



Gaelic and Serbo-Croat are the latest of 28 languages in which 'The Black and White Book' has been published. Together with separate German editions for Germany and Austria, with various Portuguese editions covering different Brazilian universities and English editions printed in Australia, New Zealand, Hong Kong, India and the United States as well as in Britain, the total printing is in excess of 550,000 copies. The American edition, which, like those in Italy and France, is published by the Society of St Paul, carries the imprimatur of the Bishop of Youngstown, James W Malone.

Other editions are in preparation in some ten languages, including two of those of Zimbabwe.

NEW WORLD NEWS

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VOICES FROM THE CAMPS

FORGIVENESS was essential in human affairs, a Norwegian journalist who was in a concentration camp during World War II told a London audience in September.

'After the war I went to the prison where the man who had tortured me was, and told him I forgave him and would not press my evidence against him,' said Leif Hovelsen, in response to questions from an Ethiopian exile and a Cypriot student. 'This did not save him—he was one of the very few Germans executed in Norway for war crimes—but I was told he asked to have Holy Communion before he died, and it meant that I was free from hatred.'

Hovelsen was lecturing in the Westminster Theatre on the human rights struggle in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. During the past two years, *Morgenbladet*, of Oslo, has published a series of Hovelsen's interviews with leading dissidents.

'Through the Helsinki Final Act and the clear official stand of the United States,' Hovelsen commented, 'a significant thing has happened: for the first time in years the free world has been on the offensive for the ideas her people believe in; for the first time in years America and the free European countries have been united in a common goal, proclaiming that human rights and man's fundamental freedoms are our birth-right.'

The Helsinki Agreement, he remarked, 'has given the free world a unique chance to reshape current events.'

Double-think

He quoted the historian, Andrei Amalrik, author of *Will the Soviet Union Survive 1984?* (for writing which he was imprisoned for five years and exiled for three more) on the need for East and West to join forces here. 'The fact that people in Soviet society are more and more concerned about human rights must give the West the courage and realism to seek contact with them. In this may lie the seed of a worldwide movement which could vanquish both inhumanity based on violence and inhumanity based on indifference.'

The Czech dissident, Ludek Pachman, said Hovelsen, had pointed out the opportunity we now have: 'The crisis in the Communist

system is deep and serious, while at the same time in the Communist countries the search for truth and moral and spiritual values is stronger than ever before, especially among the young and the intellectuals.'

Hovelsen observed that the dissidents in the East wanted 'not political overthrow of Communist regimes, but a new moral climate'. He quoted Amalrik again, 'Double-think has become an integral part of the Soviet system. This is what we must attack. We are not a political but a moral movement. What we propose is nothing less than a revolution in the way people think. We do not believe that if the system were gradually to change, human beings would improve. We want to start with a change in the human being.'

Upsurge

Solzhenitsyn, Hovelsen said, now believed that we have reached a great human turning point. 'If the world has not come to its end,' Solzhenitsyn wrote recently, 'it has approached a major turn in history, equal in importance to the turn from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance. It will exact from us a spiritual upsurge. We shall have to rise to a new height of vision, to a new level of life, where our physical nature will not be cursed as in the Middle Ages, but, even more important, our spiritual being will not be trampled upon as in the modern era.'

'In the light of the whole-hearted commitment to truth of these men and women,' Hovelsen remarked, 'I have had to streamline what I do and how I employ my mind, will, feelings and energy for the constant and overall purpose God has called me to. Ours is the calling to be used by God to work out His design for the human race.'

The author, Tatiana Khodorovich, he said, who administered Solzhenitsyn's fund for the families of the persecuted after its first administrator, Alexander Ginzburg, had been jailed, wrote, 'Evil exists and has always existed, but from time immemorial each human being has been endowed with the only real freedom, the freedom to choose between good and evil. Its holy essence cannot be taken away from millions by one man, or from one man by millions.'

Dermot McKay

Coconut workers

TWO HUNDRED PEOPLE from neighbouring villages near Kurunegala, Sri Lanka, saw the film, *Men of Brazil*, in Sinhala screened on a coconut plantation in Melsiripura (named after the de Mel family who pioneered the area). As dusk fell villagers arrived and joined workers and their families to watch the film with rapt attention.

The film was MRA's contribution to the cultural activities and *Shramadhana* (service to the nation) called for by President Jayawardene on the promulgation of the new Constitution for Sri Lanka.

The Melsiripura plantation has begun a rehousing scheme for its workers who are moving from mud huts into solid brick homes. Plans are afoot to provide running water and electricity to these homes. Twenty-two-year-old Romesh de Mel, who manages his family estate, says, 'We want to do the very best for our workers so that this could be a real example of how a private estate should be run.'

