

GREEN *Line*

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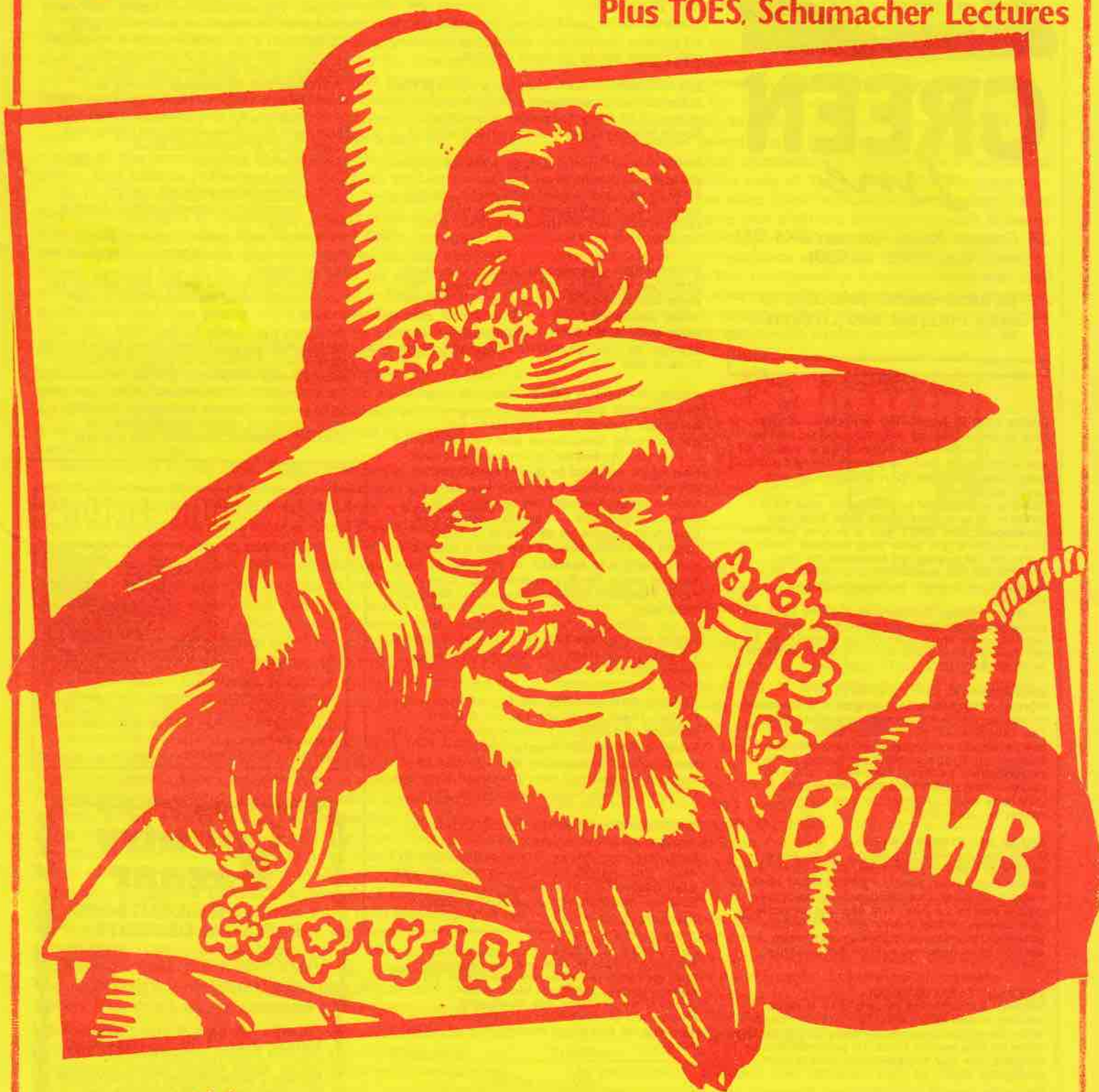
Why the World Bank must go

Chief Seattle's real message

Basic Income Schemes

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Plus TOES, Schumacher Lectures



“Remember, remember...”



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GREEN *Line*

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THE INDEPENDENT MAGAZINE OF
GREEN POLITICS AND LIFESTYLE

GREEN LINE is published ten times a year, and is produced by a collective based in Oxford. This issue appeared as a result of the efforts of Jon Carpenter, Jerry Spring, Leigh Shaw-Taylor, Barry Maycock, and Carol Guberman. Thanks especially to all those who help collate, staple and stuff this mag into envelopes, but don't get a proper mention. You wouldn't get your mag without their work. GL 56 appeared because of the efforts of Tim Andrewes and other members of Oxford University Green Action.

If any other readers can offer help we are always pleased to hear from you. You can be sure that there'll be something to do that you're good at. Ring 0865 726229 or 0865 724315

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The next issue is due out on December 1st. We need all news by November 15. When sending articles, please note that in general all articles are read and discussed at an editorial collective meeting on the first Wednesday of each month.

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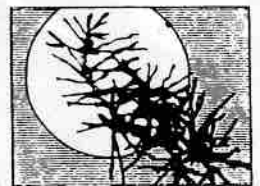
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Breaking the silence

THE LOCAL peace group AGM was, I am told, a quiet affair this year - a far cry from the acrimony and bitter divisions of previous years. In fact it gets a little quieter every year. Once it was considered necessary to be at this event, whatever our political perspective, and this accounted for all the arguments and controversy - people actually took note of what the local CND group said and did. Its political pronouncements, its press statements, etc, were considered important in the context of local politics: I remember angry arguments over the group's support (or lack of it) for the miners during their long strike, when the whole group was bitterly divided. If a similar situation occurred today it is doubtful whether anyone would bother to find out the views of the local CND group, let alone lobby for support - that is the measure of the change that has taken place, and this is reflected nationally as well.

In the run-up to the 1983 election Defence Secretary Heseltine thought it necessary to put a good deal of energy into containing the 'threat' of CND, engaging in lavish publicity stunts, like the visit to Berlin. Similarly, it was crucial for us to 'stand up and be counted' in the autumn demonstration of that year at a time when politicians and the press were announcing the 'death of CND'. By 1987 all of this had ceased to matter: peace campaigners even boasted at how quiet it had all been during the election campaign, how defence hadn't been a crucial issue, nor had it contributed to Labour's defeat. So CND's historical moment, in the spotlight as it were, as a mover of events, has passed - indeed it passed several years ago.

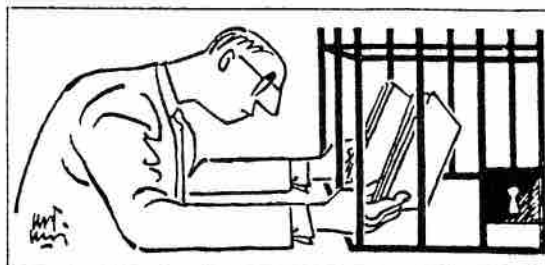
Recollecting those past AGMs once more, I can see how inevitable were those rows and arguments: people of every political persuasion had gathered - and indeed it would be hard to imagine how a more diverse collection of people could ever have assembled under one roof. There were Quakers and anarchists, Christians and Pagans, Marxists and liberals - all we had in common was our opposition to the bomb, and even this wasn't clear-cut, since a distinction was often made between the nasty aggressive capitalist bomb and the peaceful defensive Soviet bomb. Unity could only be maintained by focussing on 'single-issue' concerns, and our debate restricted to ideas for the next demo; deeper issues had to be wrapped in a necessary silence.

Hence the significance of Molesworth: it was one of those earthquakes within the peace movement which lay bare the deeper fissures within it, cracking open this fragile unity; it revealed, not so much a conspiracy of silence, as an awareness of the necessity for silence, to keep the whole show on the road. Furious rows similarly developed over CND's membership of the IYP Council - an issue which revealed bungling ineptitude, but also hinted at murky goings-on behind the scenes. I remember when we decided to discuss this at a local CND meeting, but as we tried to come to grips with the problem, in an increasingly tense atmosphere, one of the group made an impassioned plea for 'unity' - we were a 'peace' group and didn't do unpeaceful things, like argue with each other. This point of view seemed to confuse peace with 'politeness', but it had its effect: we all acquiesced, and the resulting silence could not be penetrated; any dissenting voice would have been seen as demoralising, diverting energy from our historic task, opposition to the bomb.

And yet those who do want to grapple with deeper issues, those who are often the most politically

committed, have to take their commitment and energy elsewhere, and leave the group poorer and weaker as a result. The tyranny of this unspoken consensus is harder to combat than any hierarchical power, where at least the 'enemy' is known and the task before us clearly visible.

Another result of this self-censorship is that we cannot apply, to ourselves and to our movement, the kind of searching critique we apply so brilliantly to the nuclear state, or the arms trade. Self-questioning leads to self-understanding, and is the lifeblood of any organisation or movement: it learns from the past, provides lessons for the future. There is barely a hint of self-examination in any of the peace magazines I read, no deeper questions are asked. For example, what are the real political assumptions behind peace movement thinking? What is the role of the Quakers in the peace movement, and how does their influence, particularly at a local level, determine our political effectiveness? If many in the peace movement are not pacifists (and many aren't), why is non-violence assumed to be an unspoken absolute? What is the relationship between Gandhian civil disobedience and anarchist Direct Action? Is the peace movement another component of a 'counter-culture', or is it the anti-nuclear movement under another name? Is



any creative re-thinking actually possible? All these, and many other issues, never seem to be discussed: it is necessary to go outside the peace movement, usually into hostile territory, to find any investigative critique of 'peace politics'. Within our own ranks there is silence, particularly painful to those who feel that the peace movement is slowly dying. It has already split into three distinct components: there are the parliamentary lobbyists, those who tie their fortunes to the Labour Party (and thus to the bankruptcy of 'democratic centralism'); there are the 'counter-culturalists' whose indictment of Western culture includes an indictment of its nuclear state; and there are the religious or quasi-religious groups, Quakers, Christian pacifists, Buddhists, etc, vehicles for the view that the bomb is a product of 'human wickedness' rather than a particular political process. It is this last group which will predominate, especially at the local level; there doesn't seem to be any room for a fourth way, left-wing/anarchist or Green but not Labour, political rather than religious, committed to 'making the links' and participating in social struggle. Otherwise the peace movement can only react to crises, and ebb away as the crisis appears to recede. At any rate, nothing will happen if the conspiratorial silence deepens still further.

In retrospect, I wish I had spoken out at that meeting last year: my love and respect goes out to those who will not be silenced, and who continue to speak out, even in the face of a sinister 'consensual' tyranny.

• BARRY MAYCOCK

1987 Schumacher Lectures

ARNE NAESS, Jonathon Porritt and Hazel Henderson were the three attractions at this year's Schumacher Lectures, and once again the event was a sell-out before the day. Sandwiched into the elongated and stuffy refectory of Bristol Polytechnic, few of the 800 'participants' saw much of the speakers, so 'participation' wasn't really on the agenda - not the only organisational shortcoming, either, to judge from the appalling apology for a lunch for which I paid £2.50!

If Arne Naess managed to come up with the familiar questions, he certainly failed to come up with any new answers. Indeed he said that his 'deep ecology' ("his" in the sense that he coined the term) hadn't yet decided how to respond to the imperative of political action. He projected no view of the world in which individuals could really play a part: in the final analysis it all came down to a change of consciousness. Rome, I reminded myself, was burning.

Jonathon Porritt, in top form and good spirits, gave a frankly personal and at times refreshingly tentative view of what green spirituality might be about. For part of the time he even used non-sexist language, but that went by the board whenever he appeared to depart from his script. He was out to rehabilitate the Christian tradition, and that pleased me no end. There are openings for a meaningful spirituality within the Christian tradition, and if Jonathon thought he was putting himself on the line with the Buddhists, Taoists, mystics and others in the audience, he was probably surprised to be taken to task in question time by fundamentalist Christians who demanded how he could claim any revelation of truth other than

through the person of Christ ("The natural world," Porritt had said, "is the primary revelation of the divine to most men and women.") With Christian friends like that, he doesn't need enemies. Anyway, it was a nice moment when a Christian priest came to the microphone and said that he really appreciated JP's contribution, and blessed him.

I only wish that people who pontificate from platforms could show us that what they say also means something in their everyday lives. Porritt got asked the vegetarian question ("Can you be a green and not a vegetarian?") and his response left my mind boggled. First, he assured us that most meat available in this country is from animals fed at least partly on Third World grain and feedstuffs, that the animals are subjected to unhealthy practices and chemical feeds, and that all this is not green. Then he told us how he'd had beef for lunch, without apparently considering where the stuff had come from... I was extremely angry. Politics, spirituality - what does it all mean, I asked myself?

Hazel Henderson didn't get blessed. Instead she got hammered by Messrs Porritt and Goldsmith, and as far as I could see she thoroughly deserved it. As the talk went on, all we seemed to be getting was an outline of what is going on globally (multinationals, repressive trade, etc. - all the usual stuff). People kept trying to extract her views from her, but she kept saying that she was just here to tell us what was going on: what we needed was the information. I guess most of us knew it already.

