.

And the big financial institutions only encourage this exploitation. The IMF and the World Bank exist to ensure that trade and economic growth are maintained whatever the social and environmental consequences. As Julius Nyerere said, speaking at the Mansion House last year:

Africa's debt problem is now intolerable. We cannot pay. You know it and all our creditors know it. It is not a rhetorical question when I ask, should we really let our people starve so that we can pay our debts?

In short, the debt "crisis" is not a crisis. It is a catastrophe.

Evidence was given of movements in less developed countries endeavouring to redress the balance, such as the Group 77 with its emphasis on collective self-reliance; initiatives by new governments of the 80s, such as Niger and Burkino Faso, designed to end their dependence on the world economy and aim for agricultural self-sufficiency; and environmental endeavours such as the Chipko movement in India, the Greenbelt movement in Kenya, the Consumers Association of Penang in Malaysia, and the Fundacion Natura in Ecuador.

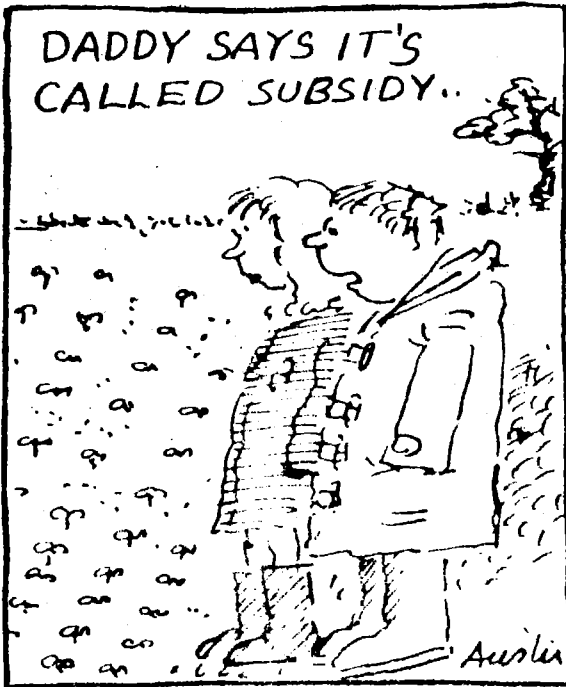
Redcliff and Porritt concluded that the less developed countries should move as quickly as possible to reduce their dependence on external trade, foreign loans and investment. They should seek "to reduce imports (leading to the development of their domestic sectors utilising local materials) and reduce dependence on high-cost foreign technology; and should encourage small-scale locally owned industries which are on average many times more labour-intensive per unit of capital than large foreign firms and better able to introduce appropriate technologies."

Of course they cannot do this effectively until the appalling burden of debt is lifted. The debts of the poorest countries should really be written off. Or at least no country should have to pay on annual debt service than 20% of its export earnings - some are currently forking out 35%. Clearly the IMF and the World Bank should be comprehensively reformed and "democratised" so that developing countries have an equal voice within both bodies.

What came out of the afternoon's discussions were the parallels between the needs of less developed countries and those of our own in the developed world. By giving more thought and investment to the principles of sustainability and the self-reliant local economy, we would be reducing our need to export to the poorer countries and at the same time go some way to meeting the growing external problems of our own economy.

James Robertson's main thesis which he has discussed in his books *The Sane Alternative* and *Future Work* centres on the argument that conventional economics, which is internationally and nationally based, has not only failed to solve the mounting problems that beset the world, but actually creates them. What is needed is the recognition of the reality of a "multi-level economic system" which includes economic and social realities in the local sphere. This means in addition to creating new codes for multi-national corporations and new regulations for continental and national economic and industrial policies, urgent consideration should be given to regional economic planning, municipalisation at city and county level, community projects in localities, and DIY and individual and household levels. Robertson insisted that this

letter sector, which includes much of the present informal economy, should now be given as much, if not more, emphasis than the public and private sectors of the community. And he asks whether it should not in fact become the official "third sector" of the 21st century economy.



In his paper he presents the hypothesis that "over the next five to ten years more self-reliant local economic development will increasingly become accepted world-wide as an objective of economic policy". He outlines some of the implications for public expenditure and public finance, savings and investment, and the structure of financial and monetary institutions, including currencies. He also identifies some of the issues to be included in the further programme of study and public debate that is now required.

Study especially needs to be done on the ways in which local needs can be met by local work using local resources and in addition to explore how the proportion of local income circulating locally can be increased in order to generate local work and economic activity. This includes local savings of all kinds as well as new financial mechanisms in the bigger institutions - both public and private - and to stimulate local enterprise and employment.

Local employment initiatives are already happening up and down the country. City councils such as Bradford, Sheffield and Glasgow, in addition to the metropolitan councils now abolished, were and are moving in this direction. The need becomes more urgent, of course, now that the metropolitan councils no longer exist: work needs to be done to persuade borough and county councils to take up the challenge where appropriate.

Robertson also explores the nature of possible private sector social investment. National financial institutions have understandably not been expected to invest substantial sums of their own and other people's money voluntarily in risky local economic ventures. But there are reasons why they might now begin to think more along these lines. One is the shift towards increasingly widespread decentralised commercial activity and the consequent demand on the financial institutions themselves. He suggests that the latter will have to consider actually decentralising their own facilities in tune with demand.

The other reason is to do with the supply side of the investment equation, and in particular with the changing attitudes of personal savers. The assumption is now being questioned that investors are looking only for the best financial returns irrespective of the nature of the investment. The signs are that more people do now care

how their money is used, so long as it is safe and brings in a reasonable return. As Robertson maintains, "there is now evidence of a growing demand for channels through which savers may invest in the kind of projects and enterprises which they themselves wish to support." This is reflected in the growing number of social investment funds being set up in the USA and, to a lesser extent, in Britain and Europe.

Questions were asked at the conference about the degree of evidence for these trends. Robertson quotes a host of examples in his paper which, even if piecemeal and small-scale, add up to a significant departure both in themselves and as models. In Britain there are the London Development Capital Fund and the West Midlands Regional Trust Unit through which pension funds can be invested in companies. In the States there are such initiatives as the local venture capital fund and revolving loan set up by the Homegrown Economy Project in St Pauls, Minnesota, and the ACTIVE Fund (Allegheny Targeted Investment Vehicle for Employment). In the private sector examples include the Institute for Community Economics and its revolving loan fund, the South Shore Bank in Chicago, and the Local Initiatives Support Corporation. More ventures are quoted, the most famous being the Caja Laboral Popular, a fully-fledged deposit-taking bank at the heart of the Mondragon Co-operative in Spain. World Women's Banking was represented at TOES by Michaela Walsh herself, its president, and she gave an account of its impressive record of backing women's enterprises worldwide. Three short papers on WWB were included in the TOES handout.

James Robertson's paper concluded with a 16-point agenda for further study and discussion, the scope of which indicates how far thinking and action on local self-reliance have already progressed.

TOES 1986 was a one-day conference this year, in addition to a rally. The experiment of inviting mainline economists to comment on the text of the main papers was an interesting one. Conference was somewhat mystified by their avowed agreement with 90% of the ideas expressed in the papers when it felt, judging from their comments, that this was not the case. This was particularly evident when Sheila Page ventured the opinion that the burden of debt on less developed countries was in fact stimulating to their economies; and furthermore that the policies of multinationals showed a degree of imagination that was beneficial to the Third World. David Pearce, with an academic's eye for analytical rigour and thoroughness of evidence to back up arguments, thought TOES was lacking in both these areas. Moreover it was tending to ignore the attempt being made by the established economists on the one hand to put across the same ideas, and the established institutions, such as the World Bank, on the other, to do something about the problem. Unfortunately he did not have time to present his own evidence for this criticism. Conference was left wondering whether these economists really did understand the position of TOES. It may be that TOES needs to look again at the way it presents its ideas and evidence. David Cadman, for TOES, thought it had been very useful to invite the economists and they would be assessing their contribution after the conference.