MB

Labour's roots

THE HEADQUARTERS of the Constituency Labour Party of Bury St Edmunds was the venue for the latest presentation of *Keir Hardie—The Man They Could Not Buy*. The play-reading took place on the proposal of the Constituency Party and was welcomed by the Chairman.

The cast came from all backgrounds—some from as far afield as Scotland and Wales. Their performance won a spirited response from a Labour and trade union audience. One councillor enthusiastically repeated, 'I'd like to see it again. More of our Labour colleagues should see it.'

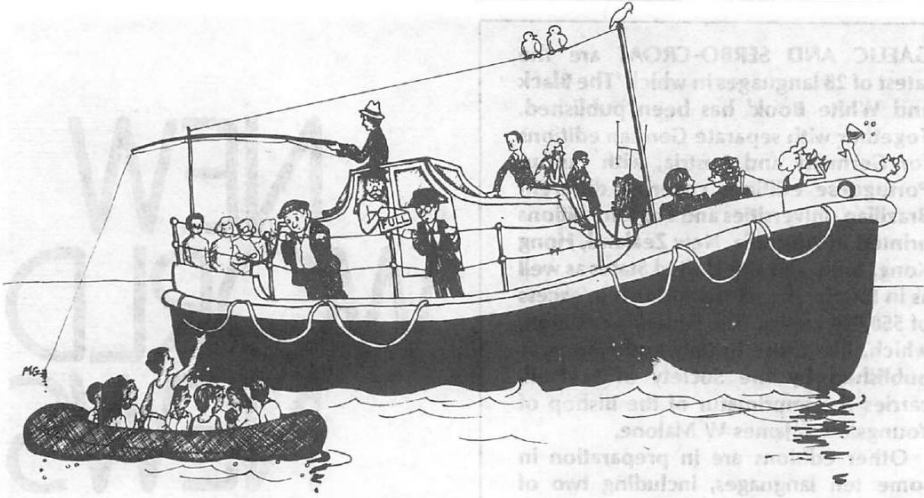
Hardie's incorruptibility reflected the strength of character which built the Labour Party of his day. The play clarified the difference between his Christian conviction and Marxism.

In the vote of thanks the prospective Labour candidate, Anne Gibson, responded to Hardie's socialism which cut across the barriers of class and colour. 'We all know something about Keir Hardie, but we have learnt a lot more this evening,' she said. **FA**

GOODBYE TO

Extracts from
RICH WORLD, POOR WORLD
by Geoffrey Lean
of 'The Observer'

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'TO GIVE FOOD to countries just because people are starving is a pretty weak reason,' declared the National Security Council's representative at interdepartmental US Government meetings on food aid at about the time that the Council was given final control over the nation's food surpluses.

That ungainly statement was one of the more worrying manifestations of a new morality advocated by some people in rich countries. This 'lifeboat ethic', as it is sometimes called, has been advanced by the biologist Professor Garrett Hardin of the University of California. The rich nations, as he sees it, are in a crowded lifeboat. The rest of the world is drowning in a sea of starvation. If the people in the lifeboat show compassion by letting others climb aboard the boat will sink; so we must repel boarders.

Less has been heard of the lifeboat in Britain, but that does not mean that the same philosophy is not canvassed. 'Of course the poverty of the Third World is terrible,' we are told. 'But we have our own problems and can do nothing to help. Charity begins at home.'

Gas chamber

In poor countries, too, there are rich people who claim that the most humane thing to do is to let people starve. And among the poor there are self-styled revolutionaries who plan to kill the rich after taking power, so as to benefit their own class.

Most people, surely, will find the lifeboat theory morally repulsive. It is also out of touch with the real situation in the world. There is no absolute shortage of food, nor need there ever be one. The immediate problem is one of distribution; the long-term need is to develop the enormous potential to produce more in the poor world. Both solutions depend on making it possible for the poor to acquire the food that can be grown. When people in the rich countries consume five times as much grain as those in the poor world; when we import protein from poor countries so that our animals can consume more than all the people of India and China; when our prosperity has been gained and the rest of the world's poverty maintained partly as a result of unfair trade relationships; when development is possible, and when population control in the poor world depends on greater prosperity, not less; where is the logic or

morality behind the lifeboat theory? Against such a background it sounds like a desperate attempt to maintain inequality and indulgence at the cost of other peoples' lives. The name for that is genocide. It is the ethic not of the lifeboat but of the gas chamber.