But two things she said were scary. First, she was looking forward to the complete collapse of the international capitalist economy. I had visions of empty supermarket shelves, of the starving poor... Who are always the first to suffer? Then she looked to such as the World Bank and the ruling elites in the Third World (particularly in the Pacific) to find a way out of the crisis: the World Bank, she believed, had had a rethink... Here Porritt and Goldsmith [see later this issue] drew their swords and rushed the platform, each in their separate ways demolishing her thesis while the spectators alternated between embarrassed silence and outbursts of laughter. Pity it had to be a woman they made a fool of, I thought - my only regret at the way it all ended. We could do with a feminist economics.

It's a pity that the organisers insist on cramming three major lectures into one day. Each lasts well over an hour, and given the size of the audience, participation is fairly token. It's not necessarily the case that the invited dignitaries even have a great deal to say, and it's certainly true that many of the other people present could contribute usefully to the discussion. If the purpose of the event is not to bask in the reflected glory of the famous (and the "if" is for real), but to come away wiser than one went, a structure which encourages dialogue, a meeting of people, and an exchange of insights would be preferable to the rather old-fashioned show that's on the road at present.

What would Fritz Schumacher have said?

• JON CARPENTER

STIRRINGS IN AMERICA

The US green movement magazine 'Synthesis' reports on some controversies in the direction that the movement is taking. The basic issue is the 'value-centred approach' of the green network known as the 'Committees of Correspondence'. This approach is similar to the 'Four Pillars' of Die Grunen in laying down some non negotiable principles.

The complaints arise apparently over allegations that CoC organisation has been "vetting" local groups over their green-ness before they can join the network. This is denied. The report in Synthesis

argues that the CoC organisation is infact concerned to encourage grassroots strength and independence as the best way to develop a fundamentally new political force. We hope to have more on this. Any readers know what's going on?

The Committees of Correspondence developed at a conference in 1984 to organise a national green network. The name is a reference to previous local resistance movements at the time of the American War of Independence. The ten key values of the CoCs are (in the order given in their info):

- Ecological Wisdom
- Grassroots Democracy
- Personal & Social Responsibility
- Non Violence
- Decentralization
- Community-Based Economics
- Post Patriarchal Values
- Respect for Diversity
- Global Responsibility
- Future Focus/Sustainability

The CoC organisation, 'National Clearinghouse' can be contacted at PO Box 30208, Kansas City MO 64112. They publish a quarterly Newsletter.

NETWORK

GREEN CND'S A.G.M.

On Nov 7th, Green CND will be meeting at the Response Community Centre, 300 Old Brompton Rd, LONDON SW5. Nearest tube is Earl's Court.

ECO-CONFERENCE

The Christian Ecology Group conference on "Food, Farming & Health" will be held at Ayleford Priory, Ayleford, Maidstone on 13-25th Nov. Write to Judith Pritchard, CEG 58 Quest Hills Rd, Malvern WORCS

AT WEEKENDS

The Alternative Technology Centre at Machynlleth has its new brochure out covering weekend courses up until June 1988. The earliest events are Woodland Skills and Coppice Crafts (Nov 13-18) and GCSE & A level Renewable Energy (Nov 20-22). Send sae to Lesley Stadnam, Centre for AT, Machynlleth, Powys, WALES SY20 9AZ

FOR AFGHANISTAN

SAT 21st November there is an Afghan evening at Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, LONDON to help put pressure for an end to the war and promote an independent Afghanistan. Ring 01-393-4010

SECRET STATE

A NEW END (European Nuclear Disarmament) Briefing Sheet, entitled "Secrecy, Democracy and Nuclear Weapons" is available FREE (if a s.a.e. is sent) from END, 11 Goodwin St., London N4 3HQ. It is a 6-page essay on the inevitable secrecy of a nuclear state, the lack of democratic accountability, the arcane jargon used by 'experts' to baffle and mystify and to conceal what is really going on. Well worth the cost of a stamp.

BERNE TO RUN!

Following success in April, notably breaking into Geneva City Council (11 seats gained), Switzerland's greens continue to ake inroads into the country's staid political life. In the recent elections the Green Parties picked up 6 new seats in the Cantons and 5 in the 200 member National Council. No mean achievement this, given that the country is something of a materialist utopia and the lack of interest in elections (turnouts hover around 50%).

Pressurised Walter Reactor



S. ORAM

WALTER CLEANS HIS EMISSIONS

All this pressure to stop sulphur emissions from CEBG power stations must be having unforeseen effects, since even Lord Marshall is coming clean. Interviewed on BBC's Brass Tacks, he admitted that up until 1969 there was no separation of military and civil processed nuclear fuel. He

admitted that Britain's nuclear power programme grew out of a military need for plutonium. And he admitted that nuclear power has never been cheaper compared to other forms of energy: "it's jam tomorrow" was how he put it. So now you know it must be true.

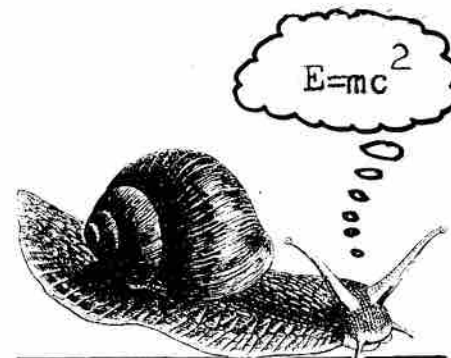
CAREFUL FARMING

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The Permaculture Association is looking for new members interested in "the conscious use of ecological principles in designing self-sustaining food, fibre and energy-producing ecosystems. Permaculture stresses interdependence and diversity, recycling and conservation. Write to 8 Hunter's Moon, Dartington Totnes DEVON.

And here's an enthusiastic newcomer, Graham Bell, in Permaculture News: "I've gradually stopped killing things. It's amazing how when you stop spraying greenfly they cease to be a problem. This year it was the turn of the snails. No more snail bait. Instead I thought I'd set about appreciating how wonderful snails are. And rather than begrudge them every plant they ate, I thought I'd feed them. I decided to collect all the snails I found and put them on the compost heap where all the juicy bits are. The first one I picked up this Spring,

screamed. Have you ever heard a snail scream? Well, it was the first time for me. The snail thought I'd got bad things in mind for it. I was so shaken that I had to spend five minutes explaining to the snail what was going on and apologising for disturbing it. My compost heap is now a teeming city of fat luscious juicy snails. Perhaps they're planning to get away to the countryside but meanwhile they don't eat the other plants in the garden and I don't kill them. A small practical demonstration of the peaceful coexistence of species where neither considers the other a pest. Snails are people too. Snail people maybe, but as inherently a part of creation as a giant Redwood or Albert Einstein."



Live Simply  *That Others may Simply Live*



NETWORK

THE FORESTS OF McWOGAN

The magazine Green Scotland, reports that the Flowe country in the northern highlands is suffering at the hands of Terry Wogan and co's agroforestry. Private plantations have been failing to comply with the (voluntary, of course) guidelines of the government's Forestry Commission. Consequently, an area of outstanding ecological importance is being rapidly destroyed.

What's so crazy is that the climate and soil conditions make the area highly unsuitable for tree growing, yet tax rebates for afforestation are able to offset mere natural limits. Under one rebate schedule, it is possible to count the heavy planting costs against tax whilst requiring capital gains to be paid on the harvest - if there is any of course beyond costs. Now what these clever accountants for Wogan and his pals have found out is that it is possible to sell the growing trees to a second investor who then takes a different tax rebate schedule where planting costs aren't charged against tax but (yes, you've guessed it) the harvest costs are. Green Scotland is published from 11 Forth St, Edinburgh EH1 3LE



About 1200 people marched to Sizewell to commemorate the 30th anniversary of the Windscale fire. Protestors came from as far afield as Nogent-Sur-Seine in France. Jean Lambert, Co-Chair of the Green Party, forecast a massive demonstration of civil disobedience against Sizewell B. "If that's the only way you'll get them to change, that is what it will take." Roger Poole of NUPE gave an excellent speech on the need for unions and industry to move away from activities that inflict harm on the environment to ones that enhance our natural ecology. Local anti nuclear groups are planning a blockade of Sizewell next year.

Thanks to MARTIN BURNSIDE of Oct 10th Committee

GREEN LINE BALLS

Apologies to David Simmons (not Simmonds), who wrote 'Green Economics: Making a Start' in GL 56.



The marine conservation group Sea Shepherd seek new members to strengthen their campaign of direct action against hunting at sea. Write to PO Box 114, PLYMOUTH PL1 1DR

BUY CFC FREE

FoE's aerosol broadsheet of CFC free products has been selling furiously with continuous reprints needed. Why not contact FoE, 26-28 Underwood St. N1 to get a pile to distribute yourself?

GREEN TWINS

About 40 members of the Green Party attended Tony Benn's "Socialist Conference" in Chesterfield last month. Members who are interested in discussing socialism within the Green Party, and the effect socialist greens can have on the rest of the socialist movement, are meeting in London on Saturday November 28. Also under discussion will be possible ways in which greens can have a more effective input on the second 'Chesterfield Conference' to be held next May. Details from Steve Rooney, 195 Winchester Road, London N9 9EX (please enclose 50p) - phone 01-884 3239. A full report on the Chesterfield conference will appear in next month's GL.

GREENING THE CITY

Hackney Green Party, 103 Osbaldeston Rd N16 6NP, have started a newsheet. The first takes the local authority to task for failing to take seriously waste conservation and looks at ways people can do something.

BLEEDING THE POOR

IFDA dossier, the journal of the International Foundation for Development Alternatives, continues to challenge the distorted wisdom of conventional economics and provides excellent coverage of local green initiatives in the Third World.

In the latest issue, SHIRAZ KASSAM puts some astounding figures to the capital flight occurring as Third World elites bleed their own economies. A Mexican newspaper recently published a list of nearly 600 "sacadolares" - people who take out dollars - who had at least US\$1m deposits in foreign banks. At the time, Mexico was pleading for US\$15bn in new loans. Zaire's foreign debt stood at nearly US\$4bn in 1982, yet the country's 'leader' Mobutu Seko, has between US\$4-6bn in foreign banks and Real Estate.

A particularly bad example, but much of the hard earned foreign currency goes straight back out of 'poor' countries via the pockets of their rich minorities. For example, Argentina's capital flight between 1979-84 was 60% of gross capital inflow and Venezuelans managed to expatriate some US\$27bn - which was 117% of the country's external borrowing.

Worldwide, countries with the largest capital flight tend also to be the highest borrowers - Mexico, Venezuela, Argentina, Nigeria, Indonesia, Egypt... But the problem is

that governments - and by their austerity programmes, the poor (UNICEF estimates that up to 150m Latin Americans live in 'absolute poverty') - are saddled with the foreign hard-currency debts, whereas private individuals and companies hold most of the hard currency assets. The means for this iniquitous situation to exist is of course the world's banking system.

We are all told how the poor old banks have lent great sums to Third World countries but we are not told how much they have in the private deposits of those countries' elite individuals. It is reckoned that Citibank of the USA holds over US\$26 billion for these Latin Americans which compares with a total debt exposure to Mexico, Argentina, Venezuela and Brazil of just over US\$10bn. Even allowing for other debtors, Citibank is still probably a net borrower from Latin Americans rather than lender.

The trouble is we can't even gloat if the whole edifice does eventually crash since it will be the Third World poor who'll get screwed the most. And similar capital flight will occur if any radical government looks like getting in here. Green economists are going to have to do some hard thinking for us to get out of this mess without a catastrophe. Anyone got any bright ideas?



GREENHAM WOMEN EVERYWHERE

• BARRY MAYCOCK

WOMEN AND PEACE

VERA BRITTAİN:WOMEN AND PEACE. By Yvonne Bennett (published by the PPU) price 95p, plus p&p. (Studies In Non-violence Series No. 16)

THIS BOOK describes the work of the Women's Peace Campaign at the time of the Second World War, Vera Brittain's attitude to the campaign and her own pacifist activities, and it contains a selection of articles written by Vera Brittain herself. This book is interesting in its accounts of debates surrounding women's 'separatism', and the difficulties encountered by pacifists during WW2 when Nazism became revealed as the monstrous evil it really was, a difficult issue for pacifists to this day.

A protest march in those days was handled a little differently: "On Wednesday a second parade had left from the Methodist centre in Kingsway which the police tried to stop. The marchers had demanded to know 'what new regulations they were infringing...' and since an answer could not be supplied, they were provided, instead, with a 'huge and very benevolent sergeant in a blue steel helmet'". Times have changed! Nowadays women would be flung against concrete posts before being thrown into riot vans. Vera Brittain's writing is always good, and her brave essay written during WW2 on saturation bombing, which roused the ire of George Orwell, particularly relevant. In some ways all this reads like ancient history because the advent of nuclear weapons has altered the whole debate around pacifism which (as Peter Ustinov remarked recently on TV) 'can no longer be seen as a moral luxury, but as a grim obligation.'