As ever TOES was a very congenial gathering and brought together a wealth of experience and ideas among those participating, as was evidenced in the liveliness of the workshops after the morning and afternoon sessions. Paul Ekins (Director of TOES) and James Robertson will already have taken a TOES statement and recommendations to the Tokyo Summit in May. Though they don't imagine the world leaders will take immediate notice of their proposals they confidently expect them to form part of their post-summit deliberations. Whatever the extent of their influence, TOES 86 will have proved again that it is one of the prime international fora for innovative and constructive approaches to the awesome economic problems facing humankind.

** TOES 86 papers can be obtained from Paul Ekins, TOES, 42 Warriner Gardens, London SW 11, price £5. The 1985 papers are also available, price £15.

Peace policy as manipulation

A reply to Peter Cadogan

Britain's current wave of nationalism could be exploited by the peace movement in the run-up to the General Election, according to Peter Cadogan writing in GL 41. Here ANDY KAYE argues that nationalism is at best irrelevant, and at worst a dangerous force.



PETER CADOGAN tells us that "people respond to events" and that the latest "event" to get them jumping up and down is the fear of colonisation by America, as highlighted by the Westland and BL-Austin-Rover affairs. He proposes to turn this wave of "good" nationalism against the presence of American military as well as industrial bases here, and so advance the cause of the peace movement by stealth.

But these good intentions lead straight into the murky waters of mass politics and mass communication, and the very idea of "mass society" itself.

Let's look more closely at these recent "events" that Peter Cadogan rates so highly. Both the Westland and BL-Austin-Rover affairs were basically squabbles

There is no good nationalism

between rival takeover bids. As such they fall into the general trend of takeovers (e.g. the disputes between the Guinness and Argyll groups over Distillers, and Hanson and U.B. over Imperial) which have been caused by the depression of world markets and the consequent difficulties of achieving any real expansion. The real consequences of such takeovers have nothing to do with nationalism (for those interested, America has still not got a controlling interest in Westland) and everything to do with the number of people who will be thrown out of work in the ensuing "rationalisation" and with the light it throws on the continuing development of the capitalist system. In making "foreign" industry subservient to their "home" industry the Americans may cause greater unemployment here - or they may not: the Westland workforce supported the US bid.

The Westland/BL affair was a non-issue. The "drama" of an American take-over was one more spectacle generated by the media and the wave of "nationalism" a manipulated and ritualistic irrelevancy (or a figment of some imaginations?). What chance is there of basing any real movement on, or finding any force for, real change in such chimeras. Peter Cadogan half recognises the ludicrous and illusory nature of all this when he speaks of people who have been unmoved "by the existence of over 100 military bases in Britain" suddenly getting worried by the BL and Westland issues.

To react to all this manipulation and mystification is merely to lend credence to the "reality" invented by the mass media and to strengthen its hold.

Next, something needs to be said about Nationalism itself. There is no good nationalism, whether media generated or not. The idea of nationalism cannot be separated from the idea of the strong nation, with all that this suggests about centralised government,

militarisation, bureaucracy, and so on. Nationalism may be an effective "instrument of colonial liberation", but all too often the only thing that changes is the nationality of the bosses. It may also be true that "of all political ideas nationalism is the most important; i.e. the most powerful" (my emphasis): but such a statement is merely a recognition of nationalism's manipulative power, rather than proof that it can achieve anything worthwhile.

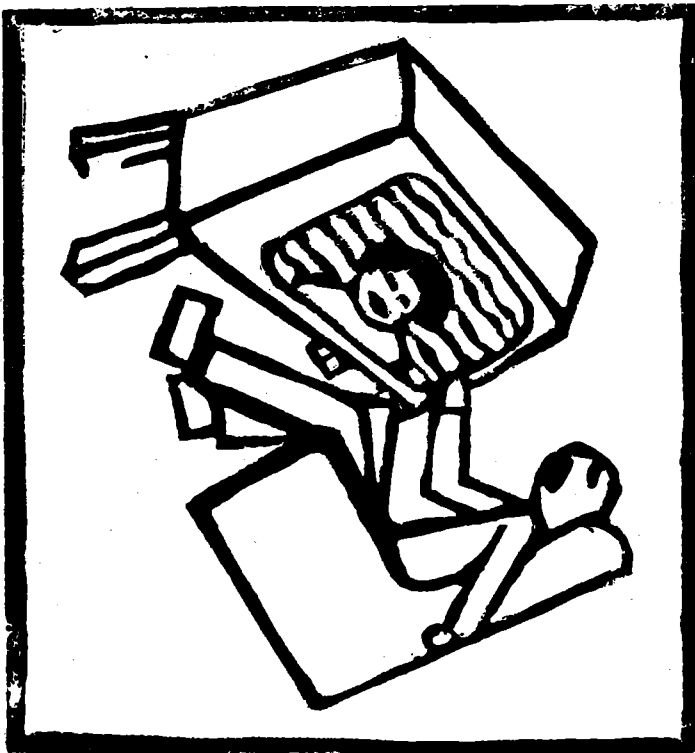
We are not colonised by America so much as by the industrial-military-bureaucratic system itself (American supremacy is merely a logical consequence of its presently being the most industrially advanced and powerful nation; some think that America will soon lose this to the Far East). So when Peter

The illusion of mass society

Cadogan presents us with "just two choices - to go in with the USA or Europe", we are being presented with no choice at all. The point is not to set the various national systems against each other, but to oppose them absolutely, in the EEC as much as in America. (The existence of multi- or trans-national companies makes the essential unity of all such systems all the more obvious; furthermore, they are quite capable of exploiting disputes between nations to their own advantage.)

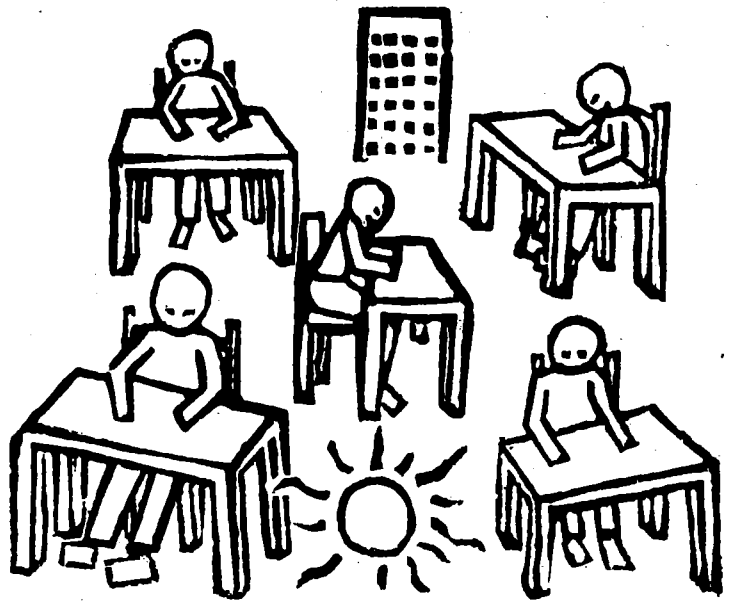
If in this country the system is so "distinctly rocky", we should be giving it a helping shove, not propping it up! Nationalism can have no part in this: it is a false response.

So finally it is clear that this "Peace Policy" amounts to nothing more than manipulation (whether knowingly or not) in a manipulative system, and to



the granting of validity to the whole merry-go-round of mass politics and "opposition" orchestrated by the media. It attempts to smuggle the aims of the peace movement in under a cloak of bogus nationalism. It is a bid for quick results, which can be only temporary if not a complete illusion and actually

counter-productive: New Zealand's stance does indeed cause some inconvenience to the Americans - an inconvenience that will probably be sorted out at the next General Election. And what then of all the time and effort people have put in?



The Attraction of War

It is dishonest. Its author obviously believes that there are gains to be made by exploiting a mood of nationalism, gains that will not be made by the peace movement stating its aims openly and by being honest about the problems that we face in changing anything. If you play the game of mass politics you will indeed be buffeted by the gusts of "opinion" expelled by the media. We become politicians when we start manipulating people for our own ends - no matter how good these may be. We can never win by accepting the rules and outlook of the system; we can merely contribute to its upkeep.