Outdated

It is easy to react against the callousness of the lifeboat theory, but it would be wrong to see the people who propose it as out of tune with the mood of Western society. What they are suggesting is that we deliberately extend something that we already do, through indifference and ignorance. By putting our own greeds before other people's needs, both now and in the past, we are largely responsible for the deaths of more than 15 million children a year. There is a great deal of genuine, sympathetic concern about the plight of the poor world; there is also little awareness that we are responsible for that plight and that it would not be a very hard task to end it. Eventually, when we realise that we are to blame, the state of the poor will be seen for what it is, an historic injustice as foul as the slave trade, the Irish famine or the exploitation of children in the mines and sweat shops of the last century.

The fate of the starving is the most dramatic of the issues that face the world, but others are equally vital to the future of human civilisation. Our present political philosophies have allowed these crises to develop, have failed to answer them, and have failed even adequately to realise that they exist. My own view is that this is because our great political, industrial and even social debates are a century out of date. They are fought by the two great economic philosophies of the nineteenth century, socialism and capitalism. They are sometimes fought over the issues of the nineteenth century. But, above all, they are fought by both sides with implicit faith in one great assumption of the nineteenth century—that the material progress of the rich world has no limits, and should be allowed to have none. Both sides agree that growth should be maximised, the debate is merely over which classes of the rich should get which shares.

In this Tweedledum and Tweedledee encounter the heat of the battle has absorbed almost all our political energies. The socialist

seems not to have noticed that the principal claim on his deep concern for economic justice comes from the three-quarters of the world outside his immediate vision. The Marxist, as he proclaims his doctrine of class war, has apparently not noticed that he has become, by any global standard of measurement, one of the upper class fighting for relatively marginal improvement in his lot, like a nobleman at a Renaissance court or a big investor on the stock exchange. Equally, the Conservative does not appear to grasp that his 'enlightened self-interest' logically demands the economic enfranchisement of three-quarters of humanity. None of them seem to realise that the world has changed, that the continued long-term expansion of economic growth in the tradition of the past hundred years may not be possible or even desirable.

Such wide generalisations should not hide the fact that there are people of all parties and philosophies who care passionately that the real global priorities are recognised, and who work hard to try to bring them to the attention of their colleagues. Nor should they be shrugged off as a condemnation of politicians. For in a democracy political activity can only take place within guidelines laid down, or at least accepted, by the public as a whole. Those guidelines are dictated largely by our prevailing philosophy, which—whether we owe allegiance to Left, Right or Middle—is predominantly one of materialism. In the rich countries of the Communist block, too, materialism is the dominant ideology.

Materialism, however, should not be the common philosophy, but the common enemy. To say this is not to argue for no growth. The argument over whether we should have growth or not is fought on the wrong ground. The question is not one of growth or no growth but one of greed or no greed; one of the distribution rather than the desirability of growth.

Trap

The facts being as they are, it is not surprising that the need for change of attitude is now common ground between most of the international experts grappling with the human predicament. It is generally agreed that the basic crisis is a spiritual one, and that the ethics taught by wise men and

TWEEDLEDUM AND TWEEDLEDEE

'THIS IMPORTANT BOOK is about nothing less than making a new economic order—via what amounts to a moral and political personality change in humanity and its leaders.

Lean, though, is no mere doom-monger.... He is as profligate with ideas as with indictments.

Lean's book is prodigiously researched and pungently argued, his details and case histories are tellingly chosen and assembled with all his journalistic skill and some considerable commitment.'

Douglas Hill, TRIBUNE

In 'Rich World, Poor World' Geoffrey Lean analyses and explains the crises which confront us—in food, trade, population, resources, nuclear power, housing and pollution.

More important still, he discusses the practical solutions, new strategies and fresh thinking that they have stimulated. Here we print extracts from his final chapter, 'Changing Philosophies'.

the great religions can no longer be thought desirable only so that people may lead 'good' lives. On the one hand they are the condition of survival. On the other, they are the missing factor in freeing the world from hunger and poverty. As Barbara Ward has put it: 'In this age of ultimate scientific discovery our facts and our morals have come together to tell us how we must live.'

In the view of Maurice Strong, 'father' of the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP): 'It will take a moral and spiritual revolution which goes far enough to alter our lifestyles and penetrate our political and industrial systems'—a statement which makes it clear that the revolution will have to change both individual lives and national and international conditions.

The two are inseparable. It is beguiling to hope that doing only half the job will be enough. Whole generations have fallen into that trap in the past. Sometimes it has been fashionable to think that all that needs to be done is to change the system, and then people will automatically change their attitudes and live to their highest potential. At others it has been thought that change in personal life is all that matters, and that social conditions and unjust systems will automatically fade away.