ARMS FAIR PROTEST

THERE IS something particularly chilling about the whole idea of an Arms Fair. The one in Portsmouth in early September received its rightful share of protest when Portsmouth Women for Peace took part in various actions - blockading cars, entering the naval base, and hurling paint at the Mayor of Gosport's car: for which four women have been charged. Funds are needed for their court cases, to Portsmouth Women for Peace, c/o 10 Northcote Road, Southsea, Hants. (Tel. Portsmouth 829390).

“ A BITTER dispute has erupted between a small group at Yellow Gate and the rest of camp. These women are refusing all dialogue, forcing us to conclude that any further attempts at rational communication are futile. They are allied with Wages for Housework Campaign of the Kings Cross Womens Centre, whose standards and aims they have come to accept. This is not simply an internal dispute, but was initiated by Wages for Housework, which has a reputation for disrupting womens groups. Examples include the Womens Peace Bus Collective and WAVAW (Women Against Violence Against Women).

Kings Cross women are now maintaining a presence at Yellow Gate and tactics of intimidation and verbal abuse are being used there to alienate not just the women at camp but also Greenham's support networks and all whose goodwill we seek.

At a "Greenham Women Are Everywhere" workshop at the Moscow Women's Peace Conference, Wilmette Brown spoke at length about the work of Kings Cross, Wages for Housework, and her book. She was interrupted and asked to return to the original theme (Greenham Women Are Everywhere). This was interpreted as a racist attack and the allegation has escalated so that now almost all Greenham women are denounced/labelled as racists. In this way, the term "racist" - and more recently, "rape" - have been repeatedly misused and emptied of any meaningful content. The transferral of this charge of racism occurred with the approval of two long-standing Greenham women from Yellow Gate, whom the Kings Cross Centre thereafter designated as our "leaders", and who have since taken action and made press statements as though they indeed had the authority to represent Greenham Common Women's Peace Camp.

Despite the conflicts at Greenham, women from all gates, united with our supporters, have remained strong and determined to maintain our principles of non-violence, non-hierarchy, and protest against nuclear warfare. Our struggle for these things incorporates now, as it always has, an explicitly anti-racist

stand. To quote Linda from the Hackney edition of Greenham Women in London Newsletter:

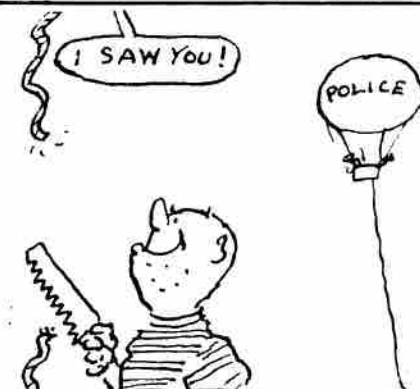
"Racism is an issue for all of us, black and white, and the fact that Greenham has always been predominantly a movement of white women means that there are questions that we must ask ourselves. Most of us get involved politically at the point at which we are most directly touched. It must be true for many black women that there are issues more immediate for them than that of the removal of nuclear weapons. The fact that we struggle on different fronts does not make one struggle less valid than another, so long as our ultimate goals are the removal of oppressive systems which limit us all. It is also true that involvement with Greenham has enabled many women to further their understanding of the links between arms expenditure, third world exploitation and its consequent poverty, racism, violence against women and children.. we could all add to the list."

We affirm that we will not use coercion against anyone. We have no leaders, because we each accept responsibility for our actions, and we know that it is only through dialogue with all women that our struggle will succeed.

The recent INF agreement and the ongoing case against the byelaws (soon to be before the House of Lords) makes this a particularly crucial moment for Greenham Women Everywhere.

• Because of a dispute between the signatories the building society has frozen the account. A new account has been opened, anyone who wishes to send donations should make cheques payable to "Greenham Women Are Everywhere" and addressed to individual gates.

This statement has come about from a series of meetings involving individual women, from Blue, Violet, Orange, and Green Gates, Womens Peace Camp, Greenham Common, Newbury, Berks.



COUNTERISSUES

The 'Defence and Disarmament Counterissues' are twenty leaflets, written by scientists and defence specialists nationwide and co-ordinated by the Cambridge University group of Scientists Against Nuclear Weapons (SANA). Each leaflet is a careful, detailed summary of the main arguments on a particular topic in the defence debate. Contact SANA, 9 Poland St., London W1V 3DG.

THE TAXMAN COMETH

THE PPU (Peace Pledge Union) has been summonsed by the Inland Revenue for non-payment of taxes attributable to war preparation. Since 1982 the PPU has withheld 45% of the PAYE deductions from its staff salaries. It sees this as a channel for funding war preparations, which is incompatible with the pledge to renounce war signed by all PPU members. Since 1985 the PPU has also withheld 41.3% of Corporation Tax on its own income

for the same reason.

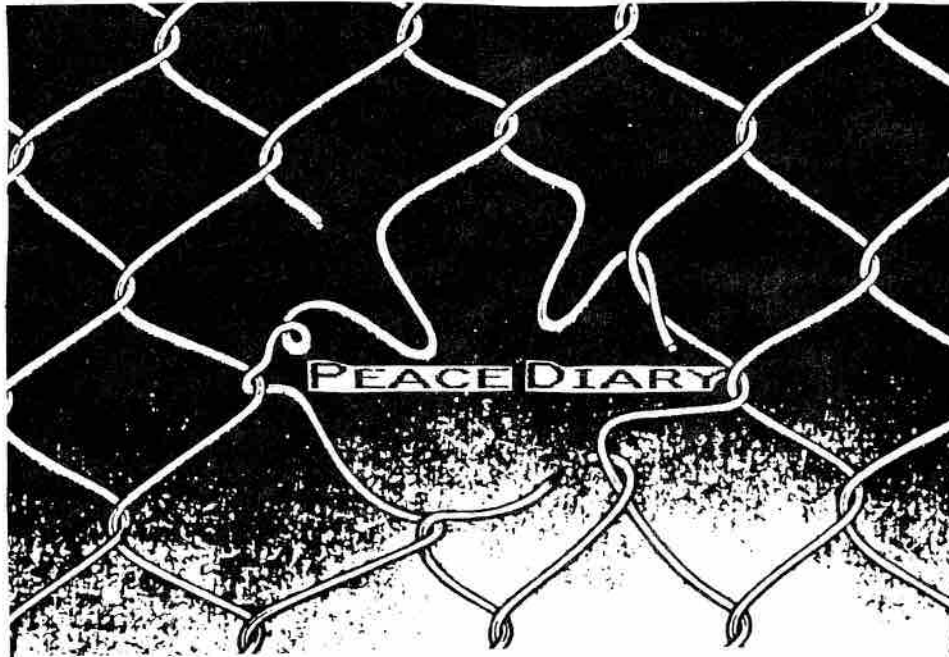
Now two members of the PPU Council - William Hetherington and David Evans - have been summonsed on behalf of the whole membership for non-payment of a total of £4,350.37, this being the taxes due up to April 1986. A defence has been entered in Bloomsbury County Court, and a date of hearing is awaited. The PPU welcome any help and support at the time of the court case. For further information contact William Hetherington on 01.387 5501.



CONSUMER POWER!

A CAMPAIGNING group called Consumers Against the Bomb has been formed in order to focus on arms companies and their subsidiaries; such a campaign is based on the premise that 'consumer power' would be effective in boycotting the products of these companies and also in providing damaging publicity for otherwise 'respectable' concerns. Alternative goods and services would be encouraged. Such a boycott to be effective would need funding on a national level, and would be a joint campaign run by the peace movement, development and aid groups along with the trade unions.

Weapons unfortunately are the ideal commodity: financed directly by governments and protected from the hazards of the market, they become rapidly obsolete without being 'consumed', and are then dumped on the poor countries to keep 'their' wars going. There doesn't even have to be a war, only a 'threat', and any threats to the free enterprise system can then be contained by its



NOVEMBER 2-6: Leeds University Union Peace Week. During this week the union is hosting a range of events, and speakers, discussions and videos on a variety of topics including Nicaragua, the arms trade, and the future of the peace movement; also, stalls, displays, and a benefit gig. Details from Leeds (0532) 742628 or 439071.

NOVEMBER 5-7: Aldermaston Women's Peace Camp.

NOVEMBER 7-8: The PPU is organising alternative Remembrance events in London at Remembrance weekend; on the 7th there will be a silent torchlight vigil outside the British Legion Festival of Remembrance at the Royal Albert Hall, Kensington, London, 5.30 - 7.15 pm. On the 8th there will be a silent walk to the Cenotaph to lay a wreath of white poppies; gather in the courtyard of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, Trafalgar Square, from 1.15 pm onwards. (Details from the PPU, Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh St., London WC1H 0DX, 01.387 5501.) As for white poppies, Maggie hates them! All the more reason for wearing them.

NOVEMBER 9-16: Second International Peace Week of Scientists; the theme is "Applying Science to Peace and Human Betterment". Contact Dr Alan Cottley, School of Physics, University of East Anglia, Norwich. (05086.2464, evenings.)

NOVEMBER 14: Demonstration at Capenhurst, the nuclear fuel enrichment plant. Organised jointly by Merseyside CND and the Anti-Nuclear Network. Marchers will assemble at the Unemployed Centre, King St., Ellesmere Port, Wirral from 12.30 pm. Details from Merseyside CND, 24 Hardman St., Liverpool L1 9AX, tel. 051.708 7764.

NOVEMBER 14: Education for Peace Conference, organised by the North-West Standing Conference on Inter-Faith Dialogue in Education. Details from Colin Scott, 1 St. Pauls Close, Clitheroe, Lancashire BB7 2NB (0200-24719).

NOVEMBER 14: Salisbury Ecumenical Peace Group Vigil. Contact Cecilia, 0722. 28284.

NOVEMBER 20-22: CND National Conference, London. Details from Martin Jones at Underwood Street.

NOVEMBER 21: PPU Conference on non-violent action for change which is taking place in Central and Southern America, and the problems of peace and justice with respect to 3rd World liberation: 10.30 - 5.30 at 5-7 Tavistock Place, London W11. The cost is £5.00 (£3.00 unwaged). Contact the PPU (details above).

NOVEMBER 28: Green Fair and Ceilidh, 8 pm at the Horwich Leisure Centre, Horwich, near Bolton, Lancs. Organised by Bolton Greenpeace/FoE/Conservation Volunteers and Horwich CND. Details from Jim Haslam (0204) 699063 (evenings).



most favoured commodity. Campaigns like this need to reject the whole system, not keep the whole consumerist show on the road - though if we are all constructed to be 'consuming machines' it is perhaps the best we can hope for.

There will be a dayschool/workshop at Friends of the Earth, 54 Alison St., Digbeth, Birmingham on Saturday November 21st, starting at 1.00 pm, for those that would like to help build the campaign. Contact Consumer Campaign Against the Bomb, c/o 108 Raglan Road, Smethwick, Warley, W. Midlands.

Also, on November 28th, there will be a one-day conference in London organised by the Turning Point Network to discuss what people can do to help one another to use (and withhold) their economic power. Tickets are available in advance for £4 (unwaged £2), and further information is available from: Turning Point, c/o Alison Pritchard, The Old Bakehouse, Cholsey, near Wallingford, Oxon: tel. Cholsey 652346.

There is also CANE (Consumers Against Nuclear Energy), P.O. Box 697, London NW1 8YQ.

PENNY NEWSOME answers criticisms and comments from readers following her articles in GL 51 and 53. She defines Green Socialism, and argues that all Greens are essentially socialist in their outlook.

Touching the left TOES

I THANK those who have acknowledged the importance of having a debate on the issues raised and, if they have disagreed with my point of view, have done so in the proper spirit of green politics - informed, constructive, and courteous. I am discouraged, however, that so many letter writers seem to be so ill-informed, even about the elementary rules of argument.

It is not helpful to attribute to people opinions they do not hold, so that you can knock them down. I consider no readers of GL stupid, Mr Fettes, and I leave God to judge of their honesty.

Dave Mansell attributes to me views which I do not hold: "the socialist alternative evidently [what evidence?] preferred by Penny is one of state ownership ... and communities lacking direct control over their own lives." John Papworth goes even further (GL53): he assumes that "planning" means state planning and that state planning is necessarily "jack-booted" and "simply another name for totalitarianism". The evidence that it is not, Mr Papworth, is that every organisation that has ever survived, plans, including the original barefoot human beings on a hunting trip.

I would recommend all Greens who are hazy about what socialism is to read an excellent little book that I found recently in the public library: 'Socialisms', by Anthony Wright (OUP, 1986). NB: Socialisms.