The policy is also dangerous: nationalism may indeed lead to "the immediate withdrawal of all foreign military installations" - only to replace them with domestic military installations, in much the same way that nationalism has thrown out colonial exploiters and replaced them with domestic-patriotic-exploiters! It is obvious that there is no connection between nationalism and the pledge that lies at the heart of this Peace Policy: those politicians who sign it would have signed it anyway. Nationalism is a force that can only work within the system.

Ultimately, we are being encouraged to take part in the illusion of mass society - in which manipulation is dressed up as "democracy" and "mass communication", and in which women and men are turned into election fodder and into the amorphous "masses". It is time we stopped playing this game - even in the name of an urgent realism - and stepped back to see it for what it really is. ::





"Close to my heart"

SATISH KUMAR, editor of Resurgence and founder of the Small School at Hartland in Devon, is at present walking the roads of Britain. His route is taking him in a great triangle from Devon to Canterbury to Iona and back to Devon, taking in many places of spiritual note - from cathedrals to holy wells - on the way. All along the route he is staying in the homes of well-wishers, and speaking to whoever will hear his message. PATRICK WHITEFIELD met him on the road to Glastonbury, where Satish began by explaining the reasons for his walk.

IN INDIA we have a tradition: when you are fifty you go on a sort of spiritual sabbatical, which means going on a pilgrimage to holy places. You have lived more or less half of your life and now it is important to see where you are, and therefore your new turning points, inspiration and renewal. So you go to places where sages, saints or great scholars have lived, by the banks of Ganges or holy temples. I am 50 this year, and I am on a pilgrimage not just of places, but of places and people.

PW I understand this won't be the longest walk you've done by any means.

SK No, no. Walking has been quite part of my life. When I was a young child my mother had a small holding which was three or four miles from our home, and we had no other transport but walking, so we would walk every morning to our smallholding to work, and back in the evening.

At the age of 9 I became a Jain monk. Jain religion is, I would say, the most ecological religion, because Jains believe in nonviolence which extends not only to other human beings but to the animal

world - Jains are always vegetarians - and also to the plant world and the whole natural world. Jains do not even cut living trees, or remove a whole plant to eat, like potatoes or onions, but eat only what a plant gives as fruit, like beans or peas. Therefore you cannot use animals for transport, so Jain monks always walk.

At the age of 18 I left the monkhood and joined Vinoba Bhave, who was walking from door to door and village to village and town to town, asking landlords to give land to the poor. He would say to the landlords, "If you have five children, consider me as your sixth child, the representative of the poor, the landless, the exploited, and leave one sixth of your land and wealth for the inheritance of the poor." In this way he walked all over India for 20 years and collected 5 million acres of land. I walked with him from the age of 18 to 26.

So walking is very close to my heart. When you walk you are in touch with the earth, the air, the wind and the rain, so you can understand nature and have reverence for nature. If you don't understand and live close to nature, you think nature is just a resource for your benefit and convenience. So walking keeps you close to nature.

When I was 26 I had an inspiration to walk for peace, to Moscow, to Paris, to London, to Washington. So I started from India, without any money on me, and walked 8,000 miles around the world, ending with a walk from Tokyo to Hiroshima. That was two and a half years of walking round the world, protesting against the world corporations, nuclear weapons, and the arms race.

But peace for me is not just political peace, disarmament, the peace of East and West. Peace for me has many dimensions. One important dimension is peace of mind, peace within yourself. If you are not at peace within yourself you cannot bring peace to the world. So you have to start being peaceful in your heart, in your mind, in your spirit.

Then peace with nature is very important. If we are at war with our rivers, our soil and our forests, that's not peace. A warring disposition against nature will extend to a warring disposition against other people. Nuclear weapons and the power struggle between the superpowers is only a symptom of the disease, only the top of the iceberg.

If you are not at peace within yourself, you cannot bring peace to the world.

PW And yet there seems to be a split at the moment in the alternative movement between the spiritual people who disdain politics, and the political people who disdain the spiritual.

SK One of the aims of my pilgrimage is to bring these three groups together: the green groups, the peace groups, and the spiritual "new age" groups. I think that these three aspects of life are very closely





related. We cannot have a successful green society unless there is a spiritual dimension, a moral dimension and an aspect of self-transformation. So the green people must respect and communicate with the new age, spiritually oriented people.

Also we need to bring peace people into it. Peace people have a strong commitment to disarmament, but they don't seem to have an in-depth understanding of



the close link between green issues and peace issues. In some countries, such as Germany and India, they have come together very closely, and there are attempts to bring them together in America.

I think bringing these three groups together in Britain is vitally important; but it cannot be done by talk, by passing resolutions at CND or Green Party annual conferences. It has to be done at a local level. In the towns I have stopped at on my way there are green groups and peace groups whose membership overlaps. So I say, you must join together and help each other. Then you will be part of the whole movement which is much larger than these groupings. So this is one of the aims of my pilgrimage. I'm meeting groups and walking to small towns, on a grassroots level, and not from the top.

PW What would you say is the relative importance of political action on the one hand and transforming our own lifestyles on the other?

SK They are two sides of the same coin. If you don't act politically and retreat to your meditation room and cosy smallholding, then you are ignoring your social responsibility, and ignoring the action which necessary to safeguard that lifestyle. But if you are active in politics without changing your own lifestyle, you will soon wear out and be burnt out. So in order to charge the batteries of political action you need to meditate and live a lifestyle which is conducive to the kind of society you want to create.

A perfect example of this combination of the two styles is in Mahatma Gandhi's movement. Gandhi was struggling for the independence of India, at the same time he was trying to bring in community living in his ashrams, he was also trying to promote craft - spinning, weaving - he was also trying to change the educational system, he was also praying and meditating every day. His lifestyle and political action were complementary to each other. You cannot transform

the world unless you are transformed - that's what Rudolf Bahro said.

PW Some people see the feminist point of view as being equally fundamental as the things we have been talking about.

SK I totally agree. Our society is very male-dominated. I am a great supporter, for example, of Women for Life on Earth, and Greenham Common.

I am also totally committed to feminist principles in my personal life. For example, I live and work from home. Home is, I think, the symbol of the feminist principle. Since I have made home the base of my economic activity, my wife can participate in the editing of Resurgence, in the organisation of the Schumacher Society, the running of the Schumacher Book Service, and so on. If I went and had an office separately then her life and my life would be divided, and it would be a problem who looks after home and children. But if you work from home you can do both things. I always cook the evening meal, and June makes lunch. We have two children and have always looked after them together, from changing nappies to feeding them to taking them to school to playing with them.

PW What part do you feel party politics can play?

SK I am not really a party politician myself, and although I support the Green Party I think its main function is to put across the message. Whether the Green Party will get into power and succeed to dismantle the centralised system is a distant question.

PW How do you feel about green people working within the main political parties?

SK I also support them wholeheartedly. At least they are bringing green issues to the forefront, and that is an important function. It was a tremendous thing when one of the main labour unions passed a resolution against nuclear power. I take things in a positive way, rather than looking for shortcomings in other people.

PW Many people see a close identity between socialism and the green approach. What do you think about that?

SK I think socialism lacks in spirituality. That is the main difference of opinion. I don't seem to find many socialists who have understood the principles of lifestyle, of self-transformation, and of values which are subjective, intuitive, and based on compassion and love. That is the only difference of opinion I have with the socialists. I myself would say that if you can bring these aspects into socialism, then socialist principles will be much more wholesome and complete. Then green, peace, and spirituality with socialism will be an even stronger movement.

** If you would like to walk with Satish when he is in your area, or offer hospitality, ring Resurgence on 02374 293; or write (with sae) to Ford House, Hartland, Bideford, Devon EX39 6EE. The walk started at the beginning of April, and will take about four months.



RELATIONSHIPS TO LIFE

RUDOLF BAHRO left Die Grünen last summer after the party refused to adopt an uncompromising position against animal experimentation. His statement on resignation was published in GL in February.

Here we print the first part of an interview Bahro has since given to a regional green newspaper in West Germany, North-Rhine-Westfalia Green Information.

Green Information: Since the debates in Hamburg and Hagen, we have had to ask ourselves this question: are your arguments against animal experiments ethical or political?