Vacuum

Both these false alternatives are common today. The first is often associated with Communism, although the rigid capitalist, who believes that everything will be solved if the State takes its hands off the economy, is entrenched just as firmly in the same fallacy. Its inadequacy is recognised even in the Soviet Union. The 22nd Congress of the Soviet Communist Party resolved at its meeting in 1961: 'The Party considers the creation of the new man as the most difficult part of the Communist transformation of society. Unless we can root out bourgeois morality and educate people in Communist morality, renewing them morally and spiritually, it is not possible to build a Communist society.' Others might point to Soviet society as evidence enough. For the change of system failed to change motives either among leaders or led, so that the eventual result has been a system not far different from the one that was overturned in the first place.

The second fallacy is often associated with religion. There have been, and are, religious

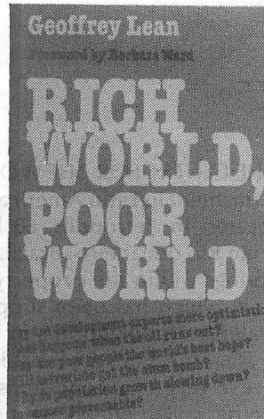
movements and moods which are concerned with personal life in vacuum. Yet the great religions are, in reality, shot through with a social message. Christianity is a revolutionary challenge to unjust systems, and has been regarded as such from ancient Rome to modern Russia. Certainly those of us who are Christians could provide more of a challenge to the injustices of the 'free' world. The Archbishop of Canterbury, following his call to Britain in 1975, emphasised that 'the right approach is from both ends, that is both trying to make better people and trying to make better structures in society'. A force like Moral Re-Armament provides contemporary examples of important social, national and even international changes stemming from radical change in individuals.

Untried

The change in imagination and attitude is only a starting point. It has to be followed by action. 'In the end,' says Dr Mostafa Tolba, Executive Director of UNEP, 'solutions come from individual people doing something different.' Development and environment groups are proliferating now, and there is a widespread search for new lifestyles more in harmony with what is needed in the planet.

One of the most interesting movements has taken place in Scandinavia. It began when a Norwegian advertising executive, Erik Damman, wrote a book, *The Future in Our Hands*, in which he concentrated on how solutions depended on people individually deciding to change their values and work out new ways of living. Within a few months 20,000 copies had been sold—in a comparatively sparsely populated part of the world—and his morning post came in sackfuls. The movement started growing at the rate of a thousand people a month.

Much of its appeal is that it asks people to begin with themselves. 'Never forget,' Erik Damman told their first meeting, 'that the new and humane course we are pursuing will remain a beautiful dream right until each one of us is prepared to change the course of his or her own life.' This idea is not new, of course, it lies at the heart of Christianity, and has been practised, sometimes more, sometimes less, throughout the ages, but nowhere nearly enough. It is still true, as GK Chesterton put it, that the Christian ideal has not been tried and found wanting, but



found difficult and left untried. The basic truth remains that as I am, so is my nation, and so is the world.

I have great respect for the atheist who sets out to change his life and motives in his own strength; but I know that, for myself, a greater power is needed. Such knowledge and experience as I have leads me to a conviction that sure grounds for faith can be found by those who honestly try to put their lives into the hands of God, in the testing nature, if you like, of a scientific experiment. My experience is only faltering and at its earliest stages, but I have seen the results in much greater strength in others.

Be that as it may, it is clear that, without a moral and spiritual revolution, we will neither build the new world that is technically possible, nor overcome the impending crises threatening our present one. And I am sure that people will know themselves what is the right course of action for them to take. Each person should have the right to choose it for himself, rather than be told what it is or be commanded to do it.

Gandhi used to say, 'I acknowledge no dictator but the still small voice of God.' In his philosophy that voice, conscience, should be the final judge of the rightness of every deed and thought. In Barbara Ward's words: 'From the beginning of time people have heard this "still, small voice" of obligation and brotherhood. When they have listened, society has worked. When they have refused to listen, society has broken up.'

PRESSVIEW

A PASSIONATE BOOK written from the heart by an established journalist with a clear head and a cool eye.

Stuart Holland, LABOUR WEEKLY

LEAN'S BOOK concerns the problem of how to induce the developed, generally northern hemisphere nations to take a smaller share in order that the developing, mainly southern states may take a larger.

The author's approach is an attractive mixture of the soft-hearted and the hard-headed.

The book is honest and most impressive. It promotes the rational forces of change, while resisting the temptation to plump for cure-alls or to affect an easy despondency.

Jeremy Bugler, NEW SOCIETY