I am a Green - not a "socialist". I am anti-capitalist (see Anthony Wright, pp 24/5). I am anti the whole economic system which is based on the private ownership of the means of production, with its whole superstructure of speculation in shares, the Stock Exchange, and so on. The cut-throat competition that is of the very essence of capitalism leads inevitably to the exploitation of people and planet, to which as a Green I am completely opposed. It is an unbalanced and unstable economic system leading to obscene inequality and obscene waste. Pending the day of what Andre Gorz has called "post-socialism" (Farewell to the Working Class, Pluto Press 1982), and the establishment of some completely new "autonomous" society, I will therefore continue to defend "green socialism". As Andre Gorz says (p 12), "spaces of autonomy captured from the existing social order will be marginalised, subordinated or ghettoised unless there is a full transformation and reconstruction of society, its institutions and its legal systems. It is impossible to envisage the predominance of autonomous activities over heteronomous work in a society in which the logic of commodity production, profitability and capitalist accumulation remains dominant."

In fact, Andre Gorz's post-socialism is akin to one or more of Anthony Wright's socialisms. Socialism is at base a belief in "human sociality" as opposed to competitive individualism. I think most Greens are in fact socialists. But most are apparently victims of the propaganda which insists that socialism = state socialism. It is unfortunate that state socialism is the form of socialism established in the Soviet Union (for the why of this, see Anthony Wright); for "it has

provided invaluable ammunition for the opponents of socialism in the propaganda battle for electoral support."

Of the quick definitions of socialism that Anthony Wright gives (p 20), my position is probably "social ownership in the economy, together with political and economic democracy". I am indeed for the social ownership of the means of production, and (Dave Mansell, please note) as a Green I am for "community ownership", that is for human scale, local enterprises, owned by the workers in those enterprises, and democratically controlled by the communities in which they operate. (I don't like the word "control", but control is necessary to prevent e.g. a workers' co-op of gun runners or whatever.)

This is why I call Schumacher a socialist. In GL53 I referred readers to chapters 17 - 20 of 'Small is Beautiful', but perhaps I need to quote (p 223):

To sum up:

- (a) In small scale enterprise, private ownership is natural, fruitful and just. [Note that such small scale enterprise means one or two or few collective owners - PN].
- (b) In medium scale enterprise, private ownership is already to a large extent functionally unnecessary. The idea of 'property' becomes strained, unfruitful, and unjust (...)
- (c) In large-scale enterprise, private ownership is a fiction for the purpose of enabling functionless owners to live parasitically on the labour of others. It is not only unjust but also an irrational element which distorts all relationships within the enterprise.

Schumacher then goes on to spell out the details of a scheme of public ownership. This includes the setting up of Social Councils, "formed locally along broad fixed lines without assistance of any governmental authority" and with rotating membership to "exercise the pecuniary and managerial rights and duties arising from industrial ownership". I don't agree exactly with Schumacher's scheme, but it is a scheme for public ownership. There are numerous possible such schemes, and it is these that we should be using our time and energy to consider. We should not be tearing ourselves apart over the definition of a word.

But I do not believe that any form of capitalism is compatible with a Green socio-economic system. Dave Mansell advocates what is called "welfare capitalism". This is the system that we had in this country, at least to a limited extent, until 1979. Well, there wasn't much mention of environmental costs, but it was "a form of capitalism in which competition and the profit motive are reduced to prevent the disastrous situation which the losers currently face, and in which the social ... costs of economic activity are minimised by legislation and taxation." That was the theory, anyway. If this is the alternative to Thatcherism being explored by TOES, then they really cannot claim to be practitioners of a new economics. The only new ideas are environmentalism, and a belief in the enlightened self-interest of capitalists, which Keynes and the original proponents of welfare capitalism were not naive enough to share.

I believe that most Greens are in fact socialists. They believe in human sociality. They want peace, co-operation, brotherhood, sisterhood, justice, generosity, compassion, indeed even equality: these are all socialist values, they cannot be accommodated in a competitive system, except by lip service and double speak. Most Greens also want some form of social ownership - usually workers' co-ops plus accountability to the local community. There is no need to be frightened of the word 'socialism'. It is only New Right propaganda that has instilled this fear. Green Socialists are not 'the enemy within', they are simply people who want to see a rational, democratic, just, humane and ecologically sane social, political and economic system. Let's get on with the work of bringing such a society into existence.

Edward Goldsmith

OPEN LETTER TO MR CONABLE, PRESIDENT OF THE WORLD BANK: YOU CAN ONLY BE JUDGED ON YOUR RECORD

Dear Mr Conable,

Critics of World Bank policies welcome its new concern for the environment, as expressed in its Development Committee's report entitled "Environment, Growth and Development" and in your speech to the World Resources Institute last May. Before we celebrate, however, we must be assured that your concern is genuine, and that it will be translated into the appropriate action. Unfortunately, I cannot help feeling that it may well be a vain hope.

To begin with it is difficult to see how you could have done otherwise than express such concern. Indeed, indignation against World Bank irresponsibility is growing so fast in official circles that if you had not promised to reform your ways you would soon be faced with dwindling financial support that might threaten the very survival of your institution.

Of course your new concern for the environment may be genuine, but then it is difficult to avoid asking why it has not occurred to you before that there must be some connection between the escalation of human misery, poverty and malnutrition in the Third World and the progressive degradation of its environment. If Third World people are poor today, Mr Conable, it is not that they suffer from a shortage of transistor radios, plastic buckets, tinned petfoods and the rest of the rubbish that 'development' is making available, at least to the richest among them. Nor is it even that their villages remain to be electrified or that they have no access to piped water. If they are poor it is above all because their environment has deteriorated; because the rivers from which they derive their fish and their drinking water are now contaminated with agricultural and industrial chemicals; because loggers have cut down their forests, causing their rivers to become torrents, their streams and springs to dry up and their weather to change; because their land has been eroded and desertified by large export-oriented agricultural undertakings.

A disaster both for the environment and for rural peoples of the Third World

As Mrs Rahab W Mwatha said in her testimony at the World Commission on Environment & Development Public Hearing in 1986: "We are awakening to the fact that if Africa is dying, it is because her environment has been plundered, over-exploited and neglected." You must know this, Mr Conable. Your bank's role in the plundering, overexploiting and neglecting of the environment of the Third World has been pointed out to you in innumerable well-written and highly documented studies. It has been pointed out to you on many occasions by members of your own staff. Indeed yours is the only multilateral development bank to have its own environmental department. What is more, it employs highly competent ecologists. But you have invariably chosen to ignore their warnings and to regard environmental considerations as little more than impediments to the achievement of your real priorities.

As Catherine Watson, who worked in the department writes: "Project staff treated us like scourges. As far as they were concerned, we were trouble. We could hold up projects and we could impose new costs on projects, insisting, for example, on reforestation - although we did

both extremely rarely." She eventually left because she saw the Department of Environmental Affairs as but "a token office within the Bank" which could never have any real effect on its policies. "When our proposals were accepted" she writes, "it was because they enhanced the progressive image of the Bank and cost the Bank little. When our proposals threatened the future of a project, or had major implications for bank practice, they and we were dismissed as unrealistic and impractical. Reform was possible, but only in so far as it left the Bank's basis unchanged."

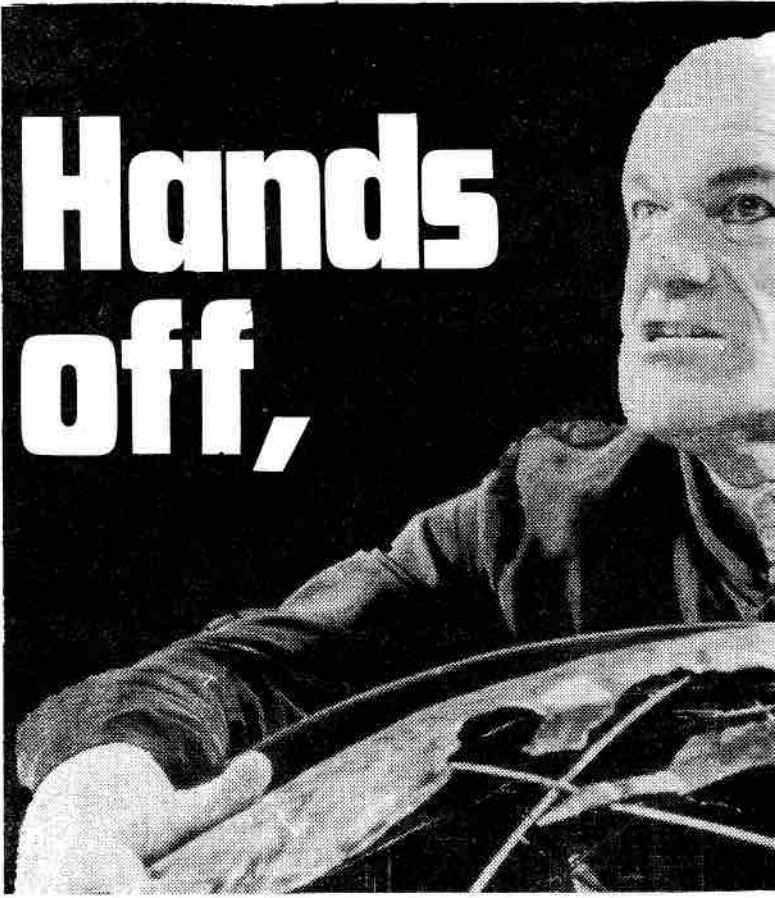
But this has never prevented your bank from stating its commitment to environmental conservation. Indeed, 17 years ago, Ernesto Franco, a bank representative, assured government delegates at a planning session for the United Nations Conference on the Environment in Stockholm that "before financing future economic aid projects, it would investigate thoroughly any damaging effects on the environment." Franco further announced that the Bank was taking steps "to assure that the projects financed by it did not have serious adverse ecological consequences" or, that if they were likely to, that measures would be taken to "avoid or mitigate them". Needless to say, such assurances were never respected. In a leaked World Bank memorandum, it was admitted that "as a matter of routine, environmental issues are not considered, but that they are taken into account in specific instances when environmental consequences are pointed out by the Bank's environment advisor, the press, or special interest groups in host countries." It is also admitted that in any case "the Bank does not have the capacity to conduct sector work on environmental issues on a routine basis."

• Poverty

In the early 1970s, Mr McManara, at the time President of the Bank, began to realise that your programmes did little for the poor of the Third World and that some programmes were actually making them worse off. This led him, in the Autumn of 1976, to announce "a global compact" whose object was to achieve "the meeting of the basic human needs of the absolute poor in both the poor and middle income countries within a reasonable period of time, say, by the end of the century."

Few have questioned McManara's sincerity. The trouble was, he did not allow his concern for the

Hands off,



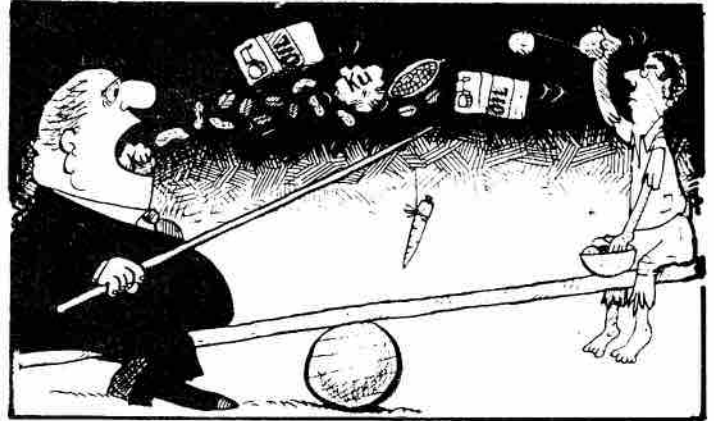
alleviation of poverty to interfere with normal banking priorities. Thus, for Mr McManara, there was no question of abandoning the Green Revolution, even though, from his speeches at the time, he clearly realised how adversely it was affecting poor Third World farmers. The reason for this was clear. The Green Revolution, as he himself stated in July 1974, had notably expanded "the scope of profitable agricultural investment" and had thereby enabled the Bank "to increase its lending for agriculture substantially."

The question was thus "how to bring the improved technology and other inputs to more than 100 million small farmers." But this was an impossible goal. The inputs (hybrid seeds, fertilizer, pesticides and irrigation water) are prohibitively expensive. Even the American farming community - the richest in the world cannot afford them, and has been bankrupted in its attempt to adopt modern technological agriculture. It owes today more than \$300 billion to the banks; a sum it cannot conceivably reimburse. How then can poor Third World farmers cultivating their thin and largely eroded lands, possibly afford them? In any case, once Third World governments build the necessary dams and associated perennial irrigation schemes, and subsidise, as they have all done, the purchase of fertilisers and pesticides, they will have no option but to export the food thereby produced in order to earn the foreign exchange required for paying the interest on the foreign loans contracted to finance them. Such foreign exchange can never be earned by small farmers who must inevitably be dispossessed and pauperised so as to make way for the export-oriented plantations and livestock rearing schemes that can.