Rudolf Bahro: Neither. These two levels - the ethical and the political - are not fundamental, although they are relevant. The word "or" in the question is wrong in itself. There is the assumption behind it, which I have encountered more than once, that as far as I am concerned using political arguments as well as ethical ones is supposed to be a sin, or an indication of inconsistency. I had to approach my five minute speech in Hagen pragmatically. I wanted to point out to the delegates of a party that has already slipped back so deeply into conventional political behaviour that while pretending to be in favour of restrictions on animal experiments (which is not at all an ecological position), they were being persuaded to support animal experiments. They ought at least to be aware of what they are doing. I had no opportunity to state my general position, as I have done in the journal Kommune (no. 2/84). Not even the Federal Working Group on Animals and Humankind in its capacity as proposer of the motion was given the opportunity to do that.

When I first got involved with this issue about two years ago, I realised that it is more closely related to the causes of catastrophe than nuclear weapons themselves or nuclear power stations. This is because it is an issue which reflects our civilisation's fundamental attitudes towards life. The neutron bomb is regarded as ultra-evil, a special perversion of armament, in that it only destroys what is alive.

The humanistic principle of animal experimentation is the torture and destruction of helpless living things which are at our mercy for the (ostensible!) protection of our own lives. This is why animal experiments enable us to comprehend the logic of the self-extermination of humankind even more deeply than does the "Nuclear Madness". This is the ecologically fundamental position, but most greens are wondering about the opinion which I once expressed, that

"Of course the bomb, nuclear power stations, dioxin, famine and police terror are more immediately dangerous than animal experiments. Protection against these dangers aims at the postponement of the death sentence that we have imposed upon ourselves. If however we aim at the suspension of this death sentence, then my initially unrisky effort to write this article on the subject of animal experiments is more important than the somewhat more risky action of chaining oneself up in protest against the tyranny in Ankara. All these swords of Damocles that we have hung over ourselves are but products, materialisations of an overall structure which is inimical to life. Animal experiments, ostensibly intended to mitigate human pain and suffering and to protect human life, are and have long been by their very nature an integral part of the disaster-producing process itself."

GI In Hagen you argued that a draft bill like the one proposed by Sabine Bard is doomed to failure, even if it was drafted with the intention of restricting animal experiments. This is because we do not have



the power to prevent a further expansion of animal experiments. If you argue from a position of political power, which we may or may not have, then it doesn't matter how a bill was drafted.

RB No.

GI But you made the connection.

RB But quite differently from how you understand it. I was only interested in the reference to the real distribution of political power in so far as some

people seemed to co-operate with the political status quo here. You are pretending that the Greens all supported the abolition of animal experiments, and that they only argued about the means whereby this was going to be enforced. You seem to assume that the Hagen conference only decided against the radical position because it cannot be implemented. If you perceived the issue like this, you prove to have regarded it only as a political plaything. It seems strange then to keep insisting on something as unfeasible as disarmament.

But many of the 60% were simply not against animal experiments. The motive of protection of life was not uppermost in their consciousness; instead there prevailed a mixture of pragmatic ambitions and fears of the kind of disarmament that needs to be brought about in this area.

There is actually a difference in attitude between someone who argues in favour of a restriction on animal experiments instead of a total ban, because of a mistaken belief that this will make abolition feasible, and someone who wants to see some kinds of experiments continue and so would like to defend it under the pretext of restriction. Sabine Bard and Arnim von Gleich have always represented the latter position. Both know that this will mean the de facto expansion of animal experimentation. In the run-up to the federal party conference in Hamburg they were already arguing that since the majority of chemicals (between 95% and 100%) had not undergone a toxicity test, we could not be totally against experiments, since this was the purpose for which they were being used. Neither of them was ever against animal experiments in the sense of an actual decision. Rather, they were always concerned about which animal experiments should be prohibited, which ones needed to be better regulated, and what one would continue to need them for. This kind of argument does not reach the ecological level at all, and ethical concerns can only be used as a cover-up:

Animal experimentation is an issue more closely related to the causes of catastrophe than nuclear weapons or nuclear power.

"We are so, so sorry that these and millions more animals have to die for the good of humans; let us cause them as little suffering as possible."

GI Sabine Bard has argued about border-line cases. What about those? You've said yourself that they might actually benefit people.

RB I presented this as a possible topic for discussion but immediately added that this depended on how you used the concept of benefit. Of course in a society in which we are our own worst enemy the concept of benefit is reduced to egotism. Nobody would deny that the pharmaceutical industry benefits from animal experiments. Within the framework of the prevailing logic, which also manifests itself in language, the drug addict still benefits from at least the last but one syringe: it mitigates the suffering for a while. A gun can also benefit people, and one could use that as an argument in favour of a policy which covers the whole militaristic infrastructure. Just as the production of useful guns perpetuates the situation in which guns are beneficial, so it is with animal experiments; they reproduce exactly that kind of suicidal "benefit" which our

society has become accustomed to in every sphere.

We have just both agreed that so far insufficient consensus has been achieved in society to carry out even a reduction in animal experiments. It was in



this situation that 60% of the Green delegates in Hagen were concerned with "borderline" cases, and I must deal with this question again here. Such tactics are like being faced with the prospect of nuclear disarmament and then expressing the fear that women at risk would lack hand-guns for their self-defence if we were to decide that we wanted to close down the entire armament industry at one go. Who would discuss disarmament policy in such terms? But in the matter of animal experiments it was possible, and that is exactly what happened. Let us not deceive ourselves: if - hypothetically - it was possible to abolish animal experiments once and for all, there would have been in the conference chamber at Hagen a situation within the Greens not unlike civil war. That is the truth about how the Greens stand on the subject of animal experiments. There are also some greens, a minority, who want abolition. Those who argue about borderline cases do not want abolition, and the ideological favour they are doing to the medico-industrial complex serves to provide a psychological cover for all their activities. The people who have the power there can legitimise everything they have been doing up till now.

GI But that is a question of power!

RB Yes, but what are you getting at, what are you trying to fend off by saying this? It is above all a question of intellectual power (geistige Machtfrage) in the sense of Gramsci's concept of hegemony. It really isn't new to us how strong the enemy is. The only interesting question is where his strength lies and what follows from that. In this case it lies in the cultural consensus in favour of animal experiments in favour of the principle of animal experimentation, while behind that stands the even more deeply-rooted western world-view whereby the human species, as the

supreme being, may do anything which is of benefit, whether imaginary or real, to itself.

If it is a matter of breaking out of this consensus and this view of the world, then the outcome of the Hagen conference was simply no statement, no intervention, nothing. Or worse still: accepting the position of Bard and Gleich with the 60% means covering up the cracks in conventional consciousness and also avoiding ecological enlightenment for oneself. So afterwards nobody screamed out, simply nobody could feel embarrassed or bothered. The Greens were being "sensible". This is the method the Greens have used to trivialise the whole subject of ecology and to accustom society to a higher dose of daily horror.

But it is with regard to animal experiments that this failure is particularly serious; because this movement, in contrast to others, is growing, and the Greens are not fulfilling, but rather directly

The Greens were being "sensible".

obstructing, the purpose for which they came into being: the transfer of power in the political arena. Animal liberationists are people, particularly women, who are so deeply psychologically affected by the barbarism in laboratories that they cannot be placated by habituation to it, which is the usual reaction of people in the face of the nuclear hazard. The issue is not, in spite of your insistent questioning, what is and what is not feasible in a draft bill, but rather which repressions in the social consciousness can be broken open, and which of the already existing cracks can be widened. On account of the existing distribution of power, we must aim to make the alarm bell go off as loudly as possible. What Hagen meant was: smother it, and don't concern yourself with the intellectual aspects of the question of power. The reason was that too many Greens, some of them without realising it because they have always regarded the ecological crisis as nothing more than an "environmental crisis", are on the other side. The vivisection issue is a dividing line for us, of that I am quite sure.

GI First we should be inclined to doubt the fundamental radicalness of the animal liberationists, which you take for granted. In the Münsteraner Stadtblatt (a local newspaper) there was an interview with a radical animal liberationist who said, "We are only interested in animal experiments being stopped; we have nothing against the state or against society."