The Green Revolution may well have been a bonanza for the World Bank, Mr Conable, and also to the dam builders and the agrochemical industry, but it has also been a disaster both for the environment and for the rural people of the Third World. As your bank itself admits in its 1982 "Focus on Poverty" report, your so-called "rural development programmes" which involve spreading Green Revolution technology to areas where traditional methods still prevailed, "have provided few direct benefits for the landless, for tenants unable to offer collateral for loans, and for the 'near landless' farmers who find it hard to borrow for required inputs and take risks."

Your report recommended a more explicitly poverty

focussed orientation. However, such an orientation could not be reconciled with current banking policy as reflected in the notorious Berg Report (Accelerated Development in Sub-Saharan Africa). So the recommendations were simply ignored.



• Urban Housing Programme

Your record on urbanisation or urban housing projects also reveals the total incompatibility between your avowed goals and the satisfaction of your banking priorities. McManara fully realised the social destruction caused by the slum clearance programmes in different parts of the world and sensibly decided to upgrade the slums instead. The upgraded housing, however, was made available on a commercial basis. As Teresa Hayter and Catherine Watson note, the principle of "full cost recovery" had to be respected; people had to pay for the upgrading otherwise the projects would not be "replicable". Predictably, the slum dwellers could not pay for the upgrading and as a result, were pushed out.

The fact is that a large and ever increasing proportion of the poor cannot and never will be able to pay for upgraded housing, any more than they cannot and never will be able to pay for the inputs required for technological agriculture. More than half the inhabitants of the Third World in fact live outside the market system. There is no way their lot can be improved by bank loans, for there is no way in which they will even be able to pay the interest on such loans, let alone repay the capital. Such people, Mr Conable, you cannot and never will be able to help. All you can do is further impoverish them by financing projects that must deprive them of basic resources such as the natural forests, the fertile land and the uncontaminated water on which their welfare, indeed their survival, depends and for which the fruits of modern development, even if they could really be made available to them, are no substitutes.

• Tribal peoples

Another area in which the emptiness of World bank assurances is only too apparent is in your dealings with tribal peoples. In 1982, the World Bank was seriously criticised for the devastating effects of its projects on tribal people in the Philippines, (The Ecologist 15, 4) and in Amazonia (The Ecologist 15, 1/2). It had to do something to placate public opinion, hence its much heralded publication "Tribal Peoples and Economic Development".

In this document, the World Bank promised not to undertake projects in areas inhabited by tribal peoples "unless the tribal society is in agreement with the project." It also guaranteed to assure the self-determination of tribal people, respect for their land rights and the maintenance of their ethnic identity and cultural autonomy. These pronouncements were very encouraging. But, as Survival International News 15 (1987) notes, "the reality since then has been sadly different. Many, perhaps the majority of the World Bank's projects in tribal areas have been undertaken



against the will of the peoples affected (as in the case of the Narmada and the Bodhghat dams, *The Ecologist* 17, 2 1987). They have led to the rapid takeover of tribal lands and the destruction of identity and autonomy. Some projects have even led to the virtual extinction of

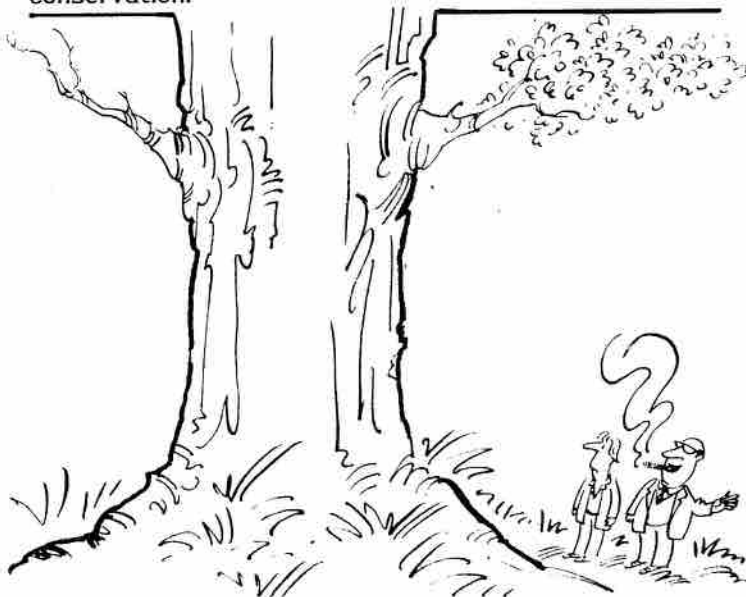
Tribal people will simply be sacrificed

whole communities, as among the Surui and Nambiquara in Brazil."

How does the World Bank justify this glaring discrepancy between its rhetoric and its action? The answer is that it has not even bothered to. Instead it "has progressively tried to distance itself from its own publication." Eventually, in September 1986, one of the Bank's leading lawyers explicitly declared to a committee of the International Labour Organisation in Geneva "that the published policies are not those it observes." The Bank's real policy vis-a-vis tribal peoples, he admitted, is described "in a confidential document, which is not publically available." In this document, which has been leaked to Survival International, the Bank only talks of "mitigating undesired social effects" - the usual line, which in practice means very little if anything at all. As is abundantly clear (see *The Ecologist* 17, 2 1987) the Bank continues to regard tribal people, indeed all people who live outside the orbit of the formal economy, as totally expendable.

• Forests

Another area in which the Bank's assurances have proved totally empty is in the field of forest conservation.



"IT MIGHT BE JUST A TREE TO YOU, BOY, BUT TO ME IT'S THIRTY SIX EASY TO ASSEMBLE KITCHEN UNITS."

Now most of your forest conservation programmes go under the name of 'social forestry', which is defined by the Gujarat Forest Department as "the creation of forests for the benefit of the community through the active involvement and participation of the community." This is seen as leading to an improvement of rural environment, to a fall in rural migration and rural unemployment "and to an increase in village self-sufficiency and self-reliance especially with regard to its forest material needs."

This is clearly an admirable idea, but the World bank social forestry programmes do none of these things. To begin with, the social forests do not belong to the villagers but almost always to relatively big landowners.

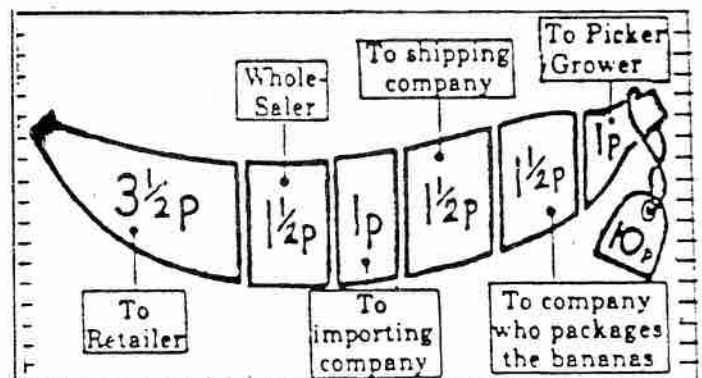
Secondly, they are not forests, but plantations of fast growing eucalyptus trees, which are of little use to village people as they produce no fodder for their animals, nor green manure for fertilising their fields. Nor do they provide a suitable environment for game animals, nor do their roots bind together the soil to prevent erosion. nor is their timber of any use for making implements.

But even if it were, it would, in any case never be made available to the villagers, for in order to be funded by the World Bank, these 'social' forests must yield a commercial return on the capital invested. This means that they must be sold to pulp mills at a price the villagers cannot conceivably afford. Worse still, whereas food production is labour intensive, the growing of eucalyptus trees requires very little labour after the initial planting period, so social forestry programmes also increase unemployment. Even worse still, the trees which are theoretically planted on wasteland are often planted instead on good agricultural land which once produced food for the villagers. So the Social Forestry Programmes also increase malnutrition. To make matters even worse, the species of eucalyptus planted tend to use up vast quantities of water which reduces its availability to the villagers, and as if this were not enough, many of the displaced workers have no option for earning their living but to strip other trees for firewood that can be sold in the nearest urban centres, as a result of which, the social forests actually serve to further increase the pressure on the remaining natural forest reserves. To call such destructive enterprises "social forests", Mr Conable, is thus utterly dishonest.

Indeed it is clear that the World Bank's rhetoric regarding its determination to preserve the environment, relieve poverty, protect tribal peoples or preserve the remaining tropical forests, has never been translated into the appropriate action. The reason for this does not lie in the perversity of past presidents of the World Bank nor of you the present one, but in the fundamental conflict between what is often the Bank's genuine desire to satisfy human, social and ecological imperatives and its requirement, by virtue of being a bank, operating commercially in a competitive economy, to maximise the short-term return on capital.

You tell us, Mr Conable, that "sound ecology is good economics". Indeed it is, but only if you refer to the sort of economics that involves maximising material benefits over an indefinite period of time, which must involve carefully preserving the natural world from which the economy derives its resources and to which it consigns its waste products. Today's economics do not make such a policy conceivable. They are exclusively concerned with the maximisation of financial returns in the very short-term, which means cashing in the resources of the natural world as cheaply as possible and at the fastest possible rate. The achievement of such a goal, Mr Conable, clearly excludes the adoption of the "mitigating measures" that you and your staff constantly refer to.

What further suggests the emptiness of your rhetoric is your statement that you will "continue to support major investments in energy and infrastructure,



industrialisation and irrigation" even though as you yourself imply, such investments have in the past been guilty of such terrible environmental destruction. To imply as you do, that by displaying "greater sensitivity" to "long-term environmental effects" and by withholding support for projects "where safeguards are inadequate" (presumably only until adequate safeguards are provided), you will render them environmentally benign is just wishful thinking. Consider the Great Carajas project in which you have invested so much money. It involves converting an area of Brazil's invaluable tropical forest the size of England and France combined into one massive industrial zone. What safeguards can possibly enable you to set up one of the biggest mining and industrial complexes ever conceived of in a tropical forest without destroying it and marginalising its tribal inhabitants?

Assurances given by Governments are not worth the paper they are written on

In any case, it is unlikely that whatever 'safeguards' or 'mitigatory measures' you envisage will ever be applied. Assurances given by governments to this effect are rarely worth the paper they are written on. The national parks and forest reserves set up in Amazonia by the Brazilian government to mitigate the effects of destructive development projects for instance, were for short-term public relations purposes only. Thus a substantial portion of the Xingu National Park was lost to make way for the construction of the B.R.080 highway in 1971. The Araguaia National Park suffered in the same way.

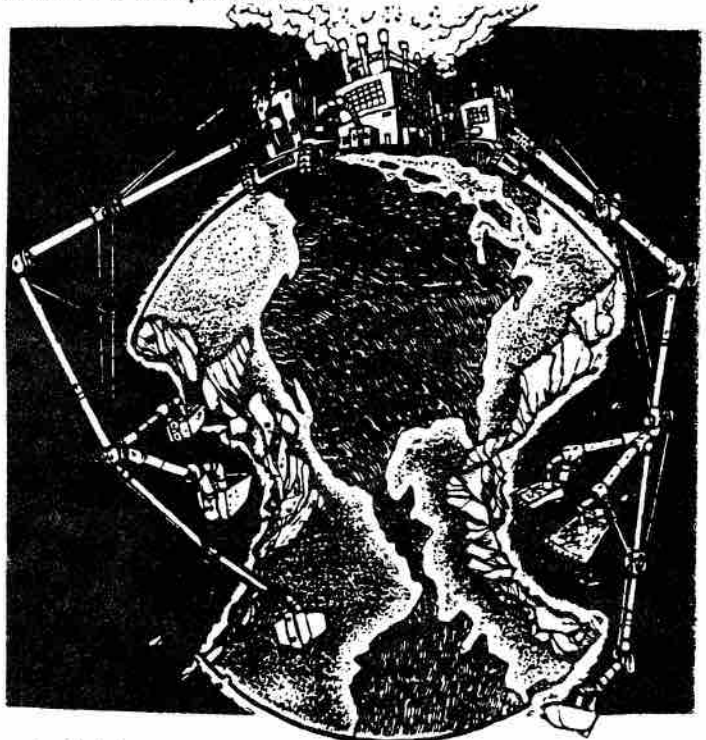
To quote Fernside and de Lima Ferreira from the National Institute for Research in the Amazon, "in both cases Brazilian laws guaranteeing the integrity of the parks and reserves were simply ignored when the reserves proved inconvenient for road-building plans." In Rondonia, the Guapore Biological Reserve created in 1982 has shrunk not once, but twice, to accommodate development schemes. Presently projected highways will lead to further shrinkages of the reserve and are now almost certain to allow squatters to enter the forest, who will destroy what remains. The Jaru Biological Reserve set up in 1961 has been even more badly damaged; much of it having been incorporated into the Burareiro Directed Settlement Area, where 500 hectare estates were sold for development as cocoa plantations. As Fearnside and de Lima Ferreira note, "the reserve has never had a forest guard or staff of any kind, and an indeterminate number of squatters are now clearing within its boundaries."