RB It's lucky that animal liberationists sometimes misrepresent their viewpoint, isn't it! Do you as Green politicians seriously mean that it matters to you whether a radical programme, whose necessity is self-evident, should be presented in the best possible way? When someone is attempting, using well- or ill-chosen phrases, to accommodate their position to the culture or lack of culture of the country (after Rebmann had attacked them as "terrorists"!), then there are in these circles people who use quite different phrases which ought to upset the Greens much more. Because since Hagen they are responsible for the feelings of impotence which can drive animal liberationists into desperate activism. ::

** Thanks to Helga Schwaln and Hugh Roper for the translation. The second part of the interview will appear next month.

BRAZIL: The chains of credit

Banks and the international credit system have bankrupted countries like Brazil, who spend most of their export earnings simply paying off debts and interest. Cardinal PAULO ARNS, Archbishop of Sao Paulo, considers the role of usury in the world and offers a theological approach.

LAST YEAR the Third World owed Western banks over £1 trillion and paid more than £100 billion in usurious interest. Every time the US banks raise their interest rates, thousands die in the Third World, because money that should be used for food and health care is sent out to pay interest to foreign bankers. While their own people die of hunger, these poor countries are actually forced to export food so as to earn money to pay their debts. Brazil, the biggest debtor of all, owes £103 billion to these private bankers in New York and Frankfurt.

It is not a secret to anyone that riots and loss of life have spread through the Third World in relation to the policies of the International Monetary Fund. These policies have led in the past and may lead again to military dictatorships. An elected president can go only so far in cutting off the means for his people to survive.

If we are determined to face the problem of world poverty, we have to work together on the most concrete of levels, that is the economic and the political.

On the economic level the greatest problem is the debt of the Third World to the First World. There is a real debt and there is also a manufactured debt.

In 1976 the Third World paid 5% in interest. But in 1980 the interest had risen to 21%. United States capitalism has become so dependent on sales financed by the expansion of credit that it is hardly an exaggeration to say that its very survival is in question.

Every school of economics has one or more answers to the international debt problem. We must choose an answer that not only alleviates the crisis at this moment, but that prevents it from happening again. Connected with the problem of debt is that of the multinationals.

These companies have for several decades expanded in all the main branches of our industry. We have paid

dearly in royalties and profits that have left the Third World for the First. But now the multinationals have expanded their presence in agriculture. Agribusiness is interested, in the first place, in exports. Food is exported from countries where the majority are undernourished to the countries of the First World. In Brazil, for example, 21% of the land is in the hands of small farmers and 43% is owned by agribusiness. But the small farmers produce 73% of the food consumed in Brazil, and agribusiness produces only 6%! If Brazil were a country of small farmers there would be no more hunger. The national priorities of the Third World must be determined by the basic needs of the majority in each country.

On the political level our criteria must be the defence of the life of the poor majority. We have to act so that the people have food. When Pope John Paul II visited Brazil, the poor in the north of the country held up signs that said: "Holy Father, the people are hungry!" This is the first and greatest problem: the great international political powers must work to see that the poor have food.

The problem of the Third World is not between capitalism and communism. We are not in an ideological struggle between East and West. We are hungry. We are ill. We are homeless. We are illiterate. We want to live. We want our children to be nourished in mind and body.

And this leads to a second point on the political level - the fear the First World has of political alternatives in the Third World. Alternatives must be identified, must be given legitimacy, and must be set in motion. Political and economic alternatives are



the hope of the Third World and the salvation of the First World.

We have an old political joke in Brazil. We were at the brink of an abyss and now we have taken a great step forward. International poverty is an abyss. And fear of national alternatives in the Third World is exactly this great step forward.

You ask, "How then may a person or firm get money to finance an operation if they do not have it? Doesn't someone who finances these operations deserve a return on the money?"

To answer these questions, let's look again at what the Bible says - or more correctly, at what it does

not say. The Bible does not say, "Do not lend." It says, "Do not lend on usury." There is a great deal of difference (see Ps 112:5). I believe we could learn from the Muslim banks about lending. When they give loans they do so on the understanding that they risk their money for a share in the profits: Note that all parties gain in this way. This is legitimate trading and God allows it; even encourages it as long as the traders are people of God (Eccl. 11:1,2). This is probably what Jesus meant in the parable of the three servants (Luke 19:11-27, cf Matt. 25:14-30). The master leaves each of three servants some of his money. When he returns two of the servants had increased his money for him, the third had buried it. The master condemned the third servant: "Then why did

Each time the US banks raise their interest rates, thousands die in the Third World.

you not put my money on deposit? I could have claimed it with interest when I came back." Of course the main meaning of this parable is about how diligently we serve Jesus, but the tales also have a literal meaning.

It should be noted as well that God encourages people to lend to the poor, with this promise: "He who is generous to the poor, lends to God. He will repay him in full." (Prov. 19:17). God however foresaw that even when there was no usury, there would still be people who ended up poor. For this reason he instituted tithing for the poor, and the year of remission. The Lord commanded every Israelite to pay a tithe (one tenth) on their income and on the produce of their land. This was to provide for the Levites (who were the priests). However, every third year the total tithe was made available to the poor, the widows, orphans and aliens, as well as the Levites (Deut. 14:28 & 29).

We can read about the remission in Deut. 15. "At the end of every seventh year you shall make a remission of debts. This is how the remission shall be made. Everyone who holds a pledge shall remit the pledge of anyone indebted to him. He shall not press a fellow countryman for repayment, for the Lord's year of remission has been declared." Imagine the joy of mortgage holders and overdraft sufferers if this system operated today.

"This is pie in the sky," I hear you say. "It wouldn't work." Well, let's see what God says. Look at verses 4-6 which are among the most remarkable in the Bible (and remember we have just been reading about tithing and the year of remission).

There will never be any poor among you if only you will obey the Lord your God by carefully keeping these commandments which I lay upon you this day; for the Lord your God will bless you with great prosperity in the land which he is giving you to occupy as your patrimony. When the Lord your God blesses you as he promises, you will lend to men of many nations, but you yourself will not borrow. You will rule many nations, but they will not rule you.

I read those verses through again and again and try to imagine a society like that. Now look at one more of God's provisions, the year of Jubilee. God gave to each tribe and each family a portion of land in Israel. They could if they wished sell this land and use the money for other things. Many became poor and lost their land for any number of reasons.

However, in the year of Jubilee, the 50th year, all land reverted to the original owners. You will find the details in Leviticus 25. Here it is made clear that the land belongs to the Lord and that the sale of land is temporary, until the next Jubilee (this does not apply to houses in towns). When you consider that the land provides most of the riches of the country, then this was a major way of redistributing wealth in favour of the poor. Is it any coincidence that as we look back in history we see periods of financial chaos ("difficult times") at approximately 50-year intervals? The problems of the 1780s led to the rise of Napoleon Bonaparte. Then there were the decades of the 1830s and the 1880s which are remembered for financial hardship. And what about the 1930s and the great depression. Millions were out of work watching a deteriorating situation that culminated in World War II. If history repeats itself we could be facing hard times again in this decade. Many people close to the financial markets have predicted a crash of horrendous magnitude. They may be right. If we fail to listen to God, He cannot be blamed for the consequences.

As I said before the poor, along with widows, orphans and other needy people, are very close to God's heart.

We were at the brink of an abyss.
Now we have taken a great step forward.

Consider what God says in Isa. 58:6-8: "Is this not what I require of you as a fast, to loose the fetters of injustice, to untie the knots of the yoke, to snap every yoke and set free those who have been crushed. Is it not sharing your food with the hungry, taking the homeless poor into your home, clothing the naked when you meet them and never evading a duty to your kinsfolk? Then shall your light break forth like the dawn and soon you will grow healthy like a wound newly healed." We could give many such examples of God speaking, all showing His concern. So what does He do about it? The following seems to be the pattern of events we see in the Old Testament.

- 1) The people follow God's laws and great prosperity is enjoyed.
- 2) There is a falling away, a relaxing of moral standards. Warnings are given by God.
- 3) The poor and needy are oppressed. Justice is slackened. Bribery, corruption and usury increase. There is a growth in idolatry. More warnings are given and usually ignored. Adverse circumstances (extremes of weather, famine, disease and war) appear and get worse.
- 4) Idolatry is rampant and justice is only for the wealthy and influential. The people are under great oppression. God gives final warnings of sweeping national judgement, just before it happens.