• Irrigation schemes

Consider too, your major investments in hydroelectric and irrigation schemes: no safeguards or mitigatory measures, however ingenious and how ever well-intentioned can do much to reduce the terrible destructiveness of such projects. Nothing, for instance, will prevent them from flooding vast river valleys where the land tends to be the most fertile and which, in the Third World are likely to be inhabited by large numbers of people. Whatever you do, such people will have to be displaced and their lives severely disrupted. As Claude Alvares notes, *The Ecologist* 17, 2 (1987), the million or so tribal people whose lands will be flooded by the dams you propose to finance in the Narmada valley will simply be sacrificed - and so they must be if the Narmada dams are to be built. For the cost of resettling them properly, given the terrible shortage of suitable land in the area, would be prohibitive.

Nor can "careful planning and an investment in mitigating measures such as drainage", as your Planning Committee suggests, serve to eliminate waterlogging and salinisation. Professor Victor Kovda of Moscow University, perhaps the leading authority on the subject, states that during many centuries and even millenia, "only areas having a free outflow of groundwater as in Tashkent and Samarkand have not undergone salinisation or waterlogging." In other words, "increasing salinity in irrigated soils in arid lands is practically universal." FAO admits 50-80% of the world's irrigated land is already affected; also that some 10m hectares of irrigated land, about 5% of the world's total, are abandoned every year.

The fact is, Mr Conable, that the only way to avoid the terrible destruction caused by the development schemes that your bank has so irresponsibly financed over the last forty years is to stop financing them. There is no alternative. It is not as if these schemes were needed to combat poverty or to improve the welfare of Third World people; they are not. Such projects only satisfy the short-term financial and political interests of a small group of bankers, bureaucrats, industrialists, engineers and politicians.



And this, Mr Conable, brings me to the heart of the matter. The short-term interests and needs of such a group are totally incompatible with the long-term interests and needs of an increasingly impoverished humanity. You told the World Resources Institute in May 1987 of new policies and new concern for the environment. Will you now signify your genuine concern by immediate cancellation of financial aid for indefensible projects such as the Narmada and Bodhghat Dams and the Great Carajas Project, and at the same time reappraise all other World Bank projects using a yardstick which measures the needs of humanity, our children and the biosphere, on whose preservation life itself must ultimately depend? Only then will you be able to persuade the world that your new concern for the environment is a genuine one.

Yours sincerely,

Edward Goldsmith

This article is a shortened version of an open letter which first appeared in *The Ecologist* 17, 2 (1987). Over the years, *The Ecologist* has covered the activity of the World Bank in great detail and more excellent information can be found in it.

Everyone knows about the famous speech made by 'Red Indian' Chief Seattle - famous for its ecological message. Or do they? CHRIS CHURCH of FoE debunks a favourite green myth and points out its dangers.

The Great White Chiefs send word



"I will go to San Francisco...
I will smoke an awful lot of dope...
I will buy a wig...
and a book of Indian lore...
I will have a psychedelic gleam in my eyes at
all times..."
Frank Zappa "Flower Punk" 1967

TO THE emerging youth culture of the USA's late sixties, the native American culture was immensely attractive. To a materialist culture, with a very short history, the idea that people had lived on in the same lands for hundreds of years in harmony with their environment was an exciting concept. 'Red Indian' prints, clothing and texts became a key part of post-hippy ideology. Coupled with a re-emergence of native culture that mirrored the Black Power movement and came to public notice with the ill-fated Wounded Knee insurrection in 1973, the world realised that these people had done a lot more than attack John Wayne's wagon trains. And then in the mid-70s there came the document that confirmed what we all knew: that these really were environmentally aware people. The document was "Chief Seattle's Testament", also known as "The Great Chief sends word". This was said to be the text of a speech made to the US government by a Chief Seattle of the Suquamish Indians on the occasion of the intended annexation of their lands by the expansionist USA. Its basic sentiment, "How can you buy or sell the sky, or the warmth of the land?", touched a strong cord in the developing environment movement and the speech was copied world-wide. Its first printing in Britain was by Pax Christi and Friends of the Earth in 1976. Thousands of people have since found it an inspiring text. So, what's all the fuss? The reason is quite simple. The speech is simply a forgery. There is no doubt at all that Chief Seathl (a more literal translation) spoke in the Autumn of 1854 to Governor Isaac Stevens, but the speech so many people revere is not what he said.

◦ Christians rewriting history

The myth began in 1970 when Ted Perry, then a film scriptwriter, wrote a short script that included the now-famous speech. He has since said that he never tried to make the speech authentic but was merely producing a script to order. It would seem that his clients were in fact initially responsible for what happened. They were none other than the Southern Baptists - now somewhat more notorious for their involvement with the Moral Majority and far-right quasi-religious figures such as Jerry Falwell. The Southern Baptists used the material widely and, it seems, never made its origin clear, despite the fact that by 1975 the US National Archives and other sources had condemned the forgery. Professor William Arrowsmith of

John Hopkins University, who looked into this, said: "the Baptists made it clear that they couldn't imagine what my objection to their falsification could be... In their minds, so long as one's purpose is pious and one is about God's business, the truth it seems is merely a secular or academic concern". He then highlights what should be a major concern: "They knew very well that the vogue in America of romantic ecology and Indian poetry would ensure their Christian message carrying the day. The sugar coating is ecology, the pill is Baptist Christianity".

Fortunately the truth has been recorded. When Chief Seathl made his speech he was watched by a Dr Henry Smith, who took down as much of the speech as he could. He was clearly impressed by Seathl, whom he describes as "the largest Indian I ever saw and by far the noblest looking...usually solemn, silent, dignified, but on great occasions among assembled multitudes like a Titan amongst Lilliputians". For all Dr Smith's tendencies to hyperbole, the image is powerful: "deep toned, sonorous and eloquent sentences rolled from his lips like the ceaseless thunder of cataracts." Smith's description of Seathl's speech is clear. It is the speech of a leader who knows the end is near, who is aware that his people are "ebbing away like a fast receding tide that will never flow again." He appears to accept the incompatibility of the two cultures and to accept the idea of reservations. There are, to an extent, two parts to the speech, and it is the first that Ted Perry has borrowed from. Here Seathl insists on access to traditional burial grounds, for he says: "Every part of this country is sacred to my people... The very dust under your feet responds more lovingly to our footsteps than to yours because it is the ashes of our ancestors." It is in this section that Perry gives the game away, when he lets Seathl say that he had seen "a thousand rotting buffaloes on the prairie, left by the white man who shot from a passing train": Seathl was of course not a prairie Indian and no railway came anywhere near his territory until 1869 - fourteen years after the speech.

It is perhaps the second section that should give us pause to consider using this speech. It was designed for the Baptists and its message is clear. 'Seattle' says: "our God is the same god. You may think that you now own him as you own the land. But you cannot. He is the god of man and his compassion is equal for the red man and the white." And again, further on: "Our God is the same god...we may be brothers after all. We shall see." Now contrast that with what Seathl actually said: "Your God is not our God! Your God loves your people and hates mine!.. He has forsaken his red children - if they really are his. Our God, the Great Spirit, seems also to have forsaken us. Your God makes your people wax strong every day - soon they will fill all the land... Your God seems to be partial - we never saw him, never heard his voice." It is hard to imagine a more directly opposite approach to the Christian blandishments of the former text. It is the voice of a leader deserted by his God; deserted by the failure of his strongest beliefs. A moment's thought will also make it clear which of the two texts would be of use to a campaigning missionary sect such as the Southern baptists - one of many at work in Latin America, bringing native people into the clutches of 'civilisation'.

◦ Reclaiming the truth

When all this first emerged there were those who suggested that the environmental message was of sufficient beauty to make it worth continuing to use. Fortunately, since then the environmental movement has (I hope) become more aware of the role of native people in protecting their environments. One of the most powerful allies we have in halting the continued rape of the rain-forests in Sarawak and elsewhere is the strength of the emerging native campaigns to protect their forests. We owe those peoples at the very least

our respect for their culture. And if that respect means not disseminating a text which shows them to be completely opposite to how they were, then that seems a small price to pay. Anything less would seem nothing more than the continuation of the well established tradition of cultural imperialism. The subjugation of the American Indians was not a pleasant episode, and a reading of Chief Seathl's real speech will show a great deal of suppressed anger. If we care about what the native people say, let us listen to them rather than what white people would like them to have said.

If anyone would like more information on this, I'd be happy to send them copies of both speeches along with a copy of a paper by Carl Ross, who did more than anyone to uncover this. Send £1 plus an s.a.e. to Chris Church, FoE, 26 Underwood St, London N1 7JQ. I'd also like to thank Frank Penfold of Sussex for supplying me with papers that filled the missing links in the chain.



GREENS, CLASS AND ACQUIESCENCE

ONE OF the most pressing and important problems facing the green movement is an almost total lack of economic class analysis. This is essential if the nature of capitalism is to be understood. It is only from correct analysis that correct action can be taken.

DON'T LET



THEM EAT YOU!

There are many "wishy-washy, issue-politics, greenish liberals" who refuse to see the problems of our world in terms of a historical process. However this is not to suggest that forms of oppression like racism, sexism and heterosexism do not predate capitalism or are entirely mediated by class. Nor do I in any way suggest that the struggles of CND or AA should not be given whole hearted support.

Perhaps one of the major problems with "middle class activists" is the difficulty experienced in accepting or being accepted by working class culture. This is an excellent example of how the forces of hegemony have managed to obscure the common economic class interests of those who are wage slaves. Cultural stereotypes only divide and rule. If you do not own the ways and means of production and therefore have nothing other than your labour to sell, then you are, economically, working class. Running off into some Pagan /Mystical religion and conducting some kind of "inner spiritual struggle" is at best time-wasting and at worst acquiescence to the status quo. There is room for personal change in our struggles but it is within the daily, physical realm of our relationships with others where we must seek self change - not in some pseudo mystical state of acquiescence.

We need to understand the essential economic class stratifications of our capitalistic society and hence understand the

CHRIS HALL of Oxford Anarchists Group considers the implications of Andy Kaye's article on green opposition in GL 56 and suggests that resistance is possible collectively.

historic role of the State. From this understanding we know how the state and capitalism are likely to behave and how we can shape our struggles against them and the injustices they foster. Marxist analysis is a tool, not a way of life, and if it usefully describes the state of present Western capitalism then it is ludicrous not to use it.

If the green movement is to gain wide support then it must appeal to the masses and show that it understands the nature of economic oppression and is prepared to support the working class (working or unemployed) in its struggles.

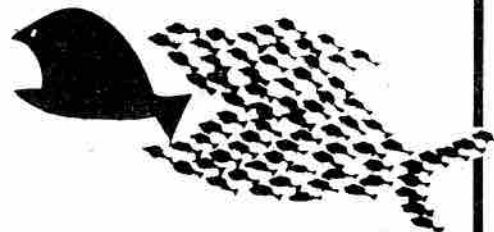
Contrary to what Andy Kaye says, people do not wish to get arrested as a token of the need for official recognition. It is clearly absurd to suggest that people actively seek the brutality of the truncheon or the trauma of arrest just to ensure that the reality of their struggle is recognised. People take to the street or picket line when there is no alternative and so-called democratic means have failed.

Andy Kaye makes many other points which superficially seem to be reasonable but which, on closer examination, just do not stand up. For example, to suggest that those in power in Russia and America have more in common than divides them looks reasonable at first sight. However, if you look at the historical processes which brought both states into existence and the processes which are still continuing today then it is obvious that the differences in interests between the two are huge. Andy Kaye also decries what he calls "change" before real change. What he fails to understand here is that individuals who feel devoid of power to change the system quite rightly strive to change their behaviour, both in what they consume and socially to ensure that their behaviour is as non-exploitative as possible. This is not mere "lifestylism". It is people doing whatever is possible within the present system to facilitate change.

What is missing from this process is mass action. The process of individuation is not a sell-out, or

"unity with power" but the beginnings of a process which should lead to the development of the individual within the need for collective responsibility. On the issue of boycotts, for example, Andy Kaye fails to mention the success of the Boycott Barclays campaign and the need to boycott multinationals such as Shell. In these instances, black people in South Africa have said that, although in the short-term they will suffer if sanctions are applied, they have suffered for centuries and are prepared to suffer more because the application of sanctions will help them in their struggle to overthrow the oppression of apartheid. Now, clearly, if our government is not prepared to apply these sanctions then we must do it for them - is this lifestylism?

The section of Andy Kaye's article entitled "Old Power for the New People" is at best nonsensical, where he demonstrates that he does not appear to understand the roles of socialisation processes. Other people, especially those who sell us 'reality' (media, TV etc.) obviously play a great part in structuring and ordering people's feelings. However, power in our society is quite clearly held by capital and used to oppress and divide us, the people, by the State.



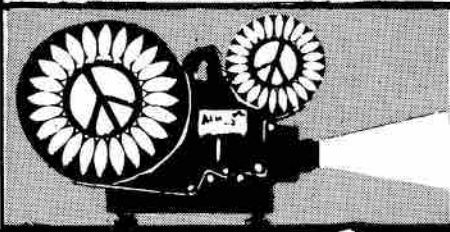
UNITE!

The implication we are left with from Andy Kaye's article is that we are to return to some kind of pre-industrial tribal lifestyle through some violent upheaval (nuclear war?) in our passage to this utopian existence. Yet we have the means to feed, clothe, house and provide health care for everyone in this world. These things already exist. What we must ensure is that by collective class struggle capitalism is destroyed and we abolish forever the deprivation that is fostered in the name of profit.

THE JOURNEY: OR WHAT DOES PETE WATKINS THINK HE'S PLAYING AT?

I HAD the opportunity to view about half of Peter Watkins' follow-up to the 'War Game'. Now disarmingly speaking I was brought up on the 'War Game' so maybe I expected too much. I'd heard on the grapevine over the past few years that it was a long film and that he'd had problems getting funding until the Scandinavians stepped in and even then the various committees in the different countries were strapped for cash. Basically I sat through seven and a half hours of the 'Journey' because I got a free ticket, and I did not learn a single thing that I did not already know.

The film is global. Families in many countries are shown pictures of Hiroshima and discuss the feelings that arise while sitting in their own homes. Unfortunately each of the many families is introduced only once, so as the hours pass you lose track of who is who, if you ever knew in the first place. The film is virtually in real time, with no cutting of dialogue: news film of Reagan visiting Canada, or the white nuclear waste train crossing North America is edited in between the families'



A video copy of this film is available from 35 Royal Park Terrace, Edinburgh.

discussion of the connection between the arms trade and world poverty, descriptions by survivors of the bombing of Dresden and the escape from the siege of Leningrad. The best bit was the closing credits with a Japanese child pianist, a Gaelic girl singer and a Tahitian choir. For me the most hopeful aspect of the film was the way that the younger children were completely unawed by the camera and could speak the truth about the idiocies of the world situation in a way the adults could not. By making his film so long Mr Watkins is trying to show reality, normality and truth in a way which he implies the establishment media cannot, so I was very disturbed by instances where I felt the families interviewed repeated historical inaccuracies or distortions of fact without being challenged.

Large numbers of people in five continents have put a lot of their time and energy into making this film which does have hopeful and positive messages. But what a waste of time and money to make an anti-bomb film without the least indication that nuclear power is intimately connected with nuclear weapons, and that uranium mining is the start of the cycle that ends in Pacific nuclear testing!

• LINDA HENDRY

ANIMAL NEWS

© BARRY MAYCOCK writes:

STRANGE ALLIANCES

BUAV'S "CHOOSE Cruelty Free" Campaign rolls on, gathering momentum as Christmas approaches. It has been a well-organised and popular campaign, and this is clearly thought to be a 'winnable' issue - as opposed to romantic lost causes, like the actual abolition of vivisection. The latest development is a major postcard campaign aimed at persuading the supermarket chain Tesco to stock cosmetics, toiletries, and household goods whose production does not involve the suffering of animals. According to the BUAV, Tesco has been chosen "because it is the largest supermarket chain, and has the resources and outlets necessary for the promotion of an ethical campaign".

I can understand the reasoning behind this, and the BUAV's 'Liberator' spells it out quite clearly: this is an example of a kind of 'pragmatism' which is felt to have some chance of success, as opposed to a purist ('extreme') attitude, doomed supposedly to failure. This spurious dichotomy, though, is an example of the usual shoddy thinking - a 'pragmatic' campaign need not negate direct action or more uncompromising approaches, but complements them. And vice versa. If BUAV puts pressure on Tesco by the use of 'consumer power', all well and good: but it is another thing altogether actively to promote these huge retail outlets, and encourage people to buy their products if the campaign is successful. Otherwise we reach the ludicrous situation where an anti-vivisection movement invites customers to shop at a store whose shelves are stocked with trashy processed foods, crawling with additives - that have themselves been tested on animals; and who stock meat and dairy foods that are the product of an incredibly cruel factory-farming system. Shrewd manufacturers will soon see the advantage of an expanding market here: perhaps we shall see a whole new range of 'conscience' products, to stand alongside cheaper 'cruel' ones ('C' numbers as well as 'E' numbers!). Surely we should be choosing cruelty-free enterprises, not just cruelty-free products. With this deliberate choice of 'soft' targets for a campaign, the powerful animal-abuse industries remain strengthened, and unassailable.

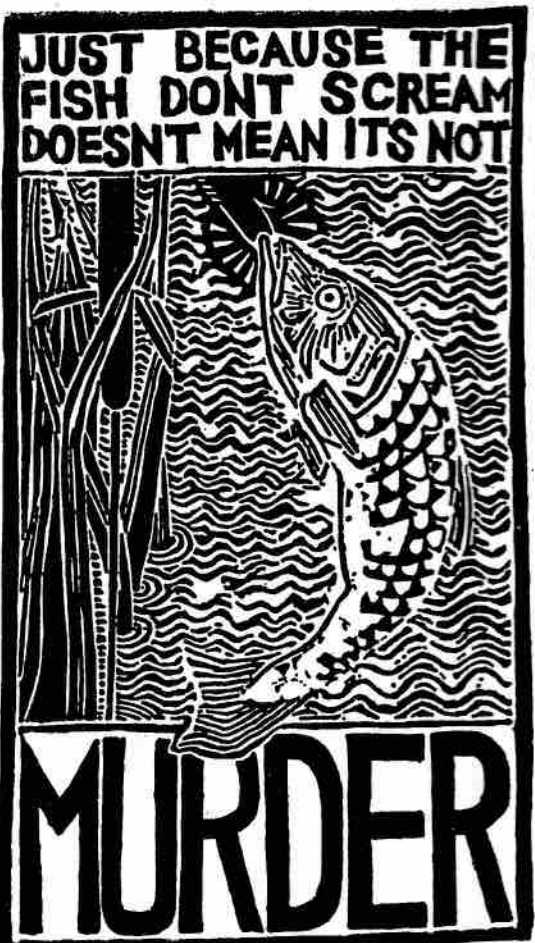
All this is of course in good public relations, promoting a 'caring' image - green Capitalism! The same process is at work everywhere. Recently, for example, Watford residents have



claimed that hundreds of fish were left to suffocate at the bottom of the dried-up river Colne which was diverted in May because it was in the way of a Tesco superstore then under construction. Yet in a civic ceremony attended by the Mayor of Watford, Tesco executives and property developers, the new concrete waterway, devoid of either weeds or reeds, was restocked with 200 fish by local schoolchildren! While this was going on the Water Authorities fought to hold back a slick of spilt heating oil a couple of hundred yards upstream. And so on - a familiar tale.

HUNTSMANBALLS

Obviously no disciple of St. Francis! "People say that as a churchman I should not pick up a gun, but shooting has been a pastime of the clergy for many, many years." Shooting vicar, Rev. William Quinney of Nuneaton, B'ham Evening Mail 3/2/87.



(The Campaign for the Abolition of Angling is at P.O. Box 14, Romsey, SO51 9NN).

FISHY BUSINESS

If a possible future pact between Tesco and the BUAV seems odd enough, but has nonetheless been described as 'pragmatic', it's hard to choose a suitable word for another strange, unholy alliance - between Friends of the Earth and anglers. On September 21st FoE launched a Charter for the Water Environment in conjunction with the National Association of Specialist Anglers, reflecting, as the press release said, "the dawn of a powerful new alliance between conservationists and Britain's 3 million anglers in the fight against waste pollution and developments which threaten the whole environment".

Angling is a bloodsport, which accounts for the death of 300 million fish a year. These millions of 'conservationist' anglers who enjoy coarse fishing seek to stick barbed hooks into the mouths of largely inedible fish, apparently for the sheer pleasure of it! Anglers also drag fish out of their natural environment, handle them with fingers that feel like red-hot poker, removing a protective mucus covering in the process, and then throw them into a suffocating keepnet where disease may spread. Some anglers pierce the flesh of living fish with treble hooks to use them as bait for prey species. Not content with abusing fish, anglers are also responsible for the maiming and killing of waterfowl and other animals which become entangled in discarded (non-biodegradable) fishing line. The reason angling is so popular, and why no significant campaign has ever been waged against it, is that fish are silent - if the riverbanks were full of screaming creatures, fishing would cease.

Fox-hunters in recent years have suddenly become 'conservationists', after centuries of celebrating the fun of their 'sport'; and anglers too have deflected criticism by sheltering under the banner of 'conservation'. Indeed, conservation (like the concept of 'nature') is fast becoming a screen behind which all manner of barbarisms continue unchecked - a 'pragmatic' alliance between anglers and the FoE merely gives legitimacy to another preposterous myth. If some anglers engage in genuine conservation work, half a cheer for them; it makes no difference to my opposition to angling. Similarly FoE will rightly continue to do their own campaigning work on behalf of our polluted rivers and waterways. But an alliance between the two groups simply bewilders those who feel that two different sets of values are pulling in different directions. Pressure-group campaigning is nonsensical unless it is aware of broader issues beyond itself; otherwise the Green Project (see last month's 'Green Line') serves mainly to help the current system over a rocky patch - and to make things a little safer and easier for the powerful. ●

Basic Income facts

THE IDEA of a universal guaranteed wage, the Basic Income Scheme, is unworkable, argues ADAM BUICK. He proposes a Free Access Scheme to a common store of the national wealth.

IN THE MANIFESTO for the recent elections the Green Party proposed to "guarantee economic security to each person as a right" through instituting a Basic Income Scheme involving "an automatic weekly payment to everybody, throughout life, regardless of sex or marital status, non means-tested and tax free, at different rates for different age groups". There would also be non means-tested supplements for special needs. No figures were mentioned, but the manifesto stated that "the payments would guarantee an income adequate to live on, higher than current welfare benefits".

The idea behind the scheme - guaranteeing everybody security from material need - is laudable. But would the proposed scheme work, at least within the present economic system?

• Prices, wages and profits

The basic feature of the present economic system is that wealth is produced for sale and that people's incomes - whether wages and salaries, profits or social benefits - derive ultimately from the receipts obtained from selling what has been produced. In fact the incentive to produce under this system is the difference between sales receipts and the amount of money originally laid out in purchasing the elements necessary for production (materials, buildings, machinery, power, labour etc), i.e. monetary profits. Maximising this difference is the primary objective of production today. Making a monetary profit is the incentive to produce - and what makes the economic system function.

Out of sales receipts - or rather, out of that part of sales receipts representing the new value added in production - are paid both the work incomes (wages and salaries) on which most people now depend and the property incomes (dividends, interest, ground rents) that accrue to those having ownership rights over the means of production.

Wages and salaries correspond more or less to the cost of bringing into being and maintaining the working skills which employees sell to employers (the cost of training plus the cost of food, housing, transport etc. which employees must incur to maintain themselves and

their dependents). Profits then, are the part of newly added value that is left over after wages and salaries have been paid. The government obtains the money to pay income as social benefits from taxes which ultimately fall on profits (or incomes derived from profits) because taxes on wages and salaries, by increasing the cost of maintaining employees and their skills, are eventually passed on through the operation of economic forces to employers, in the form of increased money wages.

• Where will the money come from?

What would be the effect of introducing the Basic Income Scheme (BIS) into this system of prices, wages and profits? Since the "basic income" is to be paid by the government it would mean a massive increase in the amount of income paid out as social benefits. If everybody is to be paid an income "higher than current welfare benefits" then we are talking about an enormous increase in government expenditure.

Where is this money to come from? We have just seen that the ultimate source of government revenue is the profits made in productive industry. But if the money to be paid out as basic income is to be taken out of profits, which are the primary reason why production is undertaken today and the fuel driving the current economic system, then there is a serious risk that the introduction of BIS would provoke a reduction in economic activity.

Thus, the increased taxes on profits needed to finance the scheme would risk, within the present system, of killing the goose that lays the golden eggs.

• Wage collapse

In actual fact, all the money to pay for the scheme would not need to come from existing profits as a large part would come from the drastic reduction in wages and salaries that the introduction of the scheme would bring about. In effect, the employers would be provided with an extra income to compensate the extra tax burden they would have to bear.

It should not be imagined that wages and salaries would remain at their present levels if everybody, including those in work, were to be paid a basic income of say £100 a week by the government. What such a payment would mean is that wages and salaries would tend to fall by an equivalent amount. The reason for this is that, as we have seen, they are fixed by the operation of economic forces at around a level sufficient to maintain the employees

in question and their skills.

If a wage earner can use a government income to maintain themselves then the employer will be relieved of having to include an amount to cover this expenditure in the wage packet or salary cheque. Economic forces will therefore tend to ensure that wages and salaries fall to a level were they merely top up the basic income so that employees can maintain themselves. In other words, like today's Family Allowances, the Basic Income Scheme would be a subsidy to employers - and a massive one at that.

• Voluntary unemployment

This does not mean that employers will welcome BIS since the scheme completely upsets the wages system under which people are forced by economic necessity to go out and sell their skills to an employer. If people receive an adequate income from the government what would be the incentive to go out and work for an employer?