I believe that God is saying to nations now, as He did to ancient Israel: "For crime after crime of Israel, I will grant them no reprieve; because they sell the innocent for silver and the destitute for a pair of shoes. They grind the heads of the poor into the earth and thrust the humble out of their way." (Amos 2:6/7).

The question now arises: what implications does this have for us as Christians?

The commandment about usury is of the same order as the Ten Commandments (i.e. binding for all time) given to ancient Israel. I am sure every Christian would consider these relevant today. Jesus is the same yesterday, today and tomorrow (Heb. 13:8); as is God

the Father. Jesus said: "Who has seen me has seen the Father" (John 14:9). If God was against usury (lending for interest) in Moses' day, He is against it now. Usury is still wrong in God's sight.

Dear friend, are not all Christians now a part of the Children of Israel? Read the book of Romans and see that Gentile Christians are the "wild olive branches grafted into the true olive tree" (ch. 11). Christians agree that we are heirs to God's promises in both the Old and New testaments. All Christians are our brothers and sisters, whatever their nationality.

Jesus showed that the law consisted of two commandments. "You shall love the Lord your God with all your heart and all your mind and all your soul. That is the greatest commandment. It comes first. The second is like it. Love your neighbour as yourself. Everything in the law and the prophets hangs on these commandments." (Matt 22).

In the parable of the good Samaritan we learn that our neighbour is a friend in need, regardless of race. Read Acts 10 for the account of the apostle Peter's receiving the revelation that God was extending his grace to the Gentiles. Note also Paul's injunction in Galatians 6:10: "So then as we have opportunity let us do good to all men, and especially to those who are of the household of faith."

We must treat all people as our brothers and sisters. How then can we impose usury on anyone? It is clearly against the letter of the law to lend on usury to fellow-Christians and against the spirit of the law to extract interest from non-Christians. So why, you ask, haven't you heard much of usury and why doesn't the Church say anything about it? I am afraid the reason is because the Church no longer speaks out on moral issues, as it once did. Throughout much of Church history it condemned usury in no uncertain terms. As I researched this point I was made aware of the difference in the attitude of the Church now compared to several hundred years ago. Then even small cases of usury brought swift and harsh penalties. It was the rule that the secular law was based firmly on the Church's attitude to usury.

Brothers and sisters, I have set before you the biblical condemnation of usury. I have shown you some of the evil it causes; one group gathering the wealth of a community to themselves and causing poverty among the people. I have presented my reasons for believing it is wrong to inflict this evil on anyone at all. I now ask you, as a child of God, can you subscribe to the present-day financial system? Let the Holy Spirit be your guide.

Footnote:

It is characteristic of Old Testament theology that it always saw God's hand in history - in historical and social events. This was a highly political way of looking at "God's word" and human affairs. The prophets in particular were especially perceptive when it came to seeing what was truly in the people's interests, and what was likely to bring disaster in the longer term. Disasters like war, famine and plague were God's judgement: in other words, they were the direct effects of a bad social and political order, and of the worshipping of idols. The parallels with today are plain to see!

The Archbishop's article has been edited to remove sexist language. The biblical quotes, however, have been left unchanged.

(Ed.)

☉ Maingreens for the Mainstream ☉

Means or ends? Pragmatism or principles? In West Germany Die Grünen are divided into 'realos' and 'fundis'. Now 'realos' in the UK Green Party have thrown down the gauntlet: there's no room for 'fundis' in an electoralist party. Will the party split? JON CARPENTER looks at what's been going on.

A PRIVATE SOCIETY with membership by invitation only, a subscription of 1% of post-tax income and a full-time worker could soon be set up to "control" the Green Party's 'Party Council' and to bring new ideas of organisation, image and leadership into green politics. That at least is the objective of one of the society's initiators, Paul Ekins.

Two dozen or more party members were contacted by phone in March, some by the former chair of the party's (then) 'National Council', Jonathan Tyler, and others by Paul Ekins, also an ex-chair of Party Council and now Director of The Other Economic Summit. They were asked if they would like to attend a meeting to discuss the party's organisation and strategy. Twenty three people, most but not all of them party members, subsequently received a letter from Messrs Ekins and Tyler inviting them to a 'Green Strategy Meeting' in London on May 10. Two discussion papers were circulated with the invitation, one by Jonathan Tyler and one by Paul Ekins.

Jonathan Tyler's paper reviews likely developments over the next three years with regard to (a) the timing of the General Election, and (b) the implementation of proportional representation. Barring disasters or an overt leadership challenge, it assumes that Mrs Thatcher will remain in office until June 1988, trying to the last to improve her standing with the electorate. After that, given the "most likely outcome" of a hung parliament, the paper envisages a "more than 50% chance" of PR being introduced for the European elections of June 1989. The Green Party is seen as "desperately unprepared" for the electoral successes that would probably follow.

The rest of the paper reviews the state of the party in the light of the rejection (at the party's conference in February) of a comprehensive package of constitutional and organisational reform - the "POWG proposals" - put forward by Tyler and Ekins themselves. (The POWG plan gained a narrow majority of votes, but not the two-thirds needed to enact constitutional change.)

In Jonathan Tyler's view, the party contains a "disproportionate representation of people who have been part of, or have opted out of the formal economy." There is "a corresponding under-representation of people who appreciate from their responsibilities in business or the professions the importance of effective deployment of resources, of simple administrative efficiency, and of ordering priorities." Further, "a small number of anarchists/anti-centrists who are profoundly antipathetic to all government and who simply do not accept the mainstream party-political objectives ... exercise undue influence at Conference ... despite their patent lack of a constituency."

Jonathan Tyler writes: "I joined the Party to seek elected office in order to secure substantial change. It is frustrating after so much effort to remain so far from that. If our chance really is approaching I cannot bear

the thought that it will slip from our grasp through collective incompetence - there is no other word for the conduct of too much of our business at present."

Against such a despondent assessment of the status quo, Jonathan Tyler believes there is widespread support in the party at large for a change of direction. By putting up a slate of candidates for the elections to Party Council over the next three years (starting this September), the aim would be "to steer the party ... towards a style, an organisation and a political impact that will at last reflect our ideological and our governmental ambitions." With like-minded people elected where possible as representatives from the areas, they would work: .

- + to build the appropriate machinery and to raise the financial stakes;
- + to broaden the membership base (targetting particularly professionals and business people, but also social groups currently barely represented);
- + to replace the hippie image of the Party with one of clear electoral relevance; and
- + to push through constitutional change.

☉ Back from the margins

Paul Ekins' paper focusses on three linked themes: what he describes as the marginal nature of the Green Party; the "glittering prize" PR could deliver to the party in 1989; and the need to put green politics into the political mainstream.

The Green Party is marginal, he argues, because firstly of defective structure and organisation. "Successful politics is 90% organisation," he argues, echoing Jonathan Tyler's desire "to rally those who yearn for us to be effective as opposed to those who wish us first to be unsullied." But Paul Ekins believes the failure of the POWG proposals means there is no time to turn the Green Party into "a mainstream political organisation ... this side of the General Election." Matters are made worse by the party's "uncontrollable image" - here he focusses on Sid Rawle who "by himself can and will guarantee the continued marginality of the Party, given the profile which the Party seems unable to deny him. When, as is the case, there are at least a score, and perhaps a hundred other activists like him, a mainstream image for the Party is simply a lost cause." Finally, the party lacks a leadership structure to motivate and support (in an obvious reference to Jonathon Porritt) "a man of positively prime-ministerial calibre". Evolving "a means of ensuring effective leadership ... will be the first step of another big internal struggle, which will need to be won if the Green Party is to enter the mainstream."

Putting these matters right will help the party if PR is introduced for the '89 Euro elections - and Ekins agrees with Tyler that this is odds-on. The other consideration is ensuring that greens who are at present in other parties or none ("either because they feel the present electoral system makes it a waste of time, or because they can't stomach the Green Party's lack of credible organisation, image, leadership") become effectively involved in the Party as soon as they wish to.

At this point "two vital questions" are formulated for the May 10 meeting to consider: how can the "internal deficiencies" of the Green Party be remedied, and how can "we" start a dialogue with "the key people" who would enter green party politics after PR?

Paul Ekins describes his answers to these questions as tentative, and they are inter-connected. They centre on a new word - "maingreen" - apparently previously coined and not defined here, but central to which are

the concepts of pragmatism, effectiveness, and mainstream image and practice. He does not feel that the proposal to gain control of the Green Party Council is a sufficient objective, although it's a necessary one: "there is no guarantee that a Maingreen Party Council could overcome the obstacles to necessary constitutional change." Thus a slate of candidates for taking control of Party Council is just one of the tasks of "a new organisation", to be called "Maingreen". This "forum for pragmatic Greens committed to taking green politics into the mainstream" would have the long-term aim of "winning the election of large numbers of green politicians at all levels". In the short term it would aim:

(i) to establish a national green political grouping with sound organisation, mainstream image and effective leadership either by changing the Green Party into such a grouping or by becoming such a grouping itself.

(ii) to draw into membership of or dialogue with this grouping those who might become active in green party politics following a change in the electoral system.

Initially, at least, Maingreen should be a private society with membership by application or invitation only, "stressing that we only want pragmatic Greens interested in real power for green politics". Members would have to satisfy detailed criteria as to ideology and strategy. With subscription rates a minimum of £25 a year, the objective would be to have a full-time worker within a year. Maingreen would "quickly ... establish itself within the Green Party as the forum for serious political thought, ... enrolling as members as many Green Party members and activists of a mainstream turn of mind as possible" and setting up its own "regional structure". It would also campaign outside the party, and members of other parties would be allowed to join: this would be easy to do because "initially" Maingreen would not "actually" be a political party.

The group's policy would be based on the Green Party's draft General Election Manifesto which, Paul Ekins notes, is "due to be written in the autumn by two people at the May 10 meeting. Aided by "sympathetic professionals" Maingreen would discuss the relative importance of different policies and where policy needed developing. If Green Party Conference then "insists on the inclusion of such topics as cannabis", the unamended policy would remain as Maingreen's own platform. Ideology would also be a prime concern: it is seen as "alarmingly unfocussed" and Maingreen would be a forum for focussing it.

Finally, on the question of leadership, a successful Maingreen is expected to attract as much press interest as the Green Party. "Moreover, the process of its establishment could be most intriguing for the press if skilfully handled." Maingreen would need "the best leadership" and would have to give adequate back-up. Paul Ekins concludes with the question whether Jonathon Porritt "could become identified with Maingreen where he can't be the Green Party's national spokesman."

☉ One party or two?

These two papers were sent to 23 people, evidently preliminarily identified as likely maingreens. The list was Adrian Atkinson, Dave Dalton, Martin Davies, Jeremy Paull, John and Rose Foster, Mayer Hillman, Tony Jones, Jean and Steve Lambert, Susan Lofthouse, George McRobie, Aubrey Manning, Tim O'Riordan, Sara Parkin, Alec Ponton, Jonathon Porritt, Sue and Tony Redshaw, Jo Robins, Martin Sewell, Heather Swailes and Sally Willington. It included only one of the three co-chairs of Party Council, Jo Robins (who alone of the co-chairs had supported the POWG proposals in February.) Despite the confidentiality of the whole issue at this stage, she decided that she could not share in the secrecy given her official role.

While other recipients were also showing the papers round, Jo Robins conferred with the other co-chairs and it was decided to call a special meeting of Party Council for the same date as the Maingreen meeting.

This proved controversial in its own right, condemned by the Maingreen conveners as an attempt to spike their meeting and to deny members the basic right of holding meetings as they see fit. But the Council meeting went ahead on the grounds that it should discuss what was seen as "a move fundamentally opposed to all the Green Party stood for."

The Party Council meeting decided to relieve Paul Ekins of his responsibility for co-authoring the next election manifesto. No action was taken any other declared - or likely - Maingreen supporters: these include among their number the party's press officer and campaigns director, the editor of its quarterly newsletter, the party secretary, and the chair of the appeals tribunal. (The other co-author of the election manifesto, Sara Parkin, had already disassociated herself from the Ekins statement, as have Adrian Atkinson and Jean and Steve Lambert). Council agreed to write a strongly worded letter expressing "extreme disapproval" of the contents of both papers to their authors. It objected very strongly to the naming of Sid Rawle, and to the notion that a "secret society" was going to be writing the party's manifesto. It was felt to be against everything the party stood for if a group of people partly based outside the party itself were to aim to "control" Party Council. There was also criticism of elected officers/employees who, it was said, had failed to discharge their responsibility to the party by agreeing to keep the meeting secret: membership of Maingreen could lead to divide loyalties, and indeed was meant to. An apology from Tony Jones in this respect was accepted.

The Maingreen meeting went ahead as planned, though curtailed because several participants first attended part of the Party Council meeting. Those present were Dave Dalton, Martin Davies, Paul Ekins, Jeremy Paull, John and Rose Foster, Susan Lofthouse, Alec Ponton, Jonathon Porritt, Sue and Tony Redshaw, Martin Sewell, Heather Swailes and Jonathan Tyler. Tony Jones had to remain at the Party Council meeting, while Adrian Atkinson attended as an observer after Jonathan Tyler had refused to circulate to participants a paper he had written critical of the maingreen proposals.

The meeting was in some respects inconclusive. Maingreen is not yet formally constituted as envisaged by Paul Ekins. Jonathan Tyler told GL that his proposal for a slate of candidates for Party Council was agreed to, but that "no immediate steps" are being taken to set up "a full-grown organisation". We understand that Paul Ekins' paper was discussed as such, but that there was no major opposition to it expressed by any of those present. Maingreen will hold a further meeting in July, attendance by invitation only.

Maingreen is the latest in a series of attempts over several years by "elder statesmen" within the party to establish a forum and exert influence. The POWG proposals took three years to prepare and were designed to increase efficiency at the centre with a structure akin to that of CND; although the original POWG group was more widely based, by the end it consisted to all intents and purposes only of Paul Ekins and Jonathan Tyler. POWG was supported by another "secret society", Ecobores, a group which meets from time to time over dinner and discusses more day-to-day party business. A number of campaigns at national level, particularly those geared to electioneering, appear to have originated within this group, whose participants include Paul Ekins, Tony Jones, Jean Lambert, Sara Parkin, Alec Ponton, Jonathon Porritt and Jonathan Tyler. The three women co-chairs of this year's Party Council were confidentially invited to join Ecobores; they declined, as they felt they would be subject to divided loyalties.

A previous initiative of Jonathan Tyler's, an invitation-only conference at Spode House some four years ago, also

focussed on elections: that too became controversial when its existence became known. Its function, however, was only to feed ideas to Conference and Party Council.

Maingreen, however, breaks new ground as it specifically identifies Conference as a hindrance to the kind of progress it wants the party to make. (Conference is the party's sovereign body, meets twice yearly, and can be attended by any member: it does not recognise "delegates" nor are there any block votes, though members can nominate others to vote for them by proxy.) Even Ecobores appears not to have tried to influence the organisation or content of conferences, though the POWG proposals would have vested more real power at an executive level. Maingreen is also "new" in that it looks outside the party for support, and envisages a point at which (in Paul Ekins' eyes at least) it would break away from the Green Party and set up a separate organisation - which can only be interpreted as a new

party, unless it sought to affiliate or make arrangements with an existing party from another part of the spectrum.

At present, however, Maingreen has agreed not to admit non-members of the Green Party, and to test that tenet of its faith which believes there to be a large silent majority of "sensible people and pragmatists" out there in the party, who will vote for the Maingreen slate. This will be put to the test at the party's AGM at Newcastle in September. In the meantime a debate is getting underway in the Green Party: just what does "Green" really mean after all? There have always been two answers to this, at least in practical everyday terms, and the party has been proud that it commands the support of people across these lines of disagreement. Now the scent of election victory - and parliamentary seats - are on the nose of the more pragmatic members, such bonds have been burst asunder.

It makes the Green Party look much like any other.

letters

How green is Gaddafi?