This problem would be particularly acute for work paid at and immediately above BIS levels. The manifesto used a peculiar argument in this respect, stating that:

The 'unemployment trap' is created by the withdrawal of benefit when a person finds work. Perhaps more than any other measure, the Basic Income Scheme would stimulate employment, since it would always be financially worthwhile to work.

It is not exactly clear what this means, but it appears to be accepting the common slur on the unemployed that many of them don't work because it is not financially worth their while; i.e. that much unemployment is voluntary. However, this is clearly far from being the case. Most unemployment arises from the fact that for the time being it is unprofitable for employers to invest in full production. The jobs are not there even if people want them and merely giving people a financial incentive to be employed won't make the jobs appear.

As a matter of fact, contrary to what the manifesto suggests, BIS would probably lead to a massive increase in voluntary unemployment (not that there's necessarily anything wrong with that, but that's another question). I know that if the government paid me £100 a week as of right I certainly would not go and work for an employer unless I was really desperate. I reckon many others would adopt a similar position and this could lead to a complete breakdown of the present system.

Imagine a situation where people only went to work for an employer when they needed the extra money to pay for some special need. Imagine too what would happen to

discipline at work if people were not there through economic necessity; they would (quite rightly) refuse to be bossed around or do shitty jobs. Profit motivated industry just couldn't function under such circumstances. So once again the result of introducing BIS would be an economic crisis.

Of course the whole scheme might be a subtle way, in the minds of those who drew it up, of destabilising the present economic system - but I rather think that they believe it to be feasible.

• Is there no alternative?

Having criticised BIS and shown it, I hope, to be impracticable within the system of prices, wages and profits, I must add straight away that my purpose was not to defend the current economic system but rather to suggest that some other way will have to be found of guaranteeing people basic economic security.

My suggestion would be to allow people free access as of right to a common store of wealth set aside for personal consumption according to what they themselves judged to be their reasonable needs. Other needs could be satisfied on the same basis: houses and flats could be rent free, with heating, lighting and water supplied free of charge. Transport, communications, health care and education could be organised as free public services. There need be no admission charges to museums, parks, libraries and other places of entertainment and recreation.

Such a Free Access Scheme would be a much more direct way of ensuring that people were free from material insecurity than the impracticable BIS that is currently being proposed. It would also involve, as a corollary, the transformation of work. Instead of working for wages for an employer to produce profits, people would be able to cooperate to produce what they really needed.

In fact such direct production for use, replacing production for sale and the profit motive, is the only possible framework within which we can satisfy our needs in an ecologically acceptable way. For, with the end of production for sale will go also the pressures for blind economic growth generated by the competitive struggle for profits.

If production were geared directly to supplying needs, it would tend to platform off at a level sufficient to provide for current needs and repairing and maintaining the existing stock of means of production. We would arrive at a steady state society, able to sustain a stable relationship with nature in which the needs of its members would be in balance with the capacity of nature to renew itself after supplying them.



BELAU:

THE REAL STORY

The situation in Belau, Micronesia, needs some updating after the appallingly misleading headline "Belau Gives In" (GL 55). This is not the case. People in Belau are continuing to struggle to retain control of their nuclear-free constitution and their rights to the land and resources from the sea against the global power of the US military machine.

However, the situation has plummeted to new depths of terror and perseverance within a framework of procedural and legal stalemate. On Sept 8th, over 20 women elders withdrew their lawsuits against President Salil of Belau after the political murder of the father of Roman Bedor, one of the most active and longtime campaigners for the Belauan anti-nuclear constitution. The women were to challenge the president on the constitutional legality of the two referenda in August, which Salil now claims as a ratification of the contested 'Compact of Free Association' with the US. The presiding judge publicly acknowledged that the women had been intimidated and said that the court was open for the case to be filed again. Belauan thugs have now threatened to abduct the women's children if they continue the struggle.

Meanwhile, the Compact awaits ratification in the US Congress, where at last, elected representatives are actively picking up on the issue. The termination of the US Trusteeship of Micronesia must legally be finalised and approved by the UN Security Council. Many networks in The States are continuing to lobby Washington and the UN for the US to fulfil its responsibilities under the terms of the UN Trusteeship, and for the Compact to be rejected.

Belau's struggle for justice and ecological peace is very alive and is an inspiration to the wider movement for an independent and nuclear-free Pacific. There is much that can be done in the UK. Individuals, groups, unions, 'nuclear free zone' local authorities, councillors and MPs can all write to the UN, the UK's UN ambassador, the US Congress and the media. Please write to Bristol NFIP, c/o the following address:

Sigrid Shayer
WWNFIP
82 Colston St
BRISTOL 1



The tone of the article about the decision of CND General Secretary Meg Beresford to join the Liberal Party (GL 56) did your credibility as an 'independent' magazine no good whatsoever. The assertion that David Steel leads a 'pro'nuclear party and Neil Kinnock an 'anti'nuclear party is crude indeed. It was Labour who first developed the nuclear power programme and Labour who expanded it in their last term of office. It was Labour which developed Britain's nuclear deterrent after the war and secretly updated Polaris in the Chevalline project during the 1970s.

In contrast the Liberals have consistently rejected nuclear power and Britain's independent nuclear deterrent and are currently at odds with the SDP (and often their own leader) over Cruise and Polaris. However, the new SDP/Liberal party has not yet decided its policies and so Meg Beresford's decision to join the Liberals, rather than the Green Party or Labour, could prove very influential.

Radical Liberals could possibly have a more powerful voice in the new party following David Owen's decision to offer a political home to those in the SDP who want a minimum assured deterrent. Contrast this with the Liberal constitution which pledges the party to support and strengthen the UN and to work for "the eventual abolition of national armies and armaments". But if the merged party does sustain the conservatism of the Alliance (perhaps the more likely possibility), rather than revitalise the radicalism that preceded it (most notably, the 1979 Assembly vote that economic growth is "neither feasible or desirable") then green liberals will surely look towards the Green Party in their disillusionment. Inter-party dialogue, including plans for a 'traffic lights conference' of members of the Labour, Alliance and Green Parties next Spring. Following the upheaval in the Alliance, dialogue between radical Liberals and greens is particularly urgent and may prove particularly fruitful. To facilitate this a network has been formed, details of which can be obtained from the address below.

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As a fossilising remnant of the "discredited drug culture" can I reply to Milan (GL 55), who thinks that greens are trying to create a society which "renders escapism obsolete." I have encountered this argument and its like before. When it comes from members of religious sects who also abstain from other drugs like tea, coffee and alcohol I have nothing but respect for them, their purity and their argument. But, aside from these sects, I know of no tribe, culture or society in history that did not have some form of escapist, mind expanding practice in which some sections of the population didn't regularly get out of their heads on.



What is this green society where we will not seek escapism? I started escaping (but then I think of all this as mind expanding rather than escapist) when I first daydreamed and have carried on through escaping into literature, TV, travel, films, meditation, and most recently I've found that I get more stoned out of my body having sex than after ingesting the best black cannabis I ever had in Afghanistan. I do not want to live in a green society that bans all drugs, whether through laws or condemnation. I want a society where people don't have to use drugs to dull their minds and forget the horrid conditions they live and work in. If people choose to use drugs as one path of exploration or relaxation they shouldn't be ostracised but understood and supported.

It's insane isn't it? Milan, with only a few facts to go on, sees part of the problem but doesn't realise that it is the West's prohibition of cannabis that makes it such a valuable but risky cash crop for

Third World countries. If, or when, marijuana is legalised in UK, USA etc. and we become self-sufficient then Mexicans will not have to grow it as cash crop but can use it for their own period pains, glaucoma and terminal cancer patients instead of using the expensive multinational corporation drugs they are currently growing the cash crop to pay for.

How many green opponents of cannabis legislation have looked into the pharmacopia of cannabis and how it has been suppressed so that synthetic substances with more harmful side effects can be used because there is profit in it and they are more scientific than a simple tincture of cannabis? During the Summer, a US visitor was refused entry to the UK because he was carrying a cannabis preparation, legally prepared for his glaucoma in the States, but illegal here.

In 1974 a police drugs squad looking for a friend of mine plus a quantity of something illegal he was believed to be carrying, arrived at my mother's house where I was staying with my 3 year old daughter. They gently interrogated her (Where does Mummy hide things? Where does Mummy keep her secrets?) and me (Tell us where it is or we'll bring in the sniffer dogs. We can't be responsible if they rip up your mother's furniture. Tell us where he is or we'll take you down to the station and keep you there all night. The wee girl will have to go into care of course) and I vowed that I would make sure that sort of thing could not happen when my daughter had small children.

Tod Mikuriya MD, who visited me this Summer, is one of the two recognized experts on the medical uses of cannabis. He could give a Schumacher lecture and a half if asked, but he won't be because the green /alternative /small movement is so puritanically self-righteous that it is conspiring with the establishment to suppress a beautiful plant. I may sound bitter but I am bitter and I make no apologies for believing that the single most important green issue to me is cannabis legislation. I cannot work for a green future if it is not a future that allows ordinary people to legally cultivate and consume their own cannabis.

Linda Hendry

ECOSOCIALISM

IS....

In response to Christopher Fettes' letter (GL 55), I would like to define ecosocialism and what it means to me in political terms. The root of the environmental, world poverty and nuclear crises is the translation of human greed into a highly organised and efficient system of armed robbery - Capitalism. The solution is to cut this root to create a society

which produces goods in a cooperative fashion, emphasising real needs, not abstract profit. Real change comes about through collective action rather than on the part of 'leaders' and it is something that comes, not from preaching ideas or even winning arguments, but from objective economic and social conditions: i.e. people's daily experience of work, food health, housing etc.

Ecosocialism is based on Marxism but recognises, as Marx himself did, that ideas must change with history. Hence the appearance of a concern

with women's rights, the environment and spiritual needs, unknown in his day, although it's worth noting the parallels in Marx's 1844 manuscripts with those ideas on socially useful work in the chapter on Buddhist economics from Schumacher's Small is Beautiful. Finally, I suggest that Christopher reads Erich Fromm as well as SERA's excellent 'Ecosocialism in a Nutshell'.

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The collapsing Stock Market was described by one stockbroker as a "financial meltdown". For me it did have one clear similarity to Chernobyl in that it prompted a desire to say "I told you so" - though in this case that desire was not inhibited by the worry of imminent physical danger. The crashing Stock Market will not claim any lives or cause any malformed fetuses so I don't feel bad about allowing myself a little gloat.

A few months ago, the Bishop of Durham gave a sermon to a congregation of City businessmen. He warned that their paper riches were built of illusion and were simply a "North Atlantic bubble" which would some day burst like the Stock Market's famous 'South Sea bubble' of the 18th century. The sermon was not well received but he must too now be tempted to say "I told you so."

I am writing this in mid-October, on the second evening of the crash when the Index has dropped 500 points in two days. By the time you read this the market may have steadied and then recovered - or it may have plunged to further depths. I have no means of knowing which and I've been waiting too long for the collapse of Capitalism to venture any rash predictions. But whatever the situation when you read this, the lesson remains the same: stocks and shares are simply pieces of paper which are worth only whatever everyone is prepared to believe they're worth. The same, of course, may be said with equal truthfulness of money itself, as may be seen in the daily fluctuations of international currency values. Put even more simply: the Tory concept of a share-owning democracy is and always has been nothing more than a con trick.

I do, of course, have some sympathy for the losers. After all, I have myself lost out in the crash: my

THE BUBBLE BURSTS



own investment portfolio consists of one share in Rio Tinto Zinc, acquired some years ago for the purpose of attending the company's Annual General Meetings to protest about one or other of its more unsavoury activities (such as the Namibian and Canadian uranium mines).

My sympathies, such as they are, do not extend to the wealthy speculators who have seen thousands or even millions wiped off the value of their investments - their myopic pursuit of illusory wealth has been their undoing. I'm

not particularly sympathetic either to those who have been persuaded by the lure of instant profit to collaborate in the Tory's flogging off of national assets like Telecom or British Gas. They may at least now realise that they hold pieces of paper of doubtful value.

My greatest sympathies lie with those who have paid out throughout their working lives into pension funds, only to realise now that they are not worth as much as they thought. However, to end with a little philosophising, though there is always a price to be paid for the loss of an illusion, that price is usually worthwhile in the long run.

BACK IN THE HOT SEAT

The wheel of time goes round, and with another party conference season past I find myself once again as a Co-Chair of the Green Party Council. I would not have accepted nomination for the post if it had been the same job that I resigned from last Spring. But this year the position has been reformed and cut down by the appointment of three 'speakers' to act as principal party spokespersons. So now the co-chairs are left with their proper job of chairing the Party Council. This job sharing arrangement was first proposed by the outgoing co-chairs a year ago and this year Party Conference gave its backing to the idea, which had been proposed again in the outgoing co-chairs report.

Five years ago the then Ecology Party Council took the radical step of electing three co-chairs instead of a single chairperson. Does the latest development in extended collective leadership disprove the widely-held belief that those who get to the top of any particular political hierarchy want only to concentrate their own personal power?



A Famous Speech Reworked (apologies to J.F.K)