While I agree with much of Graham Bell's article on Libya (GL 42), I must take issue with his contention that Gaddafi is at the head of a "Green Revolution" and that many of his aims would find favour in the green movement here. Mr Bell has not backed up his statements with any elucidation as to what Gaddafi's aims are, and indeed in all the media coverage of the affair the one thing conspicuously missing is any discussion of what Gaddafi actually wants to achieve. Could this be because everyone's making assumptions, and no one has thought of actually asking him?

Mr Bell then somewhat grudgingly adds the rider, "except perhaps that we are able to advocate nonviolence." Surely this is the whole point. Whatever Gaddafi's policies are, if he hopes to realise them through violence, then we who support nonviolence should have no part of them. It would be a sad day if, by condemning violence on one side, we should support it on another. The answer to the question, "Who are the terrorists now?" is, regrettably, "Both of them." Let us distance ourselves completely from this episode if we wish to achieve our aims.

Michael Bloom
5 Alder Lodge, 292 Bury Street West
London N9 9LL

No excuse for sacrifice

I was shocked to find in GL 42, in the article on the role of paganism, excuses being made for animal and human sacrifice. There was something in an earlier issue about making cows jump over fire to purify them! Such practices should be strongly condemned, along with the sort of superstitious religion that encourages them.

Fanatical religion is one of the most evil forces in the world. True religion is ethical and promotes compassion. It is sometimes beyond, but never contrary to, reason.

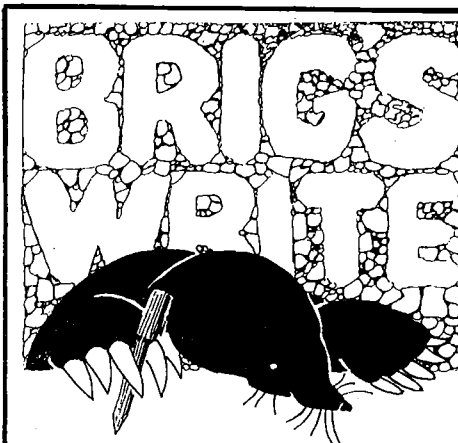
Kathleen Jannaway
Movement for Compassionate Religion the
Vegan Way,
47 Highlands Road, Leatherhead, Surrey.

Anglo-Celtic conference

It strikes me as rather strange that Ecologists should hold conferences twice a year at the UK level, less frequently at the regional level in many regions, and less frequently again at the Anglo-Celtic archipelago, European and Global levels.

If members of the republic's Green Alliance, Britain's Green Party, and greens from the Channel Islands, IOM etc. are into having an Anglo-Celtic conference, I'd be into organising one here on the North Coast.

Malcolm Samuel
99 Prospect Road,
Portstewart, N Ireland
(Phone 026583 2301).



FIRSTLY, an explanation. I couldn't get my copy in to the editor last month because I'd been arrested - and very odd it was too!

I was arrested on my way to London on April 19 - the Saturday of the Libya bombing demo - on a warrant issued in Epping and which I knew absolutely nothing about. According to the warrant

I had been arrested at Molesworth on Feb 6 and bailed to appear in Epping on Feb 20 on a charge of stopping on the hard shoulder of the M11 last August. As I hadn't turned up in court, this warrant had been issued to arrest me without bail.

I was taken by police car from Andover to Harlow and locked up all over the weekend, hence missing the demo and a CND Council meeting, before being bailed again on the Monday. The funny thing is that I was NOT arrested on Feb 6, nor (according to the Huntingdon police) was anyone else arrested in my name. So my solicitor is still trying to find out how the warrant got issued; and despite my imprisonment I still got fined £10 for having a sleep on the hard shoulder!

Meanwhile I've also been in and out of the High Court on the Stonehenge injunction proceedings. The National Trust, English Heritage, M.O.D. and about 20 farmers and agribusinesses wanted injunctions against 49 people against trespass on land at and around Stonehenge. It was a similar injunction against 84 named people which was used to justify the police action last June 1.

As expected they got their injunction, although a couple of names got knocked off the list due to insufficient evidence. The list had been supplied by the Wilts. police "Stonehenge Intelligence Unit", and most of the names had been among the 520 arrested last year, although only 2 had actually been convicted of anything. Only about 10 had been on last year's list.

I was on the list this year because I had defended last year's Westbury eviction action (in which we temporarily beat the M.O.D.), attended the negotiations with the Heritage and the Trust through the winter, and spoken in favour of the Festival in a meeting in Salisbury.

Wiltshire police appear keen to avoid a repeat of last year. Even when about 50 vehicles drove onto the old festival on May 17, they went "by the book" and let everyone leave in peace after the National Trust obtained a writ (within 12 hours) to evict them. The police have said that they will maintain a 5-mile exclusion zone around the Stones but will not act without court orders outside that area.

THE GREEN POLICY CALLS FOR:- 1. Return to Good Husbandry. Farmers to be assisted and subsidised to change from factory and "prairie" farming to mixed crop rotation in fields with adequate hedgerows. 2. Making Britain self-supporting in basic foods. As artificial fertilisers are barred this means a full return to the land of organic waste, i.e. sewage. However, as our sewage is heavily contaminated with industrial waste, this will involve the complete reorganisation of the country's drainage system at tremendous cost. 3. Setting up reclamation plants at municipal waste disposal centres. 4. Re-afforestation: 40% of Britain's forest land since the War has been lost; this is to be restored with broad-leaf trees. 5. The National Income. This involves the issue of a basic income to all citizens over and above any earnings and irrespective of being employed. This becomes increasingly necessary as micro-chip automation displaces human labour. The Policy also includes aid to the Third World and a number of social reforms.

FUNDING THE POLICY:- Implementation of the Policy, together with the ordinary outlay for social service and defence, will entail a vast expense. Three methods of payment are: (1) Increased Taxation. Brig Oubridge of the Green Party envisages a taxation averaging 50% of all incomes. Richard Hunt puts it at 90%! Even at the lower figure such a levy will cause stagnation and a slump. Furthermore automation will mean less people capable of paying the tax. (2) Borrowing from the Banks. This, with the crippling interest charged, will mean an even worse slump for future generations. (3) The Social Credit Way. To understand this, it is necessary to know that all money comes into existence as a result of bank loans which are created by the banks OUT OF NOTHING! The usurious interest they charge produces huge debts. As shown in an article by Cardinal Arns of Brazil, these debts are crippling the Third World and destroying its ecology. Social Credit requires that all money creation shall be in public hands and that public services, including the Green Programme, can be funded without debt and extra taxation by the issue of community credit based on, and only limited by, the available production of the country. What is physically possible automatically becomes financially possible.

THEREFORE SOCIAL CREDIT SHOULD BE STUDIED BY EVERY SINCERE AND PRACTICAL ECOLOGIST!

Literature available

"SOCIAL CREDIT AND THE LEISURE STATE" by Wilfrid Price. This paper-backed booklet gives, with illustrations, a fairly comprehensive explanation of the Social Credit proposals with a social background. It puts forward an original theory as to the origin of war, and has a chapter on ecology. Price 50p post free.

"THE SIN OF USURY AND FINANCIAL EXPLOITATION" by Colin Price M.Sc. This (at present) typescript paper shows by excerpts from the Bible, Church history, Church and lay bodies the evils referred to in the title. It includes the article by Cardinal Arns. 25p post free. Both works are obtainable from the Social Credit Union, Cairnacre, Midgehole, Hebden Bridge, West Yorks HX7 7AL.

THE CONFESSION OF THE KIBBO KIFT, by John Hargreave FRSA, author of Summer Time Ends, Words Win Wars, Professor Skinner Alias Montague Norman, The Life and Soul of Paracelsus, etc. Reprint of 1927 edition. From the Kibbo Kift Foundation, 3 Rosemary Court, Fortune Green Road, Hampstead, London NW6. £8.25 post free.

The Kibbo Kift was formed in 1921 as a camping ecological movement to offset the side effects of industrialisation with the aim of releasing and emancipating the Individual from the demoralising and unworkable economic system with its attendant wage slavery. It adopted Social Credit in 1929 and, by stages, became the Social Credit Party. The Woodcraft Folk originated in the Kibbo Kift